

The Historical Development of Basic Color Terms in Old Norse-Icelandic

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## DEDICATION

In memory of W.Q.,  
*a shining lamp of life.*

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## Abstract

This dissertation discusses the color terms of the Old Norse-Icelandic (or Old West Norse) language and seeks to establish which color terms in that language are basic (i.e., not further reducible, as English *scarlet* is to *red*), and what the fields of reference of these color terms are. By establishing how the color spectrum is divided in Old West Norse, and deducing the sequence in which these color terms became basic, it is also possible to test diachronic theories of the emergence of basic color terms, especially those developed since 1969 by Paul Kay and associated scholars.

After comparing the color terms of Old West Norse with the criteria for basic color terms (as presented in the most recent studies and reference works), I conclude by suggesting that the language has seven basic color terms: *blár* (blue), *bleikr* (yellow), *grár* (gray), *grónn* (green), *hvítr* (white), *rauðr* (red) and *svartr* (black). In the terms of the most recent version of Paul Kay's theory, Old West Norse is a Stage V language which organizes the color spectrum in a manner similar to some modern New World languages. I suggest also that the Old West Norse color vocabulary developed from an earlier Stage IV<sub>R/Y</sub> vocabulary, a stage that has never been shown to exist in another known language.

My examination of the fields of reference of individual Old West Norse color terms also leads to major innovations in our understanding of how to read and translate these terms. Among other new ideas, I demonstrate reason to doubt the popular notion that *blár* is better translated as *black* than *blue*, establishing that its use for ravens is poetic (and justified by close examination of ravens) and that the overwhelming evidence of its referents points to a meaning focused near that of English *blue*. I also postulate that *gulr* is not a basic color term for yellow in Old West Norse, as has previously been suggested, but that *bleikr* probably is, and that this term, though

focused near English *yellow*, also includes other non-optimal (i.e. non-red) warm colors such as pink, orange, and light brown.

**Subjects:** Linguistics (0290), Scandinavian studies (0613), Language (0679).

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### I. A. Purpose of this Study

This dissertation seeks to answer primarily these three questions: What were the basic color terms of OWN? What were their focal points of reference, and their maximal extensions of reference? What generalizations can be made about the categorization and organization of color concepts in OWN?

Secondarily, do the basic color term systems of OWN at different stages and in different places match any of the stages posited by Paul Kay and associated scholars? Does the diachronic development of the basic color term system appear to follow the sequence predicted in Berlin and Kay 1969, or rather, later revisions to the theory presented in that work, especially the current revision presented in Kay et al. 1997 and Kay and Maffi 1999?

It is expected that answers to these questions will provide an empirical foundation for critiquing the theories of the evolution of basic color terms proposed by Paul Kay and associated scholars (see below), and also provide a basis for more detailed studies on particular colors in the West Norse languages, and on the historical development of basic color terms in other languages (especially those with long writing traditions).

### I.B. Opening Remarks, and Definitions of Terms

*Old Norse-Icelandic* or *Old West Norse (OWN)*: The vernacular written language of Norway and Iceland from the date of the earliest manuscripts (ca. 1150) to the Black Death in Norway (ca. 1370) and the first printed book in Iceland (1540). Hence, a document is considered to be in OWN if it was written between 1150-1540 in Iceland or between 1150-1370 in Norway, following the practice of the *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog* (see *Registre*, p. 15) and the

majority of recent scholars (see e.g. Mørck 2004: 407). The recent West Norse languages descended from OWN comprise Icelandic, Norwegian, Faroese, and the extinct Norn.

*Color*: This is a potentially vexing term to define, since the very idea of determining which color terms are basic involves a prior selection of certain words as color terms, and the decision of what to include in that category may beg the question. In discussing color terms and their qualities, I follow the definitions given by Biggam (2012):

1. *Hue*: “It refers to the spectrum of visible light, parts of which, according to their wavelength or frequency, are perceived by humans to differ from others.” (Biggam 2012: 3). The sensations normally discussed as *colors* in ModEng and other European languages are principally different with regard to *hue*.

2. *Saturation*: “...this term refers to the purity or otherwise of a hue, in relation to the amount of grey it is perceived to contain.” (Ibid.) A very saturated hue may be referred to as *deeper* or more *vivid*; a hue of low saturation (with more gray) may be referred to as more *dull*.

3. *Tone*: “This refers to the admixture of white or black with a hue, creating a range which runs from pale at one end to dark at the other.” (Ibid.) The difference between black, white, and gray (the so-called *achromatic* colors) is one of tone.

The terms *brightness* and *bright* will be avoided in this study as the definitions of these terms are ambiguous and avoided in most studies of color categorization (Biggam 2012: 4). However, in quoting other writers, it should be noted that the majority usage of *bright* is approximately equivalent to *vivid* (i.e. more saturated in hue).

Since different languages organize color terms differently and emphasize different aspects of color differently, the researcher may initially feel paralyzed by the daunting potentiality that any lexeme which describes an item’s appearance could be a color term. But considering the fact

that colors can blend or be saturated, but otherwise exclude one another, the same part of the same item cannot be two or more colors at one time (e.g. the same spot on the same bird's back cannot appear both green and orange at the same time). Therefore, if a term can be used together with a color term to describe the same part of a given item at a given time in the same respect, then it is not a color term. This is especially true if this term is associated with multiple different color terms, without clearly being associated or collocated with any particular term or terms. This means that *bjartr* (bright), *ljóss* (light), *hreinn* (pure, clean), *fagr* (beautiful), *heiðr* (bright), *mikill* (large), *myrkr* (dark), *dökkur* (dark), *fríðr* (beautiful), *dimmur* (dim), and *vænn* (beautiful), while often seen alongside color terms in descriptions of appearance, are not color terms. However, since many of these terms appear frequently alongside color terms, they are discussed in this study in order to remove any doubt, and I occasionally find it necessary to refer to them as a group, in which case I designate them “near-color terms.”

## II. A. Basic Color Terms

In his 1965 study *Hanunóo Color Categories*, Harold Conklin reduced the color vocabulary of the Hanunóo language of the Philippines to four terms, noting that “all color terms [in Hanunóo] can be reduced to one of these four but none of the four is reducible” (Conklin 1965: 342). This is an early articulation of the principle of an irreducible or *basic* color term, a concept which would be named and defined four years later in the seminal study *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay.

While it is easy to conceptualize a situation in which different human languages might have few basic color terms that could be translated into another language without great difficulty, Berlin and Kay (1969: 2) assert that “color words translate too easily among various pairs of unrelated languages for the extreme linguistic relativity thesis to be valid,” and it has not proven

possible to correlate a language's color terms neatly with the natural or social environment in which speakers of that language dwell (see especially DeBoer 2005, but also Turton 1980 for a contradictory view).

Berlin and Kay (1969: 6) presented four primary criteria for a basic color term (hereafter BCT): 1) that the color term should be *monolexemic*, and therefore not a compound or otherwise divisible into components, 2) that the color term should not be considered a subclass or *hyponym* of another color by speakers (indeed, speakers should consider all other color terms in the language as hyponyms of the basic color terms), 3) that the color term should not be restricted to only a limited class of referents, and 4) that the root must be “psychologically salient for informants” (Ibid.), that is, that it must be readily educed and used.

Secondary (non-semantic) criteria were also presented for the evaluation of cases that these criteria might leave doubtful (Berlin and Kay 1969: 6-7). These additional criteria included: 5) that a potential BCT should have the same “distributional potential” as established BCTs, that is, that the term should be amenable to forming new words from derivation and compounding in the same fashion as established BCTs, 6) that a potential BCT *might* be suspect if its name were shared with the name of an object of that color – for example, English *orange* would be suspect if it did not otherwise clearly fit the primary (semantic) criteria for a BCT, 7) that a potential basic color term *may* be suspect if it is an obvious recent foreign loanword, and 8) that morphologically complex color terms *might* be suspect if they did not otherwise clearly fit the primary criteria for a BCT. Additional criteria have been proposed by later researchers; Biggam 2012 represents the current state of the art, which I have followed in my presentation of the criteria for a BCT in Chapter 3.

It is important to note that these criteria were not presented as strict requirements that all

BCTs in all human languages must satisfy, but rather as guidelines to be adapted to the unique character and culture of each language (Biggam 2012: 22, Berlin and Kay 1969: 6). Berlin and Kay's suggested criteria are not all equally applicable to all languages – for instance, not all languages even feature adjectives as independent lexical items, and so the description of color must be accomplished by other means – and especially in the case of extinct languages such as OWN for which no native speakers are available, many must be modified or replaced by similar criteria. The question of how to do this is discussed at length by Biggam (2012: 21-43).

Importantly, a BCT is a matter of *conceptualization*, not of *perception*. All human beings who are not color-blind perceive differences between varieties of what they conceptualize as one color; these varieties are often called “shades,” and include in English such compound terms as *light green*, *dark green*, *emerald green*, and *hunter green*, all noticeably somewhat different but all categorized as types of a single basic color: *green*. The varied nature of the phenomenon of color categorization across languages was recognized as early as the second century BC, as witnessed in the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, where it is reported that the philosopher Favorinus said:

*...plura ... sunt in sensibus oculorum quam in verbis vocibusque colorum discrimina. Nam, ut alias eorum inconcinnitates omittamus, simplices isti rufus et viridis colores singula quidam vocabula, multas autem species differentis habent. Atque eam vocum inopiam in lingua magis Latina video quam in Graeca. Quippe qui 'rufus' color a rubore quidem appellatus est, sed cum aliter rubeat ignis, aliter sanguis, aliter ostrum, aliter crocum, aliter aurum, has singulas rufi varietates Latina oratio singulis propriisque vocabulis non demonstrat omniaque ista significat una 'roboris' appellatione, nisi cum ex ipsis rebus vocabula colorum mutuatur et 'igneum' aliquid dicit et 'flammeum' et 'sanguineum' et 'croceum' et 'ostrinum' et 'aureum.'*

“More distinctions of colour are detected by the eye than are expressed by words and terms. For leaving out of account other incongruities, your simple colours, red (*rufus*) and green (*viridis*), have single names, but many different shades. And that poverty in names I find more pronounced in Latin than in Greek. For the colour red (*rufus*) does in fact get its name from redness, but although fire is one kind of red, blood another, purple another, saffron another, and gold still another, yet the Latin tongue does not indicate these special

varieties of red by separate and individual words, but includes them all under the one term *rubor*, except in so far as it borrows names from the things themselves, and calls anything ‘fiery,’ ‘flaming,’ ‘blood-red,’ ‘saffron,’ ‘purple,’ and ‘golden.’”

(Rolfe 1927: 210-13)

BCTs, then, might be thought of as the principal conceptual borderlines drawn on the color wheel by speakers of different languages.

Berlin and Kay suggested, with reference to the basic color terms found in the 98 languages studied for their 1969 book, that human languages have a restricted number of possible inventories of basic color terms, and that inventories of fewer basic color terms will have more predictable constituents. Based on this synchronic pattern, they posited that languages diachronically acquire distinctions among basic color categories in a predictable, universal, cumulative order (Berlin and Kay 1969: 1-5). According to the theory as articulated in 1969, all languages possess at least two basic color categories, whose foci will be near that of English *black* and *white* respectively: a language with only these two BCTs is said to be at Stage I.<sup>1</sup> If a language has a third basic color category (but no more than three), the term for that third category will be near in focus to English *red*; this is Stage II.<sup>2</sup> If a fourth BCT is present (but no more than four), that fourth term’s focus will correspond to English *yellow* or *green*; if green is the focus of this color term, then this is called Stage IIIa, and if yellow, it is called Stage IIIb. If a fifth BCT is present (but no more than five), that fifth term will correspond to English *yellow* or *green*, whichever was not present at the four-color stage; this is Stage IV. If a sixth BCT is present (but no more than six), that sixth term will correspond to English *blue*; this is Stage V. If a seventh BCT is present (but not more than seven), that seventh term will answer to English

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<sup>1</sup> No language has been reliably reported to have fewer than three BCTs (Robertson et al. 2000: 370,

<sup>2</sup> Note that of all colors, *red* is remarkably frequently focused on roughly the same target or “best example” cross-linguistically. “In terms of marking theory red is the unmarked pole of the hue dimension while yellow, green, and blue are marked. ... Red is unmarked (i.e., especially salient) vis-a-vis the other natural categories.” (Witkowski and Brown 1977: 53).

*brown*; this is Stage VI. For a language containing eight to eleven BCTs, the four remaining colors (corresponding to English *gray*, *pink*, *purple*, and *orange*) will enter in an unpredictable order – as soon as at least one of these BCTs has emerged, the language is said to be at Stage VII; however the data accumulated by Berlin and Kay (1969: 15) suggested that a language which had acquired one of these Stage VII color categories would be likely to have acquired all four.<sup>3</sup>

The sequence of color term development articulated by Berlin and Kay in 1969 may be represented schematically as follows:

| Stage: I | > | II    | > | III (a or b) | > | IV     | > | V      | > | VI     | > | VII                |
|----------|---|-------|---|--------------|---|--------|---|--------|---|--------|---|--------------------|
| black    |   | black |   | black        |   | black  |   | black  |   | black  |   | black              |
| white    |   | white |   | white        |   | white  |   | white  |   | white  |   | white              |
|          |   | red   |   | red          |   | red    |   | red    |   | red    |   | red                |
|          |   |       |   | green        |   | green  |   | green  |   | green  |   | green              |
|          |   |       |   |              |   | yellow |   | yellow |   | yellow |   | yellow             |
|          |   |       |   |              |   |        |   | blue   |   | blue   |   | blue               |
|          |   |       |   |              |   |        |   |        |   | brown  |   | brown <sup>4</sup> |

Note that the color categories labeled by basic color terms refer to the “focus” or “best example” of a color term, and not necessarily to wider extensions of that term to less optimal examples, and this is a point often missed both by supporters and critics (see Berlin and Kay 1969: 13, Kay and Maffi 1999 *passim*, for the prime importance of BCTs' focal points of reference). While a language at any given stage will not necessarily focus its basic color categories on quite the same part of the spectrum as another language at a comparable stage focuses its most nearly equivalent color terms (for instance, the focus of the *blue*-like term is

<sup>3</sup> Berlin and Kay (1969: 15) were not convinced that BCTs can be lost over time, although at least one later study (Kristol 1980) suggests that this does occur. Their 1969 sequence also should not be taken as prohibiting more than 11 BCTs (as Hickerson 1971: 267-8 suggests), since Berlin and Kay (1969: 35-6, 99) acknowledge that Hungarian and Russian, for example, may have 12 BCTs (though in Corbett and Davies 1997 it is argued that Russian has only 7). Another language that may have 12 BCTs is Serbo-Croatian (Anderson 2003: 64).

<sup>4</sup> At Stage VII, a language would develop one or more of the following terms, in addition to those already determined at Stage VI, in no particular predictable order: *gray*, *purple*, *pink*, *orange*.

more or less saturated in different languages which nevertheless group the spectrum fairly similarly, cf. Turton 1980: 331), on the whole, the foci of color categories are quite similar cross-linguistically, suggesting that they are probably motivated by common physiological factors in the human perception of color (see MacLaury 1992: 137, and references cited there).

The theory outlined in Berlin and Kay's 1969 study met with mixed reviews. There were notably positive reviews (e.g. Merrifield 1971) as well as balanced reviews which acknowledged the study's groundbreaking attempt to systematize the research of color terms in human language, while regretting its methodological shortcomings (e.g. "The book might be compared to a voyage of discovery, whose success is all the more striking in view of the poor charts and crude instruments used by the navigators," Turton 1980:323). Some reviews, most notably Nancy Hickerson's review (1971), were unreservedly critical, and drew attention to, for example, the bilingualism of Berlin and Kay's informants, most of whom lived in the San Francisco area. Hickerson pointed to Susan Ervin's paper "Semantic Shift in Bilingualism" (1961: 240) as evidence that the color-naming semantics of both languages used by bilinguals shift in predictable ways toward one another, and in this way bilinguals might permanently obscure the usual scheme of color categorization of both of their languages and therefore become unreliable informants about the color organization of either language. Berlin and Kay, perhaps anticipating this criticism, had insisted that "inter-individual differences in a given language are as great as inter-language differences" (1969: 12) and that it was "hard to believe that English could so consistently influence the placement of the foci in these diverse languages" (Ibid.), though Hickerson also took issue with their failure to report on the extent of the informants' bilingualism or indeed to report any significant information about their informants (Hickerson 1971: 258).

Hickerson also drew attention to the outdated reference material, particularly old dictionaries, that Berlin and Kay used for their lists of color terms (1971: 263, 264 n.19). This was a point later taken up by Saunders (1992: 45) as well, who cited the specific example of Navajo, where Berlin and Kay referred to materials from 1910 when at least two superior reference works less than ten years old were available in 1969. Hickerson also criticized “numerous... instances of apparent capriciousness in the application of these criteria [for determining basic color term status]” (1971: 266). Furthermore, she found fault with their occasional “corrective interpretation” (1971: 267) of a language’s color terms to make the language’s color term system conform more closely with Berlin and Kay’s emerging theory; for instance, Berlin and Kay stated, referring to their informant for the Shona language, that “Goldberg fails to report a term for white although one undoubtedly exists” (1969: 80).

In “Colour and Colour Terminology” (1972), N. B. McNeill charged that Berlin and Kay’s universal categories of color were actually artifacts of the worldwide distribution of artificial dyes in the post-industrial age (Ibid.: 31-32). She wrote that “abstract colour terms are influenced by the availability of concrete sources” (Ibid.: 32). For example, the preindustrial categories of color in the Navajo language reflected the need to categorize different ritual substances by their color, so that the unique Navajo basic color terms were a reflection of uniquely Navajo circumstances, i.e. the materials available to the Navajo and their ritual significance in Navajo culture (Ibid.: 23).

Heider (1972: 464) emphasized the importance of acknowledging synchronic variation in the color terms used by a given population of speakers of a given language, especially when speakers of the language in question were in close and frequent contact with speakers of another. Berlin and Berlin (1975) later acknowledged the ability of a neighboring language’s color term

system to engender synchronic variation (and therefore eventually diachronic change) in another language's color term system, but this study suggested that, based on field work with Aguaruna and other native Central American languages, "the modification appears to be highly regular in that the acquisition of new terms is precisely that predicted in the Berlin and Kay sequence for the diachronic addition of basic color terms" (Berlin and Berlin 1975: 81).

Many of the criticisms that scholars directed at Berlin and Kay 1969 are rectified in the data-gathering techniques used in Kay's World Color Survey, which is the direct source of the revised order of the historical development of BCTs presented in Kay et al. (1997) and Kay and Maffi (2009).

The theorized historical order for the acquisition of BCTs has been changed in the following ways since the publication of Berlin and Kay (1969). Berlin and Berlin (1975) introduced the notion that the first stage of BCT development was not simply a contrast between *black* vs. *white*, but rather a contrast between "light-warm vs. dark-cool" (Berlin and Berlin 1975: 81), positing now that "not until Stage V are BLACK and WHITE<sup>5</sup> fully reduced to *black* and *white*" (*Ibid.*: 84). This model rearticulated the evolution of basic color terms as a gradual break-up of an original binary opposition of *dark/cool/short-wavelength* vs. *light/warm/long-wavelength* (and even Stage II, with the emergence of *red*, could be seen as the introduction of a second binary opposition within the *light/warm* category – that is, one of *light* vs. *warm*; cf. Witkowski and Brown 1977: 55). Kay and McDaniel (1978) offered further arguments for this model on the basis of research into the physical mechanics of the human perception of color. The evolution of basic color terms could now be schematically represented as below (following

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<sup>5</sup> Kay and associated scholars use ModEng color names in all caps to indicate a color category focused near the ModEng color so indicated, without reference to the range of color experiences included in that color category in any given language.

Berlin and Berlin 1975: 84):

| Stage: I       | > | II            | > | III (a or b)               | > | IV                     | > | V                      | > | VI                              | VII                                          |
|----------------|---|---------------|---|----------------------------|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| dark/<br>cool  | > | dark/<br>cool | > | black<br>grue <sup>6</sup> | > | black<br>grue          | > | black<br>blue<br>green | > | black<br>blue<br>green          | black<br>blue<br>green                       |
| light/<br>warm | > | white<br>red  | > | white<br>red               | > | white<br>yellow<br>red | > | white<br>yellow<br>red | > | white<br>yellow<br>red<br>brown | white<br>yellow<br>red<br>brown <sup>7</sup> |

Paul Kay later refined this model further. Kay (1975: 261) declared *gray* a “wild card” color (that is, capable of appearing at any stage later than Stage III), which he had considered but avoided declaring six years earlier (Berlin and Kay 1969: 45). In response to new evidence from the World Color Survey, he argued twenty years later that both *brown* and *purple* were also “wild cards” and that “either brown or purple or both not infrequently appear before the green/blue composite is dissolved” (Kay et al. 1997: 23).

Influenced by an alternative model outlined in Witkowski and Brown (1977), as well as the data gathered by Kay's World Color Survey, which used only monolingual informants for the languages in question and preferentially sought out languages least affected by modern western contact, a new scheme (following Kay et al. 1997, Kay and Maffi 1999) for the first three stages of the evolution of BCTs has been advanced by Kay et al. since the late 1990s. This is a gradual break-up of a Stage I system that distinguishes only light/warm vs. dark/cool into a Stage V with at least six BCTs (*black, blue, green, red, white, and yellow* – the so-called Hering primaries – plus any of the three “wild cards,” *brown, gray, or purple*, developed along the way and/or additional BCTs developed later). Stages I and II are uniform (slashes join colors that fall into compositional color categories together, e.g. “red/yellow” is a color term that refers both to

<sup>6</sup> “Grue” is a term used for a cool color whose field of reference includes both blue and green.

<sup>7</sup> At Stage VII terms for *purple, pink, orange, and gray* would emerge in no particular order.

colors that in English would be called “red” and to those that would be called “yellow”):

Stage I:                    I  
light/warm (white/red/yellow)  
dark/cool (black/green/blue)

Stage II:                    II  
white  
red/yellow  
black/green/blue

However, the intermediate stages III and IV, during which these earlier compositional color categories break down into systems with four and then five BCTs, allow much more variety than in earlier models. The following diagrams demonstrate the attested variants of Stages III and IV, leading finally to the uniform Stage V.<sup>8</sup> Note that *gray* and *brown* may emerge at any point in this sequence after Stage I.:

|                        |                                                                             |                                                                                |                                                                           |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Variants of Stage III: | <u>III<sub>G/Bu</sub></u><br>white<br>red/yellow<br><br>green/blue<br>black | <u>III<sub>Bk/G/Bu</sub></u><br>white<br>red<br>yellow<br><br>black/green/blue | <u>III<sub>Y/G/Bu</sub></u><br>white<br>red<br>yellow/green/blue<br>black |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|

|                       |                                                                            |                                                                           |                                                                          |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Variants of Stage IV: | <u>IV<sub>Bk/Bu</sub></u><br>white<br>red<br>yellow<br>green<br>black/blue | <u>IV<sub>G/Bu</sub></u><br>white<br>red<br>yellow<br>green/blue<br>black | <u>IV<sub>Y/G</sub></u><br>white<br>red<br>yellow/green<br>blue<br>black |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Stage V:                    V  
white  
red  
yellow  
green  
blue

<sup>8</sup> Following Kay et al., “Color Naming,” 31-3. The abbreviations of basic color terms that appear in the names of the variants of Stages III and IV are standard in the work of Paul Kay and associated scholars: Bk (*Black*), Bu (*Blue*), G (*Green*), R (*Red*), W (*White*), Y (*Yellow*). “Stage III<sub>G/Bu</sub>” is then to be read as the variant of Stage III wherein green and blue are not distinguished.

black

While all the attested color systems of the world's languages that have thus far been studied have led Kay et al. to postulate that a language will distinguish between *red* and *yellow* if it distinguishes between *blue* and *green*, this is not obviously the case in OVN, where there is no confusion between *blue* and *green* but frequent confusion between *red* and *yellow* (from the perspective of a speaker of ModEng – for instance in the description of gold and the sun as red). However, the theory does allow for the possible existence of e.g. Stage IV<sub>R/Y</sub>, should such a color system be demonstrated to exist.

## II. B. Refining the Definition of a Basic Color Term

T. D. Crawford (1982: 342) offered a succinct restatement of Berlin and Kay's criteria for a BCT, using exclusively semantic criteria to define what he insisted was an exclusively semantic concept: "A basic color term occurs in the idiolects of all informants. It has stability of reference across informants and across occasions of use. Its signification is not included in that of any other color term. Its application is not restricted to a narrow class of objects." However, it is not clear that Berlin and Kay's non-semantic criteria are without merit for evaluating the basic status of color terms; in particular, the criterion that all BCTs be amenable to the same distribution in derivative and compound formations may be important in demonstrating the psychological salience of these terms.

Another point which Crawford makes in refining Berlin and Kay's criteria was that "color terms often acquire in certain fixed collocations a range which goes beyond that which they more generally possess" (1982: 339), or in other words, these terms may be used to *classify* rather than to *describe* color (Biggam 2012: 38). For instance, white and black coffee are not white and black, and neither are white and red wine white and red, by the standards of the usual semantic

range which the terms *black*, *white*, and *red* have in English (and compare the use of white and black for white and red wine, respectively, in Serbo-Croatian). But if basic color terms that develop earlier are more psychologically salient (as suggested in Witkowski and Brown 1977: 55-56), it also appears that speakers often turn to an opposition of two of these more psychologically salient color terms in setting up binary oppositions of referents distinguished chiefly by their color. Context, then, and especially the possible field of contrastable referents, affects the color term that will be employed for a given referent; white wine is being contrasted with a limited number of related items, and in that context, as the item with less saturated hue, it is “white” (Biggam 1997: 20). In such contexts, with a limited set of contrasted referents, it appears that speakers often resort to *black*, *white*, and *red*, which are not only assumed to be among the earliest color terms to be distinguished, but are probably especially psychologically salient or “marked” in human perception of color (Conklin 1973: 939). This phenomenon is known as “type-modification,” and is especially common in making distinctions with high economic or social value encoded in them (Biggam 2012: 210). The possibility of type-modification in OWN is discussed below (Ch. 3, § I. A. 14).

Roger W. Wescott has suggested that psychological salience should be the most important criterion for the basicness of a color term, and that, this being the case, ModEng and most other languages may really only have three BCTs: *black*, *white*, and *red* (Wescott 1992: 173, comment on MacLaury 1992; cf. also Wescott 1970 for comparison with other languages). It is notable that, in indigenous North American languages, the equivalents of *black*, *white*, and *red* comprise fully 78% of all colors which occur in any set of two contrasted colors (DeBoer 2005: 73). And within English, these three color terms are also morphologically distinct from other color terms, being the only ones to which the inchoative suffix *-en* may attach: *blacken*, *redde*n, *whiten*, while

*\*greenen*, *\*pinken*, *\*bluen*, etc. are not attested, at least not in ordinary speech or writing (Biggam 2012: 30). Therefore it may not be unthinkable to suggest that these three colors are in fact “more basic” than any others in the color classification system of English and many other languages.

In her monographs (1997, 1998) on the colors blue and gray in Old English, Carol Biggam adapted Crawford’s modification of Berlin and Kay’s criteria to the study of languages for which living informants are lacking. Considering that the “informants” for a medieval language comprise only those texts that have happened to survive to the present day, Biggam modified the criterion of stability of reference among different informants into the criterion of stability of reference among different genres of text which were written for different purposes (Biggam 1997: 88). Her revised criteria for determining the BCTs of an extinct language, as presented exhaustively in Biggam 2012, are those which I follow in determining the BCTs of OWN in Ch. 3, below.

### III. A. Corpus

The corpus of OWN texts used for this study includes all occurrences of color terms in eddic poetry (ed. Neckel and Kuhn 1983), skaldic poetry (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1912-15), the *Edda* of Snorri Sturluson (ed. Anthony Faulkes 1982-98), sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders (from the editions in the *Íslenzk fornrit* series<sup>9</sup>), *Heimskringla* (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1979), the OWN translations of *Physiologus* (ed. Halldór Hermannsson 1938), *Elucidarius* (ed. Firchow and Grimstad 1989), and the various texts in *Hauksbók*, where not redundant with texts in other editions above (ed. Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892-96). Pages and line numbers cited

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<sup>9</sup> Ed. Björn Sigfússon 1950, Björn Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson 1943, Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1934, 1939, 1954, Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson 1935, Guðni Jónsson 1936, Jakob Benediktsson 1968, Jóhannes Halldórsson 1959, Jón Jóhannesson 1950, Jónas Kristjánsson 1956, Sigurður Nordal 1933, Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson 1938, Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsen 1991.

in connection with color term occurrences, given in the format page.line (e.g. 123.45 – the 45th line on page 123), refer to these editions; the title of the edition may be abbreviated in the form indicated in Appendix 1.

#### IV. A. Special Concerns with Poetry

*The truth is not merely that the poet tends to blur distinctions between related shades; that happens in colloquial speech. But the poet is prepared deliberately to employ colour terms which are not natural in order to heighten the dramatic or pictorial effect of his description. When Tennyson speaks of 'pilots of the purple twi-light', the adjective is intended to suggest something strange and remote from the familiar world.*

(Laughton 1951: 203).

Many of our sources for OVN are poetic, and poetic materials pose special problems to research in semantics. Poetic language is subject to certain constraints, even as poetry frequently evokes unusual collocations and images merely for effect.

OVN skaldic poetry is particularly subject to aesthetic constraints, since skaldic poems must demonstrate a regular alternation of alliteration, *aðalhending* (full rhyme) and *skothending* (consonant-rhyme). Skaldic poets (and to a lesser extent other poets working in OVN) frequently fulfilled these requirements through the use of unusual language, including *kennings* (unusual metaphoric names, such as “sea-steed” for a ship) and *heiti* (rare, allusive names, especially for gods and heroes).

Because of the restrictive nature of poetic language, prose occurrences of a given color term are prioritized over poetic occurrences, though poetic occurrences of a term are assumed to have more weight than they otherwise would if the term in question does not alliterate or rhyme (either in *skothending* or *aðalhending*) with other words in the poem.

## Chapter 2: Individual Color and Color-Like Terms in Old West Norse

### I. Introductory Remarks

In this chapter, the color terms (and the most important of the “near-color terms” which frequently occur in association with color terms, see Ch. 1, § I.A.) of OWN are reviewed vis-à-vis their referents for evidence about which may be BCTs. The data and preliminary conclusions reached in this chapter are further digested in Ch. 3, in which I determine the BCTs of OWN based on the criteria outlined in Biggam 2012.

Previous studies on OWN color terms have been of a different nature. Arthur Lawrenson's 1882 article “The Colour Sense in the Edda,” which studies the referents of the color terms in the *Poetic Edda*, attempts to demonstrate the relative position of OWN in W. E. Gladstone's proposed sequence for the evolution of color terms (particularly by comparison with the color terms attested in the Greek of Homer and the New Testament, which were studied by Gladstone). This study, however, has become outdated in its information, both about OWN language and literature, and about theories of the historical development of color terms.

More recently, Kirsten Wolf has published a series of articles investigating the color terms of OWN, specifically the colors blue (Wolf 2006a), gray (Wolf 2009), green and yellow (Wolf 2010), as well as a forthcoming article on brown, and two articles with a theoretical slant, one on determining the BCTs of OWN (Wolf 2006b) and another on the quantification of BCTs in the sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders (Wolf 2013). These articles make reference to the modern theories of the evolution of BCTs developed by Paul Kay and associated scholars, and study the referents of these selected color terms thoroughly, while showing more interest in their use in literature than this study. Wolf also makes use of an older model of Berlin and Kay's theory of color term development (Berlin and Kay 1969), which affects the applicability of her interpretations.

Another recent study, by Georg C. Brückmann (2012), shows little overlap with my own, being concerned with the semantics of OVN color terms but not with their conceptual organization. Brückmann's study takes as its basis the slips of the ONP, and assumes the same BCTs for OVN as outlined in Wolf 2006b, before exploring the literal and symbolic uses of each color, as far as these can be deduced from their appearances in these slips. As such, Brückmann's study and mine show some intersection of interests, such as in determining the difference between *blár* and *svartr* in the OVN period, but our basic fields of inquiry are different – Brückmann seeks primarily to make a contribution to the study of OVN literature (see e.g. Brückmann 2012: 97), while I seek to make a contribution primarily to the field of Germanic linguistics, and only secondarily to the interpretation of OVN literary artifacts.

## II. General Remarks on Color Terms in OVN Literature

### II. A. Infrequency of Color Terms in OVN Literature

It has been observed that, in the literature of OVN's better-studied relative Old English (OE), color terms occur more sparsely than in the literature of most modern western languages (see e.g. Barnes 1960: 510). The same is true for OVN literature, but “when it rains, it pours.” Color terms tend to occur together, even when speaking of different referents – if a writer is describing the color of someone's clothes, he may stop to describe the color of someone else's hair and someone else's shield, before spending the next ten chapters without a mention of any color term at all. An example of this phenomenon, taken from *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13 (my translation, color terms underlined), is:

Þorleifr keypti þann hest er hann fekk beztan. Hann hafði ok steindan sǫðul allglæsiligan. Hann hafði búit sverð ok gullrekit spjót, myrkblán skjöld ok mjök gylltan, vönduð ǫll klæði. Hann hafði þar ok til varit mjök ǫllum sínum fararefnum. En Snorri var í svartri kápu ok reið svörtu merhrossi góðu.

Thorleif had bought the best horse he could get, which had an attractively stained saddle,

and a glittering and attractively ornamented sword, and a gold-inlaid spear, and his shield was dark blue and gilded; and all his clothes were well made. He had spent most of his money on these things. Snorri was wearing a black cape, and rode a black mare, a good horse.

## II. B. The Term *Litr* “Color” Itself

OWN categorized hue as well as other visual sensations under the term *litr*.<sup>10</sup> While I suspect that the semantic category of color is not universal (agreeing with Kuschel and Monberg 1974: 218), I do suspect that the term *litr* was in fact capable of expressing, and did commonly express, the categorical meaning “color,” even while maintaining other meanings not necessarily restricted to color.

A few examples of the non-color use of *litr* may serve to illustrate the caution that is due when dealing with this term, though its non-color uses seem particularly common in Eddic poetry and later prose sources based thereon (such as *Völsunga saga*). In both *Grípisspá* (a poem from the *Poetic Edda*) and *Völsunga saga*, the heroes Sigurðr and Gunnarr each trade their own *litr* with one another; that is, they trade appearance, so as to deceive the valkyrie Brynhildr. In another Eddic poem, *Völuspá*, the original human beings Ask and Embla lack *litu góða* (good looks, st. 18) till the god Lóðurr bestows these upon them. *Litr* is also used in the specialized sense of “the transition from night to day, daybreak,” both in poetry and prose (e.g. at Edd.Am.251.21, ÍF IV.215.11, ÍF XI.255.25, ÍF XI.293.22).

However, that the term *litr* is capable of expressing the meaning “color” specifically can be inferred from the existence of the term *litlauss* (ÍF VI.274.07) – “colorless” being a far more decipherable meaning than “appearance-less” – and from the description of certain adjectives with clearly color-based meanings as *litir* – including *rauðr* (four times), *bleikr* (once), *hvítr* (once), and *svartr* (once).

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. the OE cognate *wlite* “face, appearance, beauty.”

A frequent term in the OWN texts excerpted is *litklæði*, lit. “color clothes.” As Valtýr Guðmundsson (1893: 171) points out, such clothes are frequently the property of men in sagas who are very well off, and especially of those who have returned recently from time spent profitably overseas; indeed, being clad in such clothes is sufficient as an early signal that a saga character is a wealthy man (*Ibid.*: 172). The term apparently refers to clothes that have been artificially colored (*Ibid.*: 175), and is used explicitly in connection with the colors *rauðr* and *blár* in clothing (*Ibid.*: 180-181).

## II. C. The Color Vocabulary of Old West Norse as Compared to Other Old Germanic Languages

The color vocabularies and color categorization schemas of other old Gmc languages, such as OE and OHG, may not be illustrative of the situation in OWN. All emerged from an unattested (or barely attested, if we count some very old runic inscriptions) ancestral PGmc language, which did not bequeath all its vocabulary evenly to each. In particular, NGmc, of which OWN is a development, is often lexically conservative by comparison to the preserved languages of the WGmc and EGmc branches.

A case in point is OWN *dǫkk* “dark,” not a color term, but a closely allied term. The term has no cognates in other Gmc languages, but may be descended from a common PIE root as it is potentially cognate with Hitt. *\*dankui-* “black, dark” (Heidermanns 1993: 146). Similarly, PGmc *\*gelwaz* forms color terms for “yellow” in WGmc (Eng *yellow*, German *gelb*), but is absent from NGmc (although Kroonen 2013: 174 has suggested that *\*gelwaz* and the etonym for *gulr* were ablauting variants of a single color adjective in PGmc, see **Etymology** under *gulr*, below).

Untold numbers of other lexical items may have existed in PGmc (or PIE, or any other unattested stage of the language's development) without being passed into any descendent

languages, and it is probable that none of the attested descendants witnesses the exact situation of color-concept organization in PGmc. It is probably true that languages can lose color terms over time (Kristol 1980), and it is certainly the case that color term categories, even if not lost, may not be expressed by cognate terms in related languages (as in e.g. ModEng *black* vs. ModNorw *svart*).

## II. D. Format of Color Term Entries

A corpus of color term occurrences was collected for the OWN language from the texts outlined in the previous chapter. These terms are reviewed, one by one in Icelandic alphabetical order, later in this chapter.

Each entry for a color term opens with a definition given to that term in 6 major dictionaries of OWN (if applicable; not all dictionaries list all terms):

|                       |                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| “Fritzner” :          | <i>Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog</i> (Fritzner 1867, supplement by Hødnebo 1973)                            |
| “Cleasby-Vigfússon” : | <i>An Icelandic-English Dictionary</i> (Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874, supplement by Craigie 1957)       |
| “Hægstad-Torp” :      | <i>Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tyding</i> (Hægstad and Torp 1909)                                              |
| “Lexicon Poeticum” :  | <i>Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis</i> (Finnur Jónsson 1931)                                    |
| “ONP” :               | <i>Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog</i> (currently in preparation in Copenhagen by the Arnamagnean Commission) |

Note that these excerpts will not necessarily reflect the entire entry given to the adjective in these dictionaries, but represent selective excerpting of a definition from amid other information such as examples, etymologies, etc. The purpose of this is only to establish a general impression of the scholarly consensus (or lack thereof, cf. *ámur* and *blakkr*) about the meaning of these terms. For access to the entire entry, the dictionary in question should be consulted.

Following these definitions are definitions of the OWN adjective’s descendent adjectives

(where available or extant) in Faroese, Icelandic, Norn, and Norwegian. The same selective excerpting as practiced for the OWN definitions is employed here; the presentation of these descendent terms is meant only as a baseline from which to view the potential meaning of the OWN term, which should be reflected to some greater or lesser degree in the meaning of its cognates in the descendent languages. The dictionaries whose entries are represented are:

|             |                                                                                    |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| “Faroese” : | <i>Færøysk-norsk ordbok</i> (Lehmann 1987)                                         |
| “ModIce” :  | <i>Íslensk orðabók</i> (ed. Mörrður Árnason et al., 2007)                          |
| “ModNorw” : | <i>Nynorskordboka</i> (ed. Worren et al., 4th ed. 2006)                            |
| “Norn” :    | <i>An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland</i> (Jakobsen 1928) |

Following these definitions is a list and discussion of the referents for which the color or near-color term in question is used in the OWN texts excerpted. These are grouped into categories of similar objects, e.g. “domestic animals” and “clothing and textiles.” Not all occurrences are listed for those referents which are either impossible to observe (e.g. mythological or extinct), or whose color is so common or stereotyped that the color intended may very securely be dismissed as given (the color of blood, for example, requires no comment, especially in the martial context in which it is usually discussed in the OWN texts available to us). Most of the latter such referents (e.g. blood and snow) are so abundantly mentioned in the texts that a complete list of their occurrences must be sought in the appendix, to avoid unnecessarily massive duplication of text.

These occurrences may be tracked down through Appendix 2, which lists each of the color term occurrences in my OWN corpus, and indicates the source of each occurrence with the abbreviations listed in Appendix 1 (occurrences in skaldic poetry are indicated first by their location in Finnur Jónsson's *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*). Occurrences of the same simple color term (noncompounded and non-derived) along with compounds and derivations

formed with it, are treated in different subsections of Chapter 2. Page and line numbers for color term occurrences are listed as they appear in the editions cited in the bibliography (a heading of any kind counts as a line of text, unless this contradicts line numbers as explicitly specified in the relevant edition). Toponyms (e.g. *Hvítá* “White River” in Iceland) or personal names and bynames that include a color term (e.g. *Eiríkr enn rauði*, “Erik the Red”), when counted as independent attestations of a color term, are counted as one occurrence, regardless of how many times the place or person may be mentioned (though different persons or places having the same name are counted separately, insofar as this can be determined – e.g. there have been multiple rivers with the name *Hvítá* in Iceland, each presumably given the name “White River” independently of the others).

Occurrences of color terms which offer no physical referent whose color can be verified, and which therefore are excluded from consideration:

1. Occurrences of color terms in personal names and bynames – e.g. *Eiríkr enn rauði* “Eiríkr the Red,” *Þorsteinn hvíti* “Þorsteinn the White,” *Hvítserkr* (lit. “white shirt,” but the personal name of one of the Ragnarssynir). An exception to this is made when the color term in a person’s byname explicitly refers to a particular body part or attribute which has that color.

2. Place names are excluded if the place is outside Scandinavia, where typically the OWN toponyms will only be translations of their Latin equivalents – e.g. *rauða hafit*, “the Red Sea,” whose name does not reflect an OWN speaker’s judgment on that sea’s color. However, these occurrences may be considered in light of what they tell us about which color terms in OWN translated which color terms in other languages (typically Latin).

3. References to mythical or fantastic creatures and peoples, or creatures and individuals recorded as having been seen in dreams, are not included except (rarely) with cautionary notes,

because if the color of a supernatural item or creature is commented upon, this seems to imply that by definition this color is outside the range of the normal and natural for objects of the referent's class. For instance, the geographical treatise *Heimslýsing ok Helgifróði* includes comments on the colors of several fantastical beings, including Albanians, who are purportedly born “white as snow in both hair and skin” and have “yellow eyes” (Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892-96: 166). As it is improbable that this reflects the color of an actual Albanian who can be observed, such occurrences are ignored. However, if the color of a mythological referent is compared to the color of an actual object (for instance, if a mythological creature is called “white as snow”), then that occurrence is taken into consideration, but only as information about the color of the referent “snow.”

Additionally, one referent is, from time to time, said to be colored by another; this is particularly true with the verb *rjóða* “to redden” and its past participle *roðinn*, which typically indicate something which has been reddened by blood, e.g. *strete oll ero roðen bloðe heilagra manna* “all the streets are reddened with the blood of holy men” (Eiríkur Jónsson and Finnur Jónsson 1892-96: 176). In such instances, the color term is assigned to the coloring referent (e.g. blood) and not to the referent colored thereby (e.g. streets, weapons, since the color in question is not a natural property thereof).

The appendix also contains a list of the collocations and referents for all occurrences of color terms in my corpus of OWN.

The appendix also specifies those occurrences wherein a color term alliterates or rhymes with another word in poetry, on the assumption that the color term might have been chosen on the basis of poetic concerns rather than for its meaning.

The next section of an entry for an individual color term is a discussion of the etymology

of the term in question, where possible including IE roots. The IE root (where applicable or known) is given as presented in Mallory and Adams 2006, but the form as presented in Pokorny's *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* is also given. The cognates from non-Gmc languages are largely derived from these sources and the glosses that are provided are derived from theirs. The abbreviations used for language names are found in Appendix 1.

The last section of each color term entry is a discussion of the term's probable meaning, based on the referents for which it is used in OWN texts, the meaning of its cognates in related languages, and where possible, other information. Of particular interest is the question of whether the term could potentially qualify as a BCT.

### **III. The Color (or Color-Like) Terms of OWN and their Ranges of Reference**

I have examined all occurrences of color terms and sundry adjectives frequently associated with color terms (such as *fagr*, *døkk*, and *ljóss*), whether as a simplex or as part of a compound, in the corpus of OWN texts excerpted for this study (see Chapter 1 for a list of these texts, and Appendix 1 for the abbreviations used to represent and cite them).

Note that when I am not directly citing an OWN text, or when I am speaking of an OWN color term as an abstraction, I use the “dictionary form” (i.e. masc. nom. sg.) of the color adjective in question. The choice of a non-inflected form of the adjective is to prevent distracting variation in the form of the adjective for readers who may not be fully familiar with OWN adjectival inflection. In many cases I use the OWN color term, rather than a seemingly equivalent ModEng color term (e.g. “the horses were said to be *hvítir*” rather than “said to be *white*”), in order to avoid prejudging the situation and begging the question.

All statistics cited are rounded to the second decimal point.

#### **III. A. *Ámr***

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “seems to mean black or loathsome”

Fritzner: (no entry)

Hægstad-Torp: “rustraud (ags. *óm*, rust)”

Lexicon Poeticum: “mørk, mørkladen”

ONP: (no entry; occurs only in poetry)

Faroese: (no apparent descendent term)

ModIce: “dökkur”

ModNorw: (no apparent descendent term)

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

### **III. A. 1. Occurrences of *ámr***

See Appendix 2.

#### **III. A. 1. a. Occurrences of *ámr* in compounds**

See Appendix 2.

### **III. A. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Ámr***

#### **III. A. 2. a. HUMANS**

A woman is deprecatingly called *ámr* at FJ.A1.208/ÍF III.290.07. It is unclear what part of her, or what aspect of her appearance, this refers to.

### **III. A. 3. Discussion: *Ámr***

#### **III. A. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Ámr***

*Ámr* is probably related to *áma*, a larva, and may mean something closer to “dirty” or “earthen” than Cleasby-Vigfússon’s “black or loathsome.” De Vries (1962: 8) suggests an etymological relationship with OE *ōm* (rust), which is also supported by Hægstad-Torp in their entry for the term.

#### **III. A. 3. b. Conclusions: *Ámr***

*Ámr* appears to be a marginal (and poetic) lexical item, of uncertain meaning, though it probably has at least an association with the black end of the color spectrum (considering the toponym *Ámsvartnir* at Gylf. 28.19). In the texts examined for this study, the term only occurs

once in adjectival use (for a woman described deprecatingly as *ámr*, at FJ.A1.208/ÍF

III.290.07): otherwise it occurs exclusively in names of giants and the previously mentioned toponym *Ámsvartnir*. The term is too infrequent and too marginal to warrant consideration as a basic color term, and may in fact not be a color term.

### III. B. *Bjartr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “bright”

Fritzner: “skinnende, blank, klar, lys af Farve”

Hægstad-Torp: “bjartklaar, skinande, lysande”

Lexicon Poeticum: “lys, strålende ... -om personer, især kvinder, og betegner da deres lyse ansigtsfarve og måske tillige det lyse hår”

ONP: “**1.** klar, lys, skinnende, **2.** (om metal/våben) skinnende, blank, **3.** (om farve) lys, hvid, strålende, **4.** (spec. om person) lys, lysende, forklaret, **5.** (spec. om lig), **6.** (spec. om overnaturligt væsen), **7.** (om stemme) klar, tydelig, **8.** (om syn) klar, klartseende, **9.** (om åndelige evner) klar, skarp, **10.** renfærdig, oprigtig, god, **11.** [e-m / fyrir e-m] indlysende, tydelig, sikker; *ljósi bjartara* (n. sg. & n. sg. = adv.) lysende klart, helt tydeligt, fuldstændig sikkert, **12.** (om tegn/under) lysende, klar, åbenlys, **13.** prægtig, strålende”

Faroese (*bjartur*): “bjart, ljós, klár”

ModIce (*bjartur*): “skínandi, ljós, skær”

ModNorw (*bjart*): “lys, skinande, klar; blank”

Norn (*bjart*): “of the sky: *very cloudy (in cold, dry weather)*, esp. of a dark sky, overcast with storm-charged clouds” (!)

#### III. B. 1. Occurrences of *bjarttr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. B. 1. a. Occurrences of *bjarttr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. B. 2. Discussion of Referents: *bjarttr*

##### III. B. 2. a. HUMAN FACES

A person who appears *bjarttr* is, by association, attractive (in most of the following citations), or sometimes happy (as at FJ.A1.373/Heims. III.152.02).

A woman’s hands are *bjarttr* at Edd.Gör.III.233.13 and Gylf. 31.16.

At Edd.H.Hv.142.21, Edd.Akv.247.17, Edd.Am.249.20, Edd.Grp.166.14, Edd.Gðr.II.224.03, FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.291.13, women are described approvingly as *bjartr*.

At FJ.A2.455/ÍF XIV.072.04, Heims. III.203.9, and ÍF II.274.03, men are described as *bjartr*, which seems to be complimentary. A jarl's cheeks are *bjartr* at Edd.Rp.285.03.

In myth, the god Baldr is strikingly *bjartr* (Gylf. 23.16), and this is a proverbial indication of his attractiveness.

A woman is *gaglbjartr* (goose-bright) at Edd.Akv.246.21; the goose in this case may be meant as a poetic *heiti* for a swan (the term occurs in alliteration with another *g-*), thus associating the white hue and the concept of bright/reflective hues with attractiveness. A woman is *gullbjartr* (gold-bright) at Edd.Hrbl.083.16.

Njáll's corpse is inexplicably (perhaps supernaturally) *bjartr* at ÍF XII.343.07. St Óláfr's corpse is also *bjartr* (Heims. II.387.10). These are both preternaturally and stereotypically holy and righteous individuals.

### III. B. 2. b. METAL

Flashing weapons are *bjartr*; at Heims. III.378.3 an arrow is *bjartr*, at ÍF XI.286.32 an axe is. Swords are *bjartr* at FJ.A1.276/Heims. II.066.006, ÍF XIII.362.18, Skáld. 01.6, ÍF XIII.359.06, and ÍF IX.146.01.

The sword at ÍF IX.146.01 is *bjart sem silfr* (bright as silver), at ÍF XIII.359.06 the sword is *svá bjart sem sindra þótti af* (so bright that it seemed to spark). Chains are *bjartr* at FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.094.10. Gold is *bjartr* at Skáld. 40.39, Skáld. 41.8, a golden ring at FJ.A1.238/Heims. II.140.13. A helmet is *bjartr* at FJ.A1.259/Heims. II.379.09, mail at FJ.A1.156/Skáld. 68.21, FJ.A1.458/Skáld.086.08, FJ.A1.058/ÍF II.269.18, shields at FJ.A1.018/Skáld.032.25.

### III. B. 2. c. BLOOD

Blood is *bjartr* at FJ.A1.259/ Heims. II.367.21.

### III. B. 2. d. HUMAN HAIR

At Edd.Rp. 284.10, human eyebrows (of the noble Faðir) are *bjartr*. A woman's hair is *bjartr* at Edd.Grp. 169.11.

### III. B. 2. e. CLOTHING

Clothing is *bjartr* at Edd.Sg. 215.12.

### III. B. 2. f. HUMAN EYES

Human eyes are *bjartr* at FJ.A1. 080/ ÍF VIII.209.02 (an attractive woman's eyes), Heims. II.209.02 (eyes newly restored to sight after blindness).

### III. B. 2. g. FIRE

Fire is often described as *bjartr* (FJ.A1.391/Skáld.098.24, FJ.A1.336/Heims. III.040.04, FJ.A1.378/Heims. III.060.18, FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.093.15, Heims. III.215.24, ÍF IX.143.18, ÍF VI.070.17, ÍF VII.202.27, ÍF XIV.048.06).

### III. B. 2. h. FISH

At Skáld. 126.12 a fish is described as *bjartr*. This may refer to the way light reflects off of wet fish-scales.

### III. B. 2. i. LIGHT

Light is *bjartr* at ÍF IX.223.14, ÍF X.017.25. Moonlight specifically is *bjartr* at ÍF XII.193.01, as is a night lit by moonlight at ÍF XIV.079.29.

Rooms lit by fire are by extension described as *bjartr* at ÍF XIII.134.09, ÍF XIII.135.07, ÍF VIII.139.29.

### III. B. 2. j. STONE

A stone is *bjartr* at FJ.A1.007/Heims. I.028.09.

### III. B. 2. k. THE SUN

The sun is *bjartr* at FJ.A1.348/Skáld.033.34, Gylf. 20.8, Heims. I.353.6, ÍF IV.208.26, ÍF VI.173.17, ÍF XIII.363.16.

### III. B. 2. l. WAVES

Waves of the sea are *bjartr* at FJ.A1.399/Skáld.096.02.

### III. B. 2. m. WEATHER

The weather is a very frequent referent of the term *bjartr*, probably with reference to sunniness (though note the unusual meaning of the descendent term in Norn). Occurrences include Heims. II.378.24, ÍF II.067.27, ÍF IX.114.11, ÍF VI.232.04, ÍF VI.248.24, ÍF VII.063.03, ÍF VII.246.15, ÍF VIII.068.17, ÍF XIV.012.11, ÍF VII.199.09.

### III. B. 3. Discussion: *Bjartr*

#### III. B. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Bjartr*

The PIE root is *\*bherh<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*, from which descend many words for related concepts in other IE languages: Mod. Welsh *berth* “shiny,” OE *beorht* “bright,” Pol. *brzask* “dawn,” Alb. *bardhë* “white.”

#### III. B. 3. b. Conclusions: *Bjartr*

*Bjartr* occurs frequently alongside color terms and as a modifier of color terms, but does not itself appear to convey any information about hue. It is frequent in the OWN texts cited – approximately as frequent as its cognate *bright* in the ModEng texts of Jeffers (see Ch. 3 under IV. A. 11), which have 54 occurrences of *bright* as against 85 noncompounded occurrences of *bjartr* in this OWN corpus (in both languages, the term is close in frequency to the color term *grónn/green*, and to *bleikr*). Like *bright*, it appears that *bjartr* conveys information solely about

reflectivity or shine rather than about hue – considering that it is used, e.g., of fish-scales, (metal) weapons and shields, and light, referents whose hues cannot be mapped to any single contiguous space on the color spectrum. Therefore *bjartr* is not a color term.

### III. C. *Blakkr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “adj. [A.S. *blac*; Engl. *black*; O.H.G. *plak*: in Icel. *svartr*, as in A.S. and other kindred tongues *swart*, etc., represents the Latin *niger*; while *blakkr* corresponds to the Latin *ater*, dead or dusky black], in poetry used as an epithet of wolves etc. ... **II.** = *bleikr*, pale ...”

