

RECONSTRUCTING THE OLD ENGLISH CULTURAL MODEL FOR FEAR

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This paper explores cultural conceptualizations of ‘fear’ in Old English texts. My research is divided into the following steps: (i) definition and onomasiological arrangement of fear terms (based on their distribution in the corresponding semantic space); (ii) weighing of words and determining their relative relevance; and (iii) determining their degrees of literalness within the scale ‘literal meaning – metonymy – metaphor’. I am especially interested in the reconstruction and description of the cultural model of fear that can be detected through the fine-grained analysis of the set of fear-related words and expressions used in the bulk of surviving Anglo-Saxon texts.

Keywords: Old English; emotions; metaphor; fear; cultural models; conceptualization

HACIA UNA RECONSTRUCCIÓN DEL MODELO CULTURAL DEL ‘MIEDO’ EN INGLÉS ANTIGUO

En este artículo presento un análisis de las conceptualizaciones culturales del ‘miedo’ en textos en inglés antiguo. Mi investigación se divide en los siguientes pasos: (i) definición y ordenación onomasiológica del léxico del ‘miedo’ (según su distribución en el espacio semántico); (ii) peso de las palabras para determinar su relevancia relativa; y (iii) determinación de sus grados de literalidad dentro de la escala ‘significado literal – metonimia – metáfora’. Me interesa especialmente la reconstrucción y descripción del modelo cultural del ‘miedo’ que puede detectarse a través del análisis detallado de un conjunto de expresiones y términos de ‘miedo’ extraídos de un corpus de textos anglo-sajones.

Palabras clave: Inglés antiguo; emociones; metáfora; miedo; modelos culturales; conceptualización

1. Introduction

In *The Feeling of What Happens* (1999), Damasio claims that we know that we feel an emotion by sensing that something happens in our organism. Indeed, Damasio defines *emotion* as “the representation of that transient change in organism state in terms of neural patterns and ensuing images. When those images are accompanied, one instant later, by a sense of self in the act of knowing, and when they are enhanced, they become conscious. They are, in the true sense, feelings of feelings” (1999:282).

As to the verbalization of our emotional changes, Scherer argues that in the evolution of languages “certain types of distinctions between different types of emotional processes have been considered important enough for communication to generate different words or expressions” (2005: 707-08). In order to analyze the diachronic processes of creation of these new words and expressions, we need to propose dynamic mappings for the fuzzy and complex semantic fields of each emotion concept, trying to grasp the specificity of the processes referenced by the respective lexemes through different historical periods.

The study of how metaphor and metonymy mediate our conceptualization of emotions is not new; it has been extensively approached by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT; Feshmire 1994; Kövecses 1986, 1988, 1990; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987). A central claim by CMT scholars is that human emotions are largely understood and expressed in metaphorical terms. Furthermore, metaphorical conceptualizations are described in these studies as universal, although most of the evidence supporting this claim is derived from Present-Day English varieties (especially from American English). The question remains as whether, and to what extent, the same claim could hold in other languages and linguistic varieties, present and past.

In fact, recent studies by Yu (2009) and Geeraerts and Gevaert (2008) have questioned the universalistic view, showing that metaphors are not necessarily universal, and that variation in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions may be sensitive to cultural and historical influences. Taking this claim as my starting point, in this paper I propose a study of the lexical and conceptual field¹ of FEAR in Old English (hence OE), as represented by the textual data collected from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (diPaolo Healey et al. 2000). Special attention will be paid to the definition and weighing of OE fear-terms, which I will classify into different groups depending on their degree of literalness. I am especially interested in exploring how fear was construed in OE and the role of metaphor in that construal, as suggested by the fine-grained analysis of the set of ‘fear’-related words and expressions used in the textual corpus. Furthermore, following Sweetser (1990: 45-48), I will try to show that the system of interconnections between semantic fields is highly motivated, semantic innovations depending greatly on the mental and physical effects caused by this emotion.

¹ Following Lyons (1977: 253), I will use the term *conceptual field* in order to refer to a structured conceptual area, whereas *lexical field* will be used to refer to the set of lexical items that covers a specific conceptual field.

Together with shedding further light to our knowledge of OE 'fear' words and concepts, this paper forms part of a more general project concerning the conceptualization of emotions in the history of different varieties of the English language. Through a combination of historical onomasiology and cognitive linguistics, my research will propose an analysis and description both of OE expressions literally meaning FEAR and expressions that do not literally refer to this concept (that is, metonyms and metaphors, both living and dead). Corpus linguistic methods (Stefanowitsch 2004; Deignan 2005) will be applied in order to measure the relative weight of each concept.