Fritzner: “blak, om Hestens Farve”

Hægstad-Torp: “blakk”

ONP: “?(blakket ☉:) lys/bleg, gulbrun”

Faroese: No apparent descendent term, but note *Blakkur* as a dog’s name (Lehmann 1987: 24).

ModIce: “dökkur”

ModNorw (*blakk*): “**1.** som har bleik og urein grågul farge, **2.** avbleikt, folna, **3.** om væske: mjølkefarga, uklar”

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

### III. C. 1. Occurrences of *blakkr*

See Appendix 2.

### III. C. 1. a. Occurrences of *blakkr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. C. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Blakkr*

#### III. C. 2. a. WOLVES

The term *blakkr* is used in poetry as a noun to indicate a wolf at FJ.A1.093/ÍF VIII.248.17, FJ.A1.158/Heims. I.263.19, FJ.A1.414/Heims. III.195.13, and Skáld. 99.32.

#### III. C. 2. b. BEARS

A bear is *blakkr* at Edd.Akv.242.05.

#### III. C. 2. c. HORSES

The term *blakkr* is used as a noun for horses in poetry at Edd.Ghv.267.13,

FJ.A1.481/Skáld.037.26.

### III. C. 2. d. BLOOD

Blood is *blakkr* at FJ.A1.287/ÍF VI.271.11.

### III. C. 2. e. SHIPS

A ship is *blakkr* at Heims. II.321.7 (in this case the term is actually used as an adjective).

### III. C. 3. Discussion: *Blakkr*

#### III. C. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Blakkr*

*Blakkr* is one of three OWN color terms or near-color terms that is derived from the PIE root *\*bhel-* (Pokorny 1. *bhel-*, *bheleg-*, *bhlendh-*, *bhleu-(k)-*) – the others are *blár* and *bleikr*.

Cognates such as Skt *bhālam* (shine, brightness, luster, forehead), OIr. *oíbell* (glow, fire, heat), OPruss. *ballo* “forehead,” OWN *bál* (fire), seem likely to point to the original meaning of this root as “light, shine, burning, bright,” as do Toch. B. *pālk-* (to burn, light, warm up), Gk. *phlégō* (to burn, ignite), Latin *flagrāre* (to burn, blaze), and Gk *epéphleuse* (scorch all around), OE *blysa* (torch), and Pol. *łyskać* (to shine).

From this root there arise a wide variety of color terms in the IE daughter languages. Some of these, including OCS *belъ* (white), Gk. *phalós* (white), Lith. *balta* (white), Arm. *bal* (pallor), demonstrate a meaning focused on “white,” but in Gmc the root also forms a term for “blue” (Norw *blå*, Eng *blue*, and OWN *blár*, see below), a term for “pale” or, in my account, “yellow” (OWN *bleikr*, see below) and, in English, for “black” (OE *blæc*). In Latin, the difficult color terms *flāvus* and *fulvus* are derived from this root; see discussion under *bleikr* in § III. E. 3. b. Extended as *\*bhlendh-*, the root shows itself in Skt as *bradhná-h* (reddish, dun), and German *blond* (blonde).

All the colors indicated by descendants of this root in the daughter languages are associable

with fire or bright light, which favors the notion that the primary sense of the root concerns “fire” or “light,” and that the meanings of the color adjectives formed from this root are historically secondary, as indeed their variability in the daughter languages would suggest. Also note that all three color or near-color adjectives derived from this root in OWN – *blakkr*, *blár*, and *bleikr* – have caused scholars difficulty with the interpretation of their meaning.

### III. C. 3. b. Conclusions: *Blakkr*

*Pace* Cleasby-Vigfússon, we are probably not dealing with two (semantically opposite) color adjectives, for though *blakkr* is superficially similar to OE *bleac* “black” (from the same PIE root), it is more likely a cognate of OE *blanca*, OHG *blanc*, which presuppose PGmc *\*blankaz* (Lloyd et al. 1998: 157).<sup>11</sup> This is supported by its application to brass (see below), which normally would not be considered “black.”<sup>12</sup> A white or near-white gloss of *blakkr* is also supported by its PGmc etonym having been borrowed into the western Romance languages as the BCT for “white” (Fr. *blanc*, Sp. *blanco*, etc.) at the expense of the inherited Lat. term *albus* (Anderson 2003: 45). And as Kroonen (2013: 67) points out, the Scandinavian word must be from the root *\*blankaz* rather than a cognate with OE *bleac*, because the vowel in Elfdalian *blokk* could only have been produced via nasalization by a nasal consonant which formerly followed the vowel. *Blakk* also remains in use in ModNorw as a horse color, roughly equivalent to ModEng *dun* (in more common parlance “yellowish” or “buckskin”).

Heidermanns (1993: 129) proposes a meaning “schwach glänzend” for the PGmc etonym,

<sup>11</sup> De Vries (1962: 42) also suggests that the word had such a double meaning, though he adduces only ‘Shetlandic’ (Norn or Scots?) *blekk* “ferrous earth, used for making dye” as evidence. This word, which I have not located in other sources, is more likely to be derived from the same Low German source as ModNorw *blekk* “iron sheet.”

<sup>12</sup> However, based on the context, the brass may be tarnished: *Hann átti dóttur eina, er kǫlluð var Ása en fagra, því at hon bar af ǫllum jómförum henni samtíða sem rauða gull af eiri blökku eða sem sól af himintunglum ǫðrum*. “He had one daughter, who was called Ása the beautiful, because she was as superior to other noble girls of her time as red gold is to *blakkr* brass, or the sun is to the other stars.”

though its distribution in the attested old Gmc languages points to a possibility that it was already a specialized term for the color of horses. That it was borrowed into the Romance languages with a more general meaning is unsurprising, as color words are often borrowed by speakers who do not understand the nuance of the borrowed color word in the originating language (Biggam 2012: 56).

Most occurrences of *blakkr* are not strictly adjectival, but occur as nominalized adjectives in kennings. There is only one use of the term as an adjective in the poetic texts excerpted (Heims. II.321.7, describing a ship), and the name *Björn enn blakki* (ÍF VI.004.04) implies adjectival use to describe the color of a person's hair, plus the existence of the toponym *Blakksgerði* («*Blakkr's* field», ÍF IX.156.09) implies that the color term may have been given as a name to an individual at birth as well, perhaps with reference to hair color. There is also an occurrence of the term as an adjective in prose outside of the texts excerpted, in *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* (a *fornaldarsaga*), ch. 1: *eiri blökku* (*blakkr* brass).

In OWN, this word occurs too sporadically and infrequently, and is too restricted to poetry, to merit consideration as a basic color term.

### III. D. *Blár*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “prop. Latin *lividus*; of the colour of lead”

Fritzner: “blaa ... At det ogsaa kan betegne en i det sorte faldende Farve, sees af

Udtrykkene: *kolblár*, *svartr blámaðr*”

Hægstad-Torp: “blaa; ogso myrk, svart”

ONP: “**1.** blá, blásort, sort (distinktion ikke altid mulig), **2.** (om den metalliske farve på rustning, våben, etc.), **3.** (om flamme), **4.** (om forslået hud)”

Faroese (*bláur*): “blá; (i sume ordlag) dökk, myrk, svart; (sjø-ord for *kráka*) *hin bláa* (*á køstinum*)...”

ModIce (*blár*): “með lit heiðs himins eða hafdjúps í ýmsum blæbrigðum”

ModNorw (*blå*): “som har ein farge som ligg mellom grønt og fiolett i sollysspektret”

Norn (*blo*): “dark blue”

#### III. D. 1. a. Occurrences of *blár*

See Appendix 2.

### III. D. 1. b. Occurrences of *blár* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. D. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Blár*

#### III. D. 2. a. BRUISES

A frequent use of the term *blár* is for bruises or bruised faces: occurrences include ÍF VII.213.04, ÍF VII.236.03, ÍF VIII.246.05, ÍF XIV.049.21, ÍF XIV.130.01. In OWN the only color term used of bruises is *blár*.

Compare ModE, where bruises are stereotypically “black and blue,” though they may appear in a variety of colors from yellow to violet.

#### III. D. 2. b. CLOTHING

*Blár* was evidently a common color for clothing, since about half the referents specified by this color are articles of clothing (71 out of 145 referents), and no term is used more frequently than *blár* for the color of clothing. The color of *blár* clothing was almost certainly blue, as blue is the color of the vast majority of clothes preserved from medieval Scandinavia (Ewing 2006: 154, 167; and see examples, *Ibid.*: 32, 34, 143, 154, 155-156), and contemporary depictions of Vikings frequently show them in blue and green clothes (*Ibid.*: 94, 168). Indeed, Ewing (*Ibid.*: 168) points to an Old Irish source in which the term *gormglas* (“blue-green”) is used as an epithet for marauding Vikings, probably in reference to the usual colors of their clothing.

While *blár* clothing may be worn by men who are intent on killing (ÍF VI.041.17, ÍF XIV.078.08, ÍF XI.104.23, ÍF XI.128.05), a monk’s cowl may also be *blár* (ÍF V.257.02). It is also interesting that a man’s pants are described disapprovingly<sup>13</sup> as *blár* at ÍF XII.314.11 (the

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<sup>13</sup> The scene is in *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ch. 123:

same pants are *blárendr* – *blár*-striped – at ÍF XII.304.02), though no such judgment seems to attach to the *blár* pants at Heims. III.299.15.

This color of clothing is also clearly the province of wealthier members of society (cf. Edd.Rp.283.15, Heims. II.41.10, Heims. III.186.13, ÍF VI.064.20, Edd.Rp.284.09, Heims. II.41.10).

Capes are *blár* at ÍF II.284.01, ÍF III.177.23, ÍF IV.134.03, ÍF IX.235.29, ÍF V.187.07, ÍF V.237.03, ÍF VI.052.26, ÍF VI.327.11, ÍF VIII.060.26, ÍF X.088.11, ÍF X.119.13, ÍF XII.227.10, ÍF XII.231.15, ÍF XII.296.12, ÍF XII.421.14, ÍF XIII.035.18, ÍF XIII.220.26, ÍF XIII.246.22, ÍF III.136.19, ÍF III.137.05, ÍF VI.239.16, ÍF V.185.02, ÍF VI.064.20.

Cloaks are *blár* at Edd.Grm.057.04, FJ.A1.208/ÍF III.289.18, ÍF IX.027.03/18, ÍF IX.016.21, ÍF IX.086.14. A cloak is *bláflekkóttir* (blue-spotted) at ÍF XIII.163.06.

A mantle is *blár* at ÍF XII.044.03; at ÍF IV.206.19 it is a witch's mantle which is *blár*.

Kirtles are *blár* at Heims. II.212.22, ÍF IX.240.18, ÍF IX.245.01, ÍF V.245.07, ÍF XI.286.31, ÍF XII.304.02, ÍF V.188.09. It is a king's kirtle specifically which is *blár* at Heims. II.41.10, Heims. III.186.13.

An overcoat is *blár* at ÍF XIV.176.25.

Cowls are *blár* at ÍF XIV.151.11, ÍF XIV.154.08, ÍF V.257.02 (the latter specifically a monk's cowl). Frocks are *blár* at ÍF IX.136.16, ÍF V.188.23, ÍF V.198.14, a jacket at ÍF IV.053.12. At ÍF XIII.039.22 a *blárendr* “*b*.-edged” frock is mentioned.

A hat is *blár* at ÍF III.154.18.

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*Síðan tók Skarpheðinn til sín slæðurnar en kastaði brókum blám til Flosa ok kvað hann þeira meir þurfa. Flosi mælti: "Hví mun ek þeira meir þurfa?" Skarpheðinn svarar: "Því þá ef þú ert brúðr Svinfellsáss sem sagt er hverja ína níundu nótt ok geri hann þik at konu."*

“Then Skarpheðinn took the trailing garment to himself, and threw the blue pants to Flosi and said that he had more need of them. Flosi said: ‘Why do I have more need of them?’ Skarpheðinn answers: “In case you are the bride of the god on Svinfell, as they say, every ninth night, and he makes you a woman.”

The shirt of the prototypic nobleman Faðir is *blár* at Edd.Rp.284.09.

A king's socks are *blár* at Heims. II.41.10.

Clothing of unspecified type is *blár* at ÍF V.168.14, ÍF XIII.352.24, ÍF XIII.354.02, ÍF XIV.078.17, ÍF XIV.152.02, ÍF XIII.262.20, Edd.Sg.215.12, Edd.Rp.283.15, ÍF XI.128.05, ÍF XI.104.23, ÍF XIV.078.08.

*Blæja*, a term for a kind of clothing which may be derived from *blár*, occurs at Edd.Am.250.07/10, Edd.Am.262.22, Edd.Od.235.04, Edd.Od.238.02, and Edd.Sg.215.12, but this term does not occur in prose.

It has been suggested (earliest and most clearly in Valtýr Guðmundsson 1893: 195-197) that *blár* represents a dark color achieved by dyeing, as opposed to a natural dark color, and it has also influentially been asserted that a pure black color was not possible by dyeing in medieval Iceland, and that it is a dark bluish black which *blár* refers to in descriptions of the color of clothing (Viðar Hreinsson et al. 1997: 406). Clothing is also described as *svartr*, if less frequently, and while *blár* clothing is often worn by the wealthy, there seems to be no such association with *svartr* clothing, suggesting that *blár* may well represent an artificial color and *svartr* a natural undyed hue of cloth. However, note that the shade of blue clothing that early medieval Scandinavians are depicted wearing in contemporary art is not especially dark (Ewing 2006: 94, 168), nor are the frequent finds of blue clothing from medieval Scandinavia notably dark (*Ibid.*: 154, 167).

### III. D. 2. c. COAL

By implication of the frequent compound term *kolblár* (ÍF IV.093.13, ÍF IV.146.22, ÍF V.082.11, ÍF VII.252.07, ÍF XII.035.16, ÍF XII.078.06), coal may be *blár*. While coals are stereotypically black in ModEng, they do have a glossy blue sheen if exposed to light, cf. an

1823 citation from Peter Nicholson's *New Practical Builder*: "Blue-Black is the coal of some kind of wood burnt in a close heat" (OED: blue-black).

### III. D. 2. d. CORPSES

The term *blár* is used of rotting corpses at ÍF VII.112.09, ÍF IV.169.30, Heims. I.127.7, in the former two cases being qualified as *blár sem hel* – “blue as the underworld (or its goddess).”

### III. D. 2. e. EMOTIONAL FACES

A human face may change color in response to an emotion, especially anger, and become *blár*; this occurs at ÍF XII.292.03 and ÍF VI.128.01.

### III. D. 2. f. EYES

Eyes may be described as *blár*, as at ÍF V.187.16, ÍF XII.053.10, ÍF XIII.032.23, Heims. III.256.7. This may be influenced by the phenomenon of type-modification; see Ch. 3, § IV. A. 14 for discussion.

### III. D. 2. g. FLAME

Flame may be *blár*, as at ÍF XIII.183.11. In ModIce *blár* may describe the same color of very hot flame which is described as blue in ModE.

### III. D. 2. h. PEOPLE OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN DESCENT

The term *blámaðr* (*b*.-man/person) is used of people of Sub-Saharan African descent; in ModIce, the skin color of such people is *svartur*; in ModNorw it is also the term *svart* that is used. The term *blámaðr* is a frequent compound and it is possible that it has survived from an earlier period in which the term *blár* enjoyed wider application than it did in the thirteenth and fourteenth century language of the majority of attested OWN texts (perhaps an earlier stage represented also in the byname of the early Danish king *Haraldr blátǫnn*, "bluetooth").

That the term is indeed quite old is suggested by its status as a loanword from ON into

Welsh (*blowmon*, *blewmon*, in the sense “African person,” see OED: *bloman*) and Middle English (first attested in 1225 as *blamon* in the same sense, see OED: *bloman*). In the earliest attestation in Middle English we read *Muchele dele blacre then euer eni blamon*, similarly another attestation from ca. 1225 reads *Blac as an blamon* (OED: *bloman*), suggesting that the hue actually associated with such people was black rather than blue, at least in early English. Other occurrences of the term “black/blac” used of a *blamon* in Middle English are attested (OED: *bloman*). In the OWN texts excerpted for my study, *blámenn* are not associated with the equivalent color term *svartr*, though Wolf (2006a: 72) adduces two examples outside of the texts I have excerpted in which *blámenn* are described as *svartr*. This strengthens the possibility that we are dealing with an earlier sense of the word *blár* than obtained during the classical period of written OWN (consistent with the historical model proposed in Ch. 4, § I. B.), and that the compound *blámaðr* was sufficiently distanced from the normal semantics of the constituent word *blár* in the Middle Ages for a *blámaðr* to be described as *svartr* (or in England, *blac*).

It is also possible that the frequent use of both OWN *blár* and its Middle English derivative *blae* for bruises influenced the use of this term, which may mean that the color of African persons’ skin is being compared to the color of a bruise on the skin of a person of lighter complexion. However, the color of most bruises on Caucasian skin is bluish or purple, and not very comparable to the complexion of individuals of African descent.

Another possible explanation for the use of *blámaðr* for a person of African descent may be connected to the use of *svartr* to describe (Caucasian) people with black hair; *svartmaðr* may have been avoided for the possibility of implying a less exotic sight in the medieval north.

Most likely, however, the term *blámaðr* is a reference to the blue reflection of the skin of many people of African, especially East African, origin, when viewed under clear sunlight. In

much the same way that ravens are poetically described as *blár*, with reference to the blue gloss of their feathers (see immediately below, § III. D. 2. i.), I consider it likely that the term *blámaðr* emerged with reference to this blue glossy property of the skin of many African people. Note also that the Tuareg, a people of the Sahara who were victims of the medieval Arab slave trade in which the Norse participated, refer to themselves as "the Blue Men" (Gearon 2011: 239), and in Sudanese Arabic skin color may be described as blue or green (Bender 1983: 24).

Occurrences of the term *blámaðr* include FJ.A1.485/Heims. III.245.21, Heims. I.10.6, Heims. III.244.13, ÍF IX.124.29, ÍF XIV.035.04, ÍF XIV.283.14, and ÍF XIV.366.16/25 and *passim* afterwards in the works mentioned. Occurrences are also exceptionally frequent in the *riddarasögur*, which were however not excerpted for this study.

### III. D. 2. i. RAVENS

Ravens are famously referred to as *blár* in poetry (though also as *svartr*, *blásvartr*, or *dökk*). Occurrences of *blár* ravens include FJ.A1.294/Heims. II.037.10, FJ.A1.334/Heims. III.009.01, FJ.A1.343/Heims. III.063.06, FJ.A1.094/ÍF VIII.260.13). The color of Guðrún's sons' hair is *hrafnbjár* ("raven-blue") at FJ.A1.001/Skáld. 50.36. The color of ravens is not commented upon in prose.

From personal observation in the American West and in Scandinavia,<sup>14</sup> the color of ravens' feathers, while black at a distance, is quite nearly blue when seen from nearby and especially under sunlight. It is not unreasonable to assume that OWN speakers were aware of this, as ravens are common in Iceland and Norway and their presence is frequently remarked upon both in prose and poetry. Indeed, such a perceptive naturalist and observer as the American author Edward Abbey can be frequently seen to refer to ravens as *blue-black*, a collocation that occurs three

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<sup>14</sup> The ravens found in Scandinavia and Iceland are of the same species as those found in North America: *Corvus corax*.

times in describing ravens in his memoir *Desert Solitaire* (1968).

### **III. D. 2. j. THE SEA**

The sea is frequently referred to as *blár* in poetry, though not in prose. The sea may, however, be *kolblár* in prose (ÍF V.082.11, ÍF XII.035.16, ÍF XII.078.06). Waves are *blár* at Edd.Sd.191.21, FJ.A1.195/ÍF III.077.24.

### **III. D. 3. k. SMOKE**

Smoke is described as *allblár* (“thoroughly *blár*”) at ÍF IX.092.27.

### **III. D. 3. l. WOMEN**

A woman is referred to disapprovingly as *blár* at ÍF XIII.360.18.

### **III. D. 3. m. PAINT**

Crosses are painted *blár* at Heims. II.60.6. Shields are painted *blár* at FJ.A1.037/ÍF II.187.20.

### **III. D. 3. n. STRIPES ON A SAIL**

Sails are fairly frequently striped *blár*: FJ.A1.250/Heims. II.274.12, Heims. II.273.17, Heims. II.290.21, ÍF II.041.24.

### **III. D. 3. o. THE SKY**

The sky is *blár* at FJ.A1.015/Heims. I.083.007.

### **III. D. 3. p. SWORDS**

Swords may be *blár* in poetry, as at FJ.A1.051/ÍF II.142.19, FJ.A1.057/ÍF II.210.11, FJ.A1.214/Heims. I.364.12, FJ.A1.216/Heims. II.032.06, FJ.A1.360/Heims. III.187.29. A sword is *blánaðr* (“made *blár*”) at ÍF XII.335.01.

### **III. D. 3. q. SHIPS or BOATS**

Ships and boats are rather frequently described as *blár* in poetry; numerous examples

(lying outside the texts excerpted for this study) are listed in Wolf 2006a: 63.

### III. D. 3. r. OCCURRENCES OF *BLÁR* IN COMPOUNDS

*Blár* occurs in several compounds.

Smoke is *allblár* ("thoroughly blue") at ÍF IX.092.27. A cloak is *bláflekkótt* ("blue-spotted") at ÍF XIII.163.06. Bedcovers are *bláhvítr* ("blue-white," perhaps a blended hue or striped) at Edd. Ghv. 264.20 and Edd. Hm. 270. 01, both times in alliteration. A sword is *blánaðr* ("made blue") at ÍF XII.335.01. Items of clothing are *blárendr* ("blue-edged") at ÍF XII.304.02 and ÍF XIII.039.22. *Blásvartr* ("blue-black") occurs in poetry for ships (Edd. H.H.138.06 and FJ.A1.480/ Skáld. 091.18, the latter in alliteration) and ravens (FJ.A1.490/ Heims. III.246.09, in alliteration and *aðalhending*), Shields are *fagrbláinn* ("fair-blue") at Skáld. 123.09. The hair of Guðrún's sons is *hrafnblár* ("raven-blue") at FJ.A1.001/ Skáld. 50.36. Shields are *myrkblár* ("dark-blue") at ÍF IV.023.03, as are ships at FJ.A1.265/Heims II.054.28.

The most common compound with *blár* is *kolblár* ("coal-black"), which occurs at ÍF V.082.11, ÍF XII.035.16, and ÍF XII.078.06 for the sea, at ÍF IV.093.13 for corpses, at ÍF IV.146.22 for a living man (who is cold and frightened), and at ÍF VII.252.07 for a wound on a foot.

### III. D. 3. Discussion: *Blár*

#### III. D. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Blár*

For the Indo-European root, see III. C. 3. a. under *Blakkr*.

A PGmc (or Proto-NWGmc?) adjective *\*blēwaz* is reconstructible as the common ancestor of OWN *blár*, OHG *blau*, and possibly also of OE *blæwen*, *blæ-hæwen*. Biggam (1997: 100) finds that the OE cognate, *blæwen*, "fails as a BCT [basic color term]," and suggests that the PGmc etymon was a term for "dark" rather than a basic color term (*Ibid.*: 302), which I dispute

to some extent (see further under Ch. 4, § I. B.). There is a strong likelihood that the term already indicated blue, at least in continental WGmc, at a date preceding our written sources, since it is borrowed into Old French as *blou*, *blewe*, whence Modern French *bleu* "blue" (Lloyd et al. 1998: 161). Kroonen (2013: 68) glosses PGmc *\*blēwaz* simply as "blue," but does not deal with the term's semantics, only with the etymological connections between cognate terms in various Gmc languages.

### III. D. 3. b. Conclusions: *Blár*

There has long been uncertainty and disagreement among scholars about the precise semantics of OWN *blár* and its distinction from *svartr*, principally rooted in the unusual fact that *blár*, while ancestral to terms answering to English "blue" in the modern West Scandinavian languages, is used in OWN for three notable referents which are not stereotypically considered blue in ModEng or Modern Scandinavian languages: ravens, coal, and people of African descent. An overview of the questions attached to this problematic word is Wolf 2006a, where it is suggested that the hue of *blár* was not firmly connected to the blue part of the spectrum till late in the medieval period (Wolf 2006a: 74, and cf. Ch. 4, § I. B.).

It has been observed both by Wolf (2006a: 67-68) and Brückmann (2012: 83) that there is an important symbolic difference between the choice of *blár* vs. *svartr*, and it is *svartr* that has unfailingly negative connotations, and appears in formulae such as *svartr ok illiligr* ("black and evil-looking"), *svartr ok ljótr* ("black and ugly").<sup>15</sup> The term *svartr* is also frequent in the descriptions and names of supernatural creatures, most of them of an evil nature (Wolf 2006a: 67-68). Such connotations do not appear to attach to the less morally charged term *blár* (Brückmann 2012: 83-85, Wolf 2006a: 65-67).

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<sup>15</sup> Wolf (2006a: 61) draws attention to a similar symbolic use of *blár*, however, in *Lilja* st 77, in the collocation *blár ok ljótr* "blue and ugly," said of a sinner.

Brückmann (2012: 96-97) argues that the fundamental difference is between a natural, dull dark color (*svartr*) that occurs in nature and is imbued with negative associations, and a rich dark color (*blár*) that occurs rarely in nature and is imbued with no such connotations. Wolf (2006a: 66) also remarks upon the greater frequency of *svartr* than of *blár* in nature, with copious examples, though in Wolf 2013 she proposes that *blár* may be a hyponym of *svartr*, at least in the earliest texts.

The English word *blue* is indirectly related to OWN *blár*; it appears to be a borrowing from Old French *bleu*, which in turn is borrowed from OHG *blau* (see OED: *blue*, adj., for discussion), but the OWN word *blár* itself was borrowed into Middle English, and remains in many Scots and some Northern English dialects today in the form *blae*, in a sense corresponding to Latin *lividus* “dark blue, leaden in color.” In Scots today, *blae*, defined as “blue-gray,”<sup>16</sup> is still considered a separate color both from *blue* (Eng. *blue*) and from *black* (Eng. *black*), and the term remained in general use in many dialects, at least till the early twentieth century; see, e.g., the entries for *blae*, *black*, and *blue* in *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (<http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>) and *A Doric Dictionary* (Rev. Ed., 2004).

I suggest, however, based on the glossy blue sheen of ravens' feathers, coal, and the skin of some African people, that the OWN term *blár* was in fact focused near the focal point of ModEng *blue* and did not overlap significantly with *svartr* (“black”), at least not by the thirteenth century when most of the texts excerpted were composed. Even though the field of reference of this term appears to stretch into that of ModEng *purple* (in the case of e.g. bruises), and is used surprisingly for three key referents that ModEng and OWN typically describe as black, the BCTs postulated by Berlin and Kay are defined by their *focal* points, which are broadly similar in most

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<sup>16</sup> It is possible that the sense “blue-gray” has developed from misunderstanding the word as a blend of *blue* and *gray*, and not from the sense of the OWN etonym.

of the world's languages, not by their ranges, which are frequently much more disparate (Berlin and Kay 1969: 13). That is to say, many languages have a basic color term focused near the focal point of ModEng *blue*, but few if any agree with ModEng *blue* in the precise boundaries of that color concept vis-à-vis other color concepts (*Ibid.*: 10, 13).

I thus disagree with the practice used in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders including 49 Tales* (ed. Viðar Hreinsson, et al.) of glossing *blár* as “black,” which is based on the assertion that it was impossible to create a dye that was pure black (contradicted by the many archaeological finds discussed in Ewing 2006), and that “The closest translation for *blár* as it was used at the time of the sagas is ‘black’, as can be seen from the fact that the word was used to describe, amongst other things, the colour of ravens” (Viðar Hreinsson et al. 1997: 406). The key difference is my emphasis on the “amongst other things,” which cannot be dismissed as trivial, since many of these referents (particularly bruises, emotional faces, and flame) may be described in terms of various cool colors such as purple, violet, or blue, but not black, and are indeed more frequently referred to as *blár* in prose than ravens are (recall that the references to ravens as *blár* occur only in poetry), and this makes it certain that the color term did not mean simply “black” in the time the sagas were written. The preponderance of blue clothing in finds from medieval Scandinavia, together with the preponderance of *blár* in descriptions of the color of clothing in sagas, also adds up to a strong argument against dismissing *blár* as a near-synonym of *svartr*, and strongly suggests that the hue in question was in fact blue.

Furthermore, as previously and repeatedly observed, ravens, coal, and the skin of some African people (plus the black hair of some Caucasian people, to count the description of Guðrún's sons with their *hrafnblár* hair) do in fact reflect blue if viewed under sunlight, and this is surely the reason they can be described as *blár* in OWN at all. In short, the use of *blár* for

many other referents which are uncontroversially blue in ModEng should not be discounted on the basis of a single referent in poetry such as ravens (and one that is, to an observant writer, describable as blue-black even in ModEng prose).

*Blár* is an exceptionally frequent, monolexemic term whose range of reference does not appear to be suborned under any other color term. It is a strong candidate for a BCT.

### III. E. *Bleikr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “pale, wan ... **2.** = Latin *pallidus*, the colour of ashes”

Fritzner: “bleg, hvid (jvf. blíkja)”

Hægstad-Torp: “bleik”

ONP: “**1.** bleg (ǝ: með mindre intens farve end den naturlige), ?bleget, **2.** blond, lys, **3.** (om ko/hest) lys, ?lys gråbrun, ?bleggul, ?skimlet (~ fr. *vair*), **4.** ?(lys) rød”

Faroese (*bleikur*): “bleik”

ModIce (*bleikur*): “ljósrauður, ljósgulur; fölur; (um hest) gulbrúnn með ljósrauðri slikju”

ModNorw (*bleik*): “**1** lys, kvitleg, **2** om andletsfarge o l: gulkvit, blodlaus”

Norn (*bleg*): “light and rather drab, of colour; esp. of sheep, sheep’s wool: whitish and grayish or whitish and reddish (yellowish)”

#### III. E. 1. a. Occurrences of *bleikr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. E. 2. b. Occurrences of *bleikr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. E. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Bleikr*

#### III. E. 2. a. HUMAN HAIR

Of 27 occurrences of *bleikr* in prose, 9 are in reference to the appearance of human (men’s or women’s) hair or men’s facial hair. Based on the use of bast fiber as an apparent “prime example” of the color of *bleikr* as well as the fact that it is the commonest color or near-color term to describe what appears to be blonde hair (see the discussion of human hair under **III. Q. 2. d.**, in the entry for *hvítr*, below), *bleikr* appears to be a term for describing blonde hair, or at

least a subset of blonde hair. While this could have as much to do with the reflectivity of blonde hair as with its hue (a charge that could also be leveled against *hvítr*), the other referents of *bleikr* (especially bast fiber) suggest strongly that it is a hue being described, and that this hue is English *blonde* or *yellow*.

A denominative verb *bleikja* occurs once in the OWN texts studied, in a prose section at Skáld. 48.9: *Brynhildr ok Guðrún gengu til vatns at bleikja hadda sína* (Brynhildr and Guðrún walked to the water to *bleikja* their hair). There seems no reason to suppose with the Cleasby/Vigfússon dictionary that *bleikja* means “bleach” when used of linens and yet “wash and comb” when used of hair; given the clear application of *bleikr* to blonde hair, it is reasonable to assume that Brynhildr and Guðrún are doing as the English cognate “bleach” implies – making their hair appear blonde (and indeed this verb is used of just that activity in ModIce, a language wherein the general sense of *bleikur* is now pink).

The beard of King Haraldr Harðráði is *bleikr* at Heims. III.198.28.

Human hair is *bleikr* at ÍF XIII.032.22, Edd.Rþ.285.03 (a jarl), Heims. III.256.8 (King Eysteinn), Heims. III.198.27 (King Haraldr Harðráði, who also has a *bleikr* beard), ÍF IV.026.22 (Snorri); most of these referents are people of privileged station and the hair color must have been considered desirable in the culture of OWN speakers.

Hair is *silkibleikr* at Heims. III.227.25.

The byname *Ljótr enn bleiki* (ÍF IX.134.26 and *passim*) may be given with reference to hair color.

### III. E. 2. b. HUMAN FACES, BAST

Human faces also may turn *bleikr* to communicate emotion or pain; see the prose occurrences at Heims. I.297.12 (anger), Heims. II.119.13 (fear), Heims. III.361.8 (injury, with

loss of blood), ÍF VI.127.30 (spite), ÍF XI.279.08 (anger), ÍF XI.280.15 (anger). At Heims. III.361.10 a face losing blood is *fisbleikr*.

While the occurrence is poetic and the color word *bleikr* is both in alliteration and aðalhending, there is a notable stanza (FJ.A1.272/Heims. III.016.16) in which a person's face is said to be *bleikr sem bast* ("b. as bast fiber"). Bast fiber is in appearance strikingly similar to blonde hair. Since it is unlikely that a face would be as reflective as this fiber, it is probably the hue which is being evoked, and this may be true of the other occurrences of *bleikr* used for human faces as well. As such, this seems to convey a sickly, yellowish, perhaps waxen hue.

### III. E. 2. c. ARABLE FIELDS

*Brennu-Njáls saga* includes a memorable passage in which Gunnarr, deciding not to flee Iceland, describes his fields in positive terms as *bleikr* (*Foggr er hliðin svá at mér hefir hon aldrei jafnfoggr sýnsk, bleikir akrar en slegin tún, ok mun ek riða heim aptr ok fara hvergi*, "The hillside is so beautiful, more beautiful than it has ever seemed to me, its b. fields and mowed yard, and I will ride home and never leave," ÍF XII.182.21). A field of barley or (less likely in Iceland) wheat may appear yellow near harvest; since the other conceivable color for a field of barley or wheat is green, it is likely that the yellow color of autumn barley or wheat is what is being described here.

It is probable that the place name *Bleik(j)udalr* (*bleikr* valley), which occurs at ÍF IX.180.11, is in reference to arable fields as well.

### III. E. 2. d. BLEIKR IN CONTRAST

It is notable that the term *bleikr* is used in contrast with some specific hue terms. It is contrasted with *rauðr* once in poetry (FJ.A1.244/Heims. II.314.014) and twice with *svartr* in prose (Heims. I.297.12, ÍF XI.279.08); in both of the prose instances the contrast is in describing

the face of a person who is showing emotion, and in the latter case *bleikr* is explicitly referred to as a *litr* (color). The only non-color term which *bleikr* is used in contrast with is *fagr* in one poem when describing a human face (FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.274.18). This suggests only that the *bleikr* hue is an unattractive one when seen in a human face, which may be understood if *bleikr* indeed connotes a yellowish hue.

### III. E. 2. e. BIRDS' FEET

In a poem at FJ.A1.244/Heims. II.314.014 an eagle's foot is described as *bleikr*, in a context wherein the word neither alliterates nor rhymes. Intriguingly, outside the texts excerpted, an eagle's feet are described in a poem (in alliteration) as *gulr* (in *Ketils saga hǫngs*, ch. 5).

### III. E. 2. f. THE SEA

In a poem at FJ.A1.482/Skáld.038.28, the sea during a storm is described as *bleikr*; the term *bleikr* is in *skothending*.

### III. E. 2. g. HORSES

Horses are *bleikálóttir* (with a *bleikr* stripe) at ÍF VII.039.15, ÍF XII.133.16, ÍF XII.134.01. Horses named *Bleikr* appear at ÍF XIV.079.08, ÍF VII.041.07. A horse named *Bleikála* occurs at ÍF VII.041.07.

Horses are *fífilbleikr* (dandelion-*bleikr*) at ÍF XI.046.03, ÍF XIV.077.06, ÍF XIV.078.28, ÍF XIV.292.06.

### III. E. 2. h. OXEN

An ox is *bleikr* at ÍF XI.048.18.

### III. E. 2. i. DANDELIONS

By implication of the term *fífilbleikr* (dandelion-*bleikr*, ÍF XI.046.03, ÍF XIV.077.06, ÍF XIV.078.28, ÍF XIV.292.06), which is used of horses, dandelions are *bleikr*.

### III. E. 2. j. *BLEIKR* AS A NAME

The toponym *Bleiksmýrardalr* (ÍF X.132.17) appears to point to the existence of a personal name *Bleikr*.

### III. E. 2. k. CORPSES

By implication of the expression *bleikr sem nár* (*bleikr* as a corpse) at ÍF XI.280.15, corpses may be *bleikr*. Compare the German expression *bleich wie der Tod*.

### III. E. 2. l. SHIELDS

Shields are commonly said to shine or glitter (*blikja* – a verb from the same root as *bleikr*, but possibly not analyzed as related to it by OWN writers).

Shields are one time described with the adjective *bleikr* (Edd.Akv.242.18, in alliteration). Shields are stereotypically made of lindenwood, so it is possible that this describes the color of such shields.<sup>17</sup> The kenning *víðbleiknir* for a shield (Skáld. 122.31) appears to mean something akin to “wide-shining” and may imply the earlier existence of a verb *bleika* or *bleikna* built to this adjective or its root.

### III. E. 3. Discussion: *Bleikr*

#### III. E. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Bleikr*

For the Indo-European root, see III. C. 3. a. under *Blakkr*.

*Bleikr* is cognate with Old English *blāc* (antecessor of Modern English *bleak*), for which Bosworth & Toller (1898: 106) provide the definitions 1. *bright, shining* and 2. *BLEAK, pale, pallid, livid, as in death*.

ModEng *bleak* is denuded of color associations and conveys mostly mood; a landscape may be bleak without any information about its color being implied, and even a viewpoint or

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<sup>17</sup> The wood of the linden tree which grows in Scandinavia – *Tilia cordata* or “small-leaved lime” – is light yellowish in hue (personal observation, 2013).

statement may be bleak. ModG *bleich* is closer in meaning to OWN *bleikr*: “a sehr blass [aussehend]; ohne die normale natürliche Farbe b gehoben von sehr heller, weißlich gelber Färbung; fast farblos wirkend; fahl” (Duden).

The PGmc etonym for this color term, *\*blaikaz* (with reflexes in e.g. OWN *bleikr*, OE *blāc*, OHG *bleih*) is a deverbal *\*o*-grade adjective to the verb *\*blīkanan* “to shine” (Kroonen 2013: 66, 69). This may be the reverse of the actual historical development; I see no morphological reason to suppose that the adjective was derived from the verb and not vice versa. But in either case, its original meaning was probably “shining, bright” rather than a specific color concept, which agrees well with my conclusions below, as well as in Ch. 4, § I. B.

### III. E. 3. b. Conclusions: *Bleikr*

*Bleikr* describes human hair (probably blonde), frightened, angry, or wounded human faces, arable fields, birds’ feet, oxen and horses, the sun, the sea, dandelions, and corpses.

Heidermanns (1993: 127) proposes the meaning “gelblich glänzend” (and secondarily “bleich, verblichen”) for *bleikr* in OWN, comparing OHG *bleih* “gelblich, fahl, bleich, blaß.” Somewhat similarly, Wolf suggests that *bleikr* “should possibly be regarded as a macrocolor<sup>18</sup> covering, at least partly, the category of pale or light colors” (Wolf 2005: 254). She draws attention to the word’s frequent use for the color of domesticated animals, suggesting that it “does not refer to a solid color but rather a color with elements of red” (*Ibid.*: 257), offering at least in some contexts the ModEng translation *fawn* (*Ibid.*: 256).

This is a valid suggestion, and I believe does describe an earlier stage of the word's development than that observed in classical OWN (see further Ch. 4, § I. B.) but does not answer

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<sup>18</sup> A macrocolor is a term developed by Berlin and Kay for a color that includes the range of more than one of the 11 ModEng BCTs, without a definite focus on one of them. For instance, a color term that includes the range of reference of both ModEng blue and green, and is not preferentially used of one or the other, is a macrocolor.

the question of whether *bleikr* was a BCT – and without a doubt this is the most difficult OWN color term, or near-color term, for which to answer this question. Several factors hint at great psychological salience, a major criterion in determining BCTs:

1. *Bleikr* is common (the eighth commonest color term overall, and the seventh commonest BCT if it is one).
2. *Bleikr* is morphologically productive, forming both an inchoative verb *blikna* (or, in Kroonen's view, being derived from it) and a causative verb *bleikja*.
3. *Bleikr* is once explicitly referred to, alongside the definite BCT *svartr*, as a *litr* (color; the occurrence is at ÍF XI.279.08).
4. *Bleikr* forms the head of four conspicuous color compounds (with *fis-*, *fífil-*, *ljós-*, *rauð-*).
5. It is possible that the use of *bleikr* for impure gold represents type-modification, a phenomenon which is very likely to make use of BCTs (Ch. 3, § I. A. 14.).
6. *Bleikr* is exemplified by “best example” phrases, *bleikr sem bast* and *bleikr sem nár*.

The high degree of psychological salience so exemplified strongly implies that *bleikr* is a BCT, in which case it is surprising to note that its descendants do not form BCTs in any modern West Scandinavian language (unlike *blár*, *grár*, *grónn*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, and *svartr*, the descendants of all of which form the equivalent BCTs in ModIce, ModNorw, and Norn).

I suggest that *bleikr* was a BCT, though one wider in range than any in ModEng or the ModScand languages. Specifically, I propose that OWN *bleikr* represents the “leftover” warm colors after red, focused near ModEng *yellow* (and thus representable as the yellow BCT, because of the importance of focal meaning to defining and comparing BCTs cross-linguistically) but also embracing *pink*, and probably also low-tone shades of *orange* and *brown*. The focus on yellow is suggested by the agreement of most referents, plus its “best example” phrases, *bleikr sem nár* (*b.* as a corpse) and *bleikr sem bast* (*b.* as bast), though it may have had two focal points, in which case the two focal points were probably near ModEng *pink* and

*yellow*.<sup>19</sup>

This does not contradict, but rather differs in emphasis from, the definition of the word given in the ONP or the Cleasby-Vigfússon Dictionary, or in recent studies such as Wolf 2005, which allow that the term means “blonde” in the context of human hair (or in the case of Cleasby-Vigfússon, “auburn,” though the archaizing editors of that dictionary certainly meant this word in its earlier sense of “yellowish-white” rather than the modern definition of “reddish-brown;” see OED: *auburn*<sup>20</sup>). However, most previous researchers have foregrounded a non-hue meaning, viz. “bleg (ɔ: med mindre intens farve end den naturlige, ?bleget” (ONP: *bleikr*) or “pale, wan” (Cleasby/Vigfússon: *bleikr*).

If my account is correct, then ModIce preserves traces of the broader meanings of OWN *bleikr*. ModIce refers to horses which in ModEng would be considered “dun” (both “red- dun” and “yellow-dun,” roughly speaking the color of buckskin and sand respectively) as *bleikur*, while outside of horses the term usually means “pink.”

In OWN, *bleikr* on its own is not used of horses (though there is a horse named *Bleikr* at ÍF XIV.079.08, and another named *Bleikála* at ÍF VII.041.07), but many derivative or compound terms that contain *bleikr* are used to describe the color of horses: *bleikálóttir* (3 times, all for horses), *fiðfilbleikr* (5 times, all for horses), and *ljósbleikr* (2 times, all for horses). These terms remain in use, *mutatis mutandis*, in ModIce with the expected meanings that one might infer if the base word *bleikur* meant “yellow” – “yellow-striped,” “very (dandelion-) yellow,” and “light

<sup>19</sup> ModEng *blue* is an example of a color term with two focal points; widely represented by two competing “best example” phrases – “blue as the sky” and “blue as the sea,” which communicate a light and a dark shade of blue, respectively.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the editors’ frequent glossing of *spyrja* as “speer,” a rare archaic/dialectal and Scots form. When using this dictionary it is advisable to remember the editors’ romantic attitude toward earlier stages of both Icelandic and English, which frequently privileged etymology and old-fashioned ideals of language aesthetics over clarity.

yellow.”

A compelling comparison may be made to the Latin color terms *fulvus* and *flāvus*, which are derived from the same PIE root as OWN *bleikr* (as well as *blár* and *blakkr*), and appear to cover much of the same conceptual territory as *bleikr*. Aulus Gellius reports that Fronto described *fulvus* and *flāvus* in these terms:

“But the colour *fulvus* seems to be a mixture of red and green, in which sometimes green predominates, sometimes red. Thus the poet who was most careful in his choice of words applies *fulvus* to an eagle, to jasper, to fur caps, to gold, to sand, and to a lion, and so Ennius in his *Annals* uses *fulvus* of air. 12 *Flavus* on the other hand seems to be compounded of green and red and white; thus Virgil speaks of golden hair as *flava* and applies that adjective also to the leaves of the olive, which I see surprises some; and thus, much earlier, Pacuvius called water *flava* and dust *flavus*. (Rolfe 1927: 215)

Further, Fronto describes *flāvus* and *fulvus* as types of red:

“For *fulvus*, *flavus*, *rubidus*, *poeniceus*, *rutilus*, *luteus*, and *spadix* are names of the colour red, which either brighten it (making it fiery, as it were), or combine it with green, or darken it with black, or make it luminous by a slight addition of gleaming white” (Rolfe 1927: 213).

The referents Fronto describes for *fulvus* and *flāvus* bear a remarkable similarity to those of *bleikr*, and the subordination of those terms to *red* in Latin appears to be similar to the case of *bleikr* vs. *rauðr* in early OWN, as many referents which would be described as *yellow* in ModEng or ModScand are *rauðr* in OWN, including egg yolk (which indeed bears the name of *rauða*) and gold. However, in the case of literary OWN of the thirteenth century I believe that these are the remnants of an older tradition in which *rauðr* also embraced *yellow*, and do not reflect thirteenth-century (“classical”) OWN color categorization.

In concluding this section, I suggest that *bleikr* was a BCT in the OWN period that, while focused on yellow, was also used to communicate other non-red warm colors such as pink and some shades of light brown.

### III. F. *Brúnn*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “brown ... The word is not much in use.”

Fritzner: “brun”

Hægstad-Torp: “1. brun, 2. blank (um vaapn)”

ONP: “1. brun, mørkebrun, ?brunviolet, 2. (om blomster), 3. (om sværdæg) mørk, mørkskinnende, 4. (om hest) brunsort/sort (cf. y. isl. brúnn ‘sort’)”

Faroese (*brúnur*): “brun”

ModIce (*brúnn*): “með lit moldar; (um hest) svartur”

ModNorw (*brun*): “som har ein mørk farge mellom svart og gult”

Norn (*brun*): “brown”

### III. F. 1. Occurrences of *brúnn*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. F. 1. a. Occurrences of *brúnn* in compounds

#### III. F. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Brúnn*

##### III. F. 2. a. HORSES

The term *brúnn* in OVN appears to refer to horses which would be described as dark or reddish brown (or in more specialized terms, *chestnut*) in Modern English. 8 of 12 prose occurrences of *brúnn* in the OVN texts excerpted describe the color of horses. Occurrences of *brúnn* horses include ÍF VII.099.06, ÍF VII.148.07, ÍF VII.148.13, ÍF XII.148.05, ÍF XII.276.22, ÍF XII.277.14, and ÍF XIV.077.03.

A horse (Hrafnkell’s famous stallion Freyfaxi) is *brúnmóalóttur* or *brúnn* at ÍF XI.100.15, depending on the manuscript. A horse is named *Brúnn* at ÍF XIV.079.06.

##### III. F. 2. b. BLOOD

Blood is twice referred to as *brúnn* in poetry (FJ.A1.159/Heims. I.263.19, FJ.A1.225/Heims. II.021.007), though given the typical choice of *rauðr* for the hue of blood, and the fact that *brúnn* stands in alliteration in both these occurrences, this appears to be a poetic conceit with little bearing on the hue normally communicated by use of the term *brúnn*.

##### III. F. 2. c. HUMAN HAIR

Human hair is described as *brúnn* only once, at ÍF VII.325.16; the hair in question is also described as *svartr*.

### III. F. 2. d. CLOTHING

A jarl's kirtle is *brúnaðr* ("brownd") at Heims. III.388.22. Another kirtle is *brúnn* at ÍF IX.240.21. A jacket of two colors is mentioned at ÍF III.334.14; one of the colors is *brúnn*. A cloak made of *purpuri* is *brúnn* at Heims. III.101.20.

### III. F. 2. e. HUMAN SKIN

Kormákr is said, disparagingly, to have a *brúnn* arm (FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.291.12), where however the term *brúnn* is in alliteration.<sup>21</sup>

### III. F. 2. f. BEARS

A bear is *brúnn* at Edd.Vkv.118.15. *Björn/bera* (and cognates such as ModEng *bear*) are derived from the same PIE root as the color term *brúnn/brown*, viz. Pokorny's 5. *\*bher-*, though this etymological relationship was probably no clearer or more meaningful to OWN speakers than to ModEng speakers.

### III. F. 2. g. PLANTS

A type of plant is referred to as *brúngras* (ÍF XIV.256.05). Cleasby/Vigfússon in their entry for this word identify this as "probably Iceland moss" – *Cetraria islandica* – which is light brown in color (personal observation, 2013).

### III. F. 2. h. SWORDS

A sword is *brúnn* at ÍF XI.227.02.

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<sup>21</sup> The passage in question is a skaldic poem spoken by Kormákr himself: *Baugi varðk at bóta / brúnleggs hvaðrantveggja / gulduð fé fyrr bjartrar / halsfang mýils spangar; / gátut gjallar móta / golls laufguðum polli, / tál hefk teitimála, / tveir kossar fêmeiri*, "I was going to repay this, the fact that I took the bright woman twice into my *brúnn* arms, with a ring; you paid me first; I have never had two more expensive kisses, and I am deprived of joy."

### III. F. 2. i. STORMS

*Brúnn* describes a storm at FJ.A1.338/Skáld.094.14, where it is in alliteration.

### III. F. 3. Discussion: *Brúnn*

#### III. F. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Brúnn*

The PIE root *\*bher-*<sup>3</sup> (Pokorny 5. *bher-*) is common in the names of brown or red-brown animals, especially bears and beavers: Skt *bhalla-ḥ* “bear,” *babhrú-ḥ* “mongoose,” Av *bawra-/bawri-* “beaver,” ModEng *beaver*, *bear*, Latin *fiber* “beaver.” Its wide distribution suggests a PIE root that may well have had the primary meaning “brown,” though applied principally to animals.

In Gmc, this root forms a color term: OWN *brúnn*, OE *brūn*, OHG *brūn*. Based on the hue information conveyed by its IE cognates, it is unlikely that this word was a marker of brightness rather than of hue, as Lerner (1951: 247) suggests.

#### III. F. 3. b. Conclusions: *Brúnn*

*Brúnn* is a monolexemic term, but it is not common. Of the 12 prose occurrences outside of proper names in the OWN texts excerpted for this study, 3/4 describe horses (ÍF VII.099.06, ÍF VII.148.07, ÍF VII.148.13, ÍF XII.148.05, ÍF XII.276.22, ÍF XII.277.14, ÍF XIV.077.03, ÍF XIV.079.06). The term is used more liberally in poetry, to describe e.g. blood (in two cases) and a storm, as well as a man’s arm, though in all of these instances *brúnn* alliterates with other words in the poetic line.

It is interesting to note that the term *jarpr*, which seems to describe a hue similar to *brúnn*, is used exclusively of human hair, while *brúnn* is used almost exclusively of horse hair. Given the relative uncommonness and the specialized field of reference of both of these terms, it seems unlikely that either is a basic color term corresponding to English *brown*, though the field of

reference of each is similar to that term and they are probably translatable by it.

Since *brúnn* is specialized to dark colored hair (esp. of horses), and since only one instance of contrast between this term and *svartr* occurs (a case of kirtles, *blár*, *brúnn*, and *svartr*, distinguished – ÍF IX.240.21), I suggest that *svartr* encompasses *brúnn* in the OVN period. This supposition is given further force by the identification of the same person’s hair as *brúnn* and *svartr* (ÍF VII.325.16). Consequently, I am hesitant to ascribe basic status to *brúnn* and regard it instead as a collocationally restricted term describing a hue which otherwise might have fallen under *svartr* if the distinction were not in some way important economically in distinguishing between the appearances of different horses’ coats. The later basic meaning of *brúnn* can have developed from an earlier sense, “like this color of horse.”

### III. G. *Dimmr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “dim, dark, dusky”

Fritzner: “mørk”

Hægstad-Torp: “dimm, myrk”

ONP: “1. mørk, (om tåge) tæt, 2. (om stemme) dyb, 3. [e-u] uklar, 4. (åndeligt) formørket, 5. grufuld, uhyggelig”

Faroese (*dimmur*): “dimm, dökk, sãm; myrk”

ModIce (*dimmur*): “myrkur, dökkur”

ModNorw (*dim*): “halvmørk, skum; matt, lite gjennomsynleg; uklar, uskarp”

Norn: No apparent descendent adjective, but note the noun *dimm* (dusk, twilight).

#### III. G. 1. Occurrences of *dimmr*

See Appendix 2.

##### III. G. 1. a. Occurrences of *dimmr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. G. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Dimmr*

##### III. G. 2. a. EYES

Eyes that have been clouded are *dimmr* at ÍF XIII.410.02.

### III. G. 2. b. DWINDLING FIRE

A dwindling fire is *dimmr* at ÍF III.234.10.

### III. G. 2. c. FOG

A fog is *dimmr* at ÍF XIII.133.01.

### III. G. 2. d. NIGHT

Night is *dimmr* at ÍF VI.130.11, ÍF VI.324.08, ÍF XIV.149.27, ÍF XIV.354.16.

### III. G. 2. e. DARK ROOMS

Rooms in which there is no, or only very little, light are *dimmr* at ÍF VI.138.22, ÍF VI.298.26, ÍF VI.329.28, ÍF XIV.109.12, ÍF XIV.360.19.

### III. G. 2. f. WEATHER

Weather (presumably of a cloudy nature) is *dimmr* at ÍF XI.202.05.

### III. G. 3. Discussion: *Dimmr*

#### III. G. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Dimmr*

Kroonen (2013: 96) reports cognates in ModEng *dim* and East Frisian *dim*, as well as possibly OHG *timber* “dark” and OIr *deime* “darkness.” If the latter connections are accepted, the PIE etonym might have been *\*dhém(H)ros*.

#### III. G. 3. b. Conclusions: *Dimmr*

*Dimmr* appears to be nearly identical in distribution and meaning to its ModEng cognate *dim*. It does not appear to be associated with any particular hue, but rather with the absence of light (for instance in dark rooms, at night, on cloudy days, in fog, in a dwindling fire). It should not be considered a color term.

### III. H. *Døkk*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “dark”  
Fritzner: “mørkladen, mørkfarvet”

Hægstad-Torp: “døkk, myrkvoren”

ONP: “**1.** mørk (ɔ: ubelyst, uden glans, uden at afgive lys), **2.** (åndeligt) mørk, dunkel, uklar, **3.** mørk (af farve), **4.** (om hår) mørk, **5.** (om person) mørk, mørklødet, dyster (af udseende)

Faroese (*døkkur*): “døkk, myrk; dimm, uklár”

ModIce (*dökkur*): “dimmur, skuggalegur, myrkur”

ModNorw (*døkk*): “noko mørk; dim, uklar, matt”

Norn (*dokk*): “gloomy, depressed, discouraged”

### III. H. 1. a. Occurrences of *døkk*

See Appendix 2.

### III. H. 1. b. Occurrences of *døkk* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. H. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Døkk*

#### III. H. 2. a. HUMANS

A man is *døkkritaðr* at ÍF V.189.13. King Eysteinn is *døkk* at Heims. III.331.10, as are Ketill at ÍF XI.219.23 and Þorkell at ÍF XI.220.21. From the context it is not clear whether it is the person’s skin or hair which is being described as *døkk*.

At ÍF XII.070.17 Grímr is described (approvingly) as having *døkk* hair; at ÍF XI.258.23 Ásbjörn is described disapprovingly as *døkk*-haired. The Irish Haraldr gilli (whose *svartr* eyes are also commented upon in the same passage) has *døkk* hair at Heims. III.267.3. A man has *døkk* hair and skin at ÍF XII.359.15.

#### III. H. 2. b. *DØKKR* AS AN ELEMENT IN COMPOUNDS

*Døkkjarpr* hair appears at ÍF V.188.25; this appears to be translatable as “dark brown” hair. At Edd.Fm.188.04, gold is *ódøkk*, apparently since this eminently light-reflective material is paradigmatically not dark.

The existence of the term *døkkritaðr* (ÍF V.189.13) implies either that certain colors were

considered *døkk*, or that they could be *døkk*. A similar ambiguity exists with, e.g., English *dark*; whether “dark” colors are a class (which might include e.g. black, brown, navy) and/or merely a modification to a more basic hue (e.g. dark red, dark brown, dark blue) is no clearer in ModEng than in OWN.

### **III. H. 2. c. ARROWS**

An arrow is *døkk* at FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.274.21.

### **III. H. 2. d. EMOTIONAL FACES**

A face changing color in response to emotions is *døkk* at Heims. III.331.10.

### **III. H. 2. e. RAVENS**

Ravens are *døkk* at Edd.Rm.178.13, FJ.A1.078/Heims. I.199.1.

### **III. H. 2. f. CLOTHING**

A hat is *døkk* at FJ.A1.044/ÍF II.259.02.

### **III. H. 2. g. HILLSIDES**

Hillsides are *døkk* at Edd.H.H.137.19.

### **III. H. 2. h. DUNGEONS**

A dungeon is *døkk* at ÍF IX.215.16.

### **III. H. 2. i. SHIPS**

Ships are *døkk* at FJ.A1.304/ÍF III.171.25.

### **III. H. 2. j. WAVES**

Waves are *døkk* at FJ.A1.387/Heims. III.110.01.

## **III. H. 3. Discussion: *Døkk***

### **III. H. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Døkk***

No exact cognates in other Gmc languages, but cognate with Hittite *\*dankui-* “black, dark”

(Heidermanns 1993: 146). Old Frisian *diunk* may be a cognate from the same root or may be a borrowing from NGmc.

### III. H. 3. b. Conclusions: *Døkk*

It would be misleading to state that *døkk* conveys no information about color; in the same way that *dark white* would make little sense as a collocation in English, it is unlikely that color terms which stood for reflective or low-tone hues could be used together with *døkk* in OWN. The compound *døkkliðaðr* (ÍF V.189.13) implies that colors could be *døkk*. However, *døkk* does not appear on its own to communicate information about hue, appearing instead to be a macrocolor embracing any nonspecified shade of *svartr*/black as well as nonspecified low-saturation shades of chromatic color terms.

### III. I. *Fagr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “fair; used very freq. and almost as in Engl., except that the Icel. does not use it in a moral sense, like Engl. fair, unfair ”

Fritzner: “smuk, vakker, dejlig”

Hægstad-Torp: “fager, væn”

Lexicon Poeticum: “grundbetydning: ‘lysende, skinnende, lysende skön,’ eller skön i alm.”

Faroese (*fagur*): “fager, væn; (um lit) lysande, sterk; *veðrið var av tí fagraða* (med det finaste)...”

ModIce (*fagur*): “1 fallegur; 2 gljáandi, skínandi”

ModNorw (*fager*): “vakker, ven, fin, herleg”

Norn: No apparent descendent adjective, but note *foger* (the sun).

#### III. I. 1. Occurrences of *fagr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. I. 1. a. Occurrences of *fagr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. I. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Fagr*

##### III. I. 2. a. ALTARS

At Heims. III.276.12 an altar is *fagr*.

### III. I. 2. b. METAL

Metallic objects are frequently *fagr* (in line with the term's strong associations with reflectivity and light). Miscellaneous smithwork is *fagr* at ÍF XIV.141.05. An axe is *fagr* at ÍF XI.316.19. A sword is *fagr* at FJ.A1.456/Heims. III.251.14.

A belt-clasp (presumably metallic) is *fagr* at ÍF XIII.436.23.

Gold and golden items are *fagr* at Edd.Gðr.II.228.18, Edd.Hm.278.04, Edd.Vkv.121.18, FJ.A1.115/ÍF IV.056.20, and FJ.A1.283/ÍF VI.283.19. A golden standard is *fagr* at FJ.A1.258/Heims. II.367.05. A king's helmet is *fagr* at Heims. III.186.14.

### III. I. 2. c. HUMAN HAIR

Human hair and facial hair may be *fagr*, but this term does not seem to communicate any particular color term (see the discussion of human hair colors under *hvítr*). A beard is *fagr* at Heims. I.133.13. Head hair is *fagr* at Heims. I.91.2, Heims. II.369.9, ÍF XI.138.08, ÍF XII.203.26, ÍF XIV.030.01, ÍF XIV.276.11, Heims. I.122.25, Heims. II.37.20, FJ.A2.457/ÍF XIV.099.06, ÍF VIII.007.12, ÍF XII.006.18, ÍF XII.029.21, ÍF XII.085.23, ÍF III.060.11, ÍF V.077.02, ÍF IX.197.19. For the most part, it is the hair of women or men of noble descent that is *fagr*.

### III. I. 2. d. CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

A cape is *fagr* at FJ.A1.302/ÍF III.149.04.

Unspecified clothing is *fagr* at Edd.Vkv.123.18, Edd.Am.252.04, Edd.H.H.135.02, ÍF II.046.13, ÍF XIII.165.22, ÍF VI.365.04, Heims. III.275.15.

Cushions are *fagr* at ÍF XIV.032.18. Tables and tents are *fagr* at ÍF XII.014.22.

### III. I. 2. e. LANDSCAPE FEATURES

Valleys are *fagr* at Heims. II.323.8, ÍF II.202.17, ÍF XIV.042.27, ÍF XIV.140.14.

A cave is *fagr* at ÍF XIV.014.03. A grove is *fagr* at ÍF XIV.067.24. Undescribed land around Hringsfjörður is *fagr* at FJ.A1.226/Heims. II.022.019.

Grassy land is *fagr* at Edd.Þrk.111.10, ÍF VIII.041.16, ÍF VIII.042.02, ÍF VII.199.17, ÍF XII.182.20. Forested land is *fagr* at ÍF IV.255.03.

Land indicated as good for settlement is *fagr* at ÍF IV.255.21, ÍF V.067.07, ÍF V.109.16, ÍF XIV.121.13, ÍF XIV.240.04, ÍF XIII.286.07/21, ÍF XIII.286.25.

### III. I. 2. f. ANIMALS

A dog is *fagr* at ÍF XIII.303.07/22. An ox's horn is *fagr* at ÍF V.084.08. Horses are *fagr* at ÍF V.101.25, ÍF XIV.077.07.

### III. I. 2. g. LIQUIDS

A drink is *fagr* at Edd.Hunn.305.01.

### III. I. 2. h. PEOPLE

Humans, men and women, children and adults, are referred to frequently as *fagr*.

Women are the most frequent referents of *fagr*; occurrences include Edd.Fm.187.22, Edd.Grp.168.09, Edd.Grp.168.14, Edd.Grp.168.18, Edd.Grp.168.24, Edd.H.Hv.140.08, Edd.H.Hv.140.20, Edd.H.Hv.141.09, Edd.Háv.031.17, Edd.Sd.195.16, Edd.Skm.069.03, Edd.Vkv.117.07, FJ.A1.377/Heims. III.055.21, FJ.A1.377/Heims. III.055.21, FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.094.06, FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.094.06, FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.094.06, ÍF II.016.19, ÍF II.016.19, ÍF II.201.02, ÍF III.057.21/29, ÍF III.060.09/10, ÍF IV.029.01, ÍF IV.203.26, ÍF IX.201.09, ÍF XI.227.11, ÍF XIII.151.14, ÍF XIII.476.15, ÍF XIV.075.14, ÍF XIV.152.08, FJ.A1.087/ÍF VIII.274.09, FJ.A1.090/ÍF VIII.294.12, FJ.A1.196/ÍF III.090.17, ÍF XIV.029.29, FJ.A1.300/ÍF III.122.01, ÍF XIII.102.16, ÍF XII.007.04, ÍF XII.007.06, ÍF XII.440.12, ÍF XIV.009.03, ÍF

XIV.016.15, and Edd.Sg.216.04 (an alternate reading). A woman is *fagrglóa* (“fair-glowing”) at Edd.Alv.124.19. A woman’s lips are *fagr* at FJ.A2.456/ÍF XIV.098.22.

An odd occurrence is a woman described as *gangfagr* (“attractive in walking”?) at FJ.A1.115/ÍF IV.073.08, and another called *hoppfagr* (“attractive in hopping”?) at FJ.A1.114/ÍF IV.049.21; both occurrences are in poetry.

Examples of adult men who are described with the term *fagr* are Eindriði Einarsson (Heims. III.122.10), Bárðr (ÍF XIII.102.14), King Ólafr kyrri (Heims. III.203.7), and King Ingi (Heims. III.331.14), as well as men at ÍF XIV.289.09, ÍF XIII.066.21, ÍF XIII.286.22, FJ.A1.081/ÍF VIII.211.18; in the latter case a *fagr* man is approvingly contrasted with men who are *svartr*, *fólr*, and *sólr*, so the colors of his face, hair, or clothing may be relevant to his consideration as *fagr*. The face of St Ólafr is *fagr* in death (Heims. II.387.9), otherwise a *fagr* face is associated with good health (FJ.A1.288/Heims. II.392.006, FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.274.19). Men are described approvingly as *fagrleitr* at Heims. III.412.6.ÍF XI.164.09. A man appears to be called *fagr* deprecatorily at ÍF III.080.19.

Male infants are *fagr* at ÍF XIV.255.09, ÍF XIV.255.11, ÍF XIV.256.15, ÍF XIV.257.21.

Female infants are *fagr* at ÍF III.055.07, ÍF III.056.11, ÍF III.058.05.

A foot is *fagr* at Heims. II.126.19. Hands are *fagr* at ÍF XIII.336.15, ÍF XIV.030.02, FJ.A1.091/ÍF VIII.301.05. A wound is *fagr* at ÍF IX.203.04/05.

### III. I. 2. i. HUMAN EYES

The eyes of St Ólafr are *fagr* at Heims. II.04.7.

### III. I. 2. j. FEASTS

Among the frequent referents of *fagr* are feasts; *fagr* feasts occur at Heims. I.315.23, Heims. III.100.1, Heims. III.250.6, Heims. III.98.11, ÍF XIII.366.16, ÍF XIV.066.23.

### III. I. 2. k. PLANTS

Mistletoe is *fagr* at Edd.Vsp.007.22. Onions are *fagr* at ÍF XIII.294.11/29, ÍF XIII.295.04/14.

### III. I. 2. l. PAINT

Paint is *fagr* at FJ.A1.397/Heims. III.113.20.

### III. I. 2. m. WATER

A pool is *fagr* at ÍF XIV.014.04. A well is *fagr* at Heims. II.405.10.

### III. I. 2. n. PRECIOUS MATERIALS

Precious materials (not further specified) are *fagr* at Edd.Grp.166.06, Edd.Grp.166.06.

### III. I. 2. o. PROCESSIONS

A procession is *fagr* at Heims. III.81.6.

### III. I. 2. p. ROADS

A road is *fagr* at FJ.A1.378/Heims. III.060.03.

### III. I. 2. q. SHIELDS

Shields are frequently *fagr*; occurrences include Edd.Hunn.307.04, Heims. III.184.9, ÍF IV.120.23, ÍF XI.126.10, ÍF XI.127.09, ÍF XII.227.11, ÍF XIV.335.17.

### III. I. 2. r. SHIPS

Ships are frequently referred to as *fagr*; occurrences include Heims. I.353.10, ÍF XIV.291.04, FJ.A1.385/Heims. III.071.08, ÍF IV.278.13, ÍF VI.366.20, FJ.A1.364/Heims. III.050.11, ÍF II.091.18, FJ.A1.208/ÍF III.290.06, ÍF XIV.276.05. At Edd.H.Hv.144.10 and FJ.A1.490/Heims. III.239.17 it is particular parts of ships that are *fagr*; at ÍF II.091.03 some importance seems to be attached to the paint job in evaluating the ship as *fagr*.

### III. I. 2. s. SKY

The sky is *fagr* at Edd.Alv.126.01.

### III. I. 2. t. STONE

A stone is *fagr* at Edd.Hunn.304.10.

### III. I. 2. u. THE SUN

The sun is *fagr* at Edd.Alv.126.17, Edd.Vsp.015.01.

### III. I. 2. v. SWANS

A swan is *fagr* at ÍF III.054.07.

### III. I. 2. w. TABLES

A table is *fagr* at ÍF XIV.030.18; tables and tents are *fagr* at ÍF XII.014.22.

### III. I. 2. x. TOWNS

A town is *fagr* at Edd.Hunn.306.21. The village of Lóar is *fagr* at Heims. II.182.24.

### III. I. 2. y. TREES

A tree branch is *fagr* at ÍF XIII.104.12; tree trunks at Heims. I.148.7, ÍF XIII.015.08, tree flowers at ÍF XIII.104.07. All these trees are seen in dream visions. Wood is *fagr* at Edd.Alv.128.13.

### III. I. 2. z. WEATHER

Weather is *fagr* at Heims. I.353.6, Heims. III.269.8, ÍF VII.230.07.

### III. I. 3. Discussion: *Fagr*

#### III. I. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Fagr*

Gmc cognates include Gothic *fagrs*, OE *fæger*, OHG *fagar*, making possible the reconstruction of PGmc *\*fagraz*. Lehmann (1986: 101) suggests as a possibility derivation from a PIE root *\*pak-*, *pag-* (with long or short *\*a*) "to make firm," connecting the term to Skt *pajrás* "firm, solid," Gk *pēgos* "firm," Lat *pāx* "peace."

### III. I. 3. b. Conclusions: *Fagr*

Having collected all its occurrences in the texts excerpted, it appears that the word *fagr* does not have hue associations (as ModEng *fair* may sometimes have in application to hair), but denotes only notions of attractiveness, propriety, good workmanship, and approval. Similarly the PGmc etonym *\*fagraz* does not appear to have communicated hue, but rather attractiveness (Heidermanns 1993: 181).

Since the term is inherently judgmental, subjective, and aesthetic, it is difficult to draw an objective picture of the appearance of something from its description as *fagr*, though frequently it appears that we are meant to do so by OWN authors, for whom the cultural associations of *fagr* in particular contexts must have been so strongly reinforced as to seem objective. However, since attractiveness and shininess/reflectivity are tightly bound concepts in OWN, *fagr* does frequently co-occur with hue terms.

### III. J. *Følr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “pale ”

Fritzner: “bleggul, graagul”

Hægstad-Torp: “bleik”

Lexicon Poeticum: “bleg, hvidlig”

ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*følin*): “(mest um folk) folen, bleik”

ModIce (*fölur*): “(einkum í andliti) hvítleitur”

ModNorw (*folen*): «1 nifs, forferdeleg; ofseleg, svær *ein f- kar / fole (til) vêt / forst* adv: svært, veldig, fælt *fole sterk, mykje, lite* 2 forskremd, fælen *bli ståande heilt f- 3* bleik, gusten»

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

#### III. J. 1. Occurrences of *følr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. J. 1. a. Occurrences of *følr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. J. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Fqlr*

#### III. J. 2. a. HUMAN FACES

Most occurrences of *fqlr* describe (living) human faces: ÍF IV.262.24, ÍF XI.063.15, ÍF XII.070.14, ÍF XII.298.21, ÍF XII.299.25, ÍF XII.301.06, ÍF XII.304.25, ÍF XII.302.01, Gylf. 45.5, Heims. I.301.13, Heims. II.119.13, FJ.A1.049/ÍF II.110.02, Heims. II.391.9, ÍF IX.026.05/19, ÍF V.155.02, Edd.Alv.124.06, Edd.Vsp.011.18, ÍF VI.274.07, and ÍF XII.292.02.

Often these descriptions carry a note of low esteem: ÍF XII.298.21, ÍF XII.299.25, ÍF XII.301.06, ÍF XII.304.25, ÍF XII.302.01.

The same can be said of the occurrences of *föllitaðr* (ÍF XII.302.01) and *fölleitr* used about men's faces: ÍF XI.063.15, ÍF XII.298.21, ÍF XII.299.25, ÍF XII.301.06, ÍF XII.304.25, ÍF XII.070.14, and women's: ÍF IV.262.24.

A *fqlr* face communicates fear at Heims. II.119.13, anger at ÍF XII.292.02, drunkenness at FJ.A1.049/ÍF II.110.02, injury at Heims. II.391.9, ÍF IX.026.05/19, ÍF VI.274.07, grief at ÍF V.155.02. All of these conditions may produce a certain pallor in the human face. At FJ.A1.081/ÍF VIII.211.14 a face is noted disapprovingly as *allfqlr* ("thoroughly *fqlr*").

#### III. J. 2. b. CORPSES

*Fqlr* describes the nose of a corpse (Edd.Vsp.011.18) as well as the nose of someone who has spent too much time with corpses (Edd.Alv.124.06). At Heims. II.119.13 a face which has turned *fqlr* with fear is compared to a corpse. At FJ.A1.341/Heims. III.044.03, skulls are *fqlr*.

#### III. J. 2. c. HORSES

*Fqlr* is rare as a horse color in OWN, but does occur in prose on one occasion (ÍF V.103.01; though in context the horses are described as *ófqlr* – suggesting that *fqlr* is an attribute which these particular horses do not possess, perhaps even in a litotic way). The one poetic

occurrence of *fōlr* as a horse color in the texts excerpted is Edd.H.H.II.160.27. The OE cognate *fealu* is used as a horse color in *Bēowulf* (once at line 865), but does not otherwise occur as a horse color in OE.

### III. J. 2. d. MAN-MADE MATERIALS

Man-made materials are rarely described as *fōlr* and only in poetry: Edd.H.H.138.16 (blades), Edd.Sd.189.14 (chains), FJ.A2.460/ÍF XIV.113.15 (wooden ship).

### III. J. 3. Discussion: *Fōlr*

#### III. J. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Fōlr*

According to the OED entry for *fallow* (the ModEng cognate to *fōlr*), the root in Gmc *\*fal-waz* from which it derives is likely cognate with the root in Greek *πολ-ιός* (gray, old man), Latin *pal-lidus* (pale). To this I would add (from Pokorny 6. *pel-*) Skt *palitá-* “gray of age, old man,” Av *pouruša-*, *paouruša-* “gray, old,” Arm. *alik* “white (applied to sky, beards, hair),” OHG *falawiska* “ashes,” *falco* “falcon,” Gk *pelios* “dark,” *pelārgós* “stork,” Welsh *llwyd* “gray,” Alb. *plak* “old man,” Lith. *palvas* “pale yellow.” These cognates point to a root that may have been primarily associated with old age, the color gray, and/or pale, diluted colors more generally.

#### III. J. 3. b. Conclusions: *Fōlr*

*Fōlr* appears not to be a hue term at all, but neatly translatable as “pale” in ModE, i.e. “low in saturation.” It is contrasted one time with a color term (*svartr*) in a comparison of horses (ÍF V.103.01), though the comparison of a low saturation term (which implies a certain amount of reflectivity of light) with a high saturation term is not surprising even if one or both are not strictly speaking hue terms – consider that the unambiguously non-color terms *bjartr* and *fagr* are frequently contrasted with *svartr*. By way of contrast, the OE cognate *fealu* does appear to have been a hue term which was focused near ModEng *yellow* (Barnes 1960: 511).

### III. K. *Gránn*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: (no entry)

Fritzner: (no entry)

Hægstad-Torp: “graa (= *grár*) (poet.)”

Lexicon Poeticum: “grå”

ONP: (no entry; occurs only in poetry)

Faroese (*gráin*): “*við ~ takk med skiti takk, vantakka*”

ModIce: “grár”

ModNorw: (no apparent descendent term)

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

#### III. K. 1. Occurrences of *gránn*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. K. 1. a. Occurrences of *gránn* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. K. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Gránn*

#### III. K. 2. a. WOLVES

A wolf is *gránn* at Edd.H.H.II.155.02.

#### III. K. 2. b. MOON

The moon is *gránn* at FJ.A1.306/Skáld.039.07.

#### III. K. 2. c. SEA

The sea is *gránn* at FJ.A1.399/Skáld.096.03.

#### III. K. 2. d. LAND

An island is *gránn* at FJ.A1.476/Skáld.103.22.

#### III. K. 2. e. EAGLES

An eagle is *gránn* (in both alliteration and *aðalhending*) at FJ.A1.278.03/ÍF VI.147.01.

### III. K. 3. Discussion: *Gránn*

#### III. K. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Gránn*

Plainly formed from the same root as the more frequent *grár* (see below), it is possible that *gránn* represents a back-formation to the inchoative verb *grána* “to become gray” (Heidermanns 1993: 259). Another possibility is that this was a noun (perhaps a kenning for the wolf, \**grá-inn* “the gray one”) that has fossilized with adjectival meaning.

De Vries (1962: 184) offers no etymology for the form, but compares the usual Saami word for gray, *rānes* (*ránis* in current standard orthography, Svonni 1990: 175). If this is a borrowing from OWN *gránn*, it suggests that *gránn* may once have been in more general use before the literary period. Whatever its origin, *gránn* is isolated to NGmc and does not have parallels in attested WGmc or EGmc languages.

### III. K. 3. b. Conclusions: *Gránn*

*Gránn* is extremely rare and restricted to the poetic corpus. It is not a basic color term.

### III. L. *Grár*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “grey ... **II. metaph.** spiteful”

Fritzner: “1) graa ... 2) uvenlig, slem som *grábeinn*, *grádýri* [= wolf]”

Hægstad-Torp: “graa (um lit)”

Lexicon Poeticum: “**1**) grå, om dyr, ulven ... **2**) fjendtlig, listig, underfundig (udviklingen er sikkert gået ud fra ulvens grå farve, jfr. *ulfugaðr*)

ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*gráur*): “grå”

ModIce (*grár*): “með blandlit hvíts og svarts, misdökkum”

ModNorw (*grå*): “som har ein farge mellom kvitt og svart”

Norn (*gro*): “grey”

### III. L. 1. Occurrences of *grár*

See Appendix 2.

### III. L. 1. a. Occurrences of *grár* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. L. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Grár*

### III. L. 2. a. HORSES

Horses are frequently described as *grár*. Occurrences in prose include *Hauksbók* 066.21, ÍF III.232.02, ÍF IX.189.18, ÍF VI.094.11 (this horse is seen in a dream vision so may be supernatural), ÍF VI.309.02 (this horse is explicitly noted to be old), ÍF X.221.25, ÍF XII.320.23 (seen in a dream). Horses are *apalgrár* (apparently a distinct shade or pattern of coat; the term is also used of cattle) at *Hauksbók* 030.19 and ÍF XII.449.10.

### III. L. 2. b. WOLVES AND (METAPHORICALLY) “WOLFISH” BEHAVIOR

Wolves may be described as *grár* – as at Edd.H.H.II.150.18 and Skáld. 132.28, the two occurrences in the texts excerpted. More frequently, other, more specialized color terms such as *blakkr*, *gránn*, and *hárr* are used for wolves.

The frequent use of the term *grár* to refer to a person’s surly mood or disposition probably originates by comparison with the character of wolves (prose occurrences of *grár* or *gráligr* referring to a person’s mood include ÍF III.112.02, ÍF IX.238.04, ÍF XI.006.14, ÍF XII.070.05, ÍF XII.117.29, ÍF XII.141.06, ÍF XII.148.27, ÍF XIII.062.21, ÍF XIV.052.26, ÍF XIV.132.25).

A reference to a wound that is *gráligr* (FJ.A1.370/Heims. III.087.03) may be to its visible color or, more likely, to the maliciousness of the attack that caused it.

### III. L. 2. c. TEXTILES AND PELTS

Clothing and textiles may be *grár*, and animal pelts are frequently described as *grár* (as well as *algrár*, which is used only of pelts: ÍF IV.228.10, ÍF VI.373.02). Wool may also be *grár* (ÍF VII.187.02). Occurrences of *grár* pelts include Heims. I.212.11, Heims. II.149.30, Heims. II.253.9, ÍF II.034.23, ÍF II.042.02, ÍF II.043.16, ÍF II.233.04, ÍF IV.261.30, ÍF IX.132.04, ÍF XIV.169.16, ÍF XIV.169.16.

Capes are *grár* at ÍF V.188.19, ÍF XI.286.31, Heims. II.41.11, Heims. III.382.11 (the latter

two belonging to kings).

Cloaks are *grár* at ÍF III.217.01, ÍF V.079.14, ÍF V.104.03, ÍF VI.090.09, ÍF X.250.29, ÍF V.185.03. At ÍF V.185.03 a *grár* cloak is put on ahead of rainy weather.

Cowls are *grár* at ÍF VI.112.13, ÍF XIII.127.16, ÍF XIII.129.09, ÍF XIII.133.03, ÍF XIII.139.06, ÍF XIII.135.02. At ÍF XIII.135.02 a *grár* cowl is worn to blend in with shadows.

A bag is *grár* at ÍF XII.228.27, a jacket at ÍF III.334.14, kirtles at ÍF III.068.16 and ÍF XI.261.12.

*Grár* textiles appear to be ambiguous as to the wealth that they indicate; a king's hat is *grár* at Heims. II.41.11 while at Heims. II.290.11, tents on a ship are colored *grár* in order to disguise them as less kingly.

### III. L. 2. d. OTHER MAMMALS

Other mammals besides horses and wolves may be described as *grár*: a lamb (ÍF III.231.23), a bull (ÍF V.230.16), oxen (ÍF XI.256.16), a dog (ÍF XIII.145.21), a bear (ÍF XIII.359.03), and the cat which the Miðgarðsormr is disguised as in the story of Útgarða-Loki (Gylf. 41.39). Cattle are *apalgrár* at ÍF IV.171.17, ÍF IV.170.23, ÍF V.084.06, ÍF XIII.076.02, a term also used for horses, as noted above.

A sheep is *grábildóttir* (which Cleasby/Vigfússon define as “with grey-spotted cheeks”) at ÍF X.161.15. Lambs and kids are *grákollóttir* (gray-shaven) at ÍF XIII.205.02.

### III. L. 2. e. SILVER

Silver, though usually *hvítr*, may be described as *grár* as well. There are two occurrences in poetry (Edd.Gðr.II.224.09, FJ.A1.194/ÍF III.063.06) and one in prose (ÍF XIII.401.05). It is possible that there is a distinction between *hvítr* and *grár* silver, based on e.g. reflectivity, or that *grár* silver is less pure than *hvítr*.

### III. L. 2. f. STEEL

Items made of steel may be *grár*, including swords (Gísli Súrsson's famous sword is named *Grásíða*, see ÍF VI.005.05 and *passim*, though this may be a metaphorical sense of the color term meant to suggest a wolf or its ferocity) and mail (Edd.Grt.299.12).

### III. L. 2. g. EAGLES

An eagle is *grár* at FJ.A1.030/ÍF II.070.10.

### III. L. 2. h. FISH

A type of fish (the lumpsucker) is *grár* at FJ.A1.300/ÍF III.169.04, ÍF III.168.22.

### III. L. 2. i. SHIPS

A ship is colored *grár* to be disguised as less kingly at Heims. II.290.17, while at FJ.A1.186/ÍF IX.224.14 a shipwreck is *grár*.

### III. L. 2. j. SPEARS

Spears are *grár* at Edd.H.H.132.02, FJ.A1.119/ÍF IX.071.15. From the context it is not clear if this refers to the wooden shaft or the steel spearhead.

### III. L. 2. k. INDISTINCT DISTANT SHAPES

A shape seen indistinctly in the distance is *grár* at ÍF XI.176.05.

### III. L. 3. Discussion: *Grár*

#### III. L. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Grár*

Cognates to *grár* form color terms corresponding to “gray” in other Gmc languages as well: OE *græg*, OHG *grâo*, OFris. *grē*, though outside Gmc the relationship of this word is uncertain. It is cognate to Latin *rāvus* “gray;” the loss of the initial *g-* in Latin is due to the borrowing of the term from Sabellic, though that the original Latin word preserved the initial *g-* is shown in the horse name *Grāvastellus* “gray head” (Lloyd and Lühr 1999: 593). These color

terms may also distantly be related to the root in OCS *zbrjǫ* “glance, see” (Heidermanns 1993: 259). Within Gmc, the same root forms the OWN term *grýandi* “dawn,” OSw. *grȳ* “to dawn,” and likely Far. *gliggja* “to shine, dawn” (Kroonen 2013: 188-189).

### III. L. 3. b. Conclusions: *Grár*

*Grár* appears to have a meaning similar to its cognates, ModEng *gray*, ModNorw *grå*, German *grau*, etc.: a non-chromatic hue midway between the two poles of tone, pale/white and dark/black. It is an exceptionally frequent term in OWN literature, is not subsumed under any other term, is monolexemic, and almost certainly a basic color term.

Wolf concurs, defining the range of the color in OWN as “a range of shades on a scale from black to white excluding the two poles” (Wolf 2009: 236-237). This is practically identical with the semantics of the cognate terms in ModEng, ModIce, and ModNorw.

### III. M. *Grónn*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “green, of verdure”

Fritzner: “grøn”

Hægstad-Torp: “grøn”

Lexicon Poeticum: “grön, om jorden og dens vækster”

ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*grønur*): “grøn (grøn på lit; yverf ung, umogen, urøynd)

ModIce (*grænn*): “með lit gróandi grass og plantna”

ModNorw (*grøn*): “som har ein farge mellom gult og blått i spekteret”

Norn (*grøn*): “green”

#### III. M. 1. Occurrences of *grónn*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. M. 1. a. Occurrences of *grónn* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. M. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Grónn*

##### III. M. 2. a. PLANTS

21 of 37 referents (about 57%) specified by *grónn* are plants, parts of plants, or describe the earth or places on it whose color is clearly conditioned by the plants thereon. At first glance, therefore, *grónn* may seem to be relatively contextually restricted, but plants dominate the hue of most landscapes. In a substantial corpus of original ModEng poetry of varied material such as *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers* (ed. Hunt 2002), 33 of 57 referents (or about 58%) of green are also to plants, parts of plants, or areas of the earth whose color is primarily that of their plant life. Since *green* is unambiguously a BCT in ModE, this cautions us not to reject *grónn* as a BCT even while most of its occurrences are with reference to plants or vegetation-covered earth; plants are simply the commonest available referent to which to apply this color term.

Earth/land is identified as *grónn* without particular reference to plants at FJ.A1.386/Heims. III.102.01, FJ.A1.488/Heims. III.247.08, FJ.A1.066/Heims. I.195.21, FJ.A1.062/Heims. I.158.16. Particularly grassy land is *grónn* at FJ.A1.118/ÍF IX.020.10, ÍF XIV.132.07. Yggdrasil is *grónn* at Edd.Vsp.005.08, and a tree trunk seen in a dream is *grónn* at Heims. I.148.8.

Roads, probably with the implication that they are overgrown with plant life, are *grónn* at Edd.Fm.187.24, Edd.Rp.280.06.

A tree is *fagrgrónn* at Heims. I.90.11. Like all *fagr* trees (see above under *fagr*), this one is seen in a dream.

Onions are *grónn* at Edd.Gðr.II.224.07, Edd.Vsp.001.16.

### III. M. 2. b. TEXTILES & CLOTHING

Textiles can be died *grónn* – a striped ship’s sail (Heims. II.273.18), a kirtle (ÍF XIII.236.14), or, more frequently, capes (ÍF X.233.01, ÍF IX.064.03, ÍF IX.052.02/14, Heims. II.266.13). A kirtle is described as *gulgrónn* (a hapax) at ÍF V.188.02.

### III. M. 2. c. WATER

Water is not very frequently described as *grónn*, though at FJ.A1.240/Heims. II.145.18 the Baltic Sea is *grónn* (in a context where the color term does not alliterate or rhyme), and at H.&H. 151.25 there is a lake mentioned which takes this color in autumn. This latter may be a supernatural event, as many of the localities described in that work are meant to be examples of preternatural wonders.

### **III. M. 2. d. SWORDS**

A sword is *grónn* at ÍF XI.227.02.

### **III. M. 3. Discussion: *Grónn***

#### **III. M. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Grónn***

An ancestral PGmc *\*grōnjaz*, apparently related to the Gmc root for “grow” (OWN *gróa*) underlies OWN *grónn* “green,” OHG *gruoni* “green,” OS *grōni* “green,” OE *grēne* “green.” The term is not attested in Gothic. No related words are used to form color terms in other, non-Gmc, IE languages.

The etymology indicates a long tradition of association between this color and growing plant life, but it is not unusual at all for words related to plant life to form the source of a BCT for green; cf. Polish *zielony* “green,” *ziola* “herb” (Anderson 2003: 123).

#### **III. M. 3. b. Conclusions: *Grónn***

*Grónn* appears to have a semantic range roughly equivalent to its ModEng cognate *green*, and its meaning does not seem to be subsumed within the range of any other color term.

*Grónn* is the 6th commonest color term in the OWN texts excerpted, though of the six commonest color terms it is the most restricted in occurrence, as its use in the texts excerpted is primarily (57%) for the color of vegetation. However, this probably does not indicate that the color term itself is non-basic, as plants are the commonest available referent for the color (in

OWN as much as in ModE) and the term is applied to the visual description of other referents, including man-made referents, without further remark.

Altogether, *grónn* is monolexemic, very common, and applied to a wide variety of referents, though the commonest available referent is plants and plant life. It is a strong candidate for a BCT, and is judged to be one in Wolf 2006 as well.

*Grónn* is also used fairly frequently in non-literal symbolic contexts, representing new life, regeneration, freshness, etc. See especially Wolf 2010: 112, Zanchi 2006: 1096.

### III. N. *Gulr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “yellow”

Fritzner: “gul”

Hægstad-Torp: “gul”

Lexicon Poeticum: “gul”

ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*gulur*): “gùl, gul”

ModIce (*gulur*): “með lit sólar eða sítrónu”

ModNorw (*gul*): “som har ein farge mellom oransje og grønt i spekteret”

Norn (\**gol*): Adjective not independently attested in written sources, but inferable from *golgrav* “a gutter in the byre for the cattle’s urine,” *golmoget* “dark-coloured with lighter (yellowish, whitish) belly.”

#### III. N. 1. Occurrences of *gulr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. N. 1. a. Occurrences of *gulr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. N. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Gulr*

#### III. N. 2. a. HUMAN HAIR

Human hair is *gulr* at ÍF V.187.14, ÍF XII.053.11, Heims. III.331.14, Heims. III.203.9, Heims. II.172.22. In the occurrences at Heims. II.172.22 and Heims. III.203.09 the formulation *gult sem silki* (g. as gold) is used of the color of human hair.

### III. N. 2. b. SILK

A lion sewn into a jacket with silk is *gulr* at Heims. III.235.17. Hair is *gult sem silki* “g. as silk” at Heims. II.172.22 and Heims. III.203.09.

### III. N. 2. c. WOOD

Wood is *gulr* at FJ.A1.133/ÍF IV.078.09.

### III. N. 2. d. IN TOPONYMS?

The place-name *Gulaping*, located near the modern Norwegian community of *Gulen* on the *Gulafforden*, may at first glance appear to be related to the term *gulr*. However, it is more likely that the toponym is derived from OWN *gul/gula/gjóla* (gust of wind), an etymology supported by *Store norske leksikon* (v.: *Gulating*).

### III. N. 2. e. GULR IN COMPOUNDS

The compound *gulgrónn* (“g.-green”) occurs at ÍF V.188.02, for the color of a kirtle.

*Gulr* does not form the head of any compounds in the texts excerpted for this study (most of which were written in the thirteenth century). However, the ONP cites a compound *rauðgulr* in some texts dated to the fourteenth century, used of the hair of Guðmundr in *Svínfellinga saga* (in the *Sturlunga saga* compilation), and also of the hair of Oddgeirr in *Karlamagnus saga*.

## III. N. 3. Discussion: *Gulr*

### III. N. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Gulr*

At the deepest level reconstructible, *gulr* is formed from the PIE root *\*ǵhel-* (Pokorny 1. *ǵhel-*), widely attested as a root for color terms, words for “bile” and “gold,” and for the names of distinctively-colored animals and plants. This root appears in Indo-Iranian (Skt *hári-* “blonde, yellow, green-yellow,” *híraṇya-* “gold,” Av. *zāiri-* “yellow,” *zarañiia-* “gold,” Middle Persian *zard* “yellow”), Gk (*chlōrós* “green,”), Italic (Latin *helvus* “pale yellow,” *holus* “vegetables,”

*galbinus* “green-yellow,” *fel* “bile”), Alb (*diell* “sun,” *dhelpeŕ* “fox”), Celtic (OIr. *gel* “shining, white,” *glass* “green, gray, blue,” Welsh *gell* “yellow,” *glas* “blue,” Breton *glaz* “green,” *gell* “brown, orange, yellow,” Cornish *gell* “brown,” Gaulish *giliuos* “light brown”), Gmc (OE *geolu* “yellow,” *gold* “gold,” OWN *gull* “gold,” *gall* “bile, poison”), Balto-Slavic (Lith *žėlvas* “greenish, yellowish,” *žolė* “grass,” *gulbės* “swan,” Latv *zelts* “gold,” *zils* “blue,” OCS *zlato* “gold,” *zelenъ* “green,” *zľčъ* “bile”). While there are notable divergences toward other colors in Celt., Alb, and Balto-Slavic especially, the overwhelming testimony of most branches of the family points to the color yellow or green, and with the root’s frequent association with words that mean “gold” or “shine” (e.g. in ModEng *gold*, Skt *hīraṇya-* “gold,” OHG *glenzen* “to shine,” OIr. *glé* “shining, clear”), it seems most likely to have been a PIE root with a primary meaning of “yellow.” The migration to “green” in some branches, and the variability of the roots in words for green in the various IE branches, suggests that probably PIE did not have an independent lexeme for the color green, but subsumed it under yellow.

The OWN noun *gull* (gold) itself, together with its cognates in other Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages such as OE *gold*, Goth *gulþ*, OCS *zlato*, is to be traced to a derived zero-grade nominal formation *\*ǵhl-tó-*; it is, etymologically, a substance with the property indicated by *\*ǵhel-*, so very probably “the yellow stuff” (cf. Lloyd and Lühr 1999: 521-522).

An adjective derived from the same root, *gelwaz*, can be reconstructed for Proto-West Germanic on the strength of OE *geolo*, OHG *gelo*, OS *gelu\**, all with the meaning *yellow* (Heidermanns 1993: 240, 262). This adjective does not have attested cognates in Gothic or NGmc, but is directly cognate to Latin *helvus* “honey-colored,” Lith *žėlvas* “greenish, yellowish,” and Gaulish *giliuos* “light brown” (Lloyd and Lühr 1999: 145). OWN *gulr*, which is

frequently cited as a precise cognate with WGmc *\*gelwaz* or its descendants,<sup>22</sup> cannot in fact derive from *\*gelwaz*, which would give ODN *\*gølr*, not *gulr*, by *w*-umlaut. There is therefore no color term for yellow that is definitely reconstructible for PGmc, though it is more likely than not that the existence of *\*gelwaz* as a term (whatever its semantic range might have been) dates to that stage of the language's development, especially since *\*gel-waz* is formed very similarly to securely reconstructible Proto-Germanic color terms such as *\*blē-waz* "blue" and *\*grē-waz* "gray." However, while the PGmc color terms *\*blēwaz* (> ODN *blár*), *\*grēwaz* (> ODN *grár*), and *\*gelwaz* (> OE *geolo*) share a common adjectival formant in *\*-waz* and thus might be approximately contemporary in formation *as lexical items*, there is no way to judge from their morphological similarity whether the color terms named by these lexical items might be contemporary *as concepts*. *\*U*-stem adjectives of cognate formation tend to describe "elemental physical properties" (Sihler 1995: 349) in the IE languages, a concept consistent with a basic color meaning for *gulr*, but not demonstrative of such.

A new idea, however, advanced by Kroonen (2013: 174), is that both WGmc *\*gelwaz* and ODN *gulr* might continue an ablauting *\*u*-stem adjective, nom. *\*geluz*, gen. *\*gulwaz*, with different variants of the ablauting root selected in different daughter Gmc languages and then regularized to the normal adjective paradigm in the individual language in question. This would require transfer of the vocalism of the oblique stem to the nominative, however, and otherwise could not account for the absence of breaking in the root of *\*geluz* to an unattested ODN *\*gǫlr*. Kroonen is also incorrect in his statement that there are no traces of *a*-umlaut in *gulr* and its derivatives, as several compounds (attested outside the texts excerpted) are found with the *A*-umlauted stem *gol-*: *golgrónn* "g.-green," *golmórauðr* "g.-brownish-red," *golsótr* "g.-bellied

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<sup>22</sup> E.g. in Anderson 2003.

(sheep)," *golþorskr* "g.-cod" (all with entries in Cleasby-Vigfusson). The form of the adjective also vacillates between *gol* and *gul* in Old Swedish, although the suffixal *u* in OWN *gulusótt* "jaundice" may point to an earlier stage when this adjective was a *u*-stem in NGmc as well (Lloyd and Lühr 2009: 144).

I suggest instead that *gulr* is a relatively late, simple \*a-stem adjective derived from the noun *gull* "gold." Compare the similarly formed adjective *ljóss* "light" from the noun *ljós*; in both cases the uninflected nominal root (*gull*-, *ljós*-) has simply been extended with the addition of adjectival endings to form an adjective (with the expected syncope of the medial \**l* in \**gullr* > *gulr*). The original meaning in this case would be "with the property of gold," hardly a far-fetched origin for a term used mostly for blonde hair in OWN.

### III. N. 3. b. Conclusions: *Gulr*

5 of 8 occurrences of this term with non-mythological referents are in descriptions of human hair; the other 3 describe a lion sewn onto a jacket (*Magnúss saga berfötts*, Chap. 24, Heims. III.235.17), some fibers of an exposed human heart (*Fóstbróðra saga*, Chap. 24, ÍF VI.276.11, in a list of four colors seen in these fibers), and, in a poetic context, wood (*Eyrbyggja saga*, Chap. 29, FJ. A1.133/ ÍF IV.078.09, and here the word is in *skothending*). I consider it likely that in all three cases the color term is deliberately chosen for its evocation of a certain (probably blonde) shade of human hair. The "best example" case, *gult sem silki* (*Óláfs saga helga*, Chap. 102, Heims. II.172.22) describes human hair and may refer to the texture, saturation/vividness, or reflectiveness of the silk and hair rather than their hue, since silk has a particular sheen regardless of what color it is.

As noted already by Lawrenson (1882: 737-738), the *Poetic Edda* contains no occurrences of *gulr*.

There are few occurrences of this term in works whose original composition is probably to be dated to the thirteenth century. Snorri's *Prose Edda* contains no occurrences of *gulr*. There are only very few occurrences in *Heimskringla*, and these describe an extremely limited range of referents:

### 1. *Gulr* in *Heimskringla* (ca. 1230<sup>23</sup>)

**Total examples: 4**

| Primary referent | Secondary referent | Number of examples                                                 |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>hár</i>       | <i>silki</i>       | 2 ( <i>Óláfs saga helga</i> 172.22, <i>Óláfs saga kyrra</i> 203.9) |
| <i>hár</i>       | (none)             | 1 ( <i>Haraldssona saga</i> 331.14)                                |
| <i>silki</i>     | (none)             | 1 ( <i>Magnúss saga berfötts</i> 235.17)                           |

Even fewer occurrences are to be found in the sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders, and again the principal referent is hair:

### 2. *Gulr* in the sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders<sup>24</sup>

| Primary Referent | Secondary Referent | Number of examples                                              |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>hár</i>       | (none)             | 2 ( <i>Laxdóla saga</i> 187.14, <i>Brennu-Njáls saga</i> 53.11) |
| <i>tág</i>       | (none)             | 1 ( <i>Fóstbróðra saga</i> 276.11)                              |

The Icelandic sagas also provide the single example of *gulr* from a skaldic stanza earlier than the fourteenth century:

### 3. *Gulr* in skaldic poetry

| Primary Referent | Secondary Referent | Number of examples                                               |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>viðr</i>      | (none)             | 1 ( <i>Skjaldedigtning</i> A1:133 / <i>Eyrbyggja saga</i> 78.9). |

The saga puts this stanza in the mouth of Björn Ásbrandsson Breiðvíkingakappi. If this attribution is genuine (which Einar Ól Sveinsson, in Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson 1935: vii-viii, sees no reason to doubt), then it is to be dated to the last decade of the tenth

<sup>23</sup> Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, *Heimskringla I* (1941): xxix.

<sup>24</sup> Of these sagas, the composition of *Brennu-Njáls saga* is likely to be dated to the 1280s (Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1954: lxxv-lxxxiv), of *Fóstbróðra saga* to ca. 1200 (according to Sigurður Nordal in Björn K. Þorólfsson and Guðni Jónsson 1943: lxxii), and of *Laxdóla saga* to ca. 1230-60 (Einar Ól Sveinsson 1935: xxv-xxxiv).

century (Finnur Jónsson, *Skjaldedigtning* A1: 133; Einar Ól Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson 1935: xxx-xxxiv), making it a substantially earlier attestation of the word than any in the prose sagas. However, poetic concerns also make it far less strong as evidence of the word's range of meaning. The word does not occur in an alliterating stave in this stanza, but it is in *skothending* (*guls – vilja*), and the *gulr* color of the forest (*viðr*) is deliberately contrasted by the skald with the *blár* color of the sea.<sup>25</sup> It is also notable that the manuscripts themselves read *gullz* rather than the *guls* that editors have emended it to (see *Skjaldedigtning* A1: 133), though *guls* gives better sense.

With the exception of the one-time reference to the colors of the *tágar af hjartanu* (“nerves of the heart”) of Þormóðr Kolbrúnarskáld Bersason when he is mortally injured at the end of *Fóstbróðra saga* (the colors are *rauðr*, *hvítr*, *gulr*, and *grónn*), the only referents for *gulr* in 13th century prose sources are human hair and silk.

Two of the occurrences of *gulr* describing human hair in *Heimskringla* (*Óláfs saga helga* 172.22, *Óláfs saga kyrra* 203.9) are in the formula *gult sem silki* (“yellow as silk”), which parallels such other formulations as *hvítr sem dript* (“white as a snowdrift,” e.g. *Óláfs saga helga* 290.21), *rauðr sem blóð* (“red as blood,” e.g. *Óláfs saga helga* 205.3). This suggests that silk might have been a “best example” of *gulr* in 13th century Iceland, but this might refer to the material's luster or to its undyed hue. Silken products in Old Norse-Icelandic literature are not necessarily chromatically restricted; they may, for instance, be red: King Magnús the Good wears a *rauð silkiskyrta* (“red silken shirt,” *Magnúss saga ins góða* 43.20). However, silk is also used as the referent of comparison in describing hair color in the expression *fagrt sem silki* (“fair

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<sup>25</sup> According to the interpretation of the stanza by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson (1935: 78n1); but this occurrence of *blár* is interpreted as referring to the sky by Finnur Jónsson (*Skjaldedigtning* B1: 125n1).

as silk,” said of hair; ÍF V.77.02), and the term *sillicableikr* (“silk-pale”) occurs once as a descriptor of hair color as well (*Magnúss saga berfóttis* 227.25). Since *fagr* is often used of hair color and frequently collocated in the corpus with *bjartr* (“bright”), *ljóss* (“light, shining”), and *hvítr* (“white”), the feature of silk being alluded to with its comparison to *fagr*, *bleikr*, and *gulr* in describing the appearance of hair is probably the luster of the hair and silk.

Since silk as a material is not chromatically restricted in Old Norse-Icelandic, and the luster of silk is probably the attribute evoked by its description as *gulr*,<sup>26</sup> then it may be that the central characteristic of *gulr* in Old Norse-Icelandic was *luminance* or *brightness* rather than *hue*. It is however interesting to note in this connection that *gulr* is never used in the corpus in addition to a term that unambiguously describes hue in descriptions of the appearance of one and the same referent, suggesting that *gulr* does have a restricted range of hues associated with it, even if its characterization of a referent’s hue is secondary in emphasis to its characterization of that referent’s luminance. When considered in relation to other terms used to describe human hair in a representative sample of the corpus (in this instance *Heimskringla*), it is not uncommon, though it remains unclear whether, for instance, the difference between *bleikr* and *gulr* hair is one of semantics or one of style.

If *gulr* is in fact to be understood as a hue, it may not originally have denoted yellow/blonde but reddish instead, considering that gold itself (the word for which, *gull*, the word *gulr* may be fairly recently derived from, and is transparently related to) is always described as *rauðr* (red). Indeed a similar situation may have prevailed in early Latin, wherein gold (*aureum*) was considered red, as suggested by a quotation from Varro’s *De Lingua Latina*: *Quod addit rutilare, est ab eodem colore: aurei enim rutili, et inde etiam mulieres valde rufae*

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<sup>26</sup> Though Ewing (2006: 157) suggests that it may be in reference to the hue of undyed silk, which is “golden.”

*rutilae dictae* (“As for his addition of *rutilare* ‘to be red,’ that is from the same colour; for *rutuli* is an expression for golden hair, and from that also women with extremely red hair are called *rutilae* ‘Goldilocks;’” text and translation from Kent 1938: 337). The name *Gullinkambi* (golden-comb) for a rooster in *Völuspá* also suggests that the color implied by gold, or adjectives derived from it such as *gullinn*, *gullslitr*, *gulr*, was originally reddish rather than yellowish, though in the modern West Norse languages and possibly already in later OVN, they have migrated to describe the color yellow.

I suggest that *gulr* emerged as a derivative of *gull* at some early point in the history of OVN (probably when the sense of yellow was still subordinate to the red BCT) to describe a "type" of red hair that is yellow, i.e. more like gold, and eventually became the default term for *blonde*. From here the term expanded later in the history of the descendent languages to describe the color of a wider range of referents, becoming those languages' BCT for *yellow* (ModIce *gulur*, ModNorw *gul*, probably Norn \**gol*). However, the limited range of reference and the infrequency of the term in OVN makes it unlikely that it was a BCT in that language, at least in the thirteenth century CE and earlier.

### III. O. *Hárr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “hoary”

Fritzner: “graa (jvf. *hárvara*, ags. *hår* [sic]), især graahaaret”

Lexicon Poeticum: “gråhåret, gammel”

Hægstad-Torp: “graa, serl. graahærd”

Faroese: (no apparent descendent term)

ModIce: “gráhærður”

ModNorw: No apparent descendent term, but note the toponym *Hårteigen* in Hardangervidda.

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

#### III. O. 1. Occurrences of *hárr*

See Appendix 2.

### III. O. 1. a. Occurrences of *hárr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. O. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Hárr*

#### III. O. 2. a. HUMAN HAIR

A beard is *hárr* at ÍF V.188.17. Aged human hair is *hárr* at Edd.Fm.186.19, Edd.Háv.039.08, Edd.Rþ.280.12, Edd.Hym.090.22, FJ.A1.006/Heims. I.127.27, FJ.A1.011/Heims. I.050.017, FJ.A1.196/ÍF III.085.01, FJ.A1.254/Heims. III.030.07, Heims. I.148.10, Heims. III.412.19, ÍF IV.178.02, ÍF VII.026.04, ÍF VII.033.14, ÍF VII.221.23, ÍF XIV.031.17, ÍF XIV.158.07, FJ.A1.195/ÍF III.077.20.

#### III. O. 2. b. FLESH

Flesh is *hárr* at ÍF XIII.336.22.

### III. O. 3. Discussion: *Hárr*

#### III. O. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Hárr*

The PIE root *\*kei-*<sup>2</sup> (Pokorny *kei-*) is, with various suffixes, used to form color terms all over the spectrum: “white, whitish” (Skt *śi-ti-*, Lith *śyvas*), “dark brown” (Middle Irish *cíar*, Skt *śyā-vá-*), “orange” (Gk *kirrós*), “gray” (OWN *hárr*, OCS *sěrbъ*, though the latter may be a loan from Gmc according to Kroonen 2013: 201), and “blue” (OE *hæwen* “blue,” OCS *sinъ* “dark blue”). Given the wide range of color terms descended from this root – even, at its most extreme, giving rise to the words for both “white” and “dark brown” in Sanskrit alone – it is possible that this represents not a PIE root for any particular color, but for “color” itself or “colored,” a sense perhaps best reflected in its Modern English descendant *hue*.

#### III. O. 3. b. Conclusions: *Hárr*

The term *hárr* is very common, but in all but one of its occurrences it describes the color of

aged human hair, strongly suggesting that it is too restricted in application to be considered a basic color term. The cognate *har* is also very common in OE, but similarly collocationally restricted and not a BCT (Biggam 1998: 237-8).

### III. P. *Heiðr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “bright, cloudless, only of the sky”

Fritzner: “klar, skyfri”

Lexicon Poeticum: “klar, lys, tindrende, om himlen”

Hægstad-Torp: “heid, klaar, skylauss”

Faroese: No apparent descendent adjective, but note *heiðursdagur* “heidarsdag; godvêrsdag,” *heiðurveður* “heide vêr, klárvêr”

ModIce (*heiður*): “cloudless, clear”

ModNorw (*hei*): “om luft: lett, klår”

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

#### III. P. 1. Occurrences of *heiðr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. P. 1. a. Occurrences of *heiðr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. P. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Heiðr*

##### III. P. 2. a. SUNNY SKY

*Heiðr* is used exclusively of sunny skies; occurrences include Edd.Sg.216.05 and Heims.

II.382.11.