2. Methodology and data

Studies of the conceptualization of emotions in present-day varieties of languages normally rely on data produced by native speakers. Linguists can easily reconstruct the conceptualizations that lie behind the expressions used by their informants. However, historical approaches to emotion terms and concepts are severely conditioned by the lack of native speakers and by the absence of reliable lexicographic tools, such as historical dictionaries and thesauruses. Consequently, a study of FEAR in past states of language will necessarily have to start from the analysis of the words and phrases that people actually produced when referring to 'fear' in surviving, written texts, i.e. from a reconstruction of the lexical field of FEAR in the corresponding historical period.

In order to describe the set of lexical items that articulate the OE conceptual field of FEAR, I have used a series of lexicographic tools in which *fear* and its synonyms can be searched in the definitions. The list includes the *Dictionary of Old English: A-G* on CD-ROM, the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary by Bosworth and Toller: An Electronic Application* on CR-ROM, and the *Thesaurus of Old English Online*. I have also used the Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM v4.0.

Once the whole set of potential 'fear'-words has been reconstructed, I have used the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* on CD-ROM in order to find all the occurrences of each lexical unit in the bulk of OE texts. The resulting 2,772 quotations referring to FEAR were then grouped into conceptual fields and classified into literal and figurative meanings. Following Geeraerts and Gevaerts' discussion on the expression of OE 'anger' (2008: 327), I will assume here that whenever the 'fear' reading is the dominant sense of the word, it can be considered literal, whereas words with secondary meanings related to this emotion are considered figurative expressions. Thereafter, I will try to show that, as in the case of 'anger' (Geeraerts and Gevaerts 2008: 340-1), figurative imagery occupies a minor role in the OE conceptualizations of 'fear'.

3. The lexical field of fear in OE

According to the historical dictionaries and thesauruses referred to above, the OE lexical field of FEAR consisted of, at least, 85 different lexical units, which includes nouns, strong verbs, weak verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Thereafter, these lexical units have been grouped into 33 *expressions*, a term I will use here in order to refer to a lexical root and all its morphological derivations (such as prefixed verbs or suffixed adverbs)

and its orthographical, declensional and inflectional variants. For example, the expression *ege* 'fear' will be used in this paper in order to refer to the nouns *ege* and *egesa*, the adjectives *egefull* and *egelic*, the adverb *egefullice* and the verb *egesian*, among others (up to 16 different lexical units derived from the expression *ege*).

In a second stage, these 33 OE expressions were classified into 19 etymological themes (in small caps) and grouped into literal and figurative expressions.² What follows is a brief account of the findings of this analysis.

3.1. Fear as a strong emotion

According to the Toronto dictionary, OE *anda* 'envy, hatred, zeal, vexation, fear, resentment' (derived from the Indo-European stem **ant-* 'breath') was used in order to make reference to a wide variety of strong emotions, both positive and negative. The list of negative emotions includes ENVY, SPITE, PRIDE, MALICE, ANGER, HOSTILITY, RESENTMENT and FEAR, whereas the group of positive emotions includes FERVENT DEVOTION, GOOD ZEAL and RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION. Consequently, the exact meaning of *anda* is rather general, and it can be considered a hyperonym for the whole lexical field of EMOTIONS in OE.

OE *anda* occurs on seven occasions with a clear reference to fear in our corpus: up to five of these seven occurrences are glosses for Latin words for fear: *tremor* (one attestation), *timor* (three attestations) and *formido* (one attestation). The remaining two cases represent instances of the collocation *on andan*, meaning 'as a terror to sb', as in example (1):

- (1) *Da se gæst ongan gledum spiwan, beorht hofu bænan; bryneleoma stod eldum on andan.*
(Beo 2312)
'Then the baleful fiend its fire belched out, and bright homes burned. The blaze stood high all landsfolk frightening.'

The dictionaries used in this research list three different expressions with the basic meaning 'fear' in OE: OE *ege* (derived from the Indo-European **agh-* 'fear'), OE *forht* (from Indo-European **perg-* 'fear', a stem attested exclusively in the Germanic-speaking area and, perhaps, in Tocharian; cf. IEW: 820) and OE *þracian* (from the Indo-European root **terg^{h1}-* 'fear').

With up to 1,731 occurrences in the corpus³ (amounting to 65.08% of the total number of occurrences of fear-words in the corpus, i.e. 2,656), OE *ege* is by far the most frequently used fear-expression in the Toronto Corpus. Within this set of lexical roots, the noun *ege* (and its inflectional and orthographical variants) is found in a total of 1,052 occurrences distributed over hundreds of texts of different genres and, consequently, is the most neutral and most frequently used lexeme to indicate fear in OE texts.