#### III. P. 3. Discussion: *Heiðr*

##### III. P. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Heiðr*

*Heiðr* is from the same root as semantically similar adjectives that deal with the clarity of the sky in other Gmc languages: OE *hādor* “bright, clear,” OS *hēdar* “bright, clear,” OHG *heitar* “bright, clear.” An ultimate connection to Skt *citra-* “clear, bright, radiant” is possible (Heidermanns 1993: 265).

### III. P. 3. b. Conclusions: *Heiður*

*Heiður* is far too rare and too restricted in application to be considered a basic color term; there seems to be no reason to doubt that its meaning differed greatly from its ModIce descendant *heiður* “cloudless, clear” (Sverrir Hólmarsson et al. 1989: 180), which is not a color term.

### III. Q. *Hvítur*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “white”  
 Fritzner: “hvid”  
 Hægstad-Torp: “kvit”  
 Lexicon Poeticum: “hvid, lys”  
 ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*hvítur*): “kvit”  
 ModIce (*hvítur*): “sem er á litinn eins og nýfallinn snjór”  
 ModNorw (*kvit*): “med det lyse fargeinnttrykket som kjem fram når mest alt lyset blir kasta attende”  
 Norn (*hwid*): “white”

### III. Q. 1. Occurrences of *hvítur*

See Appendix 2.

### III. Q. 2. Occurrences of *hvítur* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. Q. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Hvítur*

#### III. Q. 2. a. SNOW

One definitive referent of OWN *hvítur* is snow; the collocation *hvítur sem snjór* “white as snow” occurs twice (H.&H. 154.24, H.&H. 166.29), *hvítur sem dript* “white as driven snow” once (Heims. II.290.21). Snow is described by *hvítur* twice (Heims. I.90.12, ÍF XIII. 102.17); at ÍF XIII.102.17 snow is described as *hvítastr* “whitest.” This is the only occurrence of the superlative form of a color adjective in the texts examined.

Compounds such as *drifhvítr* (“snow-white,” used of clothing at FJ.A2.457/ÍF XIV.099.09), *fannhvítr* (“driven-snow white,” used of a woman at FJ.A1.133/ ÍF IV.108.18), *mjallhvíttr* (“snow-white,” Edd.Alv.125.08, FJ.A2.459/ÍF XIV.110.12), *snæhvíttr* (Edd.Am.257.26), also suggest a proverbial association of *hvíttr* with snow (much as the color white has with snow in ModE).

Snow is never described by any other color terms, though at ÍF XI.203.09 (*Gunnars saga keldignúps*), a snowdrift is described as *myrkr* “dark.” This appears, however, to describe the inability of an individual to see from within the snowdrift, rather than the color of the snow itself. In general, occurrences of *myrkr* seem to imply difficulty of vision through something rather than a description of the item’s outward appearance; see below under *myrkr*.

### III. Q. 2. b. POLAR BEARS

The polar bear (*Ursus maritimus*) is known as *hvítabjörn* “white bear” in OWN (occasionally as *hvítabjörn* in ModIce, though more often as *ísbjörn* (ice bear); the animal is also known as *ísbjörn* in ModNorw). The animal’s name occurs exceedingly frequently in the corpus: ÍF IV.291.01, ÍF IX.181.23, ÍF XI.314.15, ÍF XIII.077.12, ÍF XIII.350.14, ÍF XIV.133.27, ÍF XIV.134.10, ÍF XIV.134.10, ÍF XIV.142.07, and continuing mentions *passim* in all these sources.

### III. Q. 2. c. HORSES

Horses are sometimes described with the term *hvíttr* in the excerpted OWN texts (Edd.Ghv.264.10, Edd.Hm.269.12, Heims. III.372.13, ÍF III.136.10, ÍF III.187.02, ÍF III.272.16, ÍF V.135.13); there is also a horse named *Hvítingr* (ÍF III.136.09), and at ÍF VII.373.21 it is the horse’s mane specifically that is *hvíttr*. The compound *alhvíttr* occurs three times in the texts excerpted (ÍF III.136.10, ÍF III.187.01, ÍF III.260.09), always to describe a horse.

In ModNorw a horse that is *kvit* is white; in ModIce the term *hvítur* is rarely used for horses, though an albino horse is referred to as a *hvítingur* (note that this is also a horse name that occurs in the OWN corpus at ÍF III.136.09). However, “In Iceland we usually don't call a horse white, all shades of grey and white are called grár” (Arnþrúður Heimisdóttir 2012).

In any discussion of the colors of livestock, and especially of horses – the variety of whose breeds and colors is notorious, and expressed in notoriously complicated and specialized vocabularies in the world's languages – it must be noted that specialized breeds (Icelandic horses in the case of Iceland, fjord horses in the case of Norway) are being discussed by the authors of the texts studied, and that the colors visible in these breeds have no doubt changed over time both in the course of natural reproduction and selective breeding by humans.

That having been noted, it is remarkable to observe that the color terms employed for horses in OWN appear to have little connection with those of ModIce:

**Fig. 1. Color terms used for horses (or parts of horses) in the OWN texts excerpted.**

| color term          | occurrences<br>(when used<br>about horses) in<br>texts excerpted | meaning (when<br>used about<br>horses) in<br>ModIce (source:<br>Arnþrúður<br>Heimisdóttir) |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>alhvítr</i>      | 3                                                                |                                                                                            |
| <i>alrauður</i>     | 1                                                                |                                                                                            |
| <i>apalgrár</i>     | 2                                                                | gray                                                                                       |
| <i>blakkr</i>       | 3                                                                |                                                                                            |
| <i>bleikálóttir</i> | 3                                                                | bay dun                                                                                    |
| <i>bleikr</i>       | 2                                                                | yellow dun                                                                                 |

|                    |    |                  |
|--------------------|----|------------------|
| <i>blessóttr</i>   | 1  | blaze            |
| <i>brúnn</i>       | 8  | black            |
| <i>fiðilbleikr</i> | 5  | yellow dun       |
| <i>fölr</i>        | 2  |                  |
| <i>föxóttr</i>     | 2  |                  |
| <i>grár</i>        | 13 | gray             |
| <i>heiðarauður</i> | 1  |                  |
| <i>hvítr</i>       | 9  | white            |
| <i>kinnskjóttr</i> | 1  |                  |
| <i>litförottr</i>  | 1  | roan             |
| <i>ljósbleikr</i>  | 2  | light-yellow dun |
| <i>ljóss</i>       | 3  |                  |
| <i>móalóttr</i>    | 1  | blue dun         |
| <i>móskjóttr</i>   | 1  |                  |
| <i>rauður</i>      | 11 | chestnut         |
| <i>svartr</i>      | 12 | black            |

It is worth noting that of the 88 occurrences of terms describing a horse's appearance in the OWN texts surveyed, the 5 most frequently occurring terms are simplex color terms (*brúnn*, *grár*, *hvítr*, *rauður*, *svartr*) and account for 53 of those occurrences (61, if one also counts compound terms which include them as a component). While many of these terms, both simplexes and compounds, are still found in the vocabulary of horse color used in ModIce.,

others are not, and a substantial number of words common to the modern vocabulary of horse color are not used for horses at all in OWN (including *jarpr*, which is restricted to horses in ModIce but never used for them in the OWN texts surveyed).

It is unclear whether these terms had the same specific meanings when applied to horses in OWN as they have in ModIce, and for that matter, whether every speaker of OWN would have used this specialized vocabulary for describing horse color if it existed. Horses were and are expensive to acquire and maintain, and for that reason, among others (including vocational needs), some writers of OWN literature may have had limited exposure to horses and so used a less specialized vocabulary in dealing with them than other writers did – consider that speakers of ModEng may not understand the terms “roan,” “chestnut,” “buckskin,” “bay,” “palomino,” etc., as applied to horses, and may describe them less vividly as simply “brown” or “reddish” or “yellowish.” With this possibility noted, we cannot be certain that we are dealing with a consistent terminology of horse color in OWN – we may be looking at one or more specialized vocabularies of horse color blended with an uninformed generalist’s color vocabulary, all in one undifferentiated corpus. However, the existence, if sparse, of certain of the same (*mutatis mutandis*) specialized terms in OWN as in ModIce and ModNorw (e.g. *apalgrár*, *blakkr*, *bleikálóttir*, *blessóttir*, *fífilbleikr*, *foxóttir*, *litfóróttir*, and their reflexes in the modern languages) implies that at least some speakers of OWN certainly did employ a specialized vocabulary for the color of horses.

In modern times, Icelandic horses are most frequently dun (yellowish, sandy-hued, buckskin) and chestnut (dark reddish-brown) in color (Holderness-Roddam 1997: 41); Norwegian fjord horses are most frequently dun with dark manes (Ibid.: 42).

### III. Q. 2. d. HUMAN HAIR

Human hair is frequently described as *hvítr*. The term is sometimes used explicitly of aged hair (ÍF IV.178.02, ÍF XIV.031.17, ÍF XIV.158.07), though the usual term for aged hair is *hárr*, and in all three of the occurrences in which *hvítr* describes aged hair, the hair in question is also described as *hárr*.

*Hvítr* is, however, used in stanza 16 of the Eddic poem *Guðrúnarhvöt* for the hair of a young woman, Svanhildr, though here the word *hvítr* alliterates with another in the line (*of þann inn hvíta hadd Svanhildar*: “over the white hair of Svanhildr”), and the somewhat fantastic nature of the context may imply that we should understand Svanhildr’s hair as literally swan-white, though given the constraints of poetry it is more likely that we should think of this as blonde hair, poetically described. On the other hand, Þorsteinn Egilsson in the more realistic (and prose) *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* is described as having *hvítr* hair and is explicitly said to be young and attractive (*Þorsteinn, sonr Egils, þá er hann óx upp, var allra manna fríðastr sýnum, hvítr á hár ok bjartr álitum*. “Þorsteinn, Egils son, when he grew up, was the most attractive man in appearance, with white hair and bright in his looks.” ÍF II.274.03). Víga-Glúmr is another young man described as *hvítr*-haired in prose (ÍF IX.015.19). Whether this is a poetic description of a shade of blonde hair, or communicates something else, is unclear.

Occurrences of *hvítr* hair: ÍF III.294.18, ÍF V.188.11, ÍF VIII.007.11, ÍF VI.181.18 (Helgi enn hvíti), ÍF IV.178.02 (aged), ÍF XIV.031.17 (aged), ÍF XIV.158.07 (aged), Edd.Ghv.267.04 (Svanhildr), ÍF IX.015.19 (Glúmr), ÍF III.051.12 (Þorsteinn), ÍF II.274.03 (Þorsteinn Egilsson). Human brows are *hvítr* at Edd.Hym.089.14, eyelashes at Edd.Vkv.123.17.

Human hair is another domain in which an unusual selection and categorization of color is typologically common, and OWN is not exceptional in this regard. Indeed, it is remarkable how few and relatively transparent the color terms used for human hair are.

**Fig. 2. Terms used for the color of human hair in OWN.**

| <b>color term</b> | <b>occurrences<br/>(when used<br/>about human<br/>hair) in texts<br/>excerpted</b> |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>bleikr</i>     | 6                                                                                  |
| <i>brúnn</i>      | 1 (= <i>svartr</i> )                                                               |
| <i>dökkjarpr</i>  | 1                                                                                  |
| <i>gulr</i>       | 5                                                                                  |
| <i>hárr</i>       | 18                                                                                 |
| <i>hvítr</i>      | 12                                                                                 |
| <i>jarpr</i>      | 10 (1x = <i>svartr</i> )                                                           |
| <i>ljósjarpr</i>  | 5                                                                                  |
| <i>rauðbleikr</i> | 1                                                                                  |
| <i>rauðr</i>      | 5                                                                                  |
| <i>svarþjarpr</i> | 1                                                                                  |
| <i>svartr</i>     | 15                                                                                 |
| <i>ulfgrár</i>    | 2                                                                                  |

It is unclear which term or terms rendered what in ModEng would be called blonde hair, which was in the twentieth century, and probably also during the medieval period, the dominant hair color in Scandinavia (Cavalli-Sforza, et al. 1994: 267); *bleikr*, *gulr*, and *hvítr* all have a range of referents which suggest that they might overlap with the English term “blonde,” and are all common in describing the color of human hair. It is possible that these are different shades of

blonde hair, with *hvítr* hair being the most highly reflective shade (what in English might be called “platinum blonde”), in keeping with its usual associations with light and reflectivity.

### III. Q. 2. e. EGG WHITE

The “white” (albumen) of an egg is referred to as *hvítr* (Gylf 19. 18).

### III. Q. 2. f. MAYWEED

Snorri Sturluson tells us that

*Annarr sonr Óðins er Baldr, ok er frá honum gott at segja. Hann er svá fagr álitum ok bjartr svá at lýsir af honum, ok eitt gras er svá hvítt at jafnat er til Baldrs brár. Þat er allra grasa hvítast, ok þar eptir máttu marka fegrð hans bæði á hár ok á líki.*  
(Gylf. 23.16)

(The second son of Óðinn is Baldr, and there is good to say about him. He is so attractive of appearance and bright that he shines, and a kind of plant is so white that it is compared to Baldr’s eyelash. It is the whitest of all plants, and thereby may you reckon his attractiveness both of hair and body.) (my translation)

In Modern Norwegian (and Swedish), the plant known as *Balder(s)brå* is

*Tripleurospermum inodorum* (scentless mayweed), a weed in the daisy family with plain white petals. In ModIce the term *Baldursbrá* applies to *T. maritimum* (sea mayweed), a plant of the same genus, and almost identical in color and appearance.

Note also, again, the characteristic OWN association of attractiveness, reflectivity, and radiance with the color white.

### III. Q. 2. g. SILVER

The color of silver is almost always described in OWN with either the simplex term *hvítr* (e.g. FJ.A1.479/ Skáld.062.03, H.&H. 159.17, Heims. I.222.1, ÍF IV.120.24, ÍF IV.127.16, Skáld.61.12) or a compound with *hvítr*: *mjallhvítr* (driven-snow white, FJ.A2.459/ÍF XIV.110.12) or *snæhvítr* (snow-white, Edd.Am.257.26). Note that in both cases where a compound is used, the context is poetic and the compounding element participates in alliteration.

Based on other referents of the term *hvítr*, its range of reference seems to be closely tied to a substance's reflectivity, which may be a key reason behind silver being described as *hvítr*. However, the term *hvítr* may be subject in this context to “type modification,” which Biggam (2012: 210) defines as “a classificatory, rather than descriptive, use of a colour term which modifies the ‘standard’ meaning of the term. So white wine is actually yellow but its function in this context is to separate ‘white’ wines from red.” See more discussion of this problem and other potential cases of type-modification in OWN below, in Chapter 3, under section **IV. A. 14.**

### **III. Q. 2. h. WOMEN**

Women, or individual body parts of women, are often described as *hvítr*; again, beauty appears to be strongly associated with reflective hues. A woman is described approvingly as *allhvítr* (“thoroughly white”) at FJ.A1.081/ÍF VIII.211.04, *fannhvítr* (“driven-snow white”) at FJ.A1.133/ÍF IV.108.18.

Occurrences of women described as *hvítr* without reference to particular body parts are Edd.H.Hv.146.15, Edd.Háv.044.09, FJ.A1.085/ÍF VIII.265.01, ÍF III.057.22/24 (with a family trait of *hvíti* “whiteness” mentioned), Edd.Rp.286.02, ÍF XIII.102.16, Edd.Sg.216.05 (the woman in question is *hvítari en enn heiði dagr* “whiter than the clear day”).

A woman's face is approvingly referred to as *hvítr* at FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.276.17/Heims.II.391.014; however at Edd.Sg.212.08 a *hvítr*-faced woman is doomed.

### **III. Q. 2. i. BONES AND HORNS**

Horns are *hvítr* at FJ.A1.116/ÍF IV.074.04, FJ.A1.282/ÍF VI.176.06, FJ.A1.466/Heims.III.271.24. Egill Skalla-Grímsson's bones are *hvítr* at ÍF II.299.09 when struck with an axe.

### **III. Q. 2. j. SHIELDS**

Shields are frequently *hvítr* in poetry; occurrences include Edd.Akv.241.13, FJ.A1.305/ÍF

III.198.02, ÍF V.233.21 (the interior side of a shield), FJ.A1.258/Heims. II.367.05 (a king's shield), Edd.Hlr.221.04, Edd.Hm.272.05, Edd.Hunn.303.10, FJ.A1.025/Heims. I.116.6, FJ.A1.230/Heims.II.064.004, FJ.A1.334/Heims. III.008.06, FJ.A1.372/Heims. III.149.20, ÍF IV.227.13 (apparently signaling peace), Heims. II.60.4 (the shields of St Olaf's army). Shields are *blikhvítr* ("shining-white" or possibly "yellow-white") at Edd.Hunn.304.15.

Whether this color is a property of the shields' material or their paint is not specified.

### III. Q. 2. k. CLOTHING

Capes are *hvítr* at ÍF VI.343.08, ÍF XI.274.09, ÍF XIII.197.20. Cloaks of two colors, *hvítr* and *svartr*, are mentioned at ÍF IX.052.04/16, ÍF VI.231.05, ÍF X.233.03. Baptismal clothing is *hvítr* at Heims. I.330.16, ÍF IX.097.33, ÍF IX.126.28, ÍF V.123.16, ÍF V.158.16, ÍF VIII.126.07, ÍF XIII.170.09, Kristni 140.2. *Hvítr* clothing belongs to a wealthy man at Edd.Rp.284.16. Clothing is *drifhvítr* ("snow-white") at FJ.A2.457/ÍF XIV.099.09; a pair of pants is *hvítr* at ÍF XIII.197.21 and ÍF III.068.16. A frock is *hvítr* at ÍF VI.195.01. A headdress is *hvítr* at ÍF V.131.12. A shirt is *hvítr* at ÍF X.182.21. Unspecified clothing is *hvítr* at ÍF IV.234.03.

### III. Q. 2. l. COWARDS

The term *hvítr* is used of cowards; whether the reference is to pallor, perceived femininity (recall the frequent use of *hvítr* for women, **III.A.2.h.**), or something else is uncertain.

Occurrences include ÍF II.291.19, ÍF V.160.08, FJ.A1.218/ÍF III.189.19, Edd.Ls.100.18.

### III. Q. 2. m. FALCONS

Falcons are *hvítr* at ÍF XIV.157.08.

### III. Q. 2. n. FLAGS

A flag is *hvítr* at Heims. II.60.07.

### III. Q. 2. o. INTERNAL ORGANS

Heart fibers are *hvítr* (among other colors: *rauðr*, *gulr*, *grónn*) at Heims II.393.07, ÍF VI.276.11, ÍF VI.276.13.

### III. Q. 2. p. INK

At *Elucidarius* 35.07, ink is *hvítr* (translating Latin *albus*).

### III. Q. 2. q. MAIL

Chain mail is *hvítr* at Edd. Hunn. 307.05 and Heims. III.184.10.

### III. Q. 2. r. MEN

In cases where there is no clear reference to cowardice or a particular body part, men are sometimes described as *hvítr*. Occurrences include ÍF XIII.032.22, FJ.A2.455/ÍF XIV.072.02 (with a tone of approval?), FJ.A1.196/ÍF III.090.05 (apparently with a tone of disparagement), ÍF XI.237.02 (*Grímr*), Edd.Vkv.117.10 (*Vǫlundr*, who is also called an elf), FJ.A1.301/ÍF III.140.04 and FJ.A1.302/ÍF III.144.13 (in the latter two cases seeming to imply that the man so described is inexperienced). At Edd.Rp.284.11 the neck of *Faðir* is *hvítr*, so the intended association may have to do with wealth and privilege.

### III. Q. 2. s. MUD, CLAY, PEAT

Mud or clay is described as *hvítr* at Edd.Vsp. 005.06. Since this is in a description of the tree *Yggdrasill*, it is possible that the clay/mud is described as *hvítr* in order to distinguish it from ordinary clay/mud (which can, however, be white). Peat is *hvítr* at ÍF XI.261.12, Heims. III.101.20.

### III. Q. 2. t. SAND

Sand is *hvítr* at ÍF IV.250.03 and ÍF IV.255.04.

### III. Q. 2. u. SCARS

Scars are *hvítr* at Heims. III. 337. 22.

### III. Q. 2. v. SHEEP

Sheep are *hvítr* at ÍF X.181.16.

### III. Q. 2. w. WHEAT

Wheat is *hvítr* at Edd.Rþ.284.18. The words *hvítr* and *hveiti* (wheat) are etymologically related, though this relation may have been no clearer to OWN speakers than is the relation of *white* to *wheat* in ModE.

### III. Q. 2. x. SHIPS

A ship is *hvítr* at Heims. II.212.15; at Heims. II.290.21 the stripes on a sail are *hvítr*.

### III. Q. 2. y. CATSKIN

A catskin is *hvítr* at ÍF IV.206.21.

### III. Q. 2. z. STONE

A stone of indeterminate type is *hvítr* at Edd.Gðr. III.232.11.

### III. Q. 2. aa. SWORDS

Swords are *hvítr* at FJ.A1.208/ÍF III.291.12, FJ.A1.287/ÍF VI.270.07.

### III. Q. 2. bb. SWANS

The existence of a compound *svanhvítr* (Edd.Vkv.116.11, ÍF XIII.411.04) suggests that swans were proverbially *hvítr*, just as they are proverbially white in ModE.

### III. Q. 3. Discussion: *Hvítr*

#### III. Q. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Hvítr*

The PIE root is *\*kʷeit-* (Pokorny 3. *kʷei-*). This root forms common Germanic color terms for “white” (e.g. Goth. *hweits*, OWN *hvítr*, OE *hwīt*, OHG *wīz*) and by extension the term for “wheat” (e.g. OWN *hveiti*, OE *hwæte*, apparently in reference to white flour). The root is widely distributed with a meaning of “white,” for instance in Skt. *śvētá-* “white,” Gk. *Píndos* “the

white” (name of a city), but also more generally as “light” or “shine,” especially in Balto-Slavic, e.g. Lith. *šviesa* “light,” OCS *švětъ* “light,” and Skt *śvindatē* “shines.” That widely divergent branches (Indo-Iranian and Germanic) show a basic meaning of “white” suggests that this may have been a color term in PIE, or perhaps had a primary meaning related to light.

### III. Q. 3. b. Conclusions: *Hvítr*

*Hvítr* has a meaning close to that of its English cognate *white*, describing the hue of snow (which is *hvítastr* – “whitest”), a polar bear, a swan, or an egg’s albumen. On the other hand, *hvítr* appears to be by definition reflective, shiny, or attractive, and in certain contexts this is obviously the salient characteristic of the referent to which the term refers: for instance, of light-colored (presumably blonde) human hair or silver, or when (especially in poetry) referring to women’s beauty (and perhaps men’s). The word also has a non-literal association with cowardice, which is possibly by reference to the pallor of a coward or by association with women.

*Hvítr* is common, it is used to describe a wide range of referents, is never subsumed under another color term, and is monolexemic. There is no reason to doubt that it was a BCT in OWN.

### III. R. *Hqss*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “gray, of a wolf”

Fritzner: “graa, graalig”

Lexicon Poeticum: “grå, især om ulvens farve”

Hægstad-Torp: “graa”

Faroese: (no apparent descendent term)

ModIce (*höss*): “grár”

ModNorw: (no apparent descendent term)

Norn (*høset*): “dirty-grey, light-grey with dirty shade”

### III. R. 1. Occurrences of *hqss*

See Appendix 2.

### III. R. 1. a. Occurrences of *hǫss* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. R. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Hǫss*

#### III. R. 2. a. ANIMALS

An eagle's foot is *hǫss* at FJ.A1.370/Heims. III.083.01; a ram is *hǫss* at ÍF VII.237.23.

### III. R. 3. Discussion: *Hǫss*

#### III. R. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Hǫss*

OWN *hǫss* is cognate with OE *hasu* "gray." The PIE root is *\*k<sup>h</sup>as-* (Pokorny *k<sup>h</sup>as-*). The Gmc words together with Latin *cānus* "gray," Paelignian *casnar* "aged," suggest an early word for "gray" (though a suffixed form gives Gk. *xanthós* "blonde, brown"), and this root is also very frequently used to form the word for "hare" (i.e. "the gray one"?) in Indo-European languages (Skt. *śaśa-*, Pashto *soe*, Welsh *ceinach*, OWN *heri/héri*, OHG *haso*, English *hare*, OPruss. *sasins*). The root certainly dates back to PIE, probably with the primary meaning "gray."

#### III. R. 3. b. Conclusions: *Hǫss*

*Hǫss* is far too infrequent to be a basic color term, but does appear to be a color term translatable by ModEng *gray*. Wolf (2006b: 180, 2009: 227) concurs that *hǫss* is too infrequent, being restricted to poetry, to qualify as a basic color term. In Old English likewise the cognate word *hasu* appears not so much contextually restricted, as, in Biggam's words, to have a "collocational emphasis" on birds (Biggam 1998: 299), and she considers the term "a hyponym of the grey superordinate term" (Biggam 1998: 301). The Cleasby-Vigfússon dictionary calls the word *hǫss* "quite obsolete" and applicable only to wolves and to gray objects whose color is easily analogized to that of wolves (though in the texts excerpted for this study, the term is never used for wolves' color).

### III. S. *Jarpr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “brown, of the hair”

Fritzner: “brun”

Hægstad-Torp: “brun”

Lexicon Poeticum: “rødbrun, om håret”

Faroese (*jarpur*): “gúlbrun, ljósbrun”

ModIce (*jarpur*): “rauðbrúnn (einkum um hest eða hár manna og skegg)”

ModNorw: (no apparent descendent term)

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

### III. S. 1. Occurrences of *jarpr*

See Appendix 2.

### III. S. 1. a. Occurrences of *jarpr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. S. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Jarpr*

#### III. S. 2. a. HUMAN HAIR

*Jarpr* is used exclusively of human hair. Occurrences are: Edd.Gör.II.227.156, Edd.Hm.271.02, Edd.Hm.272.065, Heims. III.256.16, Heims. III.330.25, ÍF V.010.14, ÍF V.188.04, ÍF VIII.141.09, ÍF XI.220.21, ÍF XII.070.14, ÍF XII.301.29.

Hair is *dökkjarpr* (“dark-*jarpr*”) at ÍF V.188.25.

Additionally, note that a woman with *svartr* eyebrows is described as having *jarpr* hair at ÍF IV.139.09.

### III. S. 3. Discussion: *Jarpr*

#### III. S. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Color Terms: *Jarpr*

*Jarpr* has cognates in OE (*eorþ*) and OHG (*erpf*), both of which appear to be color terms of approximately equivalent meaning. OHG *erpf* occurs once as a gloss for Latin *fuscus* («dark-colored»). The proposed connections to Gk *orphnós* “dark brown” and Russian dialectal *rjabój*

“speckled” (Kroonen 2013: 118) are not strongly supported (Lloyd and Lühr 1999: 1149-1150).

### III. S. 3. b. Conclusions: *Jarpr*

The extremely specific nature of the referents to which *jarpr* is applied (human hair) suggests that it cannot be a basic color term.

Interestingly, Cleasby-Vigfússon cites a species of bird that is referred to in OWN as the *jarpi*; if this term is cognate to Norwegian *jerpe*, as is likely, then the bird in question is the wild Hazel Grouse, whose plumage is reddish-brown shading to gray on top, and white with brown speckles below (personal observation, 2013).

### III. T. *Ljóss*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “light, bright, shining”

Fritzner: “lys, saadan, at man har let for at se og kjende hvad der hører til ens Omgivelse”

Hægstad-Torp: “ljós, klaar, bjart, blank”

Lexicon Poeticum: “lys, skinnende”

Faroese (*ljósur*): “ljós”

ModIce (*ljós*): “1 bjartur, 2 ljósleitur”

ModNorw (*ljós/lys*): 1. som sender ut lys, lysande, 2. som er fylt av lys, opplyst, klar; mots *mørk*, 3. om farge: som nærmar seg kvit; blond”

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

### III. T. 1. Occurrences of *ljóss*

See Appendix 2.

### III. T. 1. a. Occurrences of *ljóss* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. T. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Ljóss*

#### III. T. 2. a. (DAY)LIGHT

*Ljóss* appears to denote primarily visible natural light, which assists humans and other animals in seeing. A night is *farljóss* (“sufficiently lit for travel”) at ÍF II.052.03, ÍF VI.244.12.

References to (day)light include Edd.Am.251.21, Edd.H.H.II.161.13, Edd.Skm.070.06, FJ.A2.457/ÍF XIV.105.08, Gylf. 13.27, Heims. I.131.7, Heims. I.312.11, Heims. I.80.18, Heims. II.123.11, Heims. II.126.02, Heims. II.195.21, Heims. II.232.3, Heims. II.260.22, Heims. II.265.3, Heims. II.279.22, Heims. II.282.9, Heims. II.302.30, Heims. II.360.12, Heims. II.52.28, Heims. II.53.3, Heims. II.59.10, Heims. III.153.8, Heims. III.164.23, Heims. III.212.4, Heims. III.273.9, Heims. III.301.19, Heims. III.344.15, Heims. III.387.26/29, Heims. III.388.2/10, Heims. III.43.10, ÍF II.072.01, ÍF II.111.13, ÍF II.111.28, ÍF II.112.01, ÍF II.136.04, ÍF II.161.07, ÍF IV.140.17, ÍF IV.166.25, ÍF IX.039.23, ÍF IX.102.22, ÍF IX.136.12, ÍF IX.247.04, ÍF V.054.02, ÍF V.054.05, ÍF VI. 098.30, ÍF VI.097.16, ÍF VI.136.08, ÍF VI.267.29, ÍF VI.268.06, ÍF VII.056.04, ÍF VII.070.03, ÍF VII.115.12, ÍF VII.148.13, ÍF VII.213.03, ÍF VII.263.21, ÍF VIII.152.23, ÍF X.179.20, ÍF XI.243.27, ÍF XI.244.07, ÍF XI.244.24, ÍF XI.266.27, ÍF XI.270.33, ÍF XI.271.06, ÍF XI.281.04, ÍF XIII.352.01, ÍF XIII.379.18, ÍF XIII.455.09, ÍF XIV.031.08, ÍF XIV.137.08, ÍF XIV.369.17, Skáld. 133.34, and Skáld. 85.17.

### **III. T. 2. b. METALLIC OBJECTS**

Metallic objects reflecting light are *ljóss* at Edd.Akv.244.24 (rings), Edd.Hunn.304.12 (rings), Edd.Hunn.312.02 (rings), FJ.A1.048/ÍF II.272.22 (shields), FJ.A1.197/ÍF III.093.17 (sword), FJ.A1.503/Heims. III.306.23 (sword), FJ.A2.461/ÍF XIV.114.10 (precious metals), Heims. I.189.2 (helmets), Skáld. 01.7 (sword). Notably, these occurrences are almost restricted to poetry.

### **III. T. 2. c. HAIR**

Human hair is *ljóss* at FJ.A1.080/ÍF VIII.209.11, FJ.A1.263/Heims. II.406.07, Heims. III.107.23, ÍF XI.111.06, and ÍF XI.286.33.

### **III. T. 2. d. HORSES' MANES**

A horse's mane is *ljóss* at Edd.Vm.046.28, Gylf. 13.32, and ÍF XIII.197.18.

### III. T. 3. Discussion: *Ljóss*

#### III. T. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Ljóss*

This adjective is a denominal formation from the noun *ljós* (light), a nominal root common to the Indo-European languages (root *\*leuk-*, cf. Latin *lux*). This particular adjectival formation is unique to NGmc.

#### III. T. 3. b. Conclusions: *Ljóss*

*Ljóss* does not appear to be a color term, but rather an indication of how saturated a visible object is with light (OWN *ljós*, from which the adjective *ljóss* is derived); it is only used of light sources and of referents that are caused to reflect light thereby. The use of the term for blonde hair in ModIce appears to be an innovation with respect to the situation in OWN, as it is not attested in the OWN texts excerpted.

### III. U. *Mó-* (prefix)

Cleasby: *móbrúnn* (dark brown), *mórauðr* (yellow brown, of sheep and wool), *mórendr* (russet, sad-colored [sic], of wadmal)

Fritzner: *móbrúnn* (graabrun), *mórauðr* (rødbrun), *mórendr* (brunstribet, med rødbrune eller graabrune Striber)

Hægstad-Torp: *móbrúnn* (mobrun, graabrun), *mórauðr* (moraud, brunraud), *mórendr* (som hev molita render, brunrendut)

Lexicon Poeticum: *mórauðr* (brunrød)

Faroese: *morreyður* (moraud, raudbrun)

ModIce: *móbrúnn* (dökkbrúnn), *mórauður* (móbrúnn, rauðbrúnn), *mórendr* (með mórauðum (ullar)lit)

ModNorw: *mobrun* (gråbrun), *moraud* (brunraud)

Norn: (no apparent descendent terms)

### III. U. 1. Occurrences of *mó-*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. U. 1. a. Occurrences of *mó-* in compounds

### III. U. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Mó-*

#### III. U. 2. a. ANIMAL PELTS

*Mó-* never stands on its own as a color term, but is an element in compounds that appear to indicate the color of animal pelts or clothing made from them (such clothing items appear to be disparaged, to judge by ÍF XII.059.14 and ÍF XII.295.17). From the texts excerpted, these compounds include *brúnmóálóttir* (one occurrence), *móálóttir* (one occurrence), *móbrúnn* (one occurrence), *mókóllóttir* (two occurrences), *mórauðr* (one occurrence), *móskjóttir* (one occurrence), and by far the commonest, *mórendr* (eight occurrences).

### III. U. 3. Discussion: *Mó-*

#### III. U. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *mó-*

*Mó-* appears to be related to the noun *mór* (cognate with ModEng *moor*, a landscape similar to a swamp).

#### III. U. 3. b. Conclusions: *Mó-*

Given that it is probably etymologically linked to *mór* (moor/swamp), such compounds as *mó-rendr* (“dirty-edged”?) are probably meant to suggest uncleanness rather than any specific color (which also sheds light on the use of e.g. *mórendr* disapprovingly for poor people’s clothing at ÍF XII.059.14 and ÍF XII.295.17). It is not surprising to note, however, that certain compounds with *mó-*, especially *móálóttir*, can be used in the specialized vocabulary of horse color in ModIce (the one occurrence of *móálóttir* in the OWN texts studied is also for the color of a horse).

In Faroese, the prefix has been reanalyzed as *mor-* and its use in color adjectives has expanded considerably beyond the range of agriculturally important animals and clothing derived from their pelts: cf. *morgráur* (brownish gray), *morgulur* (brownish yellow), *morlittur*

(brownish, used of animal and human hair), *moroygdur* (brown-eyed), which are in relatively common use in addition to numerous derived color adjectives used exclusively of animals (Lehmann 1987: 215).

It is because of its use with compounds that indicate horse color, as well as its fairly vigorous survival in color adjectives into ModIce and especially Faroese, that this prefix has been considered in this study.

### III. V. *Myrkr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “mirk, murky, dark”  
 Fritzner: “mørk”  
 Hægstad-Torp: “myrk, skum; ogso um myrk lit”  
 Lexicon Poeticum: “mørk, dunkel”

Faroese (*myrkur*): “myrk (utan ljós; myrk på lit (sj = *dimmur*); tunglyndt; tungsam)”  
 ModIce (*myrkur*): “dimmur, dökkur, ljóslaus”  
 ModNorw (*mørk/myrk*): “**1.** som er utan lys; lite el. ikkje opplyst, **2.** om farge: som nærmar seg svart; svartvoren”  
 Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

#### III. V. 1. Occurrences of *myrkr*

See Appendix 2.

##### III. V. 1. a. Occurrences of *myrkr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. V. 2. Discussion of referents: *Myrkr*

##### III. V. 2. a. FORESTS AND OTHER LANDSCAPES

Forests are frequently described as *myrkr* in Eddic poetry, apparently with the suggestion that the trees are so high and dense that they impede proper vision. The famous mythical *Myrkviðr* (Edd.Ls.105.01 and *passim*) is one such; see occurrences at Edd.Rp.285.16, Edd.Od.237.27, Edd.Vkv.117.02, Edd.Vkv.117.14.

Landscapes, which might or might not be forested, are *myrkr* at FJ.A1.019/Skáld.023.18,

FJ.A1.099/Skáld.086.23, FJ.A1.129/Heims. I.256.16,

### III. V. 2. b. NIGHT OR NIGHTTIME SKY

Night (whether the nighttime sky itself, or the difficulty of seeing at night) is the most frequent referent of *myrkr*, occurring at Gylf. 37.33, Heims. I.226.1, Heims. I.80.14, Heims. II.150.11, Heims. II.237.18, Heims. II.239.19, Heims. II.378.26, Heims. II.382.12, Heims. II.394.21, Heims. II.397.30, Heims. II.398.8, Heims. III.192.14, Heims. III.409.6, ÍF II.047.27, ÍF II.102.30, ÍF II.115.26, ÍF II.138.25, ÍF II.177.16, ÍF III.312.02, ÍF IX.139.05, ÍF VI.086.06, ÍF VI.129.01, ÍF VII.027.05, ÍF VII.027.19, ÍF VII.066.08, ÍF VII.069.10, ÍF VII.096.06, ÍF VII.123.02, ÍF VII.163.17, ÍF VIII.152.23, ÍF X.051.29, ÍF XIII.302.07/22, ÍF XIII.333.22, ÍF XIV.051.19, ÍF XIV.136.25, ÍF XIV.271.21, ÍF XIV.358.09, Skáld. 42.29. The compound *niðmyrkr* (new-moon dark) is used of night or nightfall at Edd.Gör.II.226.04 and ÍF VI.097.11.

### III. V. 2. c. INTERIORS OF BUILDINGS AND ROOMS

The interiors of buildings and rooms which are unlit and difficult to see in (including dungeons) are described as *myrkr* on several occasions. Heims. III.125.19, Heims. III.273.17, ÍF II.110.09, ÍF VII.273.24, ÍF VII.314.14/26, ÍF XI.276.12, ÍF XI.277.22, ÍF XIII.288.16, ÍF XIII.334.25, ÍF XIII.387.03, ÍF XIII.387.05.

### III. V. 2. d. CAVES AND UNDERGROUND

The interiors of caves, or other areas underground or physically forming a barrier to sunlight (including snow), are *myrkr* at ÍF VII.057.33, ÍF IX.223.07/08, ÍF XI.203.09.

### III. V. 2. e. WEATHER PHENOMENA

Stormy weather is *myrkr* at ÍF IX.249.22, ÍF VII.111.18, ÍF XIII.126.13.

## III. V. 3. Discussion: *Myrkr*

### III. V. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Myrkr*

The IE root *\*merg-* is attested in words for darkness in other Indo-European languages, including Lith *márgas* “variegated,” Gk. *amorbós* “dark,” Albanian *murg* “black” (Mallory and Adams 2006: 330). Among the Gmc languages, this root appears frequently only in NGmc, though derivatives in North Sea WGmc languages are noted, possibly borrowings from NGmc (Heidermanns 1993: 409-410).

### III. V. 3. b. Conclusions: *Myrkr*

*Myrkr* is best understood as a close equivalent to ModEng *dark*, communicating the absence or scarcity of light. In every one of its occurrences, it describes locations and situations where visibility is difficult because of low lighting (principally night, closed and unlit rooms, and dense forests, but also underground locations, dark weather, and the visual impression of being buried under snow). As such, it is not a color term, but as the quintessential expression of the absence of light it does sometimes contrast with true color terms (*rauðr*, *grónn*) which can only be viewed in clear light.

### III. W. *Rauðr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “red”

Fritzner: “rød”

Hægstad-Torp: “raud”

Lexicon Poeticum: “rød”

ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*reyður*): “raud; (um saud) raudleg, raudkvit”

ModIce (*rauður*): “sem hefur lit blóðs”

ModNorw (*raud*): “med farge som ligg mellom oransje og fiolett i sollysspekteret”

Norn (*rød*): “red”

### III. W. 1. Occurrences of *rauðr*

See Appendix 2.

### III. W. 1. a. Occurrences of *rauðr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. W. 2. a. BLOOD

Blood is stereotypically *rauðr*, accounting for exactly 1/3 of the occurrences of the term in the texts excerpted. In English, the color of blood is stereotypically red, the cognate of *rauðr*. Blood is *allrauðr* (“thoroughly red”) at FJ.A1.199/ÍF III.237.08.

Compounds: at FJ.A1.219/ÍF III.193.12 the beaks of birds of prey are *barðrauðr* (beard-red). The compounds *blóðrauðr* (blood-red, Heims. I.297.21, ÍF VI.103.12) and *dreyrrauðr* (blood-red, Heims. III.132.5, ÍF II.064.16, ÍF V.091.02, ÍF XII.039.20), which mean “blood-red,” are also attested, reinforcing the stereotypical association of *rauðr* with blood, as do the best example phrase *rauðr sem blóð* (“red as blood”), which occurs at Heims. II.205.3, ÍF III.023.04, ÍF III.070.01, ÍF III.247.04, ÍF III.292.02, ÍF XII.361.06, ÍF XIV.108.05, ÍF XIV.282.10 and the similar *rauðr sem dreyri* (“red as blood, gore”), which occurs at Heims. II.444.28 and Heims. III.24.29.

### III. W. 2. b. GOLD

Gold is also stereotypically *rauðr*, accounting for approximately 10% of all occurrences of the term. Its OE cognate, *read*, is also stereotypically used for the color of gold.

There is the possibility that gold is stereotypically *rauðr* based on type modification (Biggam 2012: 210), being frequently collocated and contrasted with silver, which is stereotypically *hvítr*, much as ModEng describes the two major types of wine as *red* and *white* despite the inapplicability of these colors (as usually defined in Mod Eng) to the colors of these liquids. The possibility that this represents type-modification is discussed further in Chapter 3, section I. A. 14.

Gold is *blóðrauðr* (“blood-red”) at Heims. I.297.21. Similarly, gold is *glóðrauðr* (“ember-red”) at Edd.Am.250.01, Edd.Fm.182.03, Edd.Fm.184.03, Edd.Gðr.II.224.09. This may indicate

purity of the substance rather than of the hue. Gold is so stereotypically red that a compound *gullroðinn* (gold-reddened) is attested (ONP) – and cf. MHG *goltrōt*.

Note that the collocation *bleikt gull* “gold which is *bleikr*,” reported in the *ONP*, does not occur in the texts excerpted. An example of an occurrence from outside the texts excerpted, from *Rauðúlfs þáttur*, is contrasted with desirable *rautt gull* (*rautt gull ok bleikt gull á ekki saman nema nafn eitt*, “red gold and *bleikr* gold have nothing in common except their name alone,” Faulkes 2011: 20), and thus this term probably indicates an undesirable alloy of gold with some cheaper material (Faulkes 2011: 38, and cf. Wolf 2010: 122, with an additional example).

The association of the color red with the material gold is pan-Germanic. The cognate color term *rot* in Middle High German appears 54 times total in the *Nibelungenlied*; 18 of these occurrences describe the color of gold (Anderson 2003: 133). And in OE, the cognate color term *read* is used more often to describe the color of gold than the color of blood (*Ibid.*).

### III. W. 2. c. ANGRY HUMAN FACES

A human face changing color in response to an emotion, particularly anger or humiliation, will frequently become *rauðr* (ÍF XIV.347.29, ÍF XIV.282.10, ÍF XIV.261.08, ÍF XIV.108.05, ÍF XIII.357.08, ÍF XII.361.06, ÍF XII.292.02, ÍF XII.114.15, ÍF XI.225.15, ÍF VI.298.02, ÍF VI.209.05, ÍF VI.127.29, ÍF VI.040.04, ÍF V.195.21, ÍF V.145.18, ÍF V.103.10, ÍF V.057.29, ÍF III.247.04, ÍF III.070.01, ÍF II.029.06, Heims. III.24.29, Heims. II.444.28, Heims. II.205.3, Heims. II.099.030, *Hauksbók* 006.13). An angry face is *allrauðr* (thoroughly red) at ÍF V.127.27, *dreyrrauðr* (“blood-red”) at Heims. III.132.5, ÍF II.064.16, ÍF V.091.02, ÍF XII.039.20.

### III. W. 2. d. HORSES

Horses may be described as *rauðr*, including at ÍF XII.147.16, ÍF XI.256.17, ÍF X.221.17, ÍF VIII.111.03 (seen in a dream), ÍF VII.373.21, ÍF VI.154.08, ÍF VI.153.15, ÍF III.187.01, ÍF III.

065.08. Horses' ears specifically are red at ÍF V.135.13. A horse is named *Heiðarauður* "bright red" at ÍF XI.256.17.

Horses are *alrauður* (all red) at ÍF X.222.04.

Since this is a large number of occurrences for this color term applied to horses in prose, *rauður* was evidently a common recognized shade of horse color in the OWN period. In ModIce, the term *rauður* used of a horse denotes a chestnut (dark reddish-brown) horse, which is a frequent color in the modern-day Icelandic horse (Holderness-Roddam 1997: 31).

### III. W. 2. e. HUMAN HAIR

Human hair (and often facial hair) is referred to as *rauður* at ÍF XIII.275.05/18, ÍF XIII.126.09, ÍF VIII.171.22, ÍF V.189.04, Heims. I.356.21, Edd.Rp.283.06, ÍF III.197.12, ÍF IV.026.22, ÍF IV.224.19, ÍF VII.036.22.

The beard of the god Þórr is also said to be red (at ÍF IV.224.19, and elsewhere outside the texts excerpted). In the prologue to the Prose Edda, his hair is said to be *fegra en gull* ("fairer than gold," Gylf. 04.40), and his wife's hair is said to be like gold a few lines later (Gylf. 05.09). Thus it is possible (as previously discussed under *gulr*) that hair compared to gold is meant to be understood as red, rather than blonde, but this would be difficult to substantiate without further evidence.

### III. W. 2. f. ROOSTERS

A rooster is *fagrrauður* ("fair-red") at Edd.Vsp.010.06, while another is *sótrauður* ("soot-red") at Edd.Vsp.010.10.

### III. W. 2. g. HEATED IRON

Heated iron is *rauður* at FJ.A1.151/Skáld. 16.23 (not in rhyming or alliterative position), ÍF II.078.15.

### III. W. 2. h. FIRE

Fire is *rauðr* at FJ.A1.378/Heims. III.060.11 (in *skothending*). A fire seen in a dream is *rauðr* at ÍF VIII.111.04.

### III. W. 2. i. SHIPS AND SAILS

A ship is *rauðr* at FJ.A1.399/Skáld.096.02 (in *aðalhending*); a painted ship's figurehead is *rauðr* at FJ.A1.445/Skáld.101.31 (in alliteration). An occurrence of *rauðr* ships in prose is Heims. II.212.15; stripes on a sail are *rauðr* at Heims. II.273.18, Heims. II.290.21.

### III. W. 2. j. WEAPONS (NOT COLORED BY BLOOD)

A sword, not apparently discolored by blood (it is also described as *fagr*) is *rauðr* at FJ.A1.456/Heims. III.251.14 (not in rhyming or alliterative position).

An arrow is *rauðr* at FJ.A1.477/Heims. III.359.07 (in *skothending*).

### III. W. 2. k. RAINBOW

Part of the rainbow is *rauðr* at Gylf. 18.8.

### III. W. 2. l. HUMAN NOSES

A man is nicknamed Þorsteinn *rauðnef* (red-nose) at *Hauksbók* 112.30.

### III. W. 2. m. HUMAN CHEEKS

A woman's cheek is *rauðr* at *Hauksbók* 072.26. A man's cheeks are approvingly described as *rauðr* at ÍF XII.053.10.

### III. W. 2. n. DARK SKY

A dark (*myrkr*) sky is *rauðr* at Heims. II.378.25, and contrasted with *bjartr*.

### III. W. 2. o. INTERNAL ORGANS

The fibers of a man's exposed heart are *rauðr* and *hvítr* at Heims. II.393.6; they are *rauðr*, *hvítr*, *gulr*, and *grónn* at ÍF VI.276.11.

### III. W. 2. p. CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

A king's silken shirt is *rauðr* at Heims. III.43.20. Part of a jacket is *rauðr* at ÍF III.334.14. A cape is *rauðr* at ÍF V.225.11. A cloak is *rauðr* at ÍF XI.189.01. Socks are *rauðr* at ÍF XII.352.01. Unspecified cloth is *rauðr* at ÍF IV.228.09, ÍF IV.228.13, ÍF XI.051.17, ÍF XIII.352.09, ÍF XIII.352.22. Unspecified clothing of a wealthy man is *rauðr* at ÍF XII.064.20, ÍF XIII.270.12/27. Unspecified clothing (possibly bloody) is *rauðr* at ÍF VIII.068.21. Thread is *rauðr* at ÍF XIII.336.21.

Clothing described with the frequent term *litklæði* (color-clothing) is *rauðr* at ÍF XII.115.22.

Egill Skalla-Grímsson wears a *rauðr* kirtle at ÍF II.243.30. Other *rauðr* kirtles are found at ÍF IX.136.15, ÍF IV.120.21, ÍF IX.184.20, ÍF IX.263.08, ÍF V.079.14, ÍF V.118.07, ÍF V.139.19, ÍF V.187.12, ÍF VI.266.20, ÍF VI.372.10, ÍF VII.096.29, ÍF X.079.01, ÍF XI.227.10, ÍF XII.044.03, ÍF XII.085.20, ÍF XII.150.17, ÍF XII.187.02, ÍF XII.231.16, ÍF XII.351.25, ÍF XIII.184.12, ÍF XIV.176.25, ÍF XIV.276.10. A woman's kirtle is *rauðr* at ÍF XIV.029.29.

### III. W. 2. q. OXEN

Oxen are *rauðr* at ÍF X.085.21, ÍF X.121.19, ÍF X.177.05, ÍF XI.048.22 (and *passim* over the next few pages).

### III. W. 2. r. FISH

A fish called a *rauðkemingr* is mentioned at Skáld. 127.13, but is probably mythical.

### III. W. 3. Discussion: *Rauðr*

#### III. W. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Rauðr*

*Rauðr* has the most secure etymology of any OWN, or indeed Indo-European, color term. The root *\*h<sub>1</sub>reudh-* (Pokorny *\*reudh-*) is securely reconstructible to Proto-Indo-European with a

primary signification of “red,” as attested by its widespread use to form the primary term for that color in Gmc (OE *rēad*, OWN *rauðr*, Goth *rauds*, OHG *rōt*, OS *rōd*), Italic (Latin *ruber* “red” and *rūfus* “red-haired” – at least the latter borrowed from a Sabellic dialect – v. Sihler 1995: 140-1), Gk (*eruthrós*), Indo-Iranian (Skt *ró:hita-*, Av *raoiðita-*), Celtic (OIr *rūad*, Welsh *rhudd*), Balto-Slavic (Lith. *raudona*, OCS *rudъ*), and Tocharian (Toch. B *rätre*).

### III. W. 3. b. Conclusions: *Rauðr*

*Rauðr* is far and away the most frequent color term in OWN, accounting for 36.97% of all occurrences of color terms in the language. For further discussion of frequency of color terms in the OWN texts excerpted and analysis of those data, see next chapter under **I. A. 11**.

The focus of *rauðr*, like that of its ModEng cognate *red*, is on the vivid color of fresh human blood. Indeed, fully a third of all occurrences of *rauðr* describe the color of blood or items that have been stained by blood, which makes it clear that the color of *rauðr* is focused on a similar part of the spectrum as its cognates in modern Gmc languages (Eng *red*, Norw *raud*, Dan *rød*, Sw *röd*) and Romance languages (Fr *rouge*, Sp *rojo*).

As a monolexic term of exceptionally frequent occurrence, which is not subsumed under the range of any other color term, *rauðr* is certainly a basic color term of OWN.

That the range of the color embraces referents which would not normally be considered literally “red” (horse hair, human hair, and especially gold) is unsurprising, as the application of color terms to human and horse hair is notoriously specific. “Red gold” is a particularly old collocation, occurring widely in OE, MHG, and OWN; the use of *rauðr* for this material is probably type-modification (see Ch. 3, § **IV. A. 14**) or may be a remnant of a time before the adoption of a BCT for yellow (see Ch. 4, § **I. B.**).

If the latter, there is additional evidence that, at an earlier stage of OWN color term

development, the range of *rauðr* extended into yellow. The yolk of an egg is called the *rauða* in OWN, and this is unlikely to be a case of type-modification, because of the low social or economic importance of the distinction between the yolk and the white of an egg (see further under Ch. 3, § IV. A. 14). The poetic term *røðull* for the sun also appears to imply a red color for that celestial body, whose color is typically considered yellow in modern Gmc languages.

### III. X. *Rjóðr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “adj. ruddy, of the face or cheek; 2. red”

Fritzner: “rød, = *rauðr*”

Hægstad-Torp: “a. raud. Jfr. nyn. *rjodleitt* (Tel.) og *rø* for *rjød*, *rjod*, Sfj.”

Lexicon Poeticum: “rød, rødmusset”

Faroese: (no apparent descendent term)

ModIce (*rjóður*): “rauður, rauðleitur, með rauðan blæ”

ModNorw: (no apparent descendent terms in the standard language)

Norn: (no apparent descendent term)

#### III. X. 1. Occurrences of *rjóðr*

See Appendix 2.

#### III. X. 1. a. Occurrences of *rjóðr* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

#### III. X. 2. Discussion of referents: *Rjóðr*

##### III. X. 2. a. HUMAN FACES

All occurrences of *rjóðr* in the texts surveyed are for the color of human faces, both men and women, adults and children: Edd.Rp.283.06, FJ.A1.084/ÍF VIII.230.15, FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.276.15/275.03/Heims. II.391.012, Heims. II.04.6.

#### III. X. 3. Discussion: *Rjóðr*

##### III. X. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Rjóðr*

A cognate term with similar meaning is OE *rēod* (reddened); Gothic *gariups* is probably also cognate, with the semantic shift of “red-faced” > “shameful.” *Rjóðr* and its cognates represent deverbal adjectives formed from the verb “to redden,” OWN *rjóða* (Heidermanns 1993: 448).

### III. X. 3. b. Conclusions: *Rjóðr*

*Rjóðr* is an extremely uncommon color term, and is used only for the color of human faces. Based on its etymological derivation from *rauðr*, it is probably closely equivalent to the English term *ruddy*, also used principally of faces. Based on its low frequency and highly restricted range of reference, it is not likely to be a BCT.

### III. Y. *Svartr*

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “swart, black”

Fritzner: “sort”

Hægstad-Torp: “svart, myrk”

Lexicon Poeticum: “sort”

ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (*svartur*): “svart”

ModIce (*svartur*): “sem er á litinn eins og kol, koldökkur, myrkur”

ModNorw (*svart*): “med meir el. mindre kolmørk farge, frå ei overflate som kastar attende svært lite lys; svært mørk”

Norn (*swart*): “black”

### III. Y. 1. Occurrences of *svartur*

See Appendix 2.

### III. Y. 1. a. Occurrences of *svartur* in compounds

See Appendix 2.

### III. Y. 2. Discussion of Referents: *Svartr*

#### III. Y. 2. a. HUMAN HAIR

Human hair (and facial hair) may be described as *svartur*, often with a note of

disparagement. Occurrences include Skáld. 49.18, ÍF XIV.009.19, ÍF XIII.160.10, ÍF XII.446.14, ÍF XI.196.06, ÍF VII.325.17, ÍF VI.250.20, ÍF VI.236.01, ÍF VI.170.06, ÍF VI.124.02, ÍF V.188.18, ÍF IX.162.16, Heims. I.84.8, FJ.A1.283/ÍF VI.235.16, FJ.A1.282/ÍF VI.235.04, FJ.A1.266/Heims. II.062.12, FJ.A1.055/ÍF II.194.14, ÍF VIII.206.02, ÍF XIII.105.24.

At ÍF IV.139.09, a woman who has *svartr* eyebrows is said to have *jarpr* hair.

### III. Y. 2. b. HORSES

Horses, and parts of horses, are fairly frequently referred to as *svartr*, both in poetry and prose: Edd.Ghv.264.10, Edd.Hm.269.10, Heims. III.186.8, ÍF III.187.03, ÍF III.260.10, ÍF III.272.17, ÍF IV.023.05, ÍF V.101.08, ÍF XI.238.01, ÍF XII.095.13, ÍF XIII.054.22.

This is strikingly frequent, considering that in Modern Icelandic the descendent term *svartur* is rarely applied to horses, being used only if the horse in question is black in every single hair (Arnþrúður Heimisdóttir 2012). For horses to be so frequently and uncomplicatedly *svartr* in OWN suggests that the color term was not so restricted in that language with regard to horses.

### III. Y. 2. c. CLOTHING

Articles of clothing and other textiles may be *svartr*.

Occurrences in the texts excerpted: Edd.Rp.281.08 (a poor man's clothing), Heims. II.264.22 (tents, though the reference may be to the darkness inside the tent rather than to the color of the tent under light), ÍF III.029.09 (shoes), ÍF IV.023.05 (a cape), ÍF IV.206.20 (a witch's hood), ÍF IV.262.23 (a woman's kirtle), ÍF IX.052.04/16 (a cloak), ÍF IX.136.03 (tents), ÍF IX.247.11 (unspecified clothing), ÍF IX.256.04 (kirtle), ÍF V.188.10 (pants), ÍF V.245.06 (a kirtle), ÍF VI.231.05/28 (a cloak), ÍF VII.148.11 (a cowl chosen for its ability to blend in with shadows), ÍF VII.150.11 (a cowl), ÍF VII.318.12/25 (a cape), ÍF VIII.120.22 (a cowl), ÍF

X.233.03 (a cowl), ÍF XI.249.32 (a cowl), ÍF XII.304.03 (shoes).

It is notable that the most frequent article of clothing which may be *svartr* is the cowl. On occasion it is possible that the use of the term *svartr* may reflect the shadowing of the face by the cowl, describing not the hue of the fabric but rather the darkened visage of someone wearing a cowl.

### III. Y. 2. d. INK

Ink is *svartr* at Gylf. 19.38 and at *Elucidarius* 35.08 (translating Latin *niger*); blood is “*svartr* as ink” at ÍF VII.363.16; “*svartr* as ink” also occurs at ÍF XII.321.02.

### III. Y. 2. e. EYES

*Svartr* is the most frequently attested color term used for human eyes. See III. C. 3 for discussion of eye color in OWN literature.

### III. Y. 2. f. OXEN

*Alsvartr* (“all-black”) is a term used descriptively only of oxen: Edd.Hym.091.08, Edd.Þrk.114.13, ÍF XII.133.11, ÍF X.121.21, though a giant is named *Alsvartr* (Skáld. 111.21).

### III. Y. 2. g. PEOPLE (NO BODY PART SPECIFIED)

The description of a non-supernatural person (with no body part specified) as *svartr* appears to refer to that person's hair color. Occurrences are fairly numerous and include FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.288.20, FJ.A1.195/ ÍF III.069.17, FJ.A1.283/ÍF VI.237.02, Hauksbók 038.11, Heims. I.295.13, Heims. III.331.10, ÍF III.200.18, ÍF IV.222.02, ÍF VI.015.18, ÍF VIII.210.11, ÍF XI.162.01. In one case, that of Kormákr in *Kormáks saga* (FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.288.20), the individual is explicitly said to have *svartr* eyes elsewhere (FJ.A1.081/ÍF VIII.211.11).

The term *svartr* clearly has negative connotations, as discussed under III. D. 3. b. (above, in the context of differentiating *blár* and *svartr*). If it is meant non-literally in at least some of

these occurrences, then it may be comparable to *grár* and derivatives thereof, which are used to express the unpleasant disposition of the person so described (see above under **III. L. 2. b.**). And while *\*svartmaðr* is not attested in OWN, the use of the expression *blámaðr* in its place for a person of African origin may have originally been meant to avoid the miscommunication possible by the use of *\*svartmaðr* (which would potentially appear to communicate a fact about the person's hair color or even behavior, rather than the person's skin color).

### **III. Y. 2. h. COAL**

By implication of the compound *kol svartr*, which occurs four times in the texts excerpted (3 times to describe an unattractive woman in prose, in closely allied passages, and once for ships in a poem), coal is *svartr*. The compound *kolblár* suggests that coal may also be *blár* (q.v.)

### **III. Y. 3. Discussion: *Svartr***

#### **III. Y. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: *Svartr***

The term *svartr*, with its cognates in other Gmc languages (OE *sweart*, OHG *swarz*, Gothic *swarts*, OS *swart*) – all color terms that appear to mean at least approximately “black” – may be traceable to a PIE root *\*swer-*, if it is connected to Latin *sordēs* (dirt), a possibility discussed by Lehmann (1986: 333). While OWN *svartr* and its Gmc cognates are color terms, this root does not form color terms in other Indo-European branches.

#### **III. Y. 3. b. Conclusions: *Svartr***

*Svartr* appears to be focused at a very dark black, like that of tar or pitch (which are “best examples” for *svartr*). It is very frequent (the second most frequent color term), not collocationally restricted, and monolexemic, and so I agree with Wolf and Brückmann that it is a basic color term.

I disagree with the statement in the widely-cited glossary in Vol. 5 of *The Complete Sagas*

of *Icelanders* that “*svartur* which nowadays means ‘black’ seems at this point to have referred mainly to a brown-black colour, as when it is used to describe horses” (ed. Viðar Hreinsson, et al., 1997: 406). However, horses may be described by either *brúnn* or *svartr* in OWN (unlike in ModIce) – in the texts excerpted for my study, horses are eight times described as *brúnn* and twelve times as *svartr*, and both terms are among the five most frequently used to refer to the color of horses.

To gloss *svartr* as “a brown-black colour” ignores the best-example terms for *svartr*, ink and tar, and this is coupled with the editors’ misleading translation of *blár* as “black,” which ignores not only the plain application of *svartr* to many black referents which *blár* is not applied to (especially ink and human hair, except poetic *hrafnblár*), but also the psychological salience inherent in the frequent contrast of black vs. white, which is expressed in OWN as *svartr* vs. *hvítr*, and is the most frequent color contrast in the language (occurring thirteen times in the texts excerpted, whereas *blár* and *hvítr* are contrasted only once, as different colors of textiles).

### Chapter 3: Determining the Basic Color Terms of Old West Norse

#### I. Criteria

As discussed in Chapter 1, I have followed the guidelines for determining a basic color term that are presented in Biggam 2012 (pp. 21-43), where all the relevant criteria proposed by Paul Kay, Brent Berlin, and associated scholars since 1969 are distilled into a single coherent list and their applicability to extinct languages discussed in some detail.

Many of these criteria are tests that attempt to determine psychological salience, one of the primary tests of BCT status suggested in Berlin and Kay 1969. As discussed in Chapter 1, a basic color term should be psychologically salient; that is, it should be common to all adult speakers of the language, be easily elicited from them, and be applied consistently by them. In ModEng, for instance, all non-colorblind adult speakers use the term *red*, tend to name it among the first few color terms when asked for lists of color terms, and apply it in a fairly consistent way (to blood, roses, poinsettias, strawberries, etc.). For living languages such as ModEng, psychological salience can be tested in numerous direct ways, such as by eliciting lists of color terms from speakers; those colors which frequently are named first by most speakers are probably basic. But for extinct languages such as OWN, it is necessary to consider the existing written material under the light of many different criteria to determine a term's psychological salience less directly.

#### I. A. 1. Non-predictable meaning/ monolexemicity (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.3)

Monolexemic color or color-like terms in OWN include: *ámr*, *blakkr*, *blár*, *bleikr*, *brúnn*, *gránn*, *grár*, *grónn*, *gulr*, *hárr*, *hvítr*, *hross*, *jarpr*, *rauðr*, *rjóðr*, and *svartr*.

Some of these terms are frequently compounded,<sup>27</sup> whether with one another or with other terms, but there is no case in which a compound color term is so frequent that it appears to have

<sup>27</sup> See I.A.6. below, for a complete list of color compounds in the texts cited. Most frequently compounded are *rauðr* (14 occurrences in the texts cited), *hvítr* (13), and *grónn* (6).

taken on its own meaning independent of the sum of its parts – in other words, most color compounds that occur in OVN appear to be *ad hoc*, drawing on the reader’s ability to decode the meaning of the compound color term from the simplex color terms contained therein.

Only a very few complex color terms occur more than once or twice in the OVN texts cited for this study, suggesting a stabler field of reference than most *ad hoc* compounds, but the meaning of these compound terms can, in all cases, be deduced from the sum of their parts. The commonest, *skolbrúnn* (lit. “dirty-water brown,” or perhaps “dirty-water (eye)browed”), occurs 8 times, and is the compound color term which most nearly approaches the status of its own lexical item with a defined field of reference, as it is restricted in application only to men. This was evidently a recognized shade of human hair or skin; or, if *brúnn* is interpreted as the adjective “browed” (i.e. having a certain type of eyebrows), possibly specifically a reference to eyebrows that are dark in color, or which are so prominent that they darken the eyes. Whatever the case, its restricted range of referents and its polylexemic construction prevent it from being considered a basic color term.

The remainder of the compound color terms which occur more than 2 times in the texts studied also have a restricted class of referents to which they may be applied, and often appear to have originated in stereotyped expressions for the intensity of the color in question.

These include, in order of frequency: *Apalgrár*,<sup>28</sup> which occurs 6 times in the texts studied, always about the color of livestock (horses or cattle). *Kolblár* (“coal-blue”) occurs 6 times, thrice to describe the color of the sea (ÍF V.082.11, ÍF XII.035.16, ÍF XII.078.06), twice about the color of injuries (ÍF IV.146.22, ÍF VII.252.07, both occurrences in *Eyrbyggja saga*), and once about a corpse (ÍF IV.093.13). *Ljósjarpr* (“light brown”) occurs five times, always about human hair.

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<sup>28</sup> In a separate paper (forthcoming) I have suggested that this compound does not refer to the color of apples (*epli*), but to the blue-gray color of the eyes of newborn calves and foals.

*Dreyrrauður* (“blood-red”) occurs four times, always about an angry human face. *Fífilbleikr* (“dandelion-yellow”) occurs four times, only about the color of horses. *Glóðrauður* (“ember-red”) occurs four times, only in poetry and only about the color of gold (*gull*, with which this word alliterates). *Kolsvartr* (“coal-black”) occurs four times, three times in prose descriptions of unappealing women, and once in poetry (FJ.A1.323/Heims. II.309.04), probably about ships. *Ulfgrár* (“wolf-gray”) occurs three times, always about human hair.

All of these terms are, therefore, too infrequent and too restricted in application to be basic color terms, even if they were not polylexemic, and the criterion of monolexemicity appears to have little bearing on determining the basic color terms of OWN.

#### **I. A. 2. Non-hyponymy (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.4)**

*Jarpr* and *brúnn* occupy similar semantic spaces, nearly overlapping English *brown*, though it appears incorrect to say that one is a kind of another, as the two never occur together, neither to describe the same referent nor in a contrastive context. *Jarpr* and *brúnn* appear to be in complementary distribution, in other words: *jarpr* means “brown” as a human hair color, and *brúnn* means “brown” as a horse hair color. Both of these color terms are so uncommon that they may be considered hyponyms of *svartr*, “black,” as their cognates were in OE (Anderson 2003: 196-98), and as is suggested by the cases (one for each color term in the texts excerpted) in which people with *jarpr* or *brúnn* hair are also said to have *svartr* hair.

The same can be said of *hross* vis-à-vis *grár* and probably of *hárr* vis-à-vis *hvítr*, though in the latter case the two terms occasionally appear together in use for the color of the same referent (aged human hair).

It is possible that *gulr* should be considered a hyponym of another color term, perhaps *bleikr* or *rauður*, but the term is rare enough that a certain case cannot be made for which.

*Blakkr* appears to be a specialized color term (and a hyponym of *hvítr* or *bleikr*?) usable only in poetry, and even then usually as a substantivized adjective rather than an adjective *per se*.

### I. A. 3. Non-restricted application (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.5)

Basic color terms ought to be applicable to a wide range of referents, and not restricted to certain types of referents only. For instance, English *blonde* is applied only to hair and to materials whose color explicitly evokes and is analogized to that hair color (such as certain types of wheat or wood), whereas *yellow* may apply to anything from a bird to a car to a flower to a pencil. *Yellow* is, on these grounds, potentially a basic color term in English, while *blonde* is not (*blonde* is a hyponym of *yellow*).

With that in mind, the following monolexemic, non-hyponymic color terms of OWN appear to be applicable only to a narrow range of referents, and on those grounds excludable from consideration as BCTs:

*brúnn*: 3/4 of occurrences in prose apply to horse hair, and in the only application of the term to human hair, the person in question is said to have *svartr* eyebrows: ...*hann hefir brúnt hár ok stór bein í andliti, svartar brýnn, miklar hendr, digra leggi...* (*Bandamanna saga*, chap. 7, ÍF VII.325.16). All remaining prose referents (twice about clothing, and one time each about landscapes, swords, and grass) are probably meant to be compared with this horse color. Additionally, all occurrences of the term in poetry in the texts excerpted are alliterative, suggesting that the term was chosen for poetic reasons. Based on comparison of the word's referents in various Gmc languages, Anderson (2003: 90) concurs that in PGmc, the etonym *\*brūnaz* was restricted to animals, and was a hyponym of black (Ibid.: 161), though Heidermanns (1993: 143) does not express such reservations about the term's field of reference in PGmc.

*gulr*: 5 of its 8 non-mythological occurrences are in describing human hair; the other 3 describe a lion sewn onto a jacket (Heims. III.235.17), the fibers of an exposed human heart (ÍF VI.276.11, in a list of four colors seen in these fibers), and, in a poetic context, wood (FJ.A1.133/ÍF IV.078.09, and here the word is in *skothending*). I consider it likely that in all three cases the color term is deliberately chosen for its evocation of a certain (probably blonde) shade of human hair. The “best example” case, *gult sem silki* (*Óláfs saga helga*, Chap. 102, Heims. II.172.22) describes human hair and may refer to the texture, saturation/vividness, or reflectiveness of the silk and hair rather than their hue (and the hue of the silk envisioned by the writer is indeterminate anyway).

*hárr*: Of 23 occurrences, 20 are about aged human hair (including facial hair). The other three occurrences describe a man’s beard (ÍF V.188.17; from the surrounding context it is not clear whether the man is aged, though this is probably implied by the word *hárr* itself), flesh (ÍF XIII.336.22), and, in a poetic context, a wolf (FJ.A1.535/Skáld.088.11). It is probable that the term *hárr* is a special term for the color of aged human hair, applicable by extension very rarely to similar colors (in a wolf’s fur, in flesh). As such the term, though not infrequent, is too restricted in application to be considered a basic color term. The cognate *har* in OE is also focused on hair color, but the adjective enjoys a wider application in that language (Biggam 1998: 126-7).

*jarpr*: All of this word’s eleven occurrences describe the color of human hair. It appears that *jarpr* is a restricted term, applied only to human hair. Based on the occurrence of *jarpr* to describe the hair of a woman whose eyebrows are described as *svartr* at ÍF IV.139.09, it is also likely that *jarpr*, like *brúnn*, was a hyponym of *svartr* in the OVN period. Interestingly, the ModIce descendent term *jarpur* is applied only to *horse* hair, while in OVN *jarpr* is restricted to

human hair.

It is noticeable that all four of these color terms appear to have restricted application to hair (of humans or horses) only, a domain in which specialized color terms are especially common (Biggam 2012: 26). I consider *brúnn*, *gulr*, *hárr*, and *jarpr* ineligible for BCT status, on the grounds of the criterion of non-restricted application.

#### I. A. 4. Frequency in lists of color terms (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.6)

There are no lists of colors in the OWN texts surveyed which are not bound to specific referents. Even the colors of the rainbow may be part of a specialized vocabulary for colors seen in meteorological phenomena, or be subject to symbolic associations with e.g. certain elements believed to be represented in the rainbow's hues (Anderson 2003: 73-75). Perhaps the closest equivalent test is to determine which terms are explicitly referred to as *litir* "colors" in the OWN texts surveyed. These are *rauðr* (four times), *bleikr* (once), *hvítr* (once), and *svartr* (once).

#### I. A. 5. Agreement and consistency between informants and their idiolects (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.7-3.9)

In a dead language we cannot reckon with living informants, but can substitute agreement and consistency in the use of color terms among various genres.

**Fig. 1. Frequency of color terms (or color-like terms) in OWN, and occurrence of terms across written genres.**

| color term (or near-color term) | total occurrences in texts excerpted | occurrences in skaldic poetry? | occurrences in eddic poetry? | occurrences in <i>Ísl. sögur</i> ? | occurrences in <i>Heimskringla</i> ? |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ámrr</i>                     | 1                                    | yes                            | no                           | no                                 | no                                   |
| <i>bjartr</i>                   | 85                                   | yes                            | yes                          | yes                                | yes                                  |
| <i>blakkr</i>                   | 15                                   | yes                            | yes                          | no                                 | yes                                  |

|                     |     |     |     |     |     |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>blár</i>         | 145 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>bleikr</i>       | 32  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>brúnn</i>        | 27  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>dimmr</i>        | 13  | no  | yes | yes | no  |
| <i>dökk</i>         | 23  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>fagr</i>         | 259 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>fölr</i>         | 19  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>gránn</i>        | 6   | yes | yes | yes | no  |
| <i>grár</i>         | 100 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>grónn</i>        | 37  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>gulr</i>         | 7   | yes | no  | yes | yes |
| <i>hárr</i>         | 36  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>heiðr</i>        | 2   | no  | yes | no  | yes |
| <i>hvítr</i>        | 159 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>hóss</i>         | 3   | yes | no  | yes | no  |
| <i>jarpr</i>        | 14  | no  | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>ljóss</i>        | 143 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>mó-</i> (prefix) | 14  | yes | no  | yes | no  |
| <i>myrkr</i>        | 74  | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>rauðr</i>        | 441 | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| <i>rjóðr</i>        | 4   | yes | yes | no  | yes |
| <i>svartr</i>       | 181 | yes | yes | yes | yes |

Of the terms in the table, it is *bjartr*, *blár*, *bleikr*, *brúnn*, *dökk*, *fagr*, *fólr*, *grár*, *gránn*, *hárr*, *hvítr*, *ljóss*, *myrkr*, *rauðr*, and *svartr* that occur in all four genres. This criterion would exclude *ámr*, *blakkr*, *dimmr*, *gránn*, *gulr*, *heiðr*, *hóss*, *jarpr*, *mó-* (prefix), and *rjóðr*, all of which are also excluded by other criteria. As these genres represent four ample portions of the OWN corpus, the absence of a given color term from any one of them is a strong additional hint that it is not basic.

As for the consistent use of these color terms, the most consistent correlation of a referent with a color term is the correlation of *rauðr* with blood, followed by *rauðr* with gold, then snow and polar bears with *hvítr*, and *hárr* with the hair of aged people.

#### I. A. 6. Morphological Productivity (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.10)

BCTs are often the most morphologically productive of the color terms in a language; they form a greater number of derivative adjectives, verbs, and substantives than do non-basic color terms. For instance, in English there are only three color terms that form inchoative verbs with the suffix *-en*: *blacken*, *whiten*, *redde*n (Biggam 2012: 30); *\*greenen*, *\*brownen*, etc. would perhaps be understandable, but are not in use.<sup>29</sup> Black, white, and red are the three “most basic” of all color terms, the focal points of color classification which are most universal in human languages, both in terms of their presence and their focal points of reference (cf. Wescott 1992: 173). But by contrast with ModEng, OWN has fully seven color terms which form inchoative verbs with the suffix *-na* or *-ka*: *sortna* (*svartr*), *hvítna* (*hvítr*), *roðna* (*rauðr*), *blána* (*blár*), *grána* (*grár*), *blikna* (*bleikr*), *grónka* (*grónn*).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Notably, Old and Middle English allowed a wider variety of color and near-color terms to form inchoative verbs with this suffix (Anderson 2003: 485 n. 2).

<sup>30</sup> The existence of an adjective *brúnaðr* implies that an inchoative verb *brúna* formed to *brúnn* may have once existed, but it is not attested in the OWN corpus. A verb *bruna* does exist in ModNorw, but it does not have inchoative meaning.

The inchoative suffix *-na* also forms verbs derivative of the near-color adjectives *døkk* (*døkkna*) and *fōl* (*fōlna*), which incidentally are opposites, conveying high and low saturation, respectively.

Attested causative verbs based on color terms comprise *gróna* “to make green,” *rjóða* “to make red,” *sverta* “to make black,” *bleikja* “to make yellow” (cf. ModEng *bleach*).

There is also a tendency in OWN for color and color-like adjectives to form weak (*\*n*-stem) nouns. These include *blá* “wave” (to *blár*), possibly Snorri’s *Víðbláinn* (if this should be read as “the wide blue (sky)”), *blika* “pallor, yellowness” (to *bleikr*), *Gráni/Grána* (names of gray horses), *gula* “jaundice” (to *gulr*), *hvíti* “whiteness” and *hvíta* “eggwhite” (to *hvítr*), *jarpi* “hazel grouse” and perhaps *erpi* “wood” (to *jarpr*),<sup>31</sup> *myrkvi* “darkness” (to *mykr*), *rauði* “iron ore” and the surprising *rauða* “egg yolk” (to *rauðr*),<sup>32</sup> *sorta* “black dye” and *sorti* “black cloud” (to *svartr*), and perhaps *áma* “larva, giantess” (to *ámr*), if *ámr* is actually a color term.

Another consideration is the behavior of the adjective in compounds: whether it can act as the head of a compound describing color, modified by such terms as *ljóss*- (“light-”), *døkk*- (“dark”), or other color terms. The following color or color-like terms form the head of compounds in the texts excerpted: *bjartr* (with *gagl*-, *gull*-, *hróð*-, *sól*-), *blár* (*all*-, *kol*-, *myrk*-), *bleikr* (with *fis*-, *fífil*-, *ljós*-, *rauð*-), *brúnn* (with *mó*-, *rauð*-, *skol*-), *døkk* (with *ó*-), *fagr* (*all*-, *gang*-, *hopp*-, *lit*-, *ó*-), *fōl* (*all*-, *nauð*-, *nef*-, *ó*-), *grár* (with *al*-, *apal*-, *járn*-, *úlf*-), *grónn* (with *al*-, *fagr*-, *gul*-, *iðja*-, *í*-, *lauf*-), *heiðr* (with *sól*-), *hvítr* (with *al*-, *all*-, *blá*-, *blik*-, *drif*-, *fagr*-, *fann*-, *frán*-, *lin*-, *mjall*-, *snæ*-, *sól*-, *svan*-), *jarpr* (*døkk*-, *ljós*-, *svart*-), *ljóss* (with *all*-, *far*-, *víg*-), *mykr* (with *nið*-), *rauðr* (with *al*-, *all*-, *barð*-, *blóð*-, *dreyr*-, *fagr*-, *glóð*-, *heiða*-, *mó*-, *sót*-, *tand*-, *val*-),

<sup>31</sup> Kroonen (2013: 118) adduces also *irpa* “brown mare” from ModIce, though the word is not attested except as a name in OWN.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. OE *geol(o)ca*, formed from *geolo* “yellow”. I have not found evidence in any texts or major dictionaries of OE or OHG for the use of *red* or derived terms for egg yolk in other early Gmc languages.

*svartr* (with *al-*, *blá-*, *kol-*).

Frequency of compounds formed with a given color adjective are highest with *rauðr* (14), *hvítr* (13), and *grónn* (6), to all of which I assign basic color term status.

#### **I. A. 7. Non-homonymy (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.11)**

BCTs should ideally not have the same name as a reference object which they are stereotypically connected to. For instance, ModEng *turquoise* is not a BCT because of its stereotypical association with the material *turquoise* (ModEng *orange* would potentially suffer from the same accusation, if it were not so psychologically salient and so frequent in all contexts). There do not appear to be any OWN color terms excluded by this criterion.<sup>33</sup>

#### **I. A. 8. No new loanwords (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.12)**

New and unassimilated loan words will probably be ineligible for BCT status. The infrequent use of *rouge* as a color term in English, for instance, reveals that the term is non-basic, which is reinforced by the unassimilated pronunciation of /g/ as the consonant [ʒ], a phoneme found principally in loanwords in most dialects of ModE.

Similarly, while these terms are also excluded because of their infrequency, the adjectives derived from Latin *purpura* – including *purpuralitr*, *purpuraligr*, and *purpurligr* (Fritzner 1891/1954: 963) – may be excluded from consideration as BCTs in OWN on the basis of their status as recent loanwords. It is worth noting that these terms may not have referred to the hue that is denoted as “purple” in modern European languages. Indeed, the term “purple” in ancient and medieval times seems to have referred originally only to dyes extracted from certain molluscs and not to any particular hue, and only in the modern era to have been applied exclusively to the range of hues that is now the domain of English purple (Jensen 1963: 113-5).

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<sup>33</sup> The translated *Elucidarius* has *gulligr* “gold-like,” but this is transparently a translation of Latin *aureus* in the original, Latin, text.

### **I. A. 9. Morphological Complexity (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.13)**

This criterion is extremely similar to the criterion that a BCT be monolexemic, and is not easily distinguishable from that criterion, especially since Berlin and Kay (1969: 7) give as their only example *blue-green*, a word that is polylexemic anyway and thus excluded by the criterion of monolexemicity. This criterion might be used to exclude infrequent derivative adjectives such as *rauðleitr* and *svartleitr*, since these are more morphologically complex than *rauður* and *svartr*, but compounds with *-leitr* are surpassingly rare in any case (occurring once each in the texts surveyed) and easily understood as derivatives of the simplex color terms they contain.

### **I. A. 10. Word Length (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.14)**

Some scholars (Durbin 1972, Hays et al. 1972) have observed that the basic, most frequently used terms in a language are often short in comparison to words of secondary importance or frequency. All the same, there are many arguments against the usability of this criterion (see Biggam 2012: 33-24, with references).

All monolexemic color terms in OVN are monosyllabic and thus cannot be compared in terms of syllable length, though it is interesting to note that the ten most frequent color terms – *rauður*, *svartr*, *hvítr*, *blár*, *grár*, *bleikr*, *grónn*, *hárr*, *brúnn*, and *jarpr* – are all two morae long and thus prosodically “heavy,” containing either a long vowel, a diphthong, or a two-consonant coda. Indeed the only potential color term which is not prosodically heavy is the uncommon *gulr*.

### **I. A. 11. Frequency of Occurrence in Written Texts (Biggam 2012: Chap. 3.15)**

Terms which are more psychologically salient, i.e. more basic, can be expected to occur, on average, more frequently in a corpus, as speakers will “reach” for basic terms more frequently than for non-basic. An English speaker might describe a particular hummingbird’s back as *green* most of the time, but only “reach” for *emerald* in the infrequent case when comparison with

other shades of *green* is necessary. Similarly, we can project that OWN writers would more frequently write basic terms than non-basic.

The table below demonstrates the number of times that each OWN color term (or potential color term) appears in the OWN texts cited in this study.

**Fig. 2. Occurrences of color terms in the OWN texts studied<sup>34</sup>**

| <b>word</b>   | <b>total occurrences in texts excerpted</b> | <b>frequency, relative to frequency of next most frequent term, rounded to 2 decimal points after 0</b> | <b>percentage of total occurrences of all color terms in texts excerpted, rounded to 2 decimal points after 0</b> |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>rauðr</i>  | 441                                         | 2.44x commoner than:                                                                                    | 36.97%                                                                                                            |
| <i>svartr</i> | 181                                         | 1.14x commoner than:                                                                                    | 15.17%                                                                                                            |
| <i>hvítr</i>  | 159                                         | 1.10x commoner than:                                                                                    | 13.33%                                                                                                            |
| <i>blár</i>   | 145                                         | 1.45x commoner than:                                                                                    | 12.15%                                                                                                            |
| <i>grár</i>   | 100                                         | 2.70x commoner than:                                                                                    | 8.38%                                                                                                             |
| <i>grónn</i>  | 37                                          | 1.03x commoner than:                                                                                    | 3.1%                                                                                                              |
| <i>hárr</i>   | 36                                          | 1.13x commoner than:                                                                                    | 3.02%                                                                                                             |
| <i>bleikr</i> | 32                                          | 1.19x commoner than:                                                                                    | 2.68%                                                                                                             |
| <i>brúnn</i>  | 27                                          | 1.92x commoner than:                                                                                    | 2.26%                                                                                                             |
| <i>jarpr</i>  | 14                                          | 2x commoner than:                                                                                       | 1.17%                                                                                                             |
| <i>gulr</i>   | 7                                           | 1.17x commoner than:                                                                                    | 0.59%                                                                                                             |
| <i>gránn</i>  | 6                                           | 1.5x commoner than:                                                                                     | 0.50%                                                                                                             |

<sup>34</sup> Simple derivative verbs, such as causative *bleikja*, or inchoative *roðna*, are counted in the totals for the adjectives which they are derived from, since they provide unambiguous information on what referents the adjectives might apply to. Occurrences of color (or color-like) adjectives as human and animal names and bynames are also counted.

|              |             |                      |       |
|--------------|-------------|----------------------|-------|
| <i>rjóðr</i> | 4           | 1.33x commoner than: | 0.34% |
| <i>hross</i> | 3           | 3x commoner than:    | 0.25% |
| <i>ámr</i>   | 1           |                      | 0.08% |
|              | 1,193 total |                      |       |

At the top of the table, it is striking that *rauðr* accounts for 36.97% of all occurrences of color in the corpus, and remains the commonest color term by far even if all occurrences of its most frequent referents, blood and gold (and items covered by blood or gold) are removed (blood and bloody objects account for 33% of occurrences of *rauðr* in the texts excerpted; gold and golden objects for 10%). Add the second-commonest color term, *svartr*, and the list of occurrences of color terms in the OWN texts surveyed is already more than half accounted-for. Together, eight terms – *rauðr*, *svartr*, *hvítr*, *blár*, *grár*, *grónn*, *hárr*, and *bleikr*, to name them in order of frequency – account for 94.8% of all descriptions of color in OWN.

While any line drawn between “frequent” and “infrequent” color terms is bound to be somewhat arbitrary, in moving down the list from most to least frequent color term, there is a large gap between *rauðr*, *svartr*, *hvítr*, *blár*, and *grár*, the most frequent color terms (each with at least 100 occurrences in the texts studied), and the next most frequent color term after them, *grónn*, with 37 occurrences. Indeed the gap between *grár* with 100 occurrences and *grónn* with 37 is the largest single proportional gap between the frequencies of any two sequentially most frequent color terms in these texts, excluding the gap between the two least frequent color terms, *hross* (3 adjectival occurrences) and *ámr* (1 adjectival occurrence), the latter of which may not even be a color term.

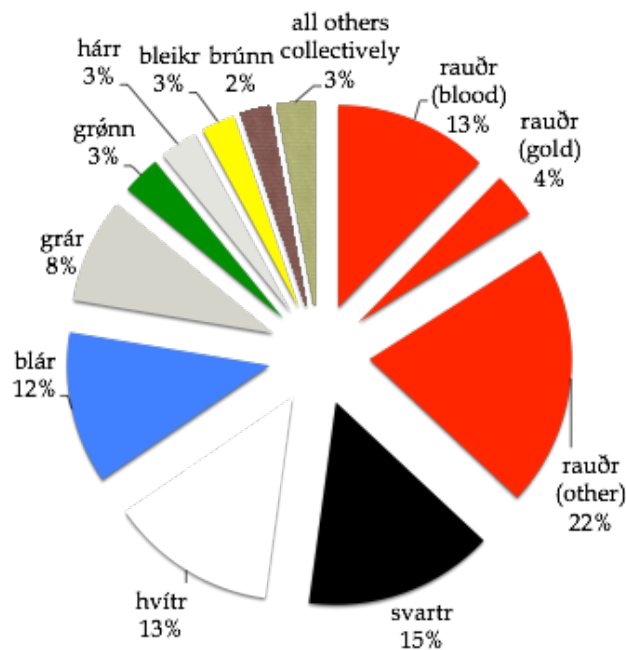
Following *grónn* in frequency is *hárr*, nearly as frequent as *grónn*, but restricted in

application to the color of aged human hair. For that reason, and not because of the numerical frequency of occurrences of the term in the texts studied, *hárr* is probably not a basic color term.

Below *hárr* is *bleikr*, which is applied (as seen in Chapter 2) to a wide variety of referents.

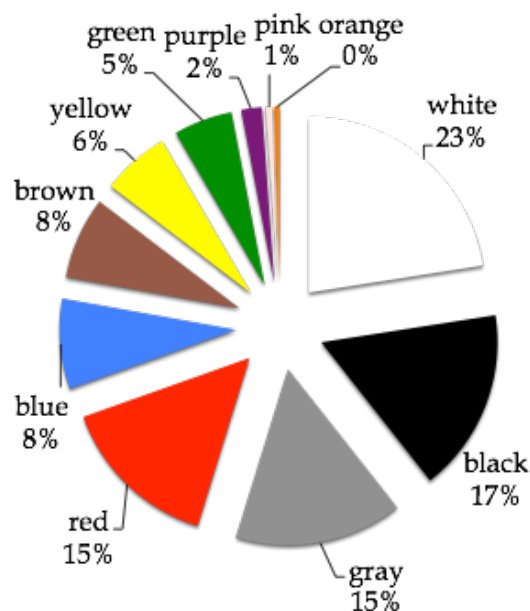
Below *bleikr*, there are no other color terms which occur in all genres sampled and which are used with a wide range of referents. The next most common color terms, *brúnn* and *jarpr*, do occur in all genres but appear to be semantically restricted to the color of horse hair (in the case of *brúnn*) or human hair (in the case of *jarpr*), and to referents whose color and texture are readily analogized to these hair colors. That the seven terms which do appear to be BCTs based on other criteria (*rauðr*, *svartr*, *hvítr*, *blár*, *grár*, *grónn*, and *bleikr*) are also the seven most frequent color terms in the language (excepting the specialized *hárr*), is strongly suggestive of the basicness of these color terms.

**Fig. 3. Relative frequency of color terms in the OWN texts surveyed. Percentages are rounded to nearest whole number. *Rauðr* is further divided to show occurrences that describe the color of blood, occurrences that describe the color of gold, and other occurrences describing the color of all other referents.**



This chart is most revealing when compared to the proportional frequency of color terms in a modern language. ModEng is usually claimed to have eleven basic color terms (*black, blue, brown, gray, green, orange, pink, purple, red, white, and yellow*).<sup>35</sup> I tallied all occurrences of these eleven terms in *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers* (ed. Tim Hunt, 2002), a volume of poetry dealing, much like the bulk of the OWN literature excerpted, with violent conflicts in a rural setting.

**Fig. 4. Proportional frequency of basic color terms in *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers*.**



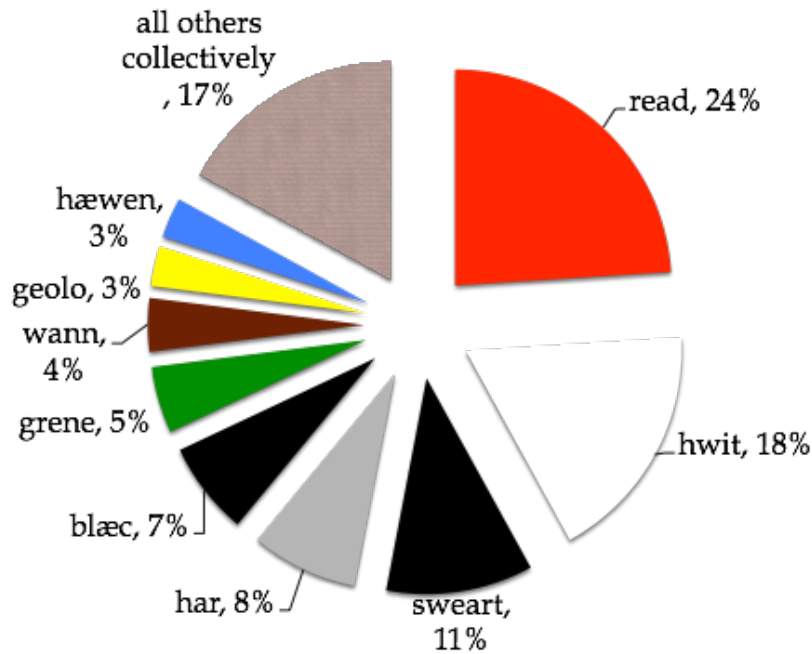
Five adjectives, which are roughly semantically parallel and for the most part cognates in the two languages, make up the five most frequent color terms in both corpora: *rauðr/red*, *svartr/black*, *hvítr/white*, *blár/blue*, and *grár/gray*. These five color terms make up 78% of the occurrences of basic color terms in this English corpus, but 86.00% of *all* occurrences of color terms in this OWN corpus (93.70% of all occurrences of basic color terms, if I am correct that these five color terms together with *bleikr* and *grónn* make up the basic color terms of OWN).

<sup>35</sup> A twelfth, *silver*, is sometimes added to this list (e.g. at Anderson 2003: 21).

The proportion taken up by the achromatic terms – *svartr/black*, *hvítr/white*, and *grár/gray* – in the two pie charts is similar, with the main difference lying in the much greater variety of chromatic terms which are prominent in English, as against only two (*blár* and *rauðr*) taking up any significant space on the OVN chart, all of which space is gained, speaking in relation to the ModEng pie chart, at the expense of chromatic color terms.

Another illuminating contrast is with the relative frequency of color terms in OE.

**Fig. 5. Proportional frequency of color terms in OE prose and poetry. Data from Anderson 2003: 163, adjusted to remove material adjectives *gylden* and *seolfren/sylfren*, as well as the noun *bleoh* “color.”**



The OE distribution is remarkably different from either that of the OVN texts or the ModEng texts surveyed. Cognates with OVN *rauðr*, *hvítr*, and *svartr* make up the top three, as they do in OVN, and *red* (*rauðr/read*) is the most frequent color term in both languages, but there the similarities substantially end. *Har* is much more frequent than its OVN cognate, while *græg* is much less so, and a second term answering to ModEng *black* (and ancestral to it), *blæc*, is the next most frequent term. OE *grene* is roughly as proportionally frequent as OVN *grónn*,

but noticeably more frequent than any OE equivalents of *yellow*, *brown*, or *blue*, which is quite different from the OWN situation. OWN uses no cognates of the somewhat common OE terms *wann*, *geolo*, or *hæwen*. This is a reminder of the perhaps surprising fact that OWN and OE, despite many other lexical similarities, classify and use colors in very different ways, and that what is true of one is hardly necessarily true of the other.

Wolf 2013 attributes the much greater frequency of *rauðr* than of other color terms in OWN to the absence of any near-synonyms (other than infrequent and specialized *rjóðr*), whereas *hvítr* and *svartr* may have near-synonyms that can be substituted for them, such as *ljóss* for *hvítr* and *myrkr* for *svartr*.<sup>36</sup> This is possible, but I find it unlikely that this significantly affects the frequency count of these color terms in OWN, when the same could be said of ModEng, and yet *rauðr* is not so strikingly proportionately frequent in the Jeffers texts as in the comparable OWN texts excerpted for this study.

#### **I. A. 12. Frequency in spoken language (Biggam 2012, Chap. 3.16)**

This criterion requires living informants and is not usable for studies of OWN.

#### **I. A. 13. Response time (Biggam 2012, Chap. 3.17)**

This criterion requires living informants and is not usable for studies of OWN.

#### **I. A. 14. Type-Modification (Biggam 2012, Chap. 3.18)**

The most basic color terms in a language are often those used in what Biggam calls “type-modification” (Biggam 2012: 210) – i.e., the use of a color term to *classify* rather than to *describe* colors.

I suggest that there are two semantic domains in OWN where we may observe type-

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<sup>36</sup> Note also that Wolf 2013 counts the frequency in a different body of texts (only the Sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders) and thus produces a somewhat different frequency list, in order: *rauðr*, *hvítr*, *blár*, *svartr*, *grár*, *grónn*, *brúnn*, *gulr*. Note also that this list includes only the color terms which Wolf theorizes were BCTs.

modification phenomena. These are *human eyes* and *precious metals*.

OWN prose and poetry have little to say about human eye color; in the texts studied, there are only thirteen occurrences of color terms used for human eyes. Equally surprising as this infrequency is the restricted number of color terms used for eyes, as eyes are only described as *blár* or *svartr*.<sup>37</sup>

**Fig. 5. Occurrences of color terms used of human eyes in the OWN texts studied**<sup>38</sup>

| color term    | total occurrences<br>(about eye color)<br>in <i>Íslendinga<br/>sögur</i> (prose) | total occurrences<br>(about eye color)<br>in <i>Heimskringla</i><br>(prose) | total occurrences (about<br>eye color) in skaldic<br>poetry |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>blár</i>   | 3                                                                                | 1                                                                           | 0                                                           |
| <i>svartr</i> | 4                                                                                | 2                                                                           | 3                                                           |

In addition, there is one occurrence of eyes turned *rauðr* by exposure to smoke (FJ.A1.082/ÍF VIII.217.07), and the eyes of Glámr, a supernatural being, are *grár* (ÍF VII.110.03). The eyes of St Ólafr are *fagr* at Heims. II.04.7, but I have established in Ch. 2 that *fagr* is not a color term.

Animal eyes are even less frequently described in terms of color; at ÍF III.054.11, an eagle seen in a dream has *svartr* eyes, but this is the only case of an animal's eye color being commented upon, and the eagle represents Gunnlaugr ormstunga, who is noted for his *svartr* eyes (FJ.A1.197/ÍF III.096.12, ÍF III.059.03). Taking the precautionary note that these eyes may therefore not be intended to be understood as a normal eagle's eyes, we may observe that the only eagle native to Iceland, the white-tailed eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla*), has variable eye color that changes with age, ranging from dark brown in most juveniles to yellow in most adults, and

<sup>37</sup> By contrast, the earliest use of blue for describing the color of human eyes in English dates from the fifteenth century (Anderson 2003: 178-79).

<sup>38</sup> There are no mentions of eye color in the eddic poems.

the same can be said of the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*) which inhabits Norway but not Iceland. If the eye color of an actual eagle is being pictured in this example, then the distribution of OWN *svartr* (for which see later in this study) suggests that it can only be that of a young eagle, which has eyes of a color similar to what in ModEng would be called dark brown if seen in humans. Unfortunately, again, this example may not be meant to be understood as communicating the eye color of an actual, normal eagle.

While it is unclear exactly what exact shades of eye color *blár* and *svartr* conveyed, if we compare humans who are said to have *blár* eyes with those that have *svartr* eyes, a pattern emerges. Those who have *blár* eyes are attractive, and usually Norwegian or Icelandic (Bolli Bollason, Eysteinn konungr, Gunnarr Hámundarson of Hlíðarendi, Hqrðr Grímkelsson), while those who have *svartr* eyes are ugly (Egill Skalla-Grímsson) or in some other way pointed out as socially undesirable or foreign (Haraldr gilli, Kormákr Qgmundsson, Sighvatr skáld Þórðarson in *Óláfs saga helga*). *Svartr* eyes are also connected to Irishmen (Haraldr gilli) and Icelanders<sup>39</sup> – Egill Skalla-Grímsson, Gunnlaugr ormstunga, Húnbogi enn sterki son Álfs ór Dqlum, Kormákr Qgmundsson (who has an Irish name) and Sighvatr skáld (who speaks in one poem about “these *svartr* Icelandic eyes”).

Human eyes come in more than two colors, according to twenty-first century notions, but I suggest that this pattern of associations points to a *classification* rather than a *description* of eye colors, and that OWN used the two terms *blár* and *svartr* of human eyes in order to classify them as either *attractive/normative* or *unattractive/non-normative*.

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<sup>39</sup> The commonest eye color in twentieth-century Scandinavia was what we would now call blue (Cavalli-Sforza, et al. 1994: 267), and it probably was common in medieval Scandinavia as well. Modern-day Icelandic men have 79.6-80% blue or gray eyes, 8.1-9.9% brown or black eyes, 8-9.7% green eyes; modern-day Icelandic women have 68.2-70.3% blue or gray eyes, 8.6-10.3% brown or black eyes, 17.9-21% green eyes (Sulem et al. 2007, *passim*; the two different statistics for each eye color and sex reflect two different sample populations surveyed).

It is interesting that it is these same two color terms that are used for the color of human eyes, when these two terms have often been considered famously difficult to distinguish semantically on account of the use of both terms for two referents which are stereotypically *black* in English: ravens and coal. But these are the only referents of which both *blár* and *svartr* may be used complementarily. Some referents may be *blár*, but never *svartr*, as bruises, corpses, flames, smoke, swords, the faces of angry people, and people from sub-Saharan Africa. Others may be *svartr*, but never *blár*, such as hair<sup>40</sup> (of both humans and horses) and ink. Yet other classes of referents may be either *blár* or *svartr* but not both, such as eyes (which may only be one or the other) and clothing (which may also appear in numerous other colors).

But that it is the color of ravens and coal that may be both *blár* and *svartr* is telling. Both ravens and coal are black, according to the usual modern definition, but both shine when seen under light, and they shine with so-called “cool” colors, blue or violet. Under the OWN system of color classification, I propose that this means they are both “black” (*svartr*) and “blue” (*blár*).

In ModEng a referent may be blue or black, but not both at the same time. However, in OWN certain referents (ravens and coal) may have been describable as one or the other in order to draw attention to different aspects of their appearance. Compare ModEng *dark*; one can say that a garment is *dark*, but this says little about what color it is – it is probably not yellow, but it could well be dark red, dark blue, dark green, etc. One can also say that the garment is dark *and* red, dark *and* blue, etc., without contradicting oneself.

The situation with *blár* and *svartr* in OWN is probably not an exact parallel with the difference between ModEng *blue* and *dark*, considering that *svartr* is more clearly a color term

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<sup>40</sup> In a skaldic stanza by Bragi the Old, at FJ.A1.001/Skáld. 50.36, the hair of Guðrún Gjúkadóttir’s sons is described as *hrafnbjár* “raven-blue,” in which *hrafn-* both alliterates and is in *skothending* with *hefn-*. The description of hair as this color should thus be regarded as artful rather than normal, though black human hair that is very glossy may have a similar blue sheen to that of raven wings.

than ModEng *dark* (and seems to correspond very well with ModEng *black*), and ModEng *blue* would not usually be applied to ravens or coal. Nonetheless a very similar relationship might have existed between OWN *svartr* and *blár* as between ModEng *dark* and e.g. *blue*, with *svartr* used to emphasize an achromatic aspect of an object's appearance (i.e. its darkness) while *blár* was used to emphasize a chromatic aspect (i.e. its cool hue). Ravens and coal are two of the few objects where such contrastive emphasis is easily demonstrated, as they are both very dark but also reflect blue under light. But a very similar distinction in ModEng is made between the color terms *gray* and *silver*: a substance such as tin or pewter may be either, depending upon whether its visible hue or its reflectivity/shine is being emphasized. Similarly, ravens and coal in OWN may be both *blár* or *svartr*, depending upon whether their hue or their unsaturated, "dark" appearance is being emphasized.

Following from the general definitions of *blár* and *svartr* as discussed above, we may look afresh at what the categories of eye color in OWN were meant to draw attention to, if the color of eyes was a type-modification system. It is probably that *svartr* classified eyes as dark in color, unreflective, while *blár* classified them as having an eye color which this society considered desirable and attractive. The contrast is not necessarily between the focal points of the normal ranges of the color terms *blár* and *svartr*, but makes use of the associations inherent in the different emphases of these terms.

Another probable example of type-modification in the OWN color lexicon is precious metal. In the texts excerpted for this study, silver is almost always *hvítr* in color (though occasionally *grár*, which may indicate silver of lower quality). In poetry there is one occurrence each of the terms *mjallhvítr* and *snæhvítr* (both "snow-white") used about silver, but in both cases the compounding element participates in alliteration, so it is doubtful that snow and silver

were actually regarded as having very similar colors in normal descriptive terms. Rather, if silver is classified as *hvítr* rather than described by it (like *rauðr* gold, see below), then these words for snow may communicate that the silver in question is extra pure rather than literally extra white. Similarly, the poetic *glóðraudr* (ember-red) and *blóðraudr* (blood-red) used of gold in the texts excerpted, are probably meant to suggest purity rather than the literal resemblance of gold to flame or blood.

The other precious metal, gold, is *rauðr*, and never described with any other color term in the texts excerpted for this study. Indeed, gold is described with this color term so often that gold accounts for 10% of all occurrences of the color term *rauðr* in these texts (compare blood, which accounts for one-third of all occurrences of *rauðr* in these texts). The association of gold with the color red is quite old and prominent in OE and MHG as well; the phenomenon has been discussed by many scholars, some of whom have suggested that the gold in use in early medieval northern Europe contained more copper than is normal in the modern period (these arguments are summarized in Anderson 2003: 130-41, which incorporates a revised version of Anderson 2000). However, the finds of golden objects from this period do not appear to be especially reddish to modern eyes (Anderson 2003: 134). Anderson (*Ibid.*: 141) suggests that OE *read* (and by extension its cognates in other old Gmc languages such as OWN) had two focal points, one in the color of blood and another in the color of gold. This may or may not be true of OE, with which Anderson is primarily concerned, and where gold does indeed outweigh blood as the principal referent of the color term *read*. But for OWN, where the preponderance of occurrences of *rauðr* are for blood, I suggest that the single *descriptive* focal point of *rauðr* is in fact blood, and that the incredible consistency with which gold is referred to as *rauðr* in OWN texts instead reflects type-modification, contrasting two of the most precious metals by means of two of the

most basic color terms. There may be similar examples of type-modification in the color descriptions of precious metals in other extinct Indo-European languages (as Anderson 2003: 91-92 seems close to suggesting). Another possibility is that gold became stereotypically referred to as red during a period when OVN (and its predecessor OVN) did not distinguish yellow from red (see further on this possibility, Ch. 4 § I. B.).

One more possibility for type-modification in the OVN color vocabulary is the use of *rauða* for the yolk of an egg and *hvíta* for the white (still reflected in ModNorw *eggeraude* and *eggekvite*, ModIce *rauða* and *hvíta*). However, given that the distinction between the yolk and white of an egg does not reflect a difference of economical importance (like the color of precious metals in OVN, or of wines in modern European languages) or social importance (like the color of human eyes in OVN, or of human skin in nineteenth-century European discourse), it is not a distinction that is likely to be affected by type-modification, and therefore the use of *rauða* for the egg's yolk is more likely to be a fossil of an earlier stage in the development of OVN color terms, when *rauðr* "red" extended into the later semantic domain of yellow.

See further discussion of type-modification under the heading of the next, closely-related criterion.

#### **I. A. 15. Use of color terms in culturally significant domains (Biggam 2012, Chap. 3.19)**

This criterion is related to type-modification (see previous section). It was suggested by Ralph Bolton in the same 1978 article in which he discussed the simplified classificatory use of basic color terms by Peruvian potato farmers (whose potatoes, though exhibiting an astonishing variety of colors, were referred to by a very limited set of the BCTs which the farmers had at their disposal). Theoretically, the most basic color terms should also be those which are used in culturally very significant domains – potato farming for subsistence in the Andes, or, Biggam

adds, characteristic cultural expressions such as Scottish *flyting* and Basque *bertsolaritza* (Biggam 2012: 38-39).

This criterion is not easily applied to OWN on its own, though it is worth noting that the color terms which appear in the type-modification situations outlined above – *blár*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, and *svartr* – are the four most frequent color terms in the language and clearly highly psychologically salient for OWN writers. The fields in which I suggest that type-modification was in use in OWN are also in realms that are economically significant (precious metals) or socially significant (eye color as an indication of attractiveness and social status), and it is in the classification of economically or socially important objects that type-modification is most likely to be seen.

#### **I. A. 16. Idiomatic and non-literal usage (Biggam 2012, Chap. 3.20)**

BCTs are more likely to be used in idiomatic and non-literal expressions than are non-basic color terms.

*Grár* is often used in OWN with the meaning “unfriendly;” the word appears 13 times with this sense in the texts studied (more than 10% of the total occurrences of *grár*). Another example of non-literal usage of a color term is the application of *hvítr* to cowards, which occurs four times in the texts reviewed.

Yet another example of non-literal usage of color terms is in “best example” phrases. In my American English dialect, a coward is *yellow*, an inexperienced hand is *green*, and a sad song is *blue*. However, in clarifying the color of a visible item, for instance a flower petal, one would never exemplify it by saying, “as blue as a sad song,” since this is not actually an observable shade of color. But if one wishes to emphasize that an object is *markedly*, *strikingly* blue (even metaphorically so, i.e. sad), one might say “as blue as the sky,” since the sky is stereotypically

blue in ModEng and can be physically observed as that color, and agreed to be that color, by anyone who is not blind or colorblind and who speaks the English language. To quote Biggam (2012: 40), “A sentence such as *The sheets were white as snow* or *The miner was as black as soot* indicate that (British) English speakers consider snow and soot to be good examples of the whitest white and the blackest black.” Such examples should not, however, *restrict* the color term in application only to the referent named in the phrase (cf. Turton 1980: 327, where Mursi-speaking informants identified as the best examples of their color terms, all of which are based on cattle colors, those which they saw in an artificial set of colored cards).

English has several such possible phrases, many of which are widespread – “as white as (driven) snow,” “as red as blood,” “as black as night” “as blue as the sky,” “as green as grass.” I call these “best examples” of a given color term, since they demonstrate a visual referent which is a superior, typical example of a given color. Such phrases may be useful in determining the BCTs of a language, and determining where the foci of those perceived colors are in the spectrum of visible light.

In our OWN texts excerpted, it is unsurprising that there are only five color terms that have these expressions associated with them. The two of the seven commonest color terms which are not so exemplified are *grár* and *grónn*.

*Hvít* is exemplified by reference to snow; *hvít sem snjór* (“white as snow,” both times in *Heimslýsing ok helgifróði*, pp. 154 and 166) and once in the alternative wording *hvít sem dript* (“white as driven snow,” Heims. II.290.21).

*Rauðr sem blóð* (“red as blood”) occurs at Heims. II.205.3, ÍF III.023.04, ÍF III.070.01, ÍF III.247.04, ÍF III.292.02, ÍF XII.361.06, ÍF XIV.108.05, ÍF XIV.282.10. The alternative wording, *rauðr sem dreyri* (“red as blood, gore”) occurs at Heims II.444.28 and Heims. III.24.29.

Three *svartr* best-example phrases occur, twice comparing the color to that of ink (though with two different lexical items) and once to earth. We see *svart sem tjara* (“black as ink” ÍF VII.363.16), *svartr sem bik* (“black as ink,” ÍF XII.321.02), and *svartr sem jörð* (“black as earth, soil,” ÍF XI.279.08).

*Bleikr* is exemplified by reference to bast fiber (*bleikr sem bast*, “yellow as bast,” FJ. A1.272/ Heims. III.016.16 and ÍF XI.279.08: though note that this occurrence is in a skaldic poem in which *bleikr* is both in alliteration and *aðalhending*) and a corpse (*bleikr sem nár*, “yellow as a corpse,” ÍF XI.280.15).

*Blár* is consistently exemplified by comparison to *Hel*, the underworld dwelling-place of the dead and also the name of the goddess-like figure Hel who rules over it. Regrettably for our present purposes, the color of neither can be ascertained, but the collocation *blár sem hel* is frequently repeated: ÍF IV.169.30, ÍF VII.112.09, ÍF XII.292.03. It is possible that *blár sem hel* could imply “blue as the north (or east),” since Hel is considered to be in one or both of these directions, and many cultures associate particular cardinal directions with particular colors (DeBoer 2005: 73). However, this does not make it clearer what the hue referred to by *blár* might be.

In addition to these five common color terms so exemplified, there is a notable example of an uncommon color term, *gulr*, exemplified by a “best example” construction: *gult sem silki* (“blonde as silk”).

#### **I. A. 17. Cultural-Historical Significance (Biggam 2012, Chap. 3.21)**

The final criterion which Biggam deals with is characterized by her as “a last resort” (Biggam 2012: 40). The example which she adduces is from a living language, Russian, where two BCTs are focused inside the semantic space of ModEng *blue*, namely *sinij* “dark blue” and

*goluboj* “light blue.” It is *sinij* which is used in all abstract contexts, but there are referents for which *sinij* can not be used and *goluboj* is obligatory. A great deal of importance is traditionally placed on the difference between these two colors in Russian, and this cultural significance has probably encouraged speakers to preserve this distinction.

It is probably impossible to determine whether there are any such culturally-emphasized or determined distinctions in the OVN color lexicon, given not only the lack of living informants but the probable cultural changes between the time when the earliest preserved skaldic poetry was composed (likely as early as the 800s) and when the last of the classic *Íslendinga sögur* were written in the 1300s.

However, one possible version of this test is to consider how often a color term is used in a context in which it is contrasted with another.<sup>41</sup> This may give a small indication of what contrasts were most psychologically salient to OVN writers.

**Fig. 6. Frequency of Color Contrasts in OVN**

| colors contrasted      | occurrences of contrast in texts excerpted |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>blár / brúnn</i>    | 2                                          |
| <i>blár / hvítr</i>    | 1                                          |
| <i>blár / svartr</i>   | 2                                          |
| <i>bleikr / rauðr</i>  | 2                                          |
| <i>bleikr / rjóðr</i>  | 1                                          |
| <i>bleikr / svartr</i> | 2                                          |

<sup>41</sup> For these purposes, I count two color terms as “in contrast” when they occur in close association with one another but describe the color of two different referents, thus suggesting that they are not the same color. For instance, I take an excerpt such as: ...*hvítum ok svörtum, á hervegi/ grám, gangtómum Gotna hrossum*. (Edd.Hm. 264.10-11) to contrast, if implicitly, the colors *hvítr*, *svartr*, and *grár*, since the horses so named are not equated in color.

|                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| <i>brúnn / grár</i>        | 1  |
| <i>brúnn / rauðbrúnn</i>   | 1  |
| <i>brúnn / rauður</i>      | 1  |
| <i>brúnn / svartr</i>      | 1  |
| <i>fölr / svartr</i>       | 1  |
| <i>grár / hvítr</i>        | 2  |
| <i>grár / rauður</i>       | 3  |
| <i>grár / svartr</i>       | 2  |
| <i>grónn / rauður</i>      | 1  |
| <i>hvítr / jarpr</i>       | 1  |
| <i>hvítr / ljósjarpr</i>   | 1  |
| <i>hvítr / rauðlitaður</i> | 1  |
| <i>hvítr / rauður</i>      | 5  |
| <i>hvítr / rjóður</i>      | 1  |
| <i>hvítr / svartr</i>      | 13 |
| <i>rauður / mórendr</i>    | 1  |
| <i>rauður / rjóður</i>     | 1  |
| <i>rauður / svartr</i>     | 2  |
| <i>svartr / hárr</i>       | 1  |

Note that the only contrasts which occur three or more times, suggesting a greater salience of contrast, are *hvítr-svartr* (13 times), *hvítr-rauður* (5 times), and *grár-rauður* (3 times). These are

hardly surprising statistics: *hvítr* and *svartr* are opposite one another in terms of tone (and the symbolic contrast of black and white is highly salient in Western cultures), *hvítr* and *grár* are opposite in terms of saturation, and finally *hvítr* is achromatic while *rauðr* is the most frequent chromatic color and cross-linguistically “the unmarked pole of the hue dimension” (Witkowski and Brown 1977: 53).

It is also striking that all the occurrences of contrasted colors in the OWN texts excerpted involve at least one of the seven commonest color terms in the language (or a compound containing that term): *rauðr*, *svartr*, *hvítr*, *blár*, *grár*, *grónn*, or *bleikr*.

## Chapter 4: Theoretical Perspectives on the Basic Color Terms of Old West Norse

### I. A. Apparent Basic Color Terms in Late OWN

Based on their satisfaction, alone among the color terms of OWN, of all the testable suggested criteria outlined in Ch. 3, I propose that the following seven color terms were basic in classical literary OWN (i.e. approximately the language of the thirteenth century CE): *blár* ("blue"), *bleikr* ("yellow"), *grár* ("gray"), *grónn* ("green"), *hvítr* ("white"), *rauðr* ("red"), and *svartr* ("black"). English translations in parentheses indicate the focus of each color term, and not necessarily the maximum range thereof; several (*blár*, *bleikr*, *rauðr*, and *svartr*, especially) have ranges of reference that are broader than those which the equivalently focused English BCTs would suggest.

All seven of these color terms are frequent, morphologically productive, monolexemic, non-compound words, used for the color of a wide variety of referents in all genres surveyed, and none appears to be subsumed under the definition of a broader color term. The focal meanings of these color terms also correspond directly to the so-called “opponency colors,” those which the human eye most readily differentiates from each other and which occur most frequently in the corpora of a majority of modern languages (see Kay and Maffi 1999 *passim*, Zollinger 1988 *passim*, MacLaury 1987: 112-116).

I disagree with Wolf (2006) – whose corpus of texts partially overlapped my own, but was not identical with it<sup>42</sup> – on which terms were basic. Brückmann 2012 agrees with Wolf on which OWN color terms were basic, but does not offer an independent analysis of why they should be

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<sup>42</sup> Wolf’s corpus comprised the slips of the ONP, the *Poetic Edda* (ed. Neckel 1983), Snorri’s *Edda* (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1931), the corpus of skaldic poetry (ed. Finnur Jónsson 1912-1915), saints’ lives (*Heilagra manna sögur*, ed. Unger 1877), the Sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders (based largely on the editions in *Íslenzk fornrit*), *Fagrskinna* (ÍF 29), and *Morkinskinna* (ed. Finnur Jónsson [1928]-1932).

considered so; see Crawford 2013a for review.

In particular, there are two monolexemic terms – *brúnn* and *gulr* – which Wolf’s article deemed basic but whose field of reference I find too specific to qualify them for BCT status. *Brúnn* and *gulr* are applied only occasionally to a wider range of referents than hair, and probably evoke their primary referent, a hair color, when they are applied to other referents (a horse hair color in the case of *brúnn*, a human hair color in the case of *gulr*). To quote from Biggam’s description of such color terms as *blonde* and *chestnut* in English (which incidentally are probably good translations of, respectively, *gulr* and *brúnn*), “although such words may not be strictly limited to their primary subjects, these associations are understood by native speakers as the most salient” (Biggam 2012: 45). In section **I. B.** below, I discuss the differences between my interpretation of the data and Wolf’s more thoroughly from a diachronic perspective, as Wolf also is interested in establishing the rough historical order in which BCTs emerged in OWN.

The BCTs of two modern descendants of OWN can be compared with the situation that I posit for OWN. While independent published research on the BCTs of these languages is lacking, my informal independent investigations of their respective literatures (2009 – present) suggest that Modern Icelandic and Modern Norwegian both have 11 BCTs, nearly identical in range to their English equivalents.

**Fig. 1. BCTs in Modern English, compared to those of OWN, ModIce, and ModNorw.**<sup>43</sup>

| Modern English | Old West Norse                                   | Modern Icelandic | Modern Norwegian |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| black          | <i>svartr</i>                                    | <i>svartur</i>   | <i>svart</i>     |
| blue           | <i>blár</i>                                      | <i>blár</i>      | <i>blå</i>       |
| brown          | (hyponyms of <i>svartr</i><br>or <i>bleikr</i> ) | <i>brúnn</i>     | <i>brun</i>      |

<sup>43</sup> The Basic Color Terms of Faroese and Norn are much less clear, and not included in this table.

|        |                              |                       |                 |
|--------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| gray   | <i>grár</i>                  | <i>grár</i>           | <i>grå</i>      |
| green  | <i>grónn</i>                 | <i>grænn</i>          | <i>grøn</i>     |
| orange | (hyponyms of <i>bleikr</i> ) | <i>appelsínugulur</i> | <i>oransje</i>  |
| pink   | (hyponyms of <i>bleikr</i> ) | <i>bleikur</i>        | <i>ljósraud</i> |
| purple | (hyponyms of <i>blár</i> )   | <i>ffólublár</i>      | <i>lilla</i>    |
| red    | <i>rauðr</i>                 | <i>rauður</i>         | <i>raud</i>     |
| white  | <i>hvítr</i>                 | <i>hvítur</i>         | <i>kvit</i>     |
| yellow | <i>bleikr</i>                | <i>gulur</i>          | <i>gul</i>      |

6 of the 7 BCTs which I postulate for OWN are retained (allowing for regular, minor sound changes) as similarly-focused BCTs in both ModIce and ModNorw: *blár*, *grár*, *grónn*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *svartr*. Two non-basic color terms in OWN, *brúnn* and *gulr*, have emerged as BCTs in ModIce and ModNorw, not modifying their focus but becoming color terms of more general reference (having been restricted or highly collocationally focused on hair colors in the OWN period) and emerging from the shadow of their hypernyms *svartr* (in the case of dark shades of *brúnn* "brown") and *bleikr* (in the case of *gulr*, and probably light shades of present-day *brúnn* "brown").

Contrary to previous opinion, based on the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3, I suggest that *bleikr* was the BCT equivalent (or better: equivalently focused) to *yellow* in OWN, despite the fact that both ModIce and ModNorw use descendants of *gulr* for this BCT. This is supported by the much greater preponderance of occurrences of *bleikr* than of *gulr* in OWN, as well as the much broader range of referents whose color is described by *bleikr* than by *gulr*. It should be borne in mind, however, that color labels can go in and out of a language without leaving a trace,

even as the category survives – as happened with OE *hæwen* “blue,” which has neither certain Gmc forebears nor later Eng descendants, or in the western Romance languages with the shift away from Lat *albus* to the Gmc borrowing *\*blankaz* to indicate “white” (Sp *blanco*, Fr *blanc*, etc.; Anderson 2003: 41-45). Consider also the parallel case of the Salishan languages, in which only 6-9 color roots are reconstructed for Proto-Salishan but more than 80 appear in the descendent Salishan languages (Kinkade 1988: 441).

To exemplify the loss of color terms from within the history of West Norse itself, it is notable that three other terms which are reasonably common in the description of human skin or hair color in OWN are lost from ModNorw and/or ModIce: *hárr*, *jarpr*, and *rjóðr*.

### **I. B. Historical Changes in the Basic Color Terms of OWN**

While *bleikr* (“yellow”) appears to be a BCT in OWN, it also strikes one as “less” basic or, more likely, newer to the BCTs of OWN than the other six BCTs, *blár*, *grár*, *grónn*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, and *svartr*. It is not so common as the other terms, it does not participate in type-modification, is not as frequently contrasted with other BCTs, and there are convincing fossils of a time before the distinction of yellow from red – especially the use of *rauða* (literally, in etymological terms, “the red”) for the yolk of an egg, whose name in English is indeed etymologically “the yellow” and attested already in OE as *geolc*.

On the other hand, there is little reason to believe that *blár* (“blue”) is really so new to the system as maintained by e.g. Wolf (2009, 2010, 2013) or so semantically unclear as maintained by e.g. Viðar Hreinsson et al. (in their glossary to the translated Icelandic sagas, 1997: 406). The crux of the issue has always been that ravens are described as *blár* in poetry, but this is a usage that is both absent from prose and rooted in a real observation: that ravens' feathers reflect a glossy blue hue. Based on the predominance of *blár* as a description of the color of clothing, and

the predominance of blue clothing in archaeological finds from medieval Scandinavia (Ewing 2006: 154, 167-168), among the many other blue or violet referents this term has in prose (such as the color of flame, smoke, and bruises), and the very existence of the compound *myrkblár* ("dark-blue," implying that lighter shades of blue exist), it is much more likely that *blár* was focused on blue in the OVN period. Indeed the most difficult case with *blár* is the famous *blámenn* ("blue-men," African people) of OVN literature, though it is not uncommon to see a blue or violet gloss to the skin of people of African, especially East African origin, under clear sunlight, and the Tuareg people of the Sahara refer to themselves as "the Blue Men." The use of the term *blámaðr* may also have been influenced by the potential ambiguity of *\*svartmaðr*, since *svartr* may be used without further comment to indicate a black-haired person. Either or both explanations for the term *blámaðr* are more plausible than to suggest that the term is a relic of a recent stage when blue and black were not distinguished, as the distinction between these hues in OVN is otherwise quite robust (more so than the distinction between yellow and red).

But the solid establishment of a blue BCT, next to a less-established BCT for yellow, poses a problem for Kay et al.'s proposed sequence for the historical development of BCTs, as it is otherwise unknown for a BCT for blue to emerge before red and yellow have separated – in Kay and Maffi 1999 (which reflects the data from 110 world languages collected in the World Color Survey and published in Kay et al. 2009), the latest acceptable stage for red and yellow to remain under one BCT is Stage III<sub>G/Bu</sub>, in which green and blue remain together under one BCT. While it is not improbable that green emerged from the blue category in the history of Gmc (see below), there is no trace of confusion of green with blue in the early Gmc languages to suggest the likelihood that this change occurred in their recent (pre)histories.

Recalling that gray is a "wild-card" that may emerge at any stage (as established already in

Kay 1975), and that there is little reason to suggest (without vast non-existent data to the contrary) that OWN or its antecessors violated the universally observed tendency of languages to distinguish black, white, and red very early, the issue becomes the relative chronology of the emergence of terms for blue, green, and yellow, in which *internal* evidence (from OWN itself) points toward yellow (*bleikr*) emerging last, after an otherwise-unattested Stage IV<sub>R/Y</sub> in earlier OWN or late PGmc. The only theoretically possible evolutionary tract for the BCTs of OWN would then be, following the organization of Kay et al. 1997, Kay and Maffi 1999, that of the following figure (with the addition of gray, the "wild card" BCT, by the PGmc stage at latest).

**Fig. 2. Inferred Historical Order for the Emergence of Basic Color Terms in Old West Norse.**

| Stage I          | Stage II         | Stage III <sub>G/Bu</sub> | Stage IV <sub>R/Y</sub><br>(late PGmc?) | Stage V<br>(OWN) |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------|
| black/green/blue | black/green/blue | black                     | black                                   | black            |
|                  |                  | blue/green                | blue                                    | blue             |
|                  |                  |                           | green                                   | green            |
| white/red/yellow | white            | white                     | white                                   | white            |
|                  | red/yellow       | red/yellow                | red/yellow                              | red              |
|                  |                  |                           |                                         | yellow           |
|                  |                  |                           | (+ gray)                                | (+ gray)         |

The proposal of this specific evolutionary sequence may be justified in the following way. MacLaury (1992: 155) notes that “widely dispersed languages encompass a broad band of middle brightness color with a single category.” I postulate that this was the situation in PGmc, and that derivatives of the PIE root *\*bhel-* “bright, shining” (from which *blár*/*\*blēwaz* and

*bleikr*/*\*blaikaz* are both derived) were used for this 'middle brightness color.' The PIE root *\*bhel-* gives rise to an extraordinary wide range of color and color-like terms in the various IE languages, and so it is unlikely that its derivatives were associated with particular hues at the earliest stage of PGmc. Before the PGmc color classification system took its first steps toward encoding a greater number of specific hues, derivatives of *\*bhel-* probably referred generally to items that were chromatic (i.e. not describable as black, white, or gray) but not red.

The differentiation of *blár*/*\*blēwaz* from *bleikr*/*\*blaikaz*, and their emergence as BCTs probably proceeded later from the identification of *\*blēwaz* with the "cool" colors (blue and green) and *\*blaikaz* with the "warm" colors (other than highly salient red). Based on its salience and semantic clarity in the OWN system, *\*blēwaz* was probably the first to become a BCT, but originally had focal points in both blue and green – such a macrocolor is called *grue*, and is quite common in the world's languages. Indeed such a hypothetical prehistoric system for PGmc, Stage III<sub>G/Bu</sub>, is robustly attested in living languages (Kay et al. 2009 provide extremely numerous analogues) and was probably similar to that of its related, neighboring Proto-Celtic language, which on the evidence of the OIr. and Welsh color term systems probably incorporated blue, gray, and green under one color term (derived, however, from the root *\*ghel-*). From this early *grue* macrocolor *\*blēwaz*, the clearly Gmc neologism *\*grōnjaz* subsequently split off at such an early time as to have left no trace in the attested Gmc languages of its former inclusion in a *grue* macrocolor; this was Stage IV<sub>R/Y</sub>, a six-BCT stage that likely reflects the situation in PGmc, as the descendants of all six PGmc color terms postulated for this stage (*\*blēwaz*, *\*grēwaz*, *\*grōnjaz*, *\*hwītaz*, *\*rauðaz*, *\*swartaz*) are BCTs in OWN and are almost certainly BCTs in OE and OHG (they are highly salient in these languages, and with the exception of the replacement of *\*swartaz* with *black* in English, their descendent terms continue to be equivalent

BCTs in their modern descendent languages).

In this earlier system, the term *\*blaikaz* likely described MacLaury's "broad band of middle brightness color" (or better: broad band of middle-reflective color), not so reflective as white, not achromatic as gray, and not as saturated as red, but middle-reflective, chromatic, and warm (i.e. usable for oranges, yellows, and browns, but not for blues, greens, and violets). Such a middle-reflective, chromatic category will, according to MacLaury, most likely become a hue category after this transitional phase has passed, and in such a case is especially likely to be tied to the hues *yellow* and/or *green* (MacLaury 1992: 159). This, I suggest, is what happened in OWN, with *bleikr* emerging as a BCT focused near ModEng *yellow* but also still capable of being used (as it was in the earlier system) for any non-red warm colors, especially the pale pinkish hue of a frightened human face. The use of *bleikr* to indicate the color of impure gold (as opposed to pure, *rauðr* gold) is probably another reflection of the earlier system's organization, when the relationship of *bleikr* to red was such that it might indicate any non-optimal red (i.e. any other warm colors) while red remained the only warm-color BCT.

While it is typologically uncommon for the dissolution of blue/green to precede the dissolution of red/yellow (MacLaury 1987: 107, Kay et al. 2009: 31-41), a parallel may be seen in the emergence of most of the BCTs that appear latest in the historical development of most languages – *brown*, *orange*, *pink*, and often *purple* – from division of the semantic range of red. Recall that red is "the unmarked pole of the hue dimension" (Witkowski and Brown 1977: 53), and therefore something of a "default" for color descriptions in the warm parts of the spectrum. It has also been noted that all shades of red perceivable by the human eye contain some yellow (MacLaury 1987: 113), and that the two colors border one another on the spectrum of visible light, and based on these considerations it is unsurprising that the two colors might be grouped

together under one term. And the very fact that OVN uses a different adjective than WGmc \**gelwaz* to form its BCT for yellow, while all other BCTs in OVN are cognate to highly salient color terms in the early WGmc languages, suggests that NGmc and WGmc both codified yellow as a BCT separately, at a late stage following the division of these two branches of Gmc. It is also possible that an earlier BCT for yellow, perhaps cognate with WGmc \**gelwaz*, was lost in the history of NGmc, though the loss of a color category is rare and should not be presumed without direct evidence.

Moving forward from the seven-term (early Stage V) system of classical literary OVN (such as that of the texts excerpted for this study), it may be observed that *bleikr* loses much of its semantic portfolio over time, becoming restricted to non-optimal warm colors, while its former central point of “yellow” is usurped in the descendent languages (possibly already in post-classical OVN<sup>44</sup>) by the less semantically ambiguous *gulr*, which in classical OVN had been collocationally restricted to hair color. Similarly, *brúnn* (“brown”) appears to have edged both *bleikr* and *svartr* out of some of their earlier territory as it, too, expanded beyond its collocational focus on hair color and emerged as a BCT for brown in later OVN (or perhaps early in the ModIce and ModNorw periods, respectively).

Kirsten Wolf (2010: 124, 2009: *passim*, and 2013: *passim*) has suggested a different sequence in which OVN acquired its BCTs:

1. *svartr* (black) and *hvítr* (white)
2. *svartr*, *hvítr*, and *rauðr* (red)
3. *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, and *grár* (gray)
4. *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *grár*, and *grónn* (green)
5. *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *grár*, *grónn*, *brúnn* (brown), and *blár* (blue)
6. *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *grár*, *grónn*, *brúnn*, *blár*, and *gulr* (yellow)

This sequence is inferred from comments about which BCTs developed before and after

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<sup>44</sup> As suggested by its greatly increased frequency in late *Riddara sögur*. See Wolf 2010: 117-120.

which others in the introductory discussions of Wolf 2010 and 2013. The principal difference between my sequence and Wolf's is caused by our differing interpretations of *blár* (which I do not believe overlaps with *svartr* as much as Wolf maintains) and *gulr* vs. *bleikr* (Wolf proposes *gulr* the basic color term for yellow, I propose *bleikr*). However, Wolf 2013 agrees with my suspicion that a BCT for yellow (whether *gulr* in Wolf's model or *bleikr* in mine) emerges late, though she does not clarify precisely how this fits into the sequence of BCT development outlined in Berlin and Kay 1969, which she maintains the OWN data support, and in which a term for yellow must be one of the first four BCTs to emerge (or five, if gray is counted as a "wild card," as in Kay 1975 and later).

Wolf 2013 quantifies the occurrences of all the BCTs proposed by Wolf 2006b (*blár*, *brúnn*, *grár*, *grónn*, *gulr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *svartr*) as they appear in the sagas and *þættir* of Icelanders, and compares these data with the theory of the historical development of BCTs outlined in Berlin and Kay (1969). However, I am not persuaded that a color term's greater frequency will correlate with its earlier position in the evolutionary sequence, as, for instance, *grónn* (green) is relatively uncommon compared to *blár*, *grár*, *rauðr*, and *svartr*, but is also of inherently more restricted distribution, being applicable mostly to the color of fresh vegetation or clothing. While Wolf acknowledges this, the analysis in Wolf 2013 nonetheless assigns greater weight to color terms' relative frequency vis-à-vis one another in evaluating their relative time of emergence as BCTs than I find warranted, especially in light of the newer framework for the historical development of BCTs which has been available since the publication of Kay et al. 1997 and Kay and Maffi 1999. It is also arguable whether grouping occurrences of *blár* together with occurrences of *svartr*, on the assumption that both represent "black," is useful (Wolf 2013: *passim*), as even if the semantic content of these color terms were similar, there is nothing to be

learned about either by treating them as a unit in counting their frequency.

My proposed system of color categorization in classical OVN, with seven BCTs (focused on black, blue, gray, green, red, white, and yellow) does not require any adjustments to fit into Kay's current model for BCTs as an early Stage V language. Similar Stage V systems are robustly documented for Buglere, a Chibchan language of Panama (Kay et al. 2009: 131-134), Chumburu, a Niger-Congo language of Ghana (*Ibid.*: 189), Djuka, a Dutch-based creole of Surinam (*Ibid.*: 215-219), Guambiano, a Paezan language of Colombia (*Ibid.*: 241-243), Kamano-Kafe, a New Guinean language (*Ibid.*: 299-303), Kokni, an Indo-European language of India (*Ibid.*: 313-316), and Micmac, an Algonquian/ Algic language of Canada (*Ibid.*: 397-401).

**Fig. 3. Comparison of Color Categorization in OVN with that of the Most Similar Modern Languages from World Color Survey Data (2009).**

| BCT    | OVN                                                                       | Micmac                                                                 | Guambiano                                                  | Buglere                                                           | Kamano-Kafe                                                |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| black  | <i>svartr</i>                                                             | <i>magtaweeg</i>                                                       | <i>yalig</i>                                               | <i>jere/jerere</i>                                                | <i>haninke'</i>                                            |
| white  | <i>hvítr</i>                                                              | <i>wapeeg</i>                                                          | <i>polig</i>                                               | <i>jutre/jusa</i>                                                 | <i>efeke</i>                                               |
| red    | <i>rauðr</i>                                                              | <i>megweeg</i>                                                         | <i>piguig</i>                                              | <i>dabe/dabere</i>                                                | <i>koranke</i>                                             |
| yellow | <i>bleikr</i><br>(extended to other non-red warm colors)                  | <i>watapteg</i>                                                        | <i>h̥sch̥ig</i><br>(extended to other non-red warm colors) | <i>moloin/moloinre</i><br>(extended to other non-red warm colors) | <i>kaninkruke'</i> (extended to other non-red warm colors) |
| green  | <i>grónn</i>                                                              | <i>stognamuug/stognamugsit</i>                                         | <i>chilga</i>                                              | <i>lere/lerere/lejre</i>                                          | <i>yafasin'age</i>                                         |
| blue   | <i>blár</i><br>(extended to purple)                                       | <i>eewneeg</i> (with relics of former grue category)                   | <i>pillig</i> (with relics of former grue)                 | <i>leren</i> (extended to purple)                                 | <i>movege'</i> (extended to purple)                        |
| gray   | <i>grár</i>                                                               | <i>grayewit</i> (not BCT)                                              | <i>ošig</i> (also "pastels")                               | <i>kwajusa</i> (not BCT)                                          | -                                                          |
| brown  | <i>brúnn</i> and <i>jarpr</i> (not BCTs; but most frequent of non-basics) | <i>wisaweeg, jijuaga [tamuug], brownewit/brown</i> (basicness debated) | <i>cafe</i> (not BCT)                                      | -                                                                 | -                                                          |

The closest parallels to the classical OVN system of color categorization are Guambiano and Micmac. It is interesting to note that most of the languages with otherwise similar BCT organization to that of OVN have less well-established (or even non-existent) gray categories, and even the gray BCT of the near parallel Guambiano extends into "pastel" (i.e. desaturated) shades of all hues, which does not appear to be true of OVN *grár*. However, the existence of clearly-defined, but low-frequency and probably non-basic color terms for brown in Guambiano and Micmac, as well as in OVN, is a striking parallel considering the other similarities in their color categorization systems.

As stated earlier, historically OVN is most surprising inasmuch as the separation of red and yellow appears to have occurred after the separation of green and blue. This is a possibility that, while unattested in the development of any known language, could be accommodated by the theoretical framework in Kay's current model by postulating a Stage IV<sub>R/Y</sub>. However, most of the World Color Survey's early Stage V languages that have 6-8 BCTs, plus a roughly similar organization of color categories to that of OVN, show clear relics of having emerged from an earlier Stage IV<sub>G/Bu</sub> system in which green and blue were not distinguished, with the original *grue* term having become the term for blue and still showing fossilized relics of a former extension into green (this is true of both of the most similar languages to OVN, Guambiano and Micmac, for instance). While there is little evidence in OVN for such a *grue* category, and the BCT for green is well-established in OVN and the other early Gmc languages (and cognate in all of them, suggesting PGmc provenance for the term, if not necessarily its basicness in PGmc), it is possible that, based on the patterns of color categorization in the world's languages evinced by the data in the World Color Survey, the Stage V system of classical OVN is in fact the successor of a Stage IV<sub>G/Bu</sub> system in late PGmc or early OVN. Such a hypothesis, however, is supported

only by evidence from other languages, not from within the OWN corpus itself. OWN is in some ways markedly unusual, even among its closest parallels – witness the clearly basic, and clearly defined, status of gray in OWN as against all four of its closest parallel languages from the World Color Survey – and there is reason to suspect that such a unique categorization of the experience of color, in a language spoken in a culture and environment forever extinct and inaccessible to modern scholars, also underwent a unique historical development.

## **II. Directions for Future Research**

For a study of OWN color terms to be truly comprehensive, the entire available corpus, including all known genres of fiction, non-fiction, and translated literature, will need to be examined, and the dates and respective ages of all texts examined must be taken account of. Future supplements to this study will add genres considered, and attempt to discern whether the sequence of BCT acquisition in OWN can be established with more detail and/or certainty.

Studies are also needed to establish definitively what the BCTs of the modern languages descended from OWN are, whether there are different sets of BCTs in ModIce, ModNorw, ModFar, and Norn, and whether the individual BCTs in these languages developed at different times or have differing ranges or focal points of reference. These new data, once acquired, will shed light not only on the trajectory of BCT development in OWN and its descendent languages, but will also allow the robust testing of long-term models for the historical development of BCTs cross-linguistically.

## Appendix 1. Abbreviations Used

### Texts Cited:

|                    |                                                                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Edd.               | <i>Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius (ed. Neckel/Kuhn), 5th Ed. 1983.</i>          |
| Edd. Akv.          | <i>Atlakviða en grónlenzka, in the above volume.</i>                               |
| Edd. Alv.          | <i>Alvíssmál, in the above volume.</i>                                             |
| Edd. Am.           | <i>Atlamál en grónlenzku, in the above volume.</i>                                 |
| Edd. Br.           | <i>Brot af Sigurðarkviðu, in the above volume.</i>                                 |
| Edd. Dr.           | <i>Dráp Niflunga, in the above volume.</i>                                         |
| Edd. Fm.           | <i>Fáfnismál, in the above volume.</i>                                             |
| Edd. Gðr. II       | <i>Guðrúnarkviða qnnur, in the above volume.</i>                                   |
| Edd. Gðr. III.     | <i>Guðrúnarkviða en þriðja, in the above volume.</i>                               |
| Edd. Ghv.          | <i>Guðrúnarhvat, in the above volume.</i>                                          |
| Edd. Grm.          | <i>Grimnismál, in the above volume.</i>                                            |
| Edd. Grp.          | <i>Gripisspá, in the above volume.</i>                                             |
| Edd. H. H.         | <i>Helgakviða Hundingsbana en fyrri, in the above volume.</i>                      |
| Edd. H. H. II.     | <i>Helgakviða Hundingsbana qnnur, in the above volume.</i>                         |
| Edd. H. Hv.        | <i>Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar, in the above volume.</i>                             |
| Edd. Háv.          | <i>Hávamál, in the above volume.</i>                                               |
| Edd. Hdl.          | <i>Hyndluljóð, in the above volume.</i>                                            |
| Edd. Hlr.          | <i>Helreið Brynhildar, in the above volume.</i>                                    |
| Edd. Hm.           | <i>Hamðismál, in the above volume.</i>                                             |
| Edd. Hrbl.         | <i>Hárbarðsljóð, in the above volume.</i>                                          |
| Edd. Hunn.         | <i>“Hunnenschlachtlied,” in the above volume.</i>                                  |
| Edd. Hym.          | <i>Hymiskviða, in the above volume.</i>                                            |
| Edd. Ls.           | <i>Lokasenna, in the above volume.</i>                                             |
| Edd. Od.           | <i>Oddrúnargrátr, in the above volume.</i>                                         |
| Edd. Rm.           | <i>Reginismál, in the above volume.</i>                                            |
| Edd. Rþ.           | <i>Rígsþula, in the above volume.</i>                                              |
| Edd. Sd.           | <i>Sigrdrífumál, in the above volume.</i>                                          |
| Edd. Sf.           | <i>Frá dauða Sinfjötla, in the above volume.</i>                                   |
| Edd. Sg.           | <i>Sigurðarkviða en skamma, in the above volume.</i>                               |
| Edd. Skm.          | <i>För Skírnis, in the above volume.</i>                                           |
| Edd. Þrk.          | <i>Þrymskviða, in the above volume.</i>                                            |
| Edd. Vkv.          | <i>Völundarkviða, in the above volume.</i>                                         |
| Edd. Vm.           | <i>Vafþrúðnismál, in the above volume.</i>                                         |
| Edd. Vsp.          | <i>Völuspá, in the above volume.</i>                                               |
| <i>Elucidarius</i> | <i>Elucidarius in Old Norse Translation (ed. Firchow/Grimstad), 1989.</i>          |
| F.J.               | <i>Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning (ed. Finnur Jónsson), 1912-1915.</i>        |
| <i>Hauksbók</i>    | <i>Hauksbók (ed. Eiríkur Jónsson/Finnur Jónsson), 1892-1896.</i>                   |
| Heims.             | <i>Heimskringla I-III (Íslenzk fornrit 26-28, ed. Bjarni Aðalsteinsson), 1979.</i> |
| ÍF                 | <i>Íslenzk fornrit, vols. 1-14.</i>                                                |
| Kristni            | <i>Kristni saga</i>                                                                |
| Physiologus        | <i>Physiologus</i>                                                                 |

**Abbreviations for Language Names:**

|          |                     |
|----------|---------------------|
| Alb.     | Albanian            |
| Anat.    | Anatolian           |
| Arm.     | Armenian            |
| Av.      | Avestan             |
| Cz.      | Czech               |
| Du.      | Dutch               |
| E.       | English             |
| Far.     | Faroese             |
| Fr.      | French              |
| Gaul.    | Gaulish             |
| G.       | German              |
| Gk.      | Greek               |
| Gmc.     | Germanic            |
| Goth.    | Gothic              |
| Hitt.    | Hittite             |
| Ice.     | Icelandic           |
| IE       | Indo-European       |
| Indo-Ir. | Indo-Iranian        |
| Ir.      | Irish               |
| Lat.     | Latin               |
| Latv.    | Latvian             |
| Lith.    | Lithuanian          |
| Luv.     | Luvian              |
| ME       | Middle English      |
| MNorw.   | Middle Norwegian    |
| ModE     | Modern English      |
| ModIce.  | Modern Icelandic    |
| ModNorw. | Modern Norwegian    |
| NGmc.    | North Germanic      |
| Norw.    | Norwegian           |
| OAv.     | Old Avestan         |
| OCS      | Old Church Slavonic |
| OE       | Old English         |
| OHG      | Old High German     |
| OHitt.   | Old Hittite         |
| OIr.     | Old Irish           |
| OLith.   | Old Lithuanian      |
| OPers.   | Old Persian         |
| OPruss.  | Old Prussian        |
| OS       | Old Saxon           |
| Osc.     | Oscan               |
| OWN      | Old West Norse      |

|       |                     |
|-------|---------------------|
| PGmc. | Proto-Germanic      |
| PIE   | Proto-Indo-European |
| Pol.  | Polish              |
| Russ. | Russian             |
| Skt   | Sanskrit            |
| Slav. | Slavic              |
| Sp.   | Spanish             |
| Toch. | Tocharian           |
| Umbr. | Umbrian             |
| Ved.  | Vedic               |
| W.    | West                |
| WGmc  | West Germanic       |

## Appendix 2. Occurrences of Color and Color-Like Terms in the Texts Excerpted

Columns represent the following:

| 1           | 2                       | 3               | 4                                                                                        | 5                  |
|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <u>term</u> | <u>location of term</u> | <u>referent</u> | <u>poetic context</u>                                                                    | <u>other notes</u> |
|             |                         |                 | aðalh. = the color term is in <i>aðalhending</i> , or full rhyme, with another word      |                    |
|             |                         |                 | allit. = the color term alliterates with another word                                    |                    |
|             |                         |                 | skoth. = the color term is in <i>skothending</i> , or consonant-rhyme, with another word |                    |

### Occurrences of *ámr*

|     |                             |       |                |                      |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------|----------------|----------------------|
| ámr | FJ.A1.208/<br>ÍF III.290.07 | woman | allit., skoth. | context is insulting |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------|----------------|----------------------|

### Occurrences of *bjartr*

|        |                                 |              |                |                        |
|--------|---------------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------|
| bjartr | Edd.Akv.247.17                  | woman        | allit.         |                        |
| bjartr | Edd.Am.249.20                   | woman        | allit.         |                        |
| bjartr | Edd.Gðr.II.224.03               | woman        |                |                        |
| bjartr | Edd.Gðr.III.233.13              | woman        | allit.         | specifically her hands |
| bjartr | Edd.Grp.166.14                  | woman        |                |                        |
| bjartr | Edd.Grp.169.11                  | woman's hair |                |                        |
| bjartr | Edd.Rþ.284.10                   | brows: Faðir | allit.         |                        |
| bjartr | Edd.Rþ.285.03                   | cheeks: Jarl | allit.         | c/ bleikr              |
| bjartr | Edd.Sg.215.12                   | clothing     |                | c/ blár                |
| bjartr | Edd.Vsp.012.15                  | Freyr        |                |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.007/<br>Heims. I.028.09   | stone        |                |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.018/<br>Skáld.032.25      | shields      | allit.         |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.080/<br>ÍF VIII.209.02    | woman's eyes | allit.         |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.291.13    | woman        | allit., skoth. | contrast: brúnn        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.156/<br>Skáld. 68.21      | mail         | allit.         |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.238/<br>Heims. II.140.13  | ring: golden | allit., aðalh. | contrast, svartr       |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.259/<br>Heims. II.367.21  | blood        |                |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.259/<br>Heims. II.379.09  | helmet       |                |                        |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.276/<br>Heims. II.066.006 | sword        | aðalh.         |                        |

|        |                                 |                          |                |                                   |
|--------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| bjartr | FJ.A1.336/<br>Heims. III.040.04 | fire                     | allit., aðalh. |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.348/<br>Skáld.033.34      | sun                      | skoth.         | contrast: svartr, dökkur          |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.373/<br>Heims. III.152.02 | face: glad               | aðalh.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.375/<br>Skáld.060.04      | plow? ring?              | allit.         | c/ ljóss                          |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.378/<br>Heims. III.060.18 | fire                     | allit.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.391/<br>Skáld.098.24      | fire                     | allit.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.392/<br>Heims. III.093.15 | fire                     | allit.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.392/<br>Heims. III.094.10 | chains                   | aðalh.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.399/<br>Skáld.096.02      | waves                    | allit.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.458/<br>Skáld.086.08      | men                      | aðalh.         | may refer to their armor          |
| bjartr | FJ.A1.462/<br>Skáld.078.14      | Christ                   |                |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ.A2.455/<br>ÍF XIV.072.04     | man: approvingly         |                | c/ hvítr                          |
| bjartr | FJ/<br>Heims. III.215.24        | fire                     | allit.         |                                   |
| bjartr | FJ/<br>Heims. III.378.3         | arrow                    | allit.         |                                   |
| bjartr | Gylf. 20.8                      | sun                      |                | c/ fagr                           |
| bjartr | Gylf. 23.16                     | (myth.): Baldr           |                | c/ fagr, ljóss, hvítr             |
| bjartr | Gylf. 31.16                     | woman                    |                | c/ ljóss                          |
| bjartr | Gylf. 50.20                     | giants                   |                |                                   |
| bjartr | Heims. I.353.6                  | sunshine                 |                |                                   |
| bjartr | Heims. II.378.24                | weather                  |                | contrast: rauðr, myrkur           |
| bjartr | Heims. II.387.10                | face: St Olaf's in death |                | c/ fagr, rauðr                    |
| bjartr | Heims. III.168.6                | (nom.) Róðbjartur        |                |                                   |
| bjartr | Heims. III.203.9                | man's body               |                | c/ fagr, gulr: King Óláfr kyrri   |
| bjartr | Heims. III.209.2                | eyes:                    |                | restored to sight after blindness |
| bjartr | Heims. III.303.20               | (nom.): Óttarr birtingur |                |                                   |
| bjartr | ÍF II.067.27                    | weather                  |                |                                   |
| bjartr | ÍF II.274.03                    | Þorsteinn Egilsson       |                | c/ hvítr, fríðr                   |
| bjartr | ÍF IV.208.26                    | sunshine                 |                |                                   |
| bjartr | ÍF IV.260.04                    | men: seen in a dream     |                |                                   |
| bjartr | ÍF IX.114.11                    | weather                  |                |                                   |
| bjartr | ÍF IX.143.18                    | fire                     |                |                                   |
| bjartr | ÍF IX.146.01                    | sword; "bjart sem silfr" |                |                                   |

|         |                   |                          |        |                               |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------------------------------|
| bjartr  | ÍF IX.223.14      | light                    |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VI.015.06      | (nom.): Bjartmarr Ánsson |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VI.070.17      | fire                     |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VI.173.17      | sunshine                 |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VI.232.04      | weather                  |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VI.248.24      | weather                  |        | c/ góðr                       |
| bjartr  | ÍF VII.063.03     | weather                  |        | c/ kyrr                       |
| bjartr  | ÍF VII.199.09     | weather                  |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VII.202.27     | fire                     |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VII.217.11     |                          |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VII.246.15     | weather                  |        | c/ kyrr                       |
| bjartr  | ÍF VIII.068.17    | weather                  |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF VIII.139.29    | room lit by fire         |        | contrast: niðamyrrkr          |
| bjartr  | ÍF X.017.25       | light                    |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XI.286.32      | axe                      |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XII.191.17     | (nom.): Bjartey          |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XII.193.01     | moonlight                |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XII.193.10     |                          |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XII.343.07     | corpse: Njáls            |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XII.467.05     |                          |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.104.16    | tree: flower             |        | c/ fagr : seen in a dream     |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.134.09    | room                     |        | c/ heitr                      |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.135.07    | room                     |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.286.08/22 | men: seen in a dream     |        | c/ fagr, dýrðligr             |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.359.06    | sword;                   |        | svá bjart sem sindra þótti af |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.362.18    | sword                    |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIII.363.16    | sunshine                 |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIV.012.11     | weather                  |        | c/ heiðríkr                   |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIV.048.06     | fire                     |        |                               |
| bjartr  | ÍF XIV.079.29     | night                    |        |                               |
| bjartr  | Skáld. 01.6       | sword                    |        | c/ ljóss                      |
| bjartr  | Skáld. 126.12     | fish                     | allit. | c/ ljóss.                     |
| bjartr  | Skáld. 40.39      | gold                     |        | c/ ljóss                      |
| bjartr  | Skáld. 41.8       | gold                     |        | c/ ljóss                      |
| bjartr? | FJ.A1.058/        |                          |        |                               |
|         | ÍF II.269.18      | men                      | aðalh. | may refer to their armor      |

### Occurrences of *bjartr* in compounds

|        |                 |       |        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|-------|--------|-----------------|
| bjart- |                 |       |        |                 |
| leitr  | ÍF XIII.336.12  | man   |        | seen in a dream |
| bjart- |                 |       |        |                 |
| litaðr | Edd.H.Hv.142.21 | woman |        |                 |
| gagl-  |                 |       |        |                 |
| bjartr | Edd.Akv.246.21  | woman | allit. |                 |
| gold-  |                 |       |        |                 |

|        |                   |          |        |             |
|--------|-------------------|----------|--------|-------------|
| bjartr | Edd.Grm.058.21    | Valhalla |        |             |
| gold-  |                   |          |        |             |
| bjartr | Edd.Hrbl.083.16   | woman    |        | c/ linhvítr |
| hróð-  |                   |          |        |             |
| bjartr | ÍF XIII.460.02    | (nom.)   |        |             |
| sól-   |                   |          |        |             |
| bjartr | Edd.H.H.II.160.07 | woman    |        | c/ gold-    |
| vinn-  |                   |          |        |             |
| bjartr | Skáld. 119.18     | sword    | allit. |             |

### Occurrences of *blakkr*

|        |                 |       |  |                  |
|--------|-----------------|-------|--|------------------|
| blakkr | FJ/             |       |  |                  |
|        | Heims. II.321.7 | ships |  | used adjectivaly |

### Occurrences of *blár*

|      |                  |                 |                |                 |
|------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| blár | Edd.Grm.057.04   | cloak           |                |                 |
| blár | Edd.Rþ.283.15    | clothing        | allit.         | wealthy woman's |
| blár | Edd.Rþ.284.09    | shirt: Faðir's  | allit.         |                 |
| blár | Edd.Sd.191.21    | waves           |                |                 |
| blár | Edd.Sg.215.12    | clothing(?)     |                | c/ bjartr       |
| blár | Edd.Vsp.002.22   | (nom.): Bláinn  |                |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.002/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | Skáld. 51.21     | mail            | allit.         |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.015/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | Heims. I.083.007 | sky             | allit.         |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.037/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF II.187.20     | shields         | allit.         |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.051/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF II.142.19     | sword           |                |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.057/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF II.210.11     | sword           | allit.         |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.061/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | Heims. I.157.30  | sea             | allit., aðalh. |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.086/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF VIII.269.19   | sea             | allit.         |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.094/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF VIII.260.13   | ravens          | allit.         |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.133/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF IV.078.10     | ?: heaven? sea? |                |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.195/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF III.077.24    | waves           |                | probably late   |
| blár | FJ.A1.208/       |                 |                |                 |
|      | ÍF III.289.18    | cloak           |                |                 |
| blár | FJ.A1.214/       |                 |                |                 |

|      |                                 |                                  |                         |           |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
|      | Heims. I.364.12                 | sword                            |                         |           |
| blár | FJ.A1.216/<br>Heims. II.032.06  | sword                            |                         |           |
| blár | FJ.A1.250/<br>Heims. II.274.12  | stripes                          | allit, aðalh.           | on a sail |
| blár | FJ.A1.294/<br>Heims. II.037.10  | raven                            | allit.                  |           |
| blár | FJ.A1.334/<br>Heims. III.009.01 | raven                            | allit.                  |           |
| blár | FJ.A1.343/<br>Heims. III.063.06 | raven                            |                         |           |
| blár | FJ.A1.360/<br>Heims. III.187.29 | sword                            | allit.                  |           |
| blár | FJ/<br>Heims. II.037.10         | raven                            |                         |           |
| blár | Gylf. 20.24                     | (top.): Viðbláinn                |                         |           |
| blár | Gylf. 27.21                     | (myth.): Hel                     |                         |           |
| blár | Hauksbók 070.14                 | woman's cheek                    |                         |           |
| blár | Hauksbók 117.10                 | cape: of a man intent on killing |                         |           |
| blár | Hauksbók 120.31                 | in a place name: bláskógir       |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. I.10.2                   | (top.): Bláland it mikla         |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. I.10.6                   | blámaðr                          |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. I.127.7                  | corpse: rotting                  |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. II.212.22                | kirtle                           |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. II.273.17                | ship: stripes on a sail          | c/ gold-, rauðr, grónn  |           |
| blár | Heims. II.290.21                | ship: stripes on a sail          | c/ gylltr, hvítr, rauðr |           |
| blár | Heims. II.41.10                 | kirtle: king's                   | c/ grár, gylltr         |           |
| blár | Heims. II.41.10                 | socks: king's                    | c/ grár, gylltr         |           |
| blár | Heims. II.60.6                  | painted crosses                  |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. III.186.13               | kirtle: king's                   |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. III.256.7                | eyes: those of King Eysteinn     |                         |           |
| blár | Heims. III.299.15               | clothing: breeches               |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF II.041.24                    | ship: stripes on a sail          | c/ rauðr                |           |
| blár | ÍF II.284.01                    | cape                             |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF III.136.19                   | cape                             |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF III.137.05                   | cape                             |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF III.154.18                   | hat                              |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF III.177.23                   | cape                             |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF IV.053.12                    | jacket                           |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF IV.134.03                    | cape                             |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF IV.169.30                    | corpses: undead;                 | "blár sem hel"          |           |
| blár | ÍF IV.200.03                    | (top.): Bláserkr                 |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF IV.206.19                    | mantle, witch's                  | contrast: svartr, hvítr |           |
| blár | ÍF IV.229.02                    | ball                             |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF IX.016.21                    | cloak                            |                         |           |
| blár | ÍF IX.027.03/18                 | cloak                            |                         |           |

|      |                |                                              |                                       |
|------|----------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| blár | ÍF IX.086.14   | cloak                                        |                                       |
| blár | ÍF IX.136.16   | frock                                        |                                       |
| blár | ÍF IX.235.29   | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF IX.240.18   | kirtle                                       | contrast: brúnn, svartr (kirtles)     |
| blár | ÍF IX.245.01   | kirtle                                       |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.095.14    | (top.): Bláskógaheiðr                        |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.168.14    | clothing                                     |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.185.02    | cape                                         | contrast: grár, meaningful clothing   |
| blár | ÍF V.187.07    | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.187.16    | eyes                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.188.09    | kirtle                                       | contrast: svartr                      |
| blár | ÍF V.188.23    | frock                                        |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.198.14    | frock                                        |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.224.12    | bones                                        | c/ illiligr                           |
| blár | ÍF V.237.03    | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.245.07    | kirtle                                       |                                       |
| blár | ÍF V.257.02    | cowl: monk's                                 |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.041.17   | cape: killer's                               |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.052.26   | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.064.20   | cape: Gísli's, which he customarily wears    |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.068.09   |                                              |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.082.08   |                                              |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.128.01   | face: angry                                  |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.239.16   | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.292.02   | (top.): Blámýrr/Blámýrar                     |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VI.327.11   | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VII.112.09  | Glámr (dead & bloated):                      | "blár sem hel"                        |
| blár | ÍF VII.150.08  |                                              |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VII.213.04  | bruises                                      |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VII.236.03  | bruises                                      |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VIII.060.26 | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VIII.246.05 | bruises                                      |                                       |
| blár | ÍF VIII.310.24 |                                              |                                       |
| blár | ÍF X.088.11    | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF X.119.13    | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF XI.083.01   | (top.): Bláskógar                            |                                       |
| blár | ÍF XI.104.23   | clothing: of Hrafnkell as he rides to a kill |                                       |
| blár | ÍF XI.109.11   | (top.): Bláfjöll                             |                                       |
| blár | ÍF XI.286.31   | kirtle                                       | c/ grár                               |
| blár | ÍF XII.044.03  | mantle                                       | c/ rauðr , silfr                      |
| blár | ÍF XII.053.10  | eyes: Gunnar                                 | c/ ljóslitaðr, rauðr, gulr            |
| blár | ÍF XII.146.04  | (nom.):                                      | Blátannarskegg                        |
| blár | ÍF XII.227.10  | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF XII.231.15  | cape                                         |                                       |
| blár | ÍF XII.292.03  | face:                                        | "blár sem hel" contrast: rauðr, fjölr |
| blár | ÍF XII.296.12  | cape                                         |                                       |

|      |                   |                                  |                     |
|------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| blár | ÍF XII.304.02     | kirtle                           | c/ blárendr, svartr |
| blár | ÍF XII.314.11     | breeches: disapprovingly(?)      |                     |
| blár | ÍF XII.421.14     | cape                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.032.23    | eyes                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.035.18    | cape                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.046.07    | (nom.): blásiða                  | c/ svartr           |
| blár | ÍF XIII.062.33    | (nom.): bláskeggr                |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.131.05    | (nom.): Bláfellingr              |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.183.11    | fire                             | c/ ljóss            |
| blár | ÍF XIII.220.26    | cape                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.246.22    | cape                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.262.20    | clothing                         |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.275.05/20 |                                  |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.352.24    | clothing                         |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.354.02    | clothing                         |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIII.360.18    | woman: disapprovingly            | c/ svartr           |
| blár | ÍF XIV.049.21     | bruises                          |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.059.10     | (top.): Bláland                  |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.078.08     | clothing: of a man ready to kill |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.078.17     | clothing                         |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.130.01     | face: of an injured man          |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.151.11     | cowl                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.152.02     | clothing                         |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.154.08     | cowl                             |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.176.25     | clothing: overcoat               |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.283.14     | blámaðr                          |                     |
| blár | ÍF XIV.366.16/25  | blámaðr                          |                     |
| blár | Skáld. 132.3      | bear's mouth                     | allit.              |
| blár | Skáld. 85.18      | sky                              |                     |

### Occurrences of *blár* in compounds

|          |                |           |                 |
|----------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|
| all-     | ÍF IX.092.27   | smoke     |                 |
| blár     |                |           |                 |
| blá-     | ÍF XIII.163.06 | cloak     |                 |
| flekkót- |                |           |                 |
| blá-     | Edd.Ghv.264.20 | bedcovers | allit.          |
| hvítr    |                |           |                 |
| blá-     | Edd.Hm.270.01  | bedcovers | allit.          |
| hvítr    |                |           |                 |
| blá-     | ÍF XII.335.01  | sword     |                 |
| naðr     |                |           |                 |
| blá-     | ÍF XII.304.02  | breeches  | c/ blár, svartr |
| rendr    |                |           |                 |
| blá-     | ÍF XIII.039.22 | frock     |                 |
| rendr    |                |           |                 |

|                 |                                 |                  |                |                       |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| blá-<br>svartr  | Edd.H.H.138.06                  | ships            |                |                       |
| blá-<br>svartr  | FJ.A1.480/<br>Skáld.091.18      | raven            | allit., aðalh. |                       |
| blá-<br>svartr  | FJ.A1.490/<br>Heims. III.246.09 | boats            | allit.         |                       |
| fagr-<br>bláinn | Skáld. 123.9                    | shields          | allit.         |                       |
| hrafn-<br>blár  | FJ.A1.001/<br>Skáld. 50.36      | hair:            | skoth.         | Guðrún's sons         |
| kolblár         | ÍF IV.093.13                    | corpses          |                |                       |
| kolblár         | ÍF IV.146.22                    | man:             |                | frozen/ frightened(?) |
| kolblár         | ÍF V.082.11                     | sea              |                |                       |
| kolblár         | ÍF VII.252.07                   | wound: on a foot |                | with litr             |
| kolblár         | ÍF XII.035.16                   | sea              |                |                       |
| kolblár         | ÍF XII.078.06                   | sea              |                |                       |
| myrk-<br>blár   | ÍF IV.023.03                    | shields          |                | with gylltr           |
| myrk-<br>blár   | FJ.A1.265/<br>Heims II.054.28   | ship             | allit., aðalh. |                       |

### Occurrences of *bleikr*

|        |                                                  |                 |                |                                      |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| bleikr | Edd.Akv.242.18                                   | shields         | allit.         |                                      |
| bleikr | Edd.Rþ.285.03                                    | hair: Jarl's    | allit.         | allit with bjartr                    |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.022/<br>Skáld.074.12                       | ship            | allit., skoth. |                                      |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.244/<br>Heims. II.314.014                  | eagle: foot     |                | contrast: rauðr                      |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.272/<br>Heims. III.016.16                  | face:           | allit, aðalh.  | “bleikr sem bast”                    |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.288/<br>ÍF VI.274.18/<br>Heims II. 392.005 | face            | aðalh.         | injured man, c/ fqlr; contrast: fagr |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.480/<br>Skáld.091.13                       | sun             |                |                                      |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.482/<br>Skáld.038.28                       | sea: stormy     | skoth.         |                                      |
| bleikr | Heims. I.297.12                                  | face:           |                | emotional/angry; contrast: svartr    |
| bleikr | Heims. II.119.13                                 | face (fearful)  |                | c/ fqlr                              |
| bleikr | Heims. II.355.5                                  | painted crosses |                |                                      |
| bleikr | Heims. II.392.2                                  | face:           |                | injured man                          |
| bleikr | Heims. II.60.7                                   | painted crosses |                |                                      |
| bleikr | Heims. III.198.27                                | hair:           |                | Haraldr Harðráði                     |

|        |                   |                              |                                           |
|--------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| bleikr | Heims. III.198.28 | beard:                       | Haraldr Harðráði                          |
| bleikr | Heims. III.256.8  | hair:                        | King Eysteinn                             |
| bleikr | ÍF IV.026.22      | hair                         | c/ ljóss, rauðr, fríðr (Snorri goði)      |
| bleikr | ÍF IX.134.26      | Ljótr enn bleiki             |                                           |
| bleikr | ÍF IX.180.11      | (top.): Bleik(j)udalr        | place not described                       |
| bleikr | FJ.A1.            |                              |                                           |
|        | ÍF IX.292.07      | dead man                     | allit., skoth. man is ógurligr (in prose) |
| bleikr | ÍF VI.127.30      | face: spiteful               |                                           |
| bleikr | ÍF VII.041.07     | (nom. – of a horse) Bleikála |                                           |
| bleikr | ÍF X.132.17       | (top.): Bleiksmýrardalr      |                                           |
| bleikr | ÍF XI.048.18      | ox                           |                                           |
| bleikr | ÍF XI.279.08      | face                         | “b. sem bast,” litr; contrast: svartr     |
| bleikr | ÍF XI.280.15      | face                         | “bleikr sem nár”                          |
| bleikr | ÍF XII.182.21     | land: arable fields          | fagr                                      |
| bleikr | ÍF XIII.032.22    | hair                         | hvítr                                     |
| bleikr | ÍF XIV.079.08     | (nom. – of a horse)          |                                           |
| bleikr | Skáld. 122.31     | shields                      |                                           |
| bleikr | Skáld. 122.31     | shields                      |                                           |
| bleikr | Skáld. 48.9       | hair                         |                                           |
| bleikr | Skáld. 48.9       | hair (prose)                 | “bleikja hadda sína” (Guðrún & Br.)       |
| bleikr | Skáld. 67.21      | shields                      |                                           |

### Occurrences of *bleikr* in compounds

|         |                   |                    |         |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|---------|
| bleik-  |                   |                    |         |
| álótttr | ÍF VII.039.15     | horse              |         |
| bleik-  |                   |                    |         |
| álótttr | ÍF XII.133.16     | horses             |         |
| bleik-  |                   |                    |         |
| álótttr | ÍF XII.134.01     | horses             |         |
| fis-    |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | Heims. III.361.8  | face: losing blood |         |
| silki-  |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | Heims. III.227.25 | hair               |         |
| fífil-  |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | ÍF XI.046.03      | horses             |         |
| fífil-  |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | ÍF XIV.077.06     | horses             | c/ fagr |
| fífil-  |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | ÍF XIV.078.28     | horses             |         |
| fífil-  |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | ÍF XIV.292.06     | horses             |         |
| ljós-   |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | ÍF VII.109.12     | horses             |         |
| ljós-   |                   |                    |         |
| bleikr  | ÍF VII.221.03     | horse              |         |

rauð-  
bleikr ÍF IV.021.05 hair

### Occurrences of *brúnn*

|       |                                 |                                  |                                  |
|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| brúnn | Edd.Vkv.118.15                  | bear                             |                                  |
| brúnn | Edd.Vsp.003.33                  | (nom.): Brúni (only in Hauksbók) |                                  |
| brúnn | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.291.12    | arm:Kormákr allit.,              | contrast: bjarttr                |
| brúnn | FJ.A1.159/<br>Heims. I.263.19   | blood allit.:                    | c/ blakkr                        |
| brúnn | FJ.A1.225/<br>Heims. II.021.007 | blood allit.                     | c/ rauðr                         |
| brúnn | FJ.A1.338/<br>Skáld.094.14      | storm allit., aðalh.             |                                  |
| brúnn | Heims. III.101.20               | cloak of purpuri                 | c/ hvítr                         |
| brúnn | Heims. III.288.20               | (nom.): Brúnsson                 |                                  |
| brúnn | Heims. III.41.12                | (top.): Brúnsvík                 |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF III.288.22                   | (nom.): Brúni                    |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF III.334.14                   | jacket:                          | contrast: rauðr, grár            |
| brúnn | ÍF IX.240.21                    | kirtle                           | contrast: blár, svartr (kirtles) |
| brúnn | ÍF IX.299.03                    | (top.): Brúnastaðir              |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF VII.099.06                   | horse                            |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF VII.148.07                   | horse                            |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF VII.148.13                   | horse                            |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF VII.325.16                   | hair                             | c/ svartr                        |
| brúnn | ÍF X.016.15                     | (nom.): Brúni                    |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XI.059.01                    | (nom.): Brúni                    |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XI.227.02                    | sword                            | c/ litr, grónn                   |
| brúnn | ÍF XII.148.05                   | horses                           |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XII.276.22                   | horses                           |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XII.277.14                   | horses                           |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XII.407.20                   | (nom.): Brúni                    |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XIII.265.14                  | (top.): Brúnahaugr               |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XIV.077.03                   | horses                           |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XIV.079.06                   | (nom. – of a horse)              |                                  |
| brúnn | ÍF XIV.256.05                   | grass: “brúngras”                |                                  |

### Occurrences of *brúnn* in compounds

|       |                   |                  |                                       |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| brún- |                   |                  |                                       |
| aðr   | Heims. III.388.22 | kirtle: jarl's   | c/ rauðr (and alternate: rauðbrúnaðr) |
| brún- |                   |                  |                                       |
| móál- | ÍF XI.100.15      | horse (Freyfaxi) |                                       |
| mó-   |                   |                  |                                       |
| brúnn | ÍF IV.034.26      | kirtle           |                                       |

|                |                   |                          |                                     |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| rauð-<br>brúnn | H.&H. 181.18      | blood: one of the humors | contrast: rauðr, svartr, vatns litr |
| rauð-<br>brúnn | ÍF V.194.16       | kirtle                   |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF II.143.19      | Egill Skalla-Grímsson    |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF IV.021.06      | man: Arngrímr            |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF IX.015.19      | man: Glúmr               |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF IX.162.15      | man                      | c/ skarpleitr                       |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF V.188.17       | man                      |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF VI.221.19      | man                      |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF VIII.141.08    | man: Hallfreðr           |                                     |
| skol-<br>brúnn | ÍF VIII.172.01/06 | man                      |                                     |

### Occurrences of *dimmr*

|       |                |                                  |        |                 |
|-------|----------------|----------------------------------|--------|-----------------|
| dimmr | Edd.Vsp.015.07 | dragon                           | allit. |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF III.234.10  | fire: dwindling                  |        | contrast: ljóss |
| dimmr | ÍF VI.130.11   | night                            |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF VI.138.22   | room                             |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF VI.298.26   | room                             |        | contrast: ljóss |
| dimmr | ÍF VI.324.08   | night                            |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF VI.329.28   | room                             |        | contrast: ljóss |
| dimmr | ÍF XI.202.05   | weather                          |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF XIII.133.01 | fog                              |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF XIII.410.02 | eyes: clouded                    |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF XIV.109.12  | room                             |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF XIV.149.27  | night                            |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF XIV.354.16  | night                            |        |                 |
| dimmr | ÍF XIV.360.19  | room: after extinction of a fire |        |                 |

### Occurrences of *døkk*

|      |                              |                 |                |  |
|------|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--|
| døkk | Edd.H.H.137.19               | land: hillsides |                |  |
| døkk | Edd.Rm.178.13                | raven           |                |  |
| døkk | FJ.A1.044/<br>ÍF II.259.02   | hat             | allit.         |  |
| døkk | FJ.A1.078/<br>Heims. I.199.1 | ravens          | allit., skoth. |  |

|       |                                 |                                              |                |                      |
|-------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| døkk- | FJ.A1.288/<br>ÍF VI.274.21      | arrow                                        | skoth.         |                      |
| døkk- | FJ.A1.304/<br>ÍF III.171.25     | ships                                        |                |                      |
| døkk- | FJ.A1.348/<br>Skáld.033.35      | sea                                          | aðalh.         | c/ svartr            |
| døkk- | FJ.A1.387/<br>Heims. III.110.01 | waves                                        | allit., skoth. |                      |
| døkk- | Gylf. 05. 8                     | dale                                         |                |                      |
| døkk- | Gylf. 13.23                     | night (personified)                          |                | c/svartr             |
| døkk- | Gylf. 19.36/38                  | (myth.): dökkálfar                           |                | c/ svartr            |
| døkk- | Heims. III.267.3                | hair: that of Haraldr gilli                  |                |                      |
| døkk- | Heims. III.331.10               | Eysteinn King                                |                | c/ svartr            |
| døkk- | ÍF IX.215.16                    | room: dungeon                                |                |                      |
| døkk- | ÍF VII.060.07                   |                                              |                |                      |
| døkk- | ÍF VII.216.21                   |                                              |                |                      |
| døkk- | ÍF XI.219.23                    | man: Ketill                                  |                | c/ljótr              |
| døkk- | ÍF XI.220.21                    | man: Þorkell                                 |                | c/ jarpr             |
| døkk- | ÍF XI.258.23                    | hair: Ásbjörn                                |                | c/ ljótr, óþokkuligr |
| døkk- | ÍF XII.070.17                   | hair: Grímr                                  |                | c/ fríðr             |
| døkk- | ÍF XII.359.15                   | man: hair and skin                           |                |                      |
| døkk- | ÍF XIII.117.09                  | face: changing color in response to emotions |                |                      |
| døkk- | ÍF XIII.412.09                  |                                              |                |                      |
| døkk- | ÍF XIII.479.09                  |                                              |                |                      |

### Occurrences of *døkk-* in compounds

|        |               |      |  |               |
|--------|---------------|------|--|---------------|
| døkk-  |               |      |  |               |
| jarpr  | ÍF V.188.25   | hair |  |               |
| døkk-  |               |      |  |               |
| litaðr | ÍF V.189.13   | man  |  | c/ víkingligr |
| ódøkk- | Edd.Fm.188.04 | gold |  |               |

### Occurrences of *fagr*

|      |                   |                    |        |       |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|--------|-------|
| fagr | Edd.Alv.126.01    | sky                |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Alv.126.17    | sun                |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Alv.128.13    | wood               |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Am.252.04     | clothing           | allit. |       |
| fagr | Edd.Fm.187.22     | woman              |        | gold- |
| fagr | Edd.Gðr.II.228.18 | gold               |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Grp.166.06    | precious materials |        | gold- |
| fagr | Edd.Grp.166.06    | precious materials |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Grp.168.09    | woman              |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Grp.168.14    | woman              |        |       |
| fagr | Edd.Grp.168.18    | woman              |        |       |

|      |                                 |                     |        |                                         |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------|-----------------------------------------|
| fagr | Edd.Grp.168.24                  | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.H.H.135.02                  | clothing            |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.H.Hv.140.08                 | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.H.Hv.140.20                 | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.H.Hv.141.09                 | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.H.Hv.144.10                 | ship: parts thereof |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Háv.031.17                  | woman               |        | litr                                    |
| fagr | Edd.Hm.278.04                   | gold                | allit. |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Hunn.304.10                 | stone               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Hunn.305.01                 | drink               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Hunn.306.21                 | town                |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Hunn.307.04                 | shields             |        | gold, hvítr                             |
| fagr | Edd.Sd.195.16                   | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Sg.216.04                   | woman               |        | hvítr, heiðr                            |
| fagr | Edd.Skm.069.03                  | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Þrk.111.10                  | land: grassy        |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Þrk.112.23                  | (myth.) Freyja      |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Vkv.117.07                  | woman               |        | ljóss                                   |
| fagr | Edd.Vkv.121.18                  | gold                |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Vkv.123.18                  | clothing            |        | hvítr                                   |
| fagr | Edd.Vsp.007.22                  | mistletoe           |        |                                         |
| fagr | Edd.Vsp.015.01                  | sun                 |        |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.081/<br>ÍF VIII.211.18    | man                 | aðalh. | contrast: svartr, fqlr, sqlr            |
| fagr | FJ.A1.087/<br>ÍF VIII.274.09    | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.090/<br>ÍF VIII.294.12    | woman               | allit. |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.091/<br>ÍF VIII.301.05    | woman               |        |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.115/<br>ÍF IV.056.20      | gold                |        |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.137/<br>Skáld. 20.13      | jewel               | aðalh. |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.196/<br>ÍF III.090.17     | woman               | aðalh. |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.208/<br>ÍF III.290.06     | ships               | allit. |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.226/<br>Heims. II.022.019 | land                | skoth. |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.258/<br>Heims. II.367.05  | golden standard     |        | c/gylltr                                |
| fagr | FJ.A1.283/<br>ÍF VI.283.19      | gold                | allit. |                                         |
| fagr | FJ.A1.288/<br>Heims. II.392.006 | face: healthy       |        | c/ rjóðr, rauðr; contrast: fqlr, bleikr |

|      |                                                  |                |                |                       |
|------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| fagr | FJ.A1.288/<br>ÍF VI.274.19                       | face           | allit.         | contrast: bleikr, qlr |
| fagr | FJ.A1.300/<br>ÍF III.122.01                      | woman          |                |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.302/<br>ÍF III.149.04                      | cape           | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.318/<br>Skáld.069.10                       | shield         | allit., skoth. |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.364/<br>Heims. III.050.11                  | ship           | allit., skoth. |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.377/<br>Heims. III.055.21                  | woman          | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.378/<br>Heims. III.060.03                  | road           | allit., skoth. |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.381/<br>Heims. III.141.21                  | woman          | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.385/<br>Heims. III.071.08                  | ship           |                | c/svartr?             |
| fagr | FJ.A1.386/<br>Heims. III.109.17/<br>Skáld.094.17 | land           | aðalh.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.392/<br>Heims. III.094.06                  | woman          | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.397/<br>Heims. III.113.20                  | paint          |                |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.456/<br>Heims. III.251.14                  | sword          |                | c/rauðr               |
| fagr | FJ.A1.478/<br>Skáld.057.35                       | axe            | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.479/<br>Skáld.071.08                       | axe(?)         | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.482/<br>Skáld.093.09                       | windvanes      | allit., skoth. |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A1.490/<br>Heims. III.239.17                  | ship           |                |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A2.206/<br>ÍF IX.169.10                       | woman          | allit., aðalh. |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A2.456/<br>ÍF XIV.098.22                      | woman          | allit.         |                       |
| fagr | FJ.A2.457/<br>ÍF XIV.099.06                      | woman's hair   |                |                       |
| fagr | Gylf. 04.22                                      | (nom.)         |                |                       |
| fagr | Gylf. 04.23                                      | earth          |                |                       |
| fagr | Gylf. 04.25                                      | (nom.)         |                |                       |
| fagr | Gylf. 04.39                                      | ivory          |                |                       |
| fagr | Gylf. 05.1                                       | hair (Thórr's) |                |                       |

|      |                   |                               |                      |
|------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| fagr | Gylf. 05.8        | (myth.) Sif                   | gold                 |
| fagr | Gylf. 06.11       | (nom.)                        |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 06.11       | land                          |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 11.13       | (myth.) Búri                  |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 13.27       | day (personified)             | ljóss                |
| fagr | Gylf. 13.36       | moon (personified)            | fríðr                |
| fagr | Gylf. 13.36       | sun (personified)             | fríðr                |
| fagr | Gylf. 18.10       | (myth.): locations in the sky |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 19.37       | sun                           | ljóss                |
| fagr | Gylf. 19.39       | (myth.): Breiðablik           | bleikr               |
| fagr | Gylf. 20.8        | (myth.): a hall               | bjartr               |
| fagr | Gylf. 23.15       | (myth.): Baldr                | bjartr, ljóss, hvítr |
| fagr | Gylf. 23.18       | (myth.): Baldr                | fagr, bjartr, ljóss  |
| fagr | Gylf. 24.26       | (myth.): Freyr and Freyja     |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 25.1        | (myth.): a hall               |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 26.22       | (myth.): Ullr                 |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 26.38       | (myth.): Loki                 |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 29.         | ornaments                     |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 31.1        | (myth.): Gerðr                |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 31.15       | woman                         |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 31.3        | house                         |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 43.33       | valley                        |                      |
| fagr | Gylf. 50.27       | corslet                       | gold                 |
| fagr | Gylf. 53.35       | earth                         | grónn                |
| fagr | Gylf. 54.21       | sun (personified)             |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.122.25   | hair (Harald the Fair-haired) |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.133.13   | beard                         |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.148.7    | tree: trunk (seen in a dream) | grónn                |
| fagr | Heims. I.149.14   | woman                         |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.17.9     | (myth.): Óðinn                |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.25.5     | (myth.): Hnoss & Gersimi      |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.315.23   | feast                         |                      |
| fagr | Heims. I.353.10   | ship                          | mikill               |
| fagr | Heims. I.353.6    | weather                       | bjartr               |
| fagr | Heims. I.91.2     | hair                          | litr, ljóss          |
| fagr | Heims. II.037.20  | hair (that of Hákon jarl)     | mikill               |
| fagr | Heims. II.04.7    | eyes: those of St Olaf        |                      |
| fagr | Heims. II.126.19  | foot                          | contrast: ljótr      |
| fagr | Heims. II.182.24  | village of Lóar               |                      |
| fagr | Heims. II.323.8   | valley                        |                      |
| fagr | Heims. II.369.9   | hair                          |                      |
| fagr | Heims. II.387.9   | face: St Olaf's in death      | rauðr, bjartr        |
| fagr | Heims. II.405.10  | well                          |                      |
| fagr | Heims. III.100.1  | feast                         |                      |
| fagr | Heims. III.122.10 | Eindriði Einarsson            | fríðr                |
| fagr | Heims. III.184.9  | shields                       |                      |

|      |                   |                                        |                           |
|------|-------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| fagr | Heims. III.186.14 | helmet: king's                         |                           |
| fagr | Heims. III.203.7  | man: King Óláfr kyrri                  | bjartr, gulr              |
| fagr | Heims. III.250.6  | feast                                  |                           |
| fagr | Heims. III.269.8  | weather                                |                           |
| fagr | Heims. III.275.15 | clothing: women's                      |                           |
| fagr | Heims. III.276.12 | altar                                  | gylltr                    |
| fagr | Heims. III.331.14 | face: that of King Ingi                | gulr                      |
| fagr | Heims. III.81.6   | procession                             |                           |
| fagr | Heims. III.98.11  | feast                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.006.14      | (nom.): Sólveig in fagra               |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.016.19      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.046.13      | clothing                               |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.057.03      | (nom.): Haraldr hárfagri Hálfðanarson  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.083.12      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.091.03      | ship: painted                          |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.091.18      | ship                                   |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.201.02      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.202.17      | valley                                 |                           |
| fagr | ÍF II.276.07      | (nom.): Helga in fagra Þorsteinsdóttir |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.054.07     | swan                                   |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.055.07     | woman (baby)                           | fríðr                     |
| fagr | ÍF III.056.11     | woman (baby)                           |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.057.21/29  | woman                                  | hvítr                     |
| fagr | ÍF III.058.05     | woman (baby)                           |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.060.0      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.060.11     | hair: of a woman; "fagrt sem gold"     |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.080.19     | man: possibly deprecatory              |                           |
| fagr | ÍF III.174.10     | (top.): Fagraskógr                     |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.029.01      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.120.23      | shields                                |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.203.26      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.224.04      | land                                   |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.255.03      | land: "skógótt"                        |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.255.21      | land: suitable for settlement          |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IV.278.13      | ship                                   |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IX.165.19      | (nom.): Yngvildr fagrkinn              |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IX.197.19      | hair: that of Yngvildr                 |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IX.201.09      | woman                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF IX.203.04/05   | wound                                  |                           |
| fagr | ÍF V.067.07       | land: suitable for settlement          |                           |
| fagr | ÍF V.077.02       | hair: that of Kjartan,                 | "fagrt sem silki," mikill |
| fagr | ÍF V.084.08       | horn, of an ox                         | mikill                    |
| fagr | ÍF V.101.25       | horse                                  | svartr, mikill, vænn      |
| fagr | ÍF V.109.16       | land: suitable for settlement          | grasloðinn                |
| fagr | ÍF V.194.21       |                                        |                           |
| fagr | ÍF VI.105.15      |                                        |                           |

|      |                   |                                          |                            |
|------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| fagr | ÍF VI.365.04      | clothing                                 |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VI.366.20      | ship                                     |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VII.101.12     | (top.): Fagrabrekka                      |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VII.199.17     | land: hillsides: grassy                  |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VII.230.07     | weather                                  | góðr                       |
| fagr | ÍF VII.266.03     |                                          |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VII.362.07/23  |                                          |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VIII.007.12    | hair: falling in locks                   | hvítr                      |
| fagr | ÍF VIII.041.16    | land: grassy                             |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VIII.042.02    | land: grassy                             |                            |
| fagr | ÍF VIII.224.11    | (nom.): Finna in fagra                   |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XI.007.02      | (nom.): Þorsteinn fagri Þorfinsson       |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XI.046.11      | (top.): Fagradalr                        |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XI.126.10      | shields                                  | litr                       |
| fagr | ÍF XI.127.09      | shields                                  | “svá fagran at ljómaði af” |
| fagr | ÍF XI.138.08      | hair                                     | mikill                     |
| fagr | ÍF XI.227.11      | woman                                    |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XI.316.19      | axe                                      |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.006.18     | hair: Hallgerðr’s                        | mikill                     |
| fagr | ÍF XII.007.04     | woman: Hallgerðr                         |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.007.06     | woman: Hallgerðr                         |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.014.22     | tables, tents                            |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.029.21     | hair: Hallgerðr’s                        |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.085.23     | hair: Hallgerðr’s                        | mikill                     |
| fagr | ÍF XII.176.01     | (nom.) Qnundr inn fagri                  |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.182.20     | land: hillsides: grassy                  | bleikr                     |
| fagr | ÍF XII.203.26     | hair                                     | mikill                     |
| fagr | ÍF XII.227.11     | shields                                  |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.288.07     | (nom.): Þorkell inn fagri                |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.316.03     | (nom.): Þorsteinn inn fagri Geirleifsson |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.440.12     | woman: Kormloð                           |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.477.04     |                                          |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XII.477.11     |                                          |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.015.08    | tree: trunk (seen in a dream)            |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.066.21    | man: approvingly                         |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.102.14    | man: Bárðr                               |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.102.16    | woman: Bárðr’s mother                    | hvítr                      |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.104.07    | tree: flower                             | (seen in a dream), bjartr  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.104.12    | tree: branch                             | (seen in a dream)          |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.151.14    | woman                                    |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.165.22    | clothing                                 |                            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.286.07/21 | land: suitable for settlement            | seen in a dream, bjartr    |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.286.22    | men: seen in a dream                     | bjartr, dýrðligr           |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.286.25    | land: suitable for settlement            | seen in a dream            |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.294.11/29 | onion: seen in a dream                   | goldslitr                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.295.04/14 | onion: seen in a dream                   |                            |

|      |                   |                                          |                  |
|------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------|
| fagr | ÍF XIII.303.07/22 | dog                                      |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.336.15    | hand                                     |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.344.07    | (nom.): Freysteinn inn fagri Grímkelsson |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.366.16    | feast                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.436.23    | beltclasp(?)                             |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIII.476.15    | woman                                    | fríðr            |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.009.03     | woman: Ólof in væna                      | vænn             |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.014.03     | cave                                     |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.014.04     | pool                                     |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.016.15     | woman: Ólof in væna                      |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.029.29     | woman                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.030.01     | hair                                     | mikill           |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.030.02     | hands of a woman                         | sterkr           |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.030.18     | table                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.032.18     | cushions(?)                              |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.042.27     | valley                                   |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.056.06     | face                                     | “þó mögr”        |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.066.23     | feast                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.067.24     | grove                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.075.14     | woman                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.077.07     | horses                                   | fífilbleikr      |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.121.13     | land: suitable for settlement            | grónn            |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.140.14     | valley                                   | mikill           |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.141.05     | smithwork                                |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.152.08     | woman                                    | fríðr            |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.153.18     | (?)                                      |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.155.16/22  | (?)                                      |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.184.21     |                                          |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.193.06     |                                          |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.240.04     | land: suitable for settlement            |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.255.09     | man: baby                                | mikill           |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.255.11     | man: baby                                |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.256.15     | man: baby                                |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.257.21     | man: baby                                | fríðr            |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.276.05     | ships                                    |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.276.11     | hair                                     |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.289.09     | man                                      |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.291.04     | ship                                     |                  |
| fagr | ÍF XIV.335.17     | shields                                  |                  |
| fagr | Skáld. 01.12      | shields                                  |                  |
| fagr | Skáld. 133.30     | sun (personified)                        | ljóss, allit.(?) |
| fagr | Skáld. 30.18      | hair (Sif's),                            | made of gold     |
| fagr | Skáld. 41.28      | wood                                     | rauðr, gold      |
| fagr | Skáld. 45.34      | ring: golden                             |                  |
| fagr | Skáld. 49.20      | woman                                    |                  |
| fagr | Skáld. 51.25      | shield                                   | allit., skoth.   |

|      |              |                        |
|------|--------------|------------------------|
| fagr | Skáld. 60.25 | gold                   |
| fagr | Skáld. 61.17 | (nom.): Þorleifr fagri |
| fagr | Skáld. 61.4  | gold                   |
| fagr | Skáld. 64.20 | woman                  |
| fagr | Skáld. 85.19 | sun                    |
| fagr | Gylf. 18.11  | (myth.): a hall        |

### Occurrences of *fölr*

|      |                                 |                                                               |                                    |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| fölr | Edd.Alv.124.06                  | corpse: nose thereof                                          |                                    |
| fölr | Edd.H.H.138.16                  | blades                                                        |                                    |
| fölr | Edd.H.H.II.160.27               | horse                                                         | rauðr                              |
| fölr | Edd.Sd.189.14                   | chains                                                        |                                    |
| fölr | Edd.Vsp.011.18                  | corpse: nose                                                  |                                    |
| fölr | FJ.A1.049/<br>ÍF II.110.02      | face: drunk                                                   | aðalh.                             |
| fölr | FJ.A1.341/<br>Heims. III.044.03 | skulls                                                        | skoth.                             |
| fölr | FJ.A2.460/<br>ÍF XIV.113.15     | ship, wood                                                    | aðalh.                             |
| fölr | Gylf. 03.25                     | plant: wilting                                                |                                    |
| fölr | Gylf. 45.5                      | face                                                          |                                    |
| fölr | Heims. I.301.13                 | face                                                          | grunnleitr (thin)                  |
| fölr | Heims. II.119.13                | face (fearful)                                                | compared to corpse, bleikr         |
| fölr | Heims. II.391.9                 | face: of an injured man                                       |                                    |
| fölr | ÍF IX.026.05/19                 | face: of an injured man                                       |                                    |
| fölr | ÍF V.103.01                     | horses                                                        | contrast: svartr, fagr, vænn       |
| fölr | ÍF V.155.02                     | face: grieving                                                |                                    |
| fölr | ÍF VI.274.07                    | face: of an injured man                                       | “litlauss sem nár,” ólitr, bleikr; |
| fölr | ÍF XII.292.02                   | face: changing color in response to emotions: “fölr sem gras” |                                    |
|      | rauðr, blár                     |                                                               |                                    |
| fölr | ÍF XIII.294.20                  | candle; seen in a dream(?)                                    |                                    |
| fölr | ÍF XIV.268.21                   |                                                               |                                    |

### Occurrences of *fölr* in compounds

|           |                |                     |           |
|-----------|----------------|---------------------|-----------|
| fölleitr  | ÍF IV.262.24   | woman               | ljósjarpr |
| fölleitr  | ÍF XI.063.15   | man                 |           |
| fölleitr  | ÍF XII.070.14  | man: Skarpheðinn    | jarpr     |
| fölleitr  | ÍF XII.298.21  | man: disapprovingly |           |
| fölleitr  | ÍF XII.299.25  | man: disapprovingly |           |
| fölleitr  | ÍF XII.301.06  | man: disapprovingly |           |
| fölleitr  | ÍF XII.304.25  | man: disapprovingly |           |
| föllitaðr | ÍF XII.302.01  | man: disapprovingly | jarpr     |
| nauðfölr  | Edd.Akv.243.08 | corpses             | allit.    |
| neffölr   | Edd.Akv.246.06 | man: Atli           | allit.    |

ófolr ÍF IV.228.13 bag: Skrælings

### Occurrences of *gránn*

|       |                            |               |                |                |
|-------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| gránn | Edd.H.H.II.155.02          | wolf          |                |                |
| gránn | FJ.A1.306/<br>Skáld.039.07 | moon          | allit., aðalh. | C/ ljós (nom.) |
| gránn | FJ.A1.399/<br>Skáld.096.03 | sea           | allit., skoth. |                |
| gránn | FJ.A1.476/<br>Skáld.103.22 | earth: island | allit.         |                |
| gránn | F:J/ÍF VI.147.01           |               |                |                |
| gránn | F/J/ÍF VIII.182.15         |               |                |                |

### Occurrences of *grár*

|      |                                 |                          |                |                                 |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| grár | Edd.Br.198.22                   | horse                    |                |                                 |
| grár | Edd.Gðr.II.224.09               | silver                   |                | contrast: glóðrauðr             |
| grár | Edd.Ghv.264.11                  | horses                   |                | contrast: svartr, hvítr; allit. |
| grár | Edd.Grm.064.08                  | (nom.): Grábakr          |                |                                 |
| grár | Edd.Grt.299.12                  | mail                     | allit.         |                                 |
| grár | Edd.H.H.132.02                  | spear                    |                |                                 |
| grár | Edd.H.H.II.150.18               | wolf                     |                |                                 |
| grár | Edd.Hm.269.11                   | horses                   |                | contrast: svartr, hvítr, allit. |
| grár | FJ.A1.030/<br>ÍF II.070.10      | eagle                    |                |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.119/<br>ÍF IX.071.15      | eagle                    |                |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.119/<br>ÍF IX.071.15      | spears                   | allit., skoth. |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.186/<br>ÍF IX.224.14      | shipwreck(?)             | allit.         |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.194/<br>ÍF III.063.06     | silver                   | allit.         |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.300/<br>ÍF III.169.04     | lumpsucker               | aðalh.         |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.302/<br>ÍF III.144.19     | mood(?)                  | allit.         |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.359/<br>Heims. III.134.19 | (deceit)                 | allit.         |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.366/<br>Heims. III.054.17 | mood(?)                  | allit.         |                                 |
| grár | FJ.A1.486/<br>Heims. III.242.12 | mood(?)                  | allit., skoth. |                                 |
| grár | Heims. I.212.11                 | pelt                     |                |                                 |
| grár | Heims. I.212.18                 | (nom.): Haraldr gráfeldr |                |                                 |
| grár | Heims. II.149.30                | pelt                     |                |                                 |
| grár | Heims. II.253.9                 | pelt                     |                |                                 |

|      |                   |                                                          |                        |
|------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| grár | Heims. II.290.11  | tents: on a ship: apparently to disguise its kingly look |                        |
| grár | Heims. II.290.17  | ship: disguised as less kingly with gray tents           |                        |
| grár | Heims. II.41.11   | cape: king's                                             | blár, gylltr           |
| grár | Heims. II.41.11   | hat: king's                                              | blár, gylltr           |
| grár | Heims. II.446.9   | (nom.): Grágás                                           |                        |
| grár | Heims. III.279.8  | (nom.): Guthormr grábarði                                |                        |
| grár | Heims. III.316.2  | (nom.): Hólmr inn grái                                   |                        |
| grár | Heims. III.382.11 | cape: king's                                             |                        |
| grár | ÍF II.034.23      | pelt                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF II.042.02      | pelt                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF II.043.16      | pelt                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF II.233.04      | pelt                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.065.11     | horse                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.068.16     | kirtle                                                   |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.112.02     | mood(?)                                                  |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.168.22     | fish: type (lumpsucker)                                  |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.200.09     | (top.): Grástreinn inn mikli                             |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.217.01     | cloak                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.231.23     | lamb                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.232.02     | horse                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.233.02     | lamb                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF III.334.14     | jacket: skin                                             | contrast: brúnn, rauðr |
| grár | ÍF IV.158.05      | silver                                                   |                        |
| grár | ÍF IV.261.30      | pelt                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF IX.132.04      | pelt                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF IX.162.24      | (nom.): Þorgrímr inn grái                                |                        |
| grár | ÍF IX.189.18      | horse                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF IX.238.04      | mood(?)                                                  |                        |
| grár | ÍF V.079.14       | cloak                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF V.104.03       | cloak                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF V.188.19       | cape                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF V.230.16       | bull                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF VI.005.05      | (nom. – of a weapon) Grásiða                             |                        |
| grár | ÍF VI.090.09      | cloak                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF VI.094.11      | horse: seen in a dream                                   |                        |
| grár | ÍF VI.094.21      |                                                          |                        |
| grár | ÍF VI.112.13      | cowl                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF VI.309.02      | horse: noticed as old                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF VII.110.03     | eyes: those of Glámr                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF VII.187.02     | wool                                                     |                        |
| grár | ÍF X.221.25       | horses                                                   | foxótttr               |
| grár | ÍF X.250.29       | cloak                                                    |                        |
| grár | ÍF XI.006.14      | mood(?)                                                  |                        |
| grár | ÍF XI.176.05      | tent, or stone: perceiver uncertain                      |                        |
| grár | ÍF XI.256.16      | oxen                                                     |                        |

|       |                |                                       |                 |
|-------|----------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| grár  | ÍF XI.261.12   | kirtle                                |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XI.286.31   | cape                                  | blár            |
| grár  | ÍF XII.069.02  | (nom.): Valgarðr inn grái Jörundarson |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.070.05  | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.117.29  | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.141.06  | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.148.27  | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.228.27  | bag                                   | contrast: rauðr |
| grár  | ÍF XII.320.23  | horse: seen in a dream(?)             |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.363.16  | (nom.): Eysteinn inn grái Þórðarson   |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XII.454.14  |                                       |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.062.21 | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.127.16 | cowl                                  |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.129.09 | cowl                                  |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.133.03 | cowl                                  |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.135.02 | cowl: worn to blend with shadows(?)   |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.139.06 | cowl                                  |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.145.21 | dog: Snati                            | litr            |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.359.03 | bear                                  |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIII.401.05 | silver                                |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIV.052.26  | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIV.132.25  | mood(?)                               |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIV.169.16  | pelt                                  |                 |
| grár  | ÍF XIV.169.16  | pelt                                  |                 |
| grár/ | ÍF V.185.03    | cloak: rain-weather                   | blár            |

### Occurrences of *grónn*

|       |                                 |                                           |                |
|-------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------|
| grónn | Edd.Fm.187.24                   | road                                      |                |
| grónn | Edd.Gðr.II.224.07               | onion                                     |                |
| grónn | Edd.H.H.II.161.07               | hope(?): gróna here may mean “diminish”   |                |
| grónn | Edd.Rþ.280.06                   | road                                      | allit.         |
| grónn | Edd.Vsp.001.16                  | onion                                     |                |
| grónn | Edd.Vsp.005.08                  | tree (Yggdrasill)                         |                |
| grónn | FJ.A1.062/<br>Heims. I.158.16   | land                                      | skoth.         |
| grónn | FJ.A1.066/<br>Heims. I.195.21   | earth / land                              | allit.         |
| grónn | FJ.A1.118/<br>ÍF IX.020.10      | land: grassy                              | allit.         |
| grónn | FJ.A1.240/<br>Heims. II.145.18  | sea: specifically, apparently, the Baltic |                |
| grónn | FJ.A1.386/<br>Heims. III.102.01 | land                                      | allit.         |
| grónn | FJ.A1.488/<br>Heims. III.247.08 | land                                      | allit., skoth. |

|       |                   |                         |                       |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| grónn | Heims. I.148.8    | tree (seen in a dream)  | fagr                  |
| grónn | Heims. II.266.13  | cape: hooded            |                       |
| grónn | Heims. II.273.18  | ship: stripes on a sail | gold-, blár, rauðr    |
| grónn | Heims. III.343.26 | (top.): Gróningasund    |                       |
| grónn | ÍF IV.060.11      | (top.): Grónland        |                       |
| grónn | ÍF IX.052.02/14   | cape                    |                       |
| grónn | ÍF IX.064.03      | cape                    |                       |
| grónn | ÍF VI.276.12      | heart fibers            | rauðr, hvítr, gulr    |
| grónn | ÍF VIII.153.06    |                         |                       |
| grónn | ÍF X.233.01       | cape                    |                       |
| grónn | ÍF XI.227.02      | sword                   | litr, brúnn           |
| grónn | ÍF XIII.140.18    | (top.): Grónamýrartunga |                       |
| grónn | ÍF XIII.236.14    | kirtle                  |                       |
| grónn | ÍF XIV.132.07     | land: hillsides: grassy | fagr                  |
| grónn | ÍF XIV.272.16     | (top.): Grónmór         |                       |
| grónn | ÍF XIV.280.29     |                         |                       |
| grónn | Skáld. 86.24      | earth                   | myrkr, allit., skoth. |

#### Occurrences of *gulr*

|      |                            |                           |                                 |
|------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| gulr | H.&H. 166.31               | eyes of Albanians         |                                 |
| gulr | H.&H. 167.04               | eyes of “Ciromandari”     |                                 |
| gulr | Heims. II.172.22           | hair: “gult sem silki”    |                                 |
| gulr | Heims. III.203.9           | hair: Óláfr kyrri         | fagr, bjartr “gult sem silki”   |
| gulr | Heims. III.235.17          | jacket: lion sewn thereon | contrast: gold                  |
| gulr | Heims. III.331.14          | hair: that of King Ingi   | fagr                            |
| gulr | ÍF V.187.14                | hair                      |                                 |
| gulr | ÍF VI.276.11               | heart fibers              | rauðr, hvítr, grónn             |
| gulr | ÍF XII.053.11              | hair: Gunnarr             | mikill, ljóslitaðr, blár, rauðr |
| gulr | FJ.A1.133/<br>ÍF IV.078.09 | wood                      | skoth.                          |

#### Occurrences of *hárr*

|      |                                |                  |        |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| hárr | Edd.Fm.186.19                  | hair: aged       |        |
| hárr | Edd.Grm.067.13                 | (nom.): Hárbardr |        |
| hárr | Edd.Háv.039.08                 | hair: aged       |        |
| hárr | Edd.Rþ.280.12                  | hair: aged       | allit. |
| hárr | Edd.Hym.090.22                 | hair: aged       |        |
| hárr | Edd.Vsp.016.11                 | (nom.)           |        |
| hárr | FJ.A1.006/<br>Heims. I.127.27  | hair: aged       | allit. |
| hárr | FJ.A1.011/<br>Heims. I.050.017 | hair: aged       |        |
| hárr | FJ.A1.018/<br>Skáld.032.31     | hair: aged       | allit. |

|         |                                 |                             |                |                  |
|---------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| hárr    | FJ.A1.195/<br>ÍF III.077.20     | hair: aged                  | allit., aðalh. |                  |
| hárr    | FJ.A1.196/<br>ÍF III.085.01     | hair: aged                  | allit., skoth. |                  |
| hárr    | FJ.A1.254/<br>Heims. III.030.07 | hair: aged                  | allit., skoth. |                  |
| hárr    | FJ.A1.535/<br>Skáld.088.11      | wolf                        | allit., aðalh. |                  |
| hárr    | Heims. I.148.10                 | hair: aged                  |                | hvítr            |
| hárr    | Heims. III.412.19               | hair: aged                  |                | ljóslitaðr       |
| hárr    | ÍF IV.168.22                    | (nom.): hærukollr           |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF IV.178.02                    | hair: aged                  |                | hvítr            |
| hárr    | ÍF IX.171.10                    | (nom.): Hæringr             |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF V.084.06                     | (nom.): Harri               |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF V.113.06                     | (nom.)                      |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF V.188.17                     | beard                       |                | contrast: svartr |
| hárr    | ÍF VI.263.14                    | (nom.): Hárr inn harðgreipi |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF VII.026.04                   | hair: aged                  |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF VII.033.14                   | hair: aged                  |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF VII.221.23                   | hair: aged                  |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF VII.241.19                   | (nom.): Hæringr             |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF VIII.157.03                  |                             |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF XIII.267.14                  | (nom.): Hæringr             |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF XIII.336.22                  | flesh                       |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF XIII.443.05                  |                             |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF XIII.448.02                  |                             |                |                  |
| hárr    | ÍF XIV.031.17                   | hair: aged                  |                | hvítr            |
| hárr    | ÍF XIV.158.07                   | hair: aged                  | allit.         | hvítr            |
| hárr    | Skáld. 02.6                     | hair: aged                  |                | gamall           |
| hárr(?) | FJ.A1.020/<br>Skáld.024.10      | ?                           | allit., aðalh. |                  |
| hárr(?) | FJ.A1.347/<br>Skáld.100.07      | hair: aged(?)               | allit.         |                  |

### Occurrences of *heiðr*

|       |                  |     |  |                         |
|-------|------------------|-----|--|-------------------------|
| heiðr | Edd.Sg.216.05    | day |  | fagr, hvítr             |
| heiðr | Heims. II.382.11 | sky |  | bjartr; contrast: myrkr |

### Occurrences of *hvítr*

|       |                                |                   |  |  |
|-------|--------------------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| hvítr | FJ.A1.222/<br>Heims. II.319.18 | (man): Erlingr    |  |  |
| hvítr | Edd.Þrk.113.10                 | (myth.) Heimdall  |  |  |
| hvítr | Gylf. 25.32                    | (myth.): Heimdall |  |  |
| hvítr | Skáld. 19.10                   |                   |  |  |

|       |                                 |                                                            |
|-------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| hvítr | ÍF III.136.09                   | (nom. – of a horse) Hvítingr                               |
| hvítr | ÍF VIII.234.10                  | (nom. – of a sword) Hvítingr                               |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.440.02                   | (nom.) Dávíð hvíti                                         |
| hvítr | Heims. II.432.16                | (nom.) Hrói inn hvíti                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.181.17                   | (nom.) Hogni inn hvíti                                     |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.451.07                   | (nom.): Ámundi hvíti                                       |
| hvítr | ÍF V.066.21                     |                                                            |
| hvítr | Heims. II.52.13                 | (nom.): Bárðr hvíti                                        |
| hvítr | ÍF II.016.09                    | (nom.): Bárðr inn hvíti Brynjólfsson                       |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.286.18                   | (nom.): Bersi inn hvíti                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.143.12                    | (nom.): Björn inn hvíti                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.424.10                   | (nom.): Björn inn hvíti Kaðalsson                          |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.343.07                  | (nom.): Bøðvarr inn hvíti                                  |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.133.07                    | (nom.): Gizurr hvíti Teitsson                              |
| hvítr | Heims. I.279.21                 | (nom.): Guðbrandr inn hvíti                                |
| hvítr | Heims. I.74.2                   | (nom.): Hálfðan hvítbeinn                                  |
| hvítr | Heims. I.114.13                 | (nom.): Hálfðan hvíti                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.120.13                   | (nom.): Hallbjörn hvíti Skarffsson                         |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.057.10                    | (nom.): Halli inn hvíti Þorbjarnarson                      |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.074.13                   | (nom.): Hallvarðr hvíti                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.181.16                    | (nom.): Helgi inn hvíti Snorrason                          |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.238.02                   | (nom.): Herjólfur inn hvíti                                |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.004.05                    | (nom.): Hróðgeirr inn hvíti Hrafnsson (= Hrapsson IX.211?) |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.211.25                    | (nom.): Hróðgeirr inn hvíti Hrapsson                       |
| hvítr | Heims. I.215.5                  | (nom.): Hrói inn hvíti                                     |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.273/<br>Heims. III.017.04 | (nom.): Hvíta-Kristr                                       |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.056.08                   | (nom.): Hvítserkr                                          |
| hvítr | Skáld. 58.31                    |                                                            |
| hvítr | Heims. III.289.16               | (nom.): hvítsunnudagr                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.124.11                    | (nom.): Hogni inn hvíti Ótryggsson                         |
| hvítr | Heims. II.285.18                | (nom.): Ívarr hvíti                                        |
| hvítr | Heims. I.122.7                  | (nom.): Óláfr hvíti                                        |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.004.22                    | (nom.): Óláfr hvíti Ingjaldsson                            |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.232.06                   | (nom.): Sigmundur hvíti Lambason                           |
| hvítr | Heims. III.258.25               | (nom.): Stígr hvítaleðr                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF VII.209.18                   | (nom.): Þorsteinn hvíti                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.176.08                   | (nom.): Þorsteinn hvíti                                    |
| hvítr | Heims. I.345.9                  | (nom.): Þorsteinn hvíti af Oprostøðum                      |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.258.05                  | (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti                                |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.003.09                    | (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti Qlvisson                       |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.352.08                   | (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti Qlvisson                       |
| hvítr | Heims. II.255.18                | (nom.): Þrándr hvíti                                       |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.003.02                    | (nom.): Qlvir inn hvíti Ósvaldsson                         |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.242.07                  | (nom.): Qzurr inn hvíti Þorleifsson                        |
| hvítr | ÍF II.074.09                    | (top.): Hvítá                                              |

|       |                           |                                         |
|-------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| hvítr | FJ.A1.474/<br>Skáld.104.9 | (top.): Hvítabý                         |
| hvítr | ÍF V.148.05               |                                         |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.246.16             | (top.): Hvítanes                        |
| hvítr | Heims. II.235.29          | (top.): Hvítungsey                      |
| hvítr | ÍF III.195.07             | (top.): Hvítungshjalli                  |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.234.05              | (top.): Hvítramannaland                 |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.276.12              | (top.): Hvítserkr                       |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.178.03              | (top.): Hvítstaðir                      |
| hvítr | Edd.Gðr.II.231.10         | (truly unclear)                         |
| hvítr | Skáld. 122.2              |                                         |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.291.01              | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.181.23              | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.314.15              | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.077.12            | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.350.14            | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.133.27             | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.134.10             | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | Edd.Am.250.16             | bear: polar                             |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.142.07             | bear: polar, continuing mentions passim |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.151.13             | beard(?)                                |
| hvítr | ÍF II.299.09              | bone: struck with an axe                |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.197.21            | breeches                                |
| hvítr | Edd.Hym.089.14            | brows                                   |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.343.08              | cape                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.274.09              | cape                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.197.20            | cape                                    |
| hvítr | Hauksbók 038.13           | child: more coveted                     |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.052.04/16           | cloak: one of two colors                |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.231.05              | cloak: one of two colors                |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.233.16              | cloak: one of two colors                |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.234.01/12           | cloak: one of two colors                |
| hvítr | ÍF X.233.03               |                                         |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.234.03              | clothing                                |
| hvítr | Heims. I.330.16           | clothing: baptismal                     |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.097.33              | clothing: baptismal                     |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.126.28              | clothing: baptismal                     |
| hvítr | ÍF V.123.16               |                                         |
| hvítr | ÍF V.158.16               |                                         |
| hvítr | ÍF VIII.126.07            | clothing: baptismal                     |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.170.09            | clothing: baptismal                     |
| hvítr | Kristni 140.2             | clothing: baptismal                     |
| hvítr | ÍF III.068.16             | clothing: breeches                      |
| hvítr | Edd.Rþ.284.16             | clothing: wealthy man's                 |
| hvítr | ÍF II.291.19              | coward                                  |
| hvítr | ÍF V.160.08               |                                         |

|       |                                                 |                                          |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| hvítr | FJ.A1.218/<br>ÍF III.189.19                     | coward                                   |
| hvítr | Edd.Ls.100.18                                   | coward(?)                                |
| hvítr | Gylf. 19.18                                     | egg white                                |
| hvítr | Edd.Vkv.123.17                                  | eyelashes                                |
| hvítr | Edd.Sg.212.08                                   | face: of a fey woman                     |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.288/<br>ÍF VI.276.17/<br>Heims.II.391.014 | face: of a woman: approvingly            |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.157.08                                   | falcons                                  |
| hvítr | Heims. II.60.7                                  | flag, representing a serpent, of St Olaf |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.195.01                                    | frock                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF III.294.18                                   | hair                                     |
| hvítr | ÍF V.188.11                                     |                                          |
| hvítr | ÍF VIII.007.11                                  | hair                                     |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.181.18                                    | hair (that of Helgi inn hvíti)           |
| hvítr | H.&H. 166.29                                    | hair of a man and skin; Albanians        |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.178.02                                    | hair: aged                               |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.031.17                                   | hair: aged                               |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.158.07                                   | hair: aged                               |
| hvítr | Edd.Ghv.267.04                                  | hair: of Svanhildr                       |
| hvítr | ÍF IX.015.19                                    | hair: that of Glúmr                      |
| hvítr | ÍF III.051.12                                   | hair: that of Þorsteinn                  |
| hvítr | ÍF II.274.03                                    | hair: that of Þorsteinn Egilsson         |
| hvítr | ÍF V.131.12                                     |                                          |
| hvítr | Heims. II.393.7                                 | heart fibers                             |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.276.11                                    | heart fibers                             |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.276.13                                    | heart fibers: of a well-fed man          |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.116/<br>ÍF IV.074.04                      | horn                                     |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.282/<br>ÍF VI.176.06                      | horn                                     |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.466/<br>Heims. III.271.24                 | horn                                     |
| hvítr | Heims. III.372.13                               | horse                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF III.187.02                                   | horse                                    |
| hvítr | ÍF V.135.13                                     |                                          |
| hvítr | ÍF VII.373.21                                   | horse: mane thereupon                    |
| hvítr | Edd.Ghv.264.10                                  | horses                                   |
| hvítr | Edd.Hm.269.12                                   | horses                                   |
| hvítr | ÍF III.136.10                                   | horses                                   |
| hvítr | ÍF III.272.16                                   | horses                                   |
| hvítr | Elucidarius 35.07                               | ink, trans. albus                        |
| hvítr | Gylf. 37.22                                     | knuckles                                 |
| hvítr | Edd.Hunn.307.05                                 | mail                                     |
| hvítr | Heims. III.184.10                               | mail                                     |

|       |                                 |                                               |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.032.22                  | man                                           |
| hvítr | H.&H. 154.24                    | man: Albanians when they are born             |
| hvítr | FJ.A2.455/<br>ÍF XIV.072.02     | man: approvingly                              |
| hvítr | H.&H. 166.20                    | man: child of a hermaphrodite when born       |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.196/<br>ÍF III.090.05     | man: disparagingly?                           |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.237.02                    | man: Grímr                                    |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.301/<br>ÍF III.140.04     | man: tenderfoot(?), said of oneself           |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.302/<br>ÍF III.144.13     | man: tenderfoot(?), said of oneself           |
| hvítr | Edd.Vkv.117.10                  | man: Vǫlundr                                  |
| hvítr | Edd.Vsp.005.06                  | mud                                           |
| hvítr | Edd.Rþ.284.11                   | neck: Faðir's                                 |
| hvítr | ÍF XI.261.12                    | peat                                          |
| hvítr | Heims. III.101.20               | pelt                                          |
| hvítr | Gylf. 23.16                     | plant: "Baldrs brár"                          |
| hvítr | Gylf. 23.17                     | plant: "Baldrs brár"                          |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.250.03                    | sand                                          |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.255.04                    | sand                                          |
| hvítr | Heims. III.337.22               | scar                                          |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.321/<br>Skáld.037.20      | sea (personified as Rán)                      |
| hvítr | ÍF X.181.16                     |                                               |
| hvítr | H.&H. 151.19                    | sheep, turned that color by a river           |
| hvítr | Edd.Akv.241.13                  | shield                                        |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.305/<br>ÍF III.198.02     | shield                                        |
| hvítr | ÍF V.233.21                     |                                               |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.258/<br>Heims. II.367.05  | shield: king's                                |
| hvítr | Edd.Hlr.221.04                  | shields                                       |
| hvítr | Edd.Hm.272.05                   | shields                                       |
| hvítr | Edd.Hunn.303.10                 | shields                                       |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.025/<br>Heims. I.116.6    | shields                                       |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.230/<br>Heims. II.064.004 | shields                                       |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.317/<br>Skáld.070.08      | shields                                       |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.334/<br>Heims. III.008.06 | shields                                       |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.372/<br>Heims. III.149.20 | shields                                       |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.227.13                    | shields: apparently signaling peaceful intent |

|       |                              |                                                        |
|-------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| hvítr | Heims. II.60.4               | shields: those of St Olaf's army                       |
| hvítr | Heims. II.212.15             | ship                                                   |
| hvítr | Heims. II.290.21             | ship: stripes on a sail                                |
| hvítr | ÍF X.182.21                  |                                                        |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.479/<br>Skáld.062.03   | silver                                                 |
| hvítr | H.&H. 159.17                 | silver                                                 |
| hvítr | Heims. I.222.1               | silver                                                 |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.120.24                 | silver                                                 |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.127.16                 | silver                                                 |
| hvítr | Skáld. 61.12                 |                                                        |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.206.21                 | skin: cat's                                            |
| hvítr | ÍF IV.207.03                 | skin: cat's                                            |
| hvítr | Heims. I.90.12               | snow (compared to the color of a tree seen in a dream) |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.102.17               | snow; "hvítastr"                                       |
| hvítr | Edd.Gör.III.232.11           | stone                                                  |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.208/<br>ÍF III.291.12  | sword                                                  |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.287/<br>ÍF VI.270.07   | sword                                                  |
| hvítr | Heims. I.148.9               | tree: trunk (seen in a dream)                          |
| hvítr | Edd.Rþ.284.18                | wheat                                                  |
| hvítr | Edd.H.Hv.146.15              | woman                                                  |
| hvítr | Edd.Háv.044.09               | woman                                                  |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.306/<br>Skáld.091.28   | woman                                                  |
| hvítr | FJ.A1.085/<br>ÍF VIII.265.01 | woman                                                  |
| hvítr | ÍF III.057.22/24             | woman (with a family trait of "hvíti")                 |
| hvítr | Edd.Sg.216.05                | woman: "hvítari enn inn heiði dagr"                    |
| hvítr | Edd.Rþ.286.02                | woman: approvingly                                     |
| hvítr | ÍF XIII.102.16               | woman: Bárðr's mother                                  |
| hvítr | ÍF VI.048.02                 | ?                                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF VII.054.18                | ?                                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF VIII.171.12               | ?                                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF VIII.182.12               | ?                                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF VIII.198.01               | ?                                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF X.178.07                  |                                                        |
| hvítr | ÍF XII.461.17                | ?                                                      |
| hvítr | ÍF XIV.219.23                | ?                                                      |

### Occurrences of *høss*

|      |                            |              |                |
|------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| høss | FJ.A1.069/<br>Skáld. 66.25 | mail         | allit.         |
| høss | FJ.A1.370/                 | eagle: claws | allit., skoth. |

hóss Heims. III.083.01  
ÍF VII.237.23 ram

### Occurrences of *jarpr*

|       |                   |                            |                 |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| jarpr | Edd.Am.263.12     | (nom.): Erpr Jónakrsson    |                 |
| jarpr | Edd.Dr.223.07     | (nom.): Erpr Atlason       |                 |
| jarpr | Edd.Gðr.II.227.16 | hair                       |                 |
| jarpr | Edd.Hm.271.02     | hair: Erpr                 | allit?          |
| jarpr | Edd.Hm.272.05     | beard                      | contrast: hvítr |
| jarpr | Heims. III.256.16 | hair: that of King Sigurðr | contrast: fagr  |
| jarpr | Heims. III.330.25 | hair: that of King Sigurðr |                 |
| jarpr | ÍF IV.139.10      | hair                       | svartr          |
| jarpr | ÍF V.010.14       | (nom.): Erpr Meldunsson    |                 |
| jarpr | ÍF V.188.04       | hair                       |                 |
| jarpr | ÍF VIII.141.09    | hair: that of Hallfreðr    |                 |
| jarpr | ÍF XI.220.21      | hair: that of Þorkell      | dökkur          |
| jarpr | ÍF XII.070.14     | hair: that of Skarpheðinn  | fölleitr        |
| jarpr | ÍF XII.301.29     | hair                       | föllitaðr       |

### Occurrences of *ljóss*

|       |                                |                     |                       |
|-------|--------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| ljóss | Edd.Akv.244.24                 | rings               |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Am.249.11                  | fire                |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Am.251.21                  | day                 | allit., litr          |
| ljóss | Edd.Am.252.05                  | women(?)            | allit.                |
| ljóss | Edd.H.H.II.157.14              | water               |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.H.H.II.161.13              | day                 |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Háv.031.12                 | woman               |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Rþ.284.10                  | Faðir               | bjartr, hvítr, hreinn |
| ljóss | Edd.Hunn.304.12                | rings               | allit.                |
| ljóss | Edd.Hunn.312.02                | rings               | allit.                |
| ljóss | Edd.Sg.215.25                  | woman               |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Skm.070.06                 | sun                 |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Skm.070.16                 | woman               |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Vkv.117.07                 | woman               | fagr                  |
| ljóss | Edd.Vkv.118.01                 | woman               |                       |
| ljóss | Edd.Vm.046.28                  | mane of a horse     | skin-, skír-,         |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.012/<br>Heims. I.062.003 | skin                |                       |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.048/<br>ÍF II.272.22     | shields             | allit.                |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.080/<br>ÍF VIII.209.11   | eyebrows of a woman |                       |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.081/<br>ÍF VIII.213.01   | woman               | allit.                |

|       |                                 |                                                         |                     |
|-------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| ljóss | FJ.A1.084/<br>ÍF VIII.233.23    | woman: approvingly                                      |                     |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.086/<br>ÍF VIII.267.05    | woman                                                   | allit., skoth.(?)   |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.197/<br>ÍF III.093.17     | sword                                                   | allit.              |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.263/<br>Heims. II.406.07  | hair(?) of St Olaf                                      |                     |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.375/<br>Skáld.060.6       | gold                                                    | allit., skoth.(?)   |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.375/<br>Skáld.101.06      | barley                                                  | allit.              |
| ljóss | FJ.A1.503/<br>Heims. III.306.23 | sword                                                   | allit., skoth.      |
| ljóss | FJ.A2.457/<br>ÍF XIV.099.10     | forehead                                                | aðalh               |
| ljóss | FJ.A2.457/<br>ÍF XIV.105.08     | day                                                     | allit.              |
| ljóss | FJ.A2.461/<br>ÍF XIV.114.10     | metals                                                  | allit.              |
| ljóss | Gylf. 09.26                     | (myth.) Muspell                                         |                     |
| ljóss | Gylf. 10.11                     | (myth.) material associated with Muspell                |                     |
| ljóss | Gylf. 12.9                      | fire: sparks                                            |                     |
| ljóss | Gylf. 13.27                     | day (personified)                                       | fagr                |
| ljóss | Gylf. 13.32                     | light: shiny horsehair                                  |                     |
| ljóss | Gylf. 13.40                     | fire: sparks                                            |                     |
| ljóss | Gylf. 19.35/37                  | (myth.): ljósálfar                                      | fagr                |
| ljóss | Gylf. 23.16                     | (myth.): Baldr                                          | fagr, bjartr, hvítr |
| ljóss | Gylf. 31.5                      | hands of a woman                                        | bjartr              |
| ljóss | Gylf. 47.9                      | gold                                                    |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. I.131.7                  | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. I.189.2                  | light: glimmering off of helmet                         |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. I.312.11                 | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. I.80.18                  | day                                                     | contrast: myrkr     |
| ljóss | Heims. I.91.2                   | hair                                                    | fagr, ljóss         |
| ljóss | Heims. II.04.6                  | face: that of St Olaf                                   | rjóðr               |
| ljóss | Heims. II.123.11                | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.126.02                | sunlight                                                |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.186.2                 | man seen in a dream                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.195.21                | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.232.3                 | night: early                                            |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.260.22                | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.265.3                 | light: a place where it can get through in a black tent |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.279.22                | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.282.9                 | day                                                     |                     |
| ljóss | Heims. II.302.30                | day                                                     |                     |

|       |                      |                           |                 |
|-------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| ljóss | Heims. II.360.12     | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. II.52.28      | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. II.53.3       | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. II.59.10      | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.107.23    | hair: that of King Magnús | ljósleitr       |
| ljóss | Heims. III.153.8     | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.164.23    | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.212.4     | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.273.9     | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.301.19    | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.344.15    | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.387,26/29 | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.388.2/10  | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.407.2     | (nom.): Ása in ljósa      |                 |
| ljóss | Heims. III.43.10     | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.042.02         | pelt                      |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.072.01         | weather                   |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.111.13         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.111.28         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.112.01         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.136.04         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF II.161.07         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF III.234.09        | fire                      | contrast: dimmr |
| ljóss | ÍF IV.140.17         | weather                   |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF IV.166.25         | weather                   |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF IX.039.23         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF IX.102.22         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF IX.136.12         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF IX.247.04         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF IX.292.05         |                           |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF V.054.02          | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF V.054.05          | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF V.189.12          | axe                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI. 098.30        | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.097.16         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.136.08         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.164.15         | room                      |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.267.29         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.268.06         | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.298.26         | room                      | contrast: dimmr |
| ljóss | ÍF VI.329.28         | room                      | contrast: dimmr |
| ljóss | ÍF VII.056.04        | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VII.070.03        | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VII.115.12        | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VII.148.13        | day                       |                 |
| ljóss | ÍF VII.213.03        | day                       |                 |

|       |                |                                      |                  |
|-------|----------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| ljóss | ÍF VII.263.21  | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF VIII.152.23 | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF VIII.181.18 |                                      |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF VIII.184.09 |                                      |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF VIII.206.03 | man: Qgmundr                         |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF X.179.20    | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.111.06   | hair: lock thereof in ljósjarpr hair |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.224.25   |                                      |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.243.27   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.244.07   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.244.24   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.266.27   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.270.33   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.271.06   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.274.30   | clothing                             | hvítr            |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.276.29   | light                                |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.280.31   | moonlight                            |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.281.04   | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.286.33   | hair: approvingly                    |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XI.295.07   | room                                 | contrast: skuggi |
| ljóss | ÍF XII.197.07  | man seen in a dream                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XII.336.03  |                                      |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.183.11 | moonlight                            | eldr, blár       |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.188.05 | fire: dragonbreath, and gold         |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.197.18 | horses                               |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.352.01 | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.379.18 | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.450.08 |                                      |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIII.455.09 | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.030.12  | fire                                 |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.031.08  | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.048.28  | moonlight                            |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.137.08  | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.140.09  | night(!)                             |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.369.17  | day                                  |                  |
| ljóss | ÍF XIV.371.23  | fire                                 |                  |
| ljóss | Skáld. 01.7    | sword                                | bjartr           |
| ljóss | Skáld. 126.11  | fish allit.                          | bjartr           |
| ljóss | Skáld. 133.34  | sun (personified)                    | fagr             |
| ljóss | Skáld. 40.39   | gold                                 | bjartr           |
| ljóss | Skáld. 42.30   | boar: bristles                       | contrast: myrkr  |
| ljóss | Skáld. 85.17   | sky                                  |                  |

**Occurrences of *mó-***

brún- ÍF XI.100.15 horse (Freyfaxi)

|                       |                              |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| móál-<br>ótttr        |                              |                       |                       |
| móál-<br>ótttr        | ÍF VII.099.04                | horse                 |                       |
| mó-<br>brúnn          | ÍF IV.034.26                 | kirtle                |                       |
| mó-<br>koll-<br>ótttr | ÍF VII.200.06                | sheep                 |                       |
| mó-<br>koll-<br>ótttr | ÍF VII.200.11                | (nom. – of a ewe)     |                       |
| mó-<br>rauðr          | FJ.A1.082/<br>ÍF VIII.214.08 | sheep                 | allit, aðalh.         |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF X.173.02                  | pelt                  |                       |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XI.243.32                 | pelt                  |                       |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XII.059.14                | kirtle: pauper's      | contrast: rauðr, góðr |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XII.295.17                | cloak: disapprovingly |                       |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XII.368.05                | pelt                  |                       |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XIII.035.02               | pelt                  |                       |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XIII.277.03               | pelt                  |                       |
| mó-<br>rendr          | ÍF XIV.315.05                | pelt                  |                       |
| mó-<br>skjóttr        | ÍF XIII.054.19               | horses                |                       |

### Occurrences of *myrkr*

|       |                            |                   |        |
|-------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------|
| myrkr | Edd.Akv.247.10             | (top.): Myrkheimr |        |
| myrkr | Edd.Rþ.285.16              | wood              | allit. |
| myrkr | Edd.Hunn.307.27            | (top.): Myrkheiðr |        |
| myrkr | Edd.Ls.105.01              | (top.): Myrkviðr  |        |
| myrkr | Edd.Od.237.27              | wood              | allit. |
| myrkr | Edd.Skm.071.12             | night             |        |
| myrkr | Edd.Vkv.117.02             | wood              |        |
| myrkr | Edd.Vkv.117.14             | wood              |        |
| myrkr | FJ.A1.019/<br>Skáld.023.18 | rock              | allit. |
| myrkr | FJ.A1.099/                 | earth             | grónn  |

|       |                               |                        |                         |
|-------|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
|       | Skáld.086.23                  |                        |                         |
| myrkr | FJ.A1.129/<br>Heims. I.256.16 | land                   | allit., skoth.          |
| myrkr | FJ.A1.319/<br>Skáld.071.11    | spear                  | allit., skoth.          |
| myrkr | FJ.A1.384/<br>Skáld.088.04    | snake                  | allit., skoth.          |
| myrkr | Gylf. 37.33                   | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. I.226.1                | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. I.67.18                | (top.): Myrkvafjörðr   |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. I.80.14                | night                  | contrast: ljóss         |
| myrkr | Heims. II.150.11              | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. II.237.18              | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. II.239.19              | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. II.378.26              | sky; “dark as night”   | rauðr; contrast: bjartr |
| myrkr | Heims. II.382.12              | sky                    | contrast: heiðr, bjartr |
| myrkr | Heims. II.394.21              | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. II.397.30              | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. II.398.8               | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. III.125.19             | interior of a building |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. III.192.14             | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. III.273.17             | room                   |                         |
| myrkr | Heims. III.409.6              | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF II.047.27                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF II.102.30                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF II.110.09                  | room                   |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF II.115.26                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF II.138.25                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF II.177.16                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF III.312.02                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF IV.109.24                  | weather                |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF IX.139.05                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF IX.223.07/08               | cave                   |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF IX.249.22                  | weather                |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VI.086.06                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VI.129.01                  | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VI.254.25                  | fog                    |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.027.05                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.027.19                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.057.33                 | underground            |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.066.08                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.069.10                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.096.06                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.111.18                 | weather                | váandr                  |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.123.02                 | night                  |                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.163.17                 | night                  |                         |

|       |                   |                                              |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| myrkr | ÍF VII.273.24     | room: dungeon                                |
| myrkr | ÍF VII.314.14/26  | room                                         |
| myrkr | ÍF VIII.152.23    | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF X.051.29       | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF XI.167.04      |                                              |
| myrkr | ÍF XI.203.09      | snowdrift                                    |
| myrkr | ÍF XI.276.12      | room                                         |
| myrkr | ÍF XI.277.22      | room                                         |
| myrkr | ÍF XII.300.13     | (nom.): Ásbjörn myrkárskalli Hrossbjarnarson |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.126.13    | weather                                      |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.288.16    | room                                         |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.302.07/22 | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.333.22    | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.334.25    | room: dungeon                                |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.387.03    | room: dungeon                                |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.387.05    | room: dungeon                                |
| myrkr | ÍF XIII.403.13    | (top.): Myrká                                |
| myrkr | ÍF XIV.006.12     | cow                                          |
| myrkr | ÍF XIV.051.19     | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF XIV.136.25     | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF XIV.271.21     | night                                        |
| myrkr | ÍF XIV.358.09     | night                                        |
| myrkr | Skáld. 42.29      | contrast: ljóss, (gold?)                     |

### Occurrences of *rauðr*

|       |                   |                                            |
|-------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| rauðr | Edd.Akv.240.15    | helmet                                     |
| rauðr | Edd.Akv.241.17    | ring: golden                               |
| rauðr | Edd.Akv.246.22    | ring: golden allit.                        |
| rauðr | Edd.Fm.180.14     | blood: weapons colored by                  |
| rauðr | Edd.Fm.185.13     | blood: weapons colored by                  |
| rauðr | Edd.Fm.187.20     | ring: golden                               |
| rauðr | Edd.Gðr.II.226.17 | shields allit.                             |
| rauðr | Edd.Gðr.II.227.14 | cloak                                      |
| rauðr | Edd.Gðr.II.228.15 | ring: golden                               |
| rauðr | Edd.Gðr.II.230.24 | blood allit.                               |
| rauðr | Edd.Ghv.264.21    | blood: clothing colored by                 |
| rauðr | Edd.Grp.172.02    | blood: weapons colored by                  |
| rauðr | Edd.Grt.299.19    | blood: weapons colored by                  |
| rauðr | Edd.Grt.300.14    | ring: golden allit.                        |
| rauðr | Edd.H.H.135.09    | shields                                    |
| rauðr | Edd.H.H.139.08    | ring: golden                               |
| rauðr | Edd.H.H.II.156.02 | war-glow; a meteor or other portent of war |
| rauðr | Edd.H.H.II.158.03 | ring: golden                               |
| rauðr | Edd.H.H.II.160.26 | blood                                      |
| rauðr | Edd.Hdl.289.23    | blood                                      |

|       |                                |                                         |                |       |
|-------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------|-------|
| rauðr | Edd.Hdl.290.10                 | (nom.): Svanr inn rauði                 |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Hlr.221.04                 | shields                                 | contrast:      | hvítr |
| rauðr | Edd.Hm.270.02                  | blood: clothing colored by (alt. lines) |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Rþ.283.06                  | hair: Karl's                            | allit.         | rjóðr |
| rauðr | Edd.Rþ.285.20                  | blood: earth colored by                 |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Hrbl.084.21                | blood: weapons colored by               |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Od.236.07                  | gold                                    |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Od.237.11                  | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Od.238.03                  | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Rm.173.18                  | gold                                    |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Rm.175.14                  | gold                                    |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Rm.177.10                  | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Sg.213.21                  | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Þrk.115.11                 | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Vkv.117.22                 | gold                                    |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Vkv.120.12                 | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Vkv.120.20                 | ring: golden                            |                |       |
| rauðr | Edd.Vsp.009.15                 | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.008/<br>Heims. I.032.006 | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.010/<br>Heims. I.042.008 | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.011/<br>Heims. I.050.014 | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.011/<br>Heims. I.053.004 | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.023/<br>Heims. I.103.17  | shields                                 | allit.         |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.023/<br>Heims. I.106.1   | blood                                   | skoth.         | litr  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.037/<br>ÍF II.188.13     | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.049/<br>ÍF II.109.09     | blood                                   | allit.         |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.054/<br>ÍF II.170.21     | blood                                   |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.056/<br>ÍF II.204.10     | blood                                   | allit., aðalh. |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.062/<br>Heims. I.161.6   | blood                                   | allit., aðalh. |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.065/<br>Heims. I.188.19  | blood                                   | allit.         |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.066/<br>Heims. I.194.9   | (nominalized) allit.                    |                |       |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.076/<br>Heims. I.156.5   | blood                                   |                |       |

|       |                               |                        |                |
|-------|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| rauðr | FJ.A1.076/<br>Heims. I.217.18 | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.077/<br>Heims. I.238.23 | blood                  | aðalh.         |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.078/<br>Heims. I.199.3  | blood                  | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.078/<br>Heims. I.199.3  | blood                  | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.082/<br>ÍF VIII.217.07  | eyes: exposed to smoke |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.286.10  | blood                  | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.286.10  | blood                  | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.288.16  | blood                  | skoth.         |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.289.15  | rust                   | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.091/<br>ÍF VIII.301.04  | blood                  | skoth.         |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.094/<br>ÍF VIII.261.23  | blood                  | skoth.         |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.095/<br>ÍF VIII.249.16  | moss                   |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.095/<br>ÍF VIII.262.08  | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.112/<br>ÍF IV.041.18    | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.114/<br>ÍF IV.047.09    | shields                | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.123/<br>Heims. I.209.3  | shields                | allit.         |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.126/<br>Heims. I.242.7  | shields                | allit.         |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.142/<br>ÍF IX.174.13    | blood                  | allit., skoth. |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.157/<br>Heims. I.253.23 | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.162/<br>Heims. I.366.23 | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.179/<br>ÍF IV.116.23    | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.195/<br>ÍF III.072.14   | blood                  |                |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.195/<br>ÍF III.074.02   | gold                   | aðalh.         |

|       |                                 |           |                |                  |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------|----------------|------------------|
| rauðr | FJ.A1.198/<br>ÍF III.088.14     | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.202/<br>Heims. I.352.12   | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.204/<br>Heims. I.370.15   | blood     | skoth.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.207/<br>ÍF III.278.04     | blood     | aðalh.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.209/<br>ÍF III.300.22     | blood     | skoth.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.210/<br>ÍF III.319.16     | shield    | allit., aðalh. |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.210/<br>ÍF III.320.09     | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.217/<br>ÍF III.148.17     | ash & rye | skoth.(?)      |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.222/<br>Heims. II.382.09  | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.223/<br>Heims. II.007.14  | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.225/<br>Heims. II.021.006 | blood     | aðalh.         | brúnn            |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.227/<br>Heims. II.024.002 | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.227/<br>Heims. II.026.003 | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.228/<br>Heims. II.060.019 | blood     | allit.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.230/<br>Heims. II.063.013 | blood     | allit.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.230/<br>Heims. II.064.003 | blood     | aðalh.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.232/<br>Heims. II.069.007 | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.244/<br>Heims. II.314.014 | blood     |                | contrast: bleikr |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.244/<br>Heims. II.315.003 | blood     |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.257/<br>Heims. II.268.02  | gold      | aðalh.         |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.257/<br>Heims. II.329.07  | gold      |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.258/<br>Heims. II.367.005 | shields   |                |                  |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.260/<br>Heims. II.381.03  | blood     |                |                  |

|       |                                                             |               |                |                                    |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| rauðr | FJ.A1.261/<br>Heims. II.381.10                              | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.264/<br>Heims. III.021.15                             | gold          | aðalh.         |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.267/<br>Heims. II.092.18                              | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.278/<br>ÍF VI.152.05                                  | blood         | allit., skoth. |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.279/<br>ÍF VI.181.06                                  | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.287/<br>ÍF VI.271.09                                  | shield        | allit., skoth. |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.288/<br>ÍF VI.276.15/<br>275.03/<br>Heims. II.391.012 | face: healthy | allit., skoth. | fagr, rjóðr contrast: fqlr, bleikr |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.291/<br>Heims. II.006.14                              | blood         | skoth.         |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.292/<br>Heims. II.019.04                              | blood         | skoth.         |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.295/<br>Heims. II.106.10                              | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.303/<br>ÍF III.167.04                                 | blood         | aðalh.         |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.304/<br>ÍF III.178.17                                 | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.306/<br>Heims. I.358.11                               | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.314/<br>Heims. II.332.10                              | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.318/<br>Heims. II.311.015                             | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.333/<br>Heims. III.008.01                             | shields       | allit., skoth. | contrast: hvítr                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.334/<br>Heims. III.008.07                             | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.334/<br>Heims. III.008.18                             | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.335/<br>Heims. III.034.07                             | gold          | aðalh.         |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.338/<br>Heims. III.003.09                             | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.338/<br>Heims. III.004.04                             | blood         |                |                                    |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.340/<br>Heims. III.046.18                             | blood         | skoth.         |                                    |

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|-------|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|------|
| rauðr | FJ.A1.343/<br>Heims. III.063.01 | blood              |                | litr |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.349/<br>Heims. III.133.26 | blood              | allit., skoth. |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.352/<br>Heims. III.191.11 | golden spearpoints |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.359/<br>Heims. III.124.18 | blood              | allit., skoth. |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.361/<br>Heims. III.011.21 | blood              | aðalh.         |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.365/<br>Heims. III.053.02 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.366/<br>Heims. III.057.14 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.368/<br>Heims. III.065.03 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.370/<br>Heims. III.083.01 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.377/<br>Heims. III.055.22 | blood              | aðalh.         |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.378/<br>Heims. III.060.11 | fire               | skoth.         |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.397/<br>Heims. III.113.15 | shields            | allit.         |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.397/<br>Heims. III.113.22 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.398/<br>Heims. III.116.05 | blood              | allit., skoth. |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.408/<br>Heims. III.149.12 | blood              | aðalh.         |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.414/<br>Heims. III.196.10 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.428/<br>ÍF III.104.19     | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.435/<br>Heims. III.217.15 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.436/<br>Heims. III.219.22 | blood              | allit., aðalh. |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.436/<br>Heims. III.220.03 | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.455/<br>Heims. III.322.5  | blood              |                |      |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.456/<br>Heims. III.251.14 | sword              |                | fagr |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.456/<br>Heims. III.296.19 | blood              | skoth.         | litr |
|       |                                 | .                  |                |      |

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|-------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| rauðr | FJ.A1.457/<br>Heims. III.296.23 | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.458/<br>Heims. III.331.02 | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.474/<br>Heims. III.329.04 | blood                                                   | aðalh.              |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.474/<br>Heims. III.329.17 | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.477/<br>Heims. III.359.02 | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.477/<br>Heims. III.359.07 | arrow                                                   | skoth.              |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.487/<br>Heims. III.244.08 | blood                                                   | aðalh.              |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.488/<br>Heims. III.247.08 | blood: weapons colored by                               |                     |
| rauðr | FJ.A1.503/<br>Heims. III.306.24 | blood: weapons colored by                               |                     |
| rauðr | FJ.A2.206/<br>ÍF IX.169.14      | ?                                                       | allit.              |
| rauðr | Heims. II.364.24                | blood: weapons colored by                               |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. III.177.13               | shields                                                 |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. III.378.1                | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.122.7                  | (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr                                 |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.148.7                  | blood (compared to the color of a tree seen in a dream) |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.168.4                  | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.181.22                 | blood: weapons colored by                               |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.185.10                 | gold: helmet “reddened” thereby                         |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.32.3                   | blood                                                   |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.324.15                 | (nom.): Rauðr inn rammi                                 | goldbúinn           |
| rauðr | Heims. I.344.18                 | (nom.): Úlfr rauði                                      |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. I.356.21                 | hair(?) of Úlfr rauði                                   | ragr                |
| rauðr | Heims. I.357.7                  | helmet: golden, king’s                                  | gold-               |
| rauðr | Heims. I.357.8                  | kirtle: king’s                                          | gold-               |
| rauðr | Heims. I.90.10                  | blood                                                   | fagrgrónn, hvítr    |
| rauðr | Heims. II.099.030               | face, of a woman: blushing(?), angry(?)                 |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. II.152.28                | gold                                                    | contrasted to clay  |
| rauðr | Heims. II.159.13                | (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr                                 |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. II.177.29                | blood: altars colored by                                |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. II.205.3                 | face: emotional                                         | rauðr sem blóð      |
| rauðr | Heims. II.212.15                | ship                                                    | hlýrbirtr, hvítr    |
| rauðr | Heims. II.212.23                | blood: clothing colored by                              |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. II.236.20                | (nom.): Gautr inn rauði                                 |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. II.261.31                | kirtle                                                  |                     |
| rauðr | Heims. II.273.18                | ship: stripes on a sail                                 | gold-, blár, grónn  |
| rauðr | Heims. II.290.21                | ship: stripes on a sail                                 | gylltr, hvítr, blár |

|       |                      |                                           |                         |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| rauðr | Heims. II.298.9      | (nom.): Rauðr                             |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. II.378.25     | sky                                       | myrkr; contrast: bjatr  |
| rauðr | Heims. II.387.9      | face: St Olaf's in death                  | fagr, bjatr             |
| rauðr | Heims. II.393.6      | heart fibers                              | hvítr                   |
| rauðr | Heims. II.404.10     | face: healthy, or St Olaf's in death      |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. II.44.30      | blood                                     |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. II.444.28     | face: angry, "rauðr sem dreyri"           |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. II.60.5       | painted crosses                           |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.100.26    | gold                                      |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.227.25    | jacket: king's                            |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.235.13    | shields                                   |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.235.16    | jacket: king's                            |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.235.19    | jacket                                    |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.24.29     | face: angry, "rauðr sem dreyri"           |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.318.7     | shields                                   |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.325.5     | (nom.): Auðun rauði                       |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.338.19/29 | helmet: golden                            |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.340.23    | shield: golden: king's                    |                         |
| rauðr | Heims. III.388.23    | cape: jarl's                              | brúnaðr/rauðbrúnaðr     |
| rauðr | Heims. III.414.13    | shields                                   | contrast: gylltr        |
| rauðr | Heims. III.43.20     | shirt: silken, king's                     |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.029.06         | face: angry                               |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.041.24         | ship: stripes on a sail                   | blár                    |
| rauðr | ÍF II.057.01         | (nom.): Sighvatr rauði                    |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.078.15         | iron: heated                              |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.098.09         | (top.): Rauðsgil                          |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.129.04         | (nom.): Óláfr rauði                       |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.243.30         | kirtle: Egill's                           |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF II.273.09         | (nom.): Rauða-Björn                       |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.023.04        | face: of an injured man, "rauðr sem blóð" |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.061.17        | (top.): Rauðamelr                         |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.065.08        | horses                                    |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.070.01        | face: angry, "rauðr sem blóð"             |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.187.01        | horses                                    | contrast: hvítr, svartr |
| rauðr | ÍF III.197.12        | beard                                     |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.236.27        | blood: cheeks reddened by                 |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.247.04        | face: angry, "rauðr sem blóð"             |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.313.01        | blood: weapons colored by                 |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.324.09        | (nom.): Illugi inn rauði Hrólfs-son       |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF III.334.14        | jacket: one of two colors                 | contrast: brúnn, grár   |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.012.23         | (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr Ólafsson          |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.026.22         | beard: that of Snorri                     | ljóss, bleikr, rauðr    |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.059.11         | (nom.): Eiríkr rauði Þorvaldsson          |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.099.11         | (top.): Rauðavíkrhöfði                    |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.120.21         | kirtle                                    |                         |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.195.10         | (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr                   |                         |

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|-------|--------------|----------------------------------------------|
| rauðr | ÍF IV.224.19 | beard: Þórr's                                |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.228.09 | cloth                                        |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.228.13 | cloth                                        |
| rauðr | ÍF IV.228.25 | shields contrast: hvítr                      |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.037.09 | (nom.): Arnórr rauðkinnr Steinólfsson        |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.051.11 | (top.): Rauðahjalli                          |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.086.03 | blood                                        |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.086.07 | blood: weapons colored by                    |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.087.09 | blood: weapons colored by                    |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.136.15 | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.151.01 | (nom.): Karl inn rauði Þorsteinsson          |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.153.10 | (nom.): Ásgeirr rauðfeldr Herjólfsson        |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.184.20 | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.204.07 | (nom.): Rauðr                                |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.219.04 | blood: weapons colored by                    |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.243.09 | blood(?)                                     |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.263.08 | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.271.27 |                                              |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.275.05 |                                              |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.288.18 | (nom.)                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF IX.290.04 | (nom.)                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF V.021.03  | (nom.): Þórólfr rauðnefr                     |
| rauðr | ÍF V.055.14  | helmet: golden                               |
| rauðr | ÍF V.055.16  | shields                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF V.057.29  | face: angry                                  |
| rauðr | ÍF V.064.19  | helmet: golden                               |
| rauðr | ÍF V.079.14  | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF V.103.10  | face: angry                                  |
| rauðr | ÍF V.118.07  | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF V.134.31  | helmet: golden                               |
| rauðr | ÍF V.134.31  | shields                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF V.135.13  | horses: ears thereof                         |
| rauðr | ÍF V.139.19  | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF V.145.18  | face: angry                                  |
| rauðr | ÍF V.168.08  | shields                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF V.187.12  | kirtle                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF V.189.04  | hair                                         |
| rauðr | ÍF V.194.21  |                                              |
| rauðr | ÍF V.195.21  | face: angry                                  |
| rauðr | ÍF V.225.11  | cape                                         |
| rauðr | ÍF V.225.13  | shields                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.006.11 | (nom.)                                       |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.016.06 | (nom.): Ánn rauðfeldr                        |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.040.04 | face: changing color in response to emotions |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.076.06 | blood/gore                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.103.08 |                                              |

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|-------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| rauðr | ÍF VI.105.16   |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.110.05   | blood/gore                                           |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.127.29   | face: angry                                          |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.147.04   |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.153.15   | horse                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.154.08   | horse                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.209.05   | face: changing color in response to emotions         |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.266.20   | kirtle                                               |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.276.11   | heart fibers                      hvítr, gulr, grónn |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.298.02   | face: changing color in response to emotions         |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.336.12   | (top.): Rauðasandr/Ingjaldssandr                     |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.352.17   |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VI.372.10   | kirtle                                               |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.027.27  |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.036.22  | hair: Grettir's                      fríðr           |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.086.15  | (top.): Rauðahaf                                     |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.091.09  | (nom.): Atli inn rauði Úlfsson                       |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.096.29  | kirtle                                               |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.180.09  | (nom.): Þórir rauðskeggr                             |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.250.01  | blood                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.265.24  |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VII.373.21  | horse                      litr                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.013.29 | face: angry                                          |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.068.21 | clothing (bloody?)                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.111.03 | horse: seen in a dream                               |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.111.04 | fire: seen in a dream                                |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.111.07 | horse: seen in a dream: bloody                       |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.171.22 | beard                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.175.15 |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.288.07 | blood: earth colored by                              |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.310.15 | blood                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF VIII.313.08 |                                                      |
| rauðr | ÍF X.014.07/09 | blood                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF X.079.01    | kirtle                                               |
| rauðr | ÍF X.085.21    | ox                                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF X.113.06    | (top.): Rauðalókr                                    |
| rauðr | ÍF X.121.19    | oxen                                                 |
| rauðr | ÍF X.153.01    | (top.): Rauðaskrið(a/ur)                             |
| rauðr | ÍF X.177.05    | oxen                                                 |
| rauðr | ÍF X.221.17    | horse                                                |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.023.11   | (nom.): Refr inn rauði Þorsteinsson                  |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.048.22   | ox                                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.048.24   | ox                                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.048.25   | ox                                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.048.28   | ox                                                   |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.049.02   | ox                                                   |

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|-------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| rauðr | ÍF XI.049.05   | ox                                                             |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.051.17   | clothing “roði svá mikill”                                     |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.069.03   | rauðavíkingr                                                   |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.141.02   | (nom.): Egill inn rauði Guttormsson                            |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.175.08   |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.189.01   | cloak                                                          |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.225.15   | face: changing color in response to emotions                   |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.227.10   | kirtle                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XI.256.17   | horse (Heiðarauðr)                                             |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.044.03  | kirtle                                                         | blár, silfr            |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.053.10  | cheeks: approvingly                                            | ljóslitaðr, blár, gulr |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.064.20  | clothing: wealthy man’s                                        | contrast: mórendr      |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.085.20  | kirtle                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.114.15  | face: changing color in response to emotions                   |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.115.22  | clothing: litklæði                                             | litr                   |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.146.07  | (nom.): Hróaldr inn rauði                                      |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.147.16  | horses                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.150.17  | kirtle                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.187.02  | kirtle                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.228.27  | bag                                                            | contrast: grár         |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.231.16  | kirtle                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.231.20  | shields                                                        |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.292.02  | face: changing color in response to emotions; “rauðr sem blóð” |                        |
|       | fölr, blár     |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.292.08  | (nom.): Geirfinnr inn rauði Sölvason                           |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.309.22  | (nom.): Halli inn rauði                                        |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.347.03  | (nom.): Grímr inn rauði                                        |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.351.25  | kirtle                                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.352.01  | socks                                                          |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.361.06  | face: changing color in response to emotions; “rauðr sem blóð” |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.409.15  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.448.21  | (nom.): Hrafn inn rauði                                        |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.454.17  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.457.28  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.466.07  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.467.11  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.468.11  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.471.05  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.474.06  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XII.474.14  |                                                                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.105.22 | (nom.): Rauðfeldr inn sterki Svaðason                          |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.126.09 | beard                                                          |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.163.10 | (nom.): Rauðgrani                                              |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.175.06 | (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr Óleifsson (= Óláfsson?)                |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.177.08 | (nom.): Rauðr Hallsson                                         |                        |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.184.12 | kirtle                                                         |                        |

|       |                   |                                                                |                |
|-------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.205.09    | golden table                                                   | silfr          |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.239.01    | (top.): Rauðá                                                  |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.270.12/27 | clothing: wealthy man's                                        |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.275.05/18 | beard                                                          |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.292.13    |                                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.300.16/31 | kirtle                                                         |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.301.07    | (nom.): Þorsteinn rauði Oddsson                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.336.21    | thread                                                         | contrast: gold |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.342.08    | blood                                                          |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.352.09    | clothing                                                       |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.352.22    | clothing                                                       |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.357.08    | face: changing color in response to emotions                   |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.454.10    |                                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIII.454.20    |                                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.029.04     | (nom.)                                                         |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.029.29     | kirtle: woman's                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.043.15     | shields                                                        |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.108.05     | face: changing color in response to emotions; "rauðr sem blóð" |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.130.21     |                                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.134.22     | cheeks(?)                                                      |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.168.09     |                                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.176.25     | kirtle                                                         |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.192.04     | shields                                                        |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.195.16     | shields                                                        |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.213.13     |                                                                |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.231.14     | blood                                                          |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.261.08     | face: changing color in response to emotions                   |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.276.10     | kirtle                                                         |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.282.10     | face: changing color in response to emotions; "rauðr sem blóð" |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.316.01     | (nom.)                                                         |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.347.29     | face: changing color in response to emotions                   |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.350.19     | blood                                                          |                |
| rauðr | ÍF XIV.370.20     | blood                                                          |                |

### Occurrences of *rauðr* in compounds

|         |                   |                            |                |
|---------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| all-    | FJ.A1.199/        | blood                      | allit., aðalh. |
| rauðr   | ÍF III.237.08     |                            |                |
| all-    | ÍF V.127.27       | face: angry or embarrassed |                |
| rauðr   |                   |                            |                |
| alrauðr | ÍF X.222.04       | horses                     |                |
| barð-   | FJ.A1.219/        | blood                      | allit., aðalh. |
| rauðr   | ÍF III.193.12     |                            |                |
| blóð-   | Heims. I.297.21   | gold                       |                |
| rauðr   |                   |                            |                |
| dreyr-  | Heims. III.132.05 | face: angry                |                |

|                 |                                 |                          |                |                                     |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| rauðr           |                                 |                          |                |                                     |
| dreyr-<br>rauðr | ÍF II.064.16                    | face: angry              |                |                                     |
| dreyr-<br>rauðr | ÍF V.091.02                     | face: angry              |                |                                     |
| dreyr-<br>rauðr | ÍF XII.039.20                   | face: angry              |                |                                     |
| fagr-<br>rauðr  | Edd.Vsp.010.06                  | rooster                  |                | contrast: sótrauðr                  |
| glóð-<br>rauðr  | Edd.Am.250.01                   | gold                     | allit.         |                                     |
| glóð-<br>rauðr  | Edd.Fm.182.03                   | gold                     |                |                                     |
| glóð-<br>rauðr  | Edd.Fm.184.03                   | gold                     |                |                                     |
| glóð-<br>rauðr  | Edd.Gðr.II.224.09               | gold                     |                | contrast: grár                      |
| heiða-<br>rauðr | ÍF XI.256.17                    | (nom. – of a horse)      |                |                                     |
| mó-<br>rauðr    | FJ.A1.082/<br>ÍF VIII.214.08    | sheep                    |                | allit., aðalh.                      |
| rauð-<br>bleikr | ÍF IV.021.05                    | hair                     |                |                                     |
| rauð-<br>brúnn  | ÍF V.194.16                     | kirtle                   |                |                                     |
| rauð-<br>brúnn  | H.&H. 181.18                    | blood: one of the humors |                | contrast: rauðr, svartr, vatns litr |
| rauð-<br>leitr  | ÍF V.189.20                     | man                      |                |                                     |
| rauð-<br>litaðr | ÍF XI.111.04                    | man: approvingly         |                | réttleitr, ljósjarpr                |
| rauð-<br>litaðr | ÍF XI.237.03                    | man: Helgi               |                | ljósjarpr                           |
| rauð-<br>ljóss  | FJ.A1.317/<br>Skáld.070.07      | shields                  | allit.         | hvítr                               |
| sót-<br>rauðr   | Edd.Vsp.010.10                  | rooster                  |                | contrast: fagrrauðr                 |
| tand-<br>rauðr  | FJ.A1.369/<br>Heims. III.075.04 | gold                     | allit., aðalh. |                                     |
| val-<br>rauðr   | Edd.Akv.240.18                  | shirt                    |                |                                     |

### Occurrences of *rjóðr*

|       |               |                 |                |                                        |
|-------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------------------------|
| rjóðr | Edd.Rp.283.06 | Karl (Rigsþula) |                | rauðr, allit.                          |
| rjóðr | FJ.A1.084/    | woman           | allit., skoth. | contrast to rauðr (which also skoth.?) |

|       |                                                                           |                              |                                  |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| rjóðr | ÍF VIII.230.15<br>FJ.A1.288/<br>ÍF VI.276.15/275.03/<br>Heims. II.391.012 | face: healthy allit., skoth. | fagr rauðr contrast: fólr bleikr |
| rjóðr | Heims. II.04.6                                                            | face: that of St Olaf        | ljóss                            |

### Occurrences of *svartr*

|        |                                 |                        |                                 |
|--------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| svartr | Edd.Ghv.264.10                  | horses                 | contrast: hvítr, grár           |
| svartr | Edd.Hdl.293.20                  | (nom.): Svarthofði     |                                 |
| svartr | Edd.Hm.269.10                   | horses                 | contrast: hvítr, grár           |
| svartr | Edd.Rþ.281.08                   | clothing: poor man's   |                                 |
| svartr | Edd.Od.234.15                   | saddle allit.          |                                 |
| svartr | Edd.Vm.054.23                   | fire: dwindling        |                                 |
| svartr | Edd.Vsp.010.01                  | sunshine (at Ragnarøk) |                                 |
| svartr | Edd.Vsp.013.15                  | sunshine (at Ragnarøk) |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.055/<br>ÍF II.194.14      | brows allit.           |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.081/<br>ÍF VIII.211.11    | eyes: Korm. allit.     |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.089/<br>ÍF VIII.288.20    | Kormákr allit.         |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.195/<br>ÍF III.069.17     | man aðalh.             |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.197/<br>ÍF III.096.12     | eyes allit.            |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.219/<br>ÍF III.204.11     | ravens aðalh.          |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.231/<br>Heims. II.064.018 | ship allit.            |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.231/<br>Heims. II.065.002 | raven aðalh.           |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.238/<br>Heims. II.140.13  | eyes                   | contrast: gold-, bjartr; aðalh. |
| svartr | FJ.A1.266/<br>Heims. II.062.12  | hair allit.            |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.270/<br>Heims. II.295.03  | hell                   |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.282/<br>ÍF VI.235.04      | hair: Þorgrímr aðalh.  |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.283/<br>ÍF VI.235.16      | hair: Þormóðr aðalh.   |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.283/<br>ÍF VI.237.02      | man: Þorgeirr aðalh.   |                                 |
| svartr | FJ.A1.381/<br>Heims. III.143.01 | tar allit., skoth.     |                                 |

|         |                                 |                                                   |                |                                        |
|---------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------|
| svarttr | FJ.A1.385/<br>Heims. III.071.01 | ship                                              | allit., skoth. | fagr(?)                                |
| svarttr | FJ.A1.455/<br>Heims. III.240.19 | raven                                             | allit., skoth. |                                        |
| svarttr | FJ.A2.455/<br>ÍF XIV.084.10     | cloud                                             |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Gylf. 13.23                     | night (personified)                               |                | døkktr                                 |
| svarttr | Gylf. 19.38                     | ink                                               |                | døkktr                                 |
| svarttr | Gylf. 28.19                     | (top.): Ámsvartnir                                |                | ámr                                    |
| svarttr | H.&H. 150.14                    | rivers                                            |                | contrast: skír                         |
| svarttr | H.&H. 151.19                    | sheep, supernatural                               |                | contrast: hvítr                        |
| svarttr | H.&H. 154.24                    | man: Albanians as they age                        |                |                                        |
| svarttr | H.&H. 166.20                    | man; supernatural child                           |                | contrast: hvítr                        |
| svarttr | H.&H. 181.19                    | blood, melancholy (humor)                         |                | contrast: rauðr, rauðbrúnn, vatns litr |
| svarttr | H.&H. 182.35                    | footsteps of Adam and Eve                         |                | svaðlauss (ungrown with plantlife)     |
| svarttr | H.&H. 183.26                    | appletree in Paradise, after sins of Adam and Eve |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Hauksbók 038.11                 | child: unwanted                                   |                | contrasted with more coveted hvítr     |
| svarttr | Heims. I.09.10                  | (top.): Svartahaf                                 |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. I.114.13                 | (nom.): Hálfðan svartí                            |                | contrast: (nom.): Hálfðan hvíti        |
| svarttr | Heims. I.295.13                 | man seen in a dream                               |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. I.297.12                 | face: emotional                                   |                | contrast: bleikr                       |
| svarttr | Heims. I.347.10                 | (nom.): Svertingr Rúnólfsson                      |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. I.84.8                   | hair (Hálfðans svarts)                            |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. II.140.8                 | eyes                                              |                | contrast: gold-                        |
| svarttr | Heims. II.264.22                | tents: represented as blocking off light          |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. II.91.5                  | (nom.): Gizurr svartí                             |                | (nom.): Óttarr svartí                  |
| svarttr | Heims. III.186.8                | horse: king's                                     |                | blesótttr                              |
| svarttr | Heims. III.265.2                | cloud                                             |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. III.267.3                | eyes: those of Haraldr gilli                      |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. III.331.10               | Eysteinn King                                     |                | døkktr                                 |
| svarttr | Heims. III.414.23               | (nom.): Þorfinnr svartí                           |                |                                        |
| svarttr | Heims. III.45.12                | (nom.): Bárðr svartí Atlason                      |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF II.005.07                    | Skalla-Grímr                                      |                | ljótr                                  |
| svarttr | ÍF II.080.20                    | Egill Skalla-Grímsson                             |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF II.096.24                    | smoke-stained axe handle                          |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF II.143.19                    | eyes: those of Egill                              |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF II.151.19                    | (nom.): Illugi svartí Hallkelsson                 |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF II.241.10                    | (nom.)                                            |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF II.241.21                    | (nom.): Svertingr                                 |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF III.029.09                   | shoes                                             |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF III.054.11                   | eyes: of an eagle, in a dream                     |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF III.059.03                   | eyes: those of Gunnlaugr                          |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF III.062.11                   | (nom.): Þorkell svartí                            |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF III.088.01                   | (nom.): Svertingr Hafr-Bjarnarson                 |                |                                        |
| svarttr | ÍF III.187.03                   | horses                                            |                | contrast: hvítr, rauðr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF III.200.18                   | man: Kálfr                                        |                | mikill                                 |

|         |                 |                                              |                                 |
|---------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| svarttr | ÍF III.260.10   | horses: ears thereof                         | contrast: alhvítr               |
| svarttr | ÍF III.272.17   | horses: ears thereof                         | contrast: hvítr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.014.17    | (nom.): Þórarinn svartí Þórólfsson           |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.019.01    | (nom.): Þorsteinn Surtr Hallsteinsson        |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.023.05    | cape                                         | ófagr                           |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.023.05    | horse                                        | ófagr                           |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.065.05    | (nom.): Svartr inn sterki                    |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.139.09    | brows                                        | jarpr                           |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.140.07    | cloud                                        |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.184.05    | bones: woman's                               | “svört sem sviðin væri”         |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.206.20    | hood, witch's                                | contrast: blár, hvítr           |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.222.02    | man: Þórhallr veiðimaðr                      | mikill, sterkr, þursligr        |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.227.16    | Skrælingar                                   |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.258.05    | (nom.): Þorsteinn svarttr                    |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IV.262.23    | kirtle: woman's                              |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.052.04/16 | cloak: one of two colors                     | contrast: hvítr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.136.03    | tents                                        |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.150.08    | (nom.): Svarthöfði (the elder)               |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.150.11    | (nom.): Svarthöfði Heðinsson                 |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.162.16    | brows                                        |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.247.11    | clothing                                     |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF IX.256.04    | kirtle                                       | contrast: blár, brúnn (kirtles) |
| svarttr | ÍF V.003.14     | (nom.): Svertingr                            |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF V.003.17     | (nom.): Surtr Þorsteinsson                   |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF V.066.22     | (nom.): Án svartri                           |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF V.101.08     | horse                                        | mikill, vænn, fagr              |
| svarttr | ÍF V.164.03     | (nom.): Þorsteinn svartí                     |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF V.188.10     | breeches                                     | contrast: blár                  |
| svarttr | ÍF V.188.18     | hair                                         | contrast: hárr                  |
| svarttr | ÍF V.189.14     | eyes                                         | víkingligr                      |
| svarttr | ÍF V.245.06     | kirtle                                       |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.015.18    | Gísli                                        | stórr                           |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.079.06    | (nom.)                                       |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.124.02    | hair: that of Þormóðr Bersason               |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.150.09    | (nom.): Illugi svartí Arason                 |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.170.06    | hair                                         | vænn                            |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.231.05/28 | cloak: one of two colors                     | contrast: hvítr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.236.01    | hair: that of Þormóðr                        |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.250.20    | hair                                         |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.254.04    | ships: perceived as dark shapes in the night |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VI.346.02    | (nom.)                                       |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.148.11   | cowl: worn to blend with shadows             |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.149.16   |                                              |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.150.11   | cowl                                         |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.151.06   |                                              |                                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.217.11   |                                              |                                 |

|         |                  |                                                                 |                       |
|---------|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| svarttr | ÍF VII.318.12/25 | cape                                                            |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.325.17    | brows                                                           | brúnn                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.354.24    | axe handle                                                      |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VII.363.16    | blood: “svart sem tjara”                                        |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.073.04   | cat                                                             |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.103.04   | (nom.)                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.107.01   | (nom.): Surtr Ingólfsson                                        |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.120.22   | cowl                                                            |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.147.08   | (nom.): Surtr                                                   |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.206.02   | hair: that of Qgmundr                                           |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.210.11   | man: Kormákr                                                    | ljótr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF VIII.211.09   | eyes                                                            |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF X.178.20      | (nom.)                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF X.233.03      | cloak: one of two colors                                        | contrast: hvítr       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.024.11     | (nom.)                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.162.01     | woman: disapprovingly                                           | gamall, ljótr         |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.163.15     | (nom.): Þorkell svartaskáld                                     |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.196.06     | hair                                                            | illr, mikill, sterkr  |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.238.01     | horse (Inni-Krákr)                                              |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.242.03     | (nom.)                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.248.18     | man: Nollar: disapprovingly                                     |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.249.32     | cowl                                                            |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.279.08     | face, “s. sem jorð”                                             | contrast bleikr; litr |
| svarttr | ÍF XI.294.16     | cloud                                                           |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.036.13    | (nom.): Ljótr inn svarti                                        | ljótr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.038.08    | cloud                                                           |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.069.04    | (nom.): Svartr Úlfsson                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.092.17    | (nom.)                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.095.13    | horses                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.181.27    | (nom.): Bárðr svarti                                            |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.259.04    | (nom.): Surtr Ásbjarnarson                                      |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.271.01    | (nom.): Þorkell inn svarti Þórisson                             |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.304.03    | shoes                                                           | blár, blárendr        |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.321.02    | face: changing color in response to emotions; “svarttr sem bik” |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.437.18    | (nom.): Kolbeinn svarti                                         |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XII.446.14    | hair: that of Bróðir                                            | mikill                |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.003.13   | (nom.): Svarthofði                                              |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.010.16   | (nom. – of a horse) Svartfaxi                                   |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.046.06   | man: Björn blásiða                                              | mikill                |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.054.22   | horses                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.074.22   | (nom.)                                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.105.24   | Þorkell svarti: hair and skin                                   |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.111.01   | (nom.): Þorkell svarti                                          |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.143.02   | (nom.): Surtr                                                   |                       |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.148.06   | fog                                                             | mikill                |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.160.10   | beard: said disapprovingly                                      |                       |

|         |                      |                                        |                          |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.162.21       | underground                            |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.259.09       | (nom.): Surtr járnhauss                |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.272.07       | (nom.)                                 |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.291.05/19    | bird: black-backed gold                |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.360.18       | woman: disapprovingly                  | blár                     |
| svarttr | ÍF XIII.448.14       | (nom.): Surtr inn svarti               |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.009.19        | hair: that of Kolfinnr, disapprovingly |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.050.15        | (nom.): Surtr                          |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.239.19        | (nom.): Svertingr                      |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.247.13        | (nom.): Bárðr inn svarti Atlason       |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.307.19        | (nom.)                                 |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.327.04        | man: disapprovingly                    | illiligr, sterkr, mikill |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.344.27        | (nom.)                                 |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.358.20        | woman: disapprovingly                  |                          |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.360.25        | men                                    | illiligr                 |
| svarttr | ÍF XIV.369.13        | (nom.)                                 |                          |
| svarttr | Physiologus 21.12-14 | nycticorax                             |                          |
| svarttr | Skáld. 111.19        | (nom.): giant allit. (?)               |                          |
| svarttr | Skáld. 49.18         | hair (that of Erpr and his brothers)   |                          |
| svarttr | Skáld. 62.14         | (nom.): Óttarr svarti                  |                          |
| svarttr | Hauksbók 072.32      | land as seen from a mountaintop?       |                          |

### Occurrences of *svarttr* in compounds

|          |                   |                                          |
|----------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|
| alsvartr | Skáld 111.21      | (nom.) a giant                           |
| alsvartr | Edd.Hym.091.08    | ox                                       |
| alsvartr | Edd.Þrk.114.13    | ox                                       |
| alsvartr | ÍF XII.133.11     | ox                                       |
| alsvartr | ÍF X.121.21       | oxen                                     |
| blá-     | FJ.A1.490/        | boats                                    |
| svarttr  | Heims. III.246.09 |                                          |
| blá-     | FJ.A1.480/        | raven                                    |
| svarttr  | Skáld.091.18      |                                          |
| blá-     | Edd.H.H.138.06    | ships                                    |
| svarttr  |                   |                                          |
| kol-     | FJ.A1.323/        | woman                                    |
| svarttr  | Heims. II.309.04  |                                          |
| kol-     | ÍF XIII.407.15    | woman                                    |
| svarttr  |                   |                                          |
| kol-     | ÍF XIII.409.17    | woman                                    |
| svarttr  |                   |                                          |
| kol-     | ÍF XIII.415.16    | woman                                    |
| svarttr  |                   |                                          |
| svart-   | ÍF V.189.20       | hair                                     |
| jarpr    |                   |                                          |
| svart-   | Heims I.142.06    | Halfdan svarti(?), face displaying anger |
| leitr    |                   |                                          |

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