² The terms *expression* and *etymological theme* are taken from Gevaert (2002) and Geeraerts and Gevaert (2008).

³ See Appendix 1 for a whole list of OE 'fear'-words and etymological themes, along with their derivatives and number of occurrences.

Another difference between *ege* and the other expressions analyzed here has to do with its capacity to create new derived lexical units from the basic root, not only by prefixation (for example, OE *geegasian*) but also by suffixation (such as OE *egesa*), zero-derivation (as in the adjective OE *ega*) and word-composition (as in OE *egefull*). Table 1 shows a list of the 16 lexical units derived from the OE expression *ege*, their grammatical function, number of occurrences in the corpus and restrictions to their use in Anglo-Saxon texts (for example, words that occur only in poetic texts or in glosses).

OE LEXICAL UNIT	GRAMMAR	Nº OCCURRENCES	FLAG
<i>ege</i>	n.	1,052	
<i>egesa</i>	n.	193	poetry
<i>egeslic</i>	adj.	281	
<i>ōga</i>	n.	84	
<i>egesfull</i>	adj.	76	glosses
<i>egelice</i>	adv.	60	
<i>egeslice</i>	adv.	53	
<i>egefull</i>	adj.	33	
<i>egasian</i>	wk.	13	
<i>geegasian</i>	wk.	11	
<i>egefullic</i>	adj.	7	
<i>egesfullice</i>	adv.	5	glosses
<i>egesfullnes</i>	n.	3	
<i>egelīc</i>	adj.	2	
<i>egnes</i>	n.	1	
<i>egesig</i>	adj.	1	poetry

Table 1. Lexical units derived from OE *ege*

This derived vocabulary will be treated here as individual semantic specifications within the area of meaning expressed by the root expression. Functionally speaking, they act as determinants of the root, modifying its meaning in the same way as an adjective does to a noun or an adverb to a verb. The recurrent use by speakers of a language of a lexical root for the derivation of new lexemes – known as *The Lexical Productivity Principle*, or *LPP* (Díaz Vera 2002: 55-56) – is another clear indicator of the high degree of prototypicality of the OE noun *ege* within the lexical domain of FEAR.

A third prototypicality marker has to do with the high degree of morphosyntactic variation of OE *ege*, understood as the wider range of syntactic constructions displayed by this OE noun in the corpus. This general idea has been formulated by Faber and Mairal (1997: 8) in terms of the *Lexical Iconic Principle*, which affirms that the greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme, the greater its syntactic variations. The noun *ege* can be followed by any of the following complements:

- i. a genitive complement, as in *drihtnes ege* ‘fear of the Lord’;
- ii. the preposition *to* plus a noun in the dative, as in *ege to Gode* ‘fear of God’;
- iii. the preposition *for* plus a noun in the dative, as in *ege for þære anlycnisse* ‘fear of their appearance’;
- iv. the preposition *of* plus a noun in the dative, as in *ege of him* ‘fear of them’.

- v. the preposition *fram* plus a noun in the dative, as in *ege fram Romanum* ‘fear of the Romans’.

Unlike other OE words for FEAR, OE *ege* has a neutral axiological value, its positive or negative value exclusively depending on the situational context.⁴ The type of fear conveyed by the OE expression *ege* is, as indicated by Fabiszak, frequently desirable and commendable, as “[t]he fear of God in Heaven or the king on earth constituted important factors in the construction of social order” (2002: 265). Here are some illustrations of positive (2-3) and negative (4-5) fear in OE:

- (2) *Hwæt sind þa gastlican þearfan buton þa eadmodan þe Godes ege habbað. & nane toþundennysse nabbað.* (ÆCHom I, 36 492.181)
‘That are not the poor in spirit but the humble that have fear of God and have no arrogance’.
- (3) *And sona swa ðeos geofu þurh Drihtnes miht on heora heortan alegd wes, hie wæron toðon frome & toðon anrode, þæt hie forhogodan ege ealra eorðlicra cyninga.* (HomS 47, BlHom 12, 1272)
‘And as soon as the gift was put in their hearts through the power of the Lord, they were so firm and so steadfast that they despised the fear of all earthly kings’.
- (4) *þa wearð hit arde hi gebringon sceolde. swa mycel æge fram þam here. þet man ne mihte geþeoncean ne asmægian hu man of e* (ChronE 1006.32).
‘They were so much inspired by fear of the host that they were incapable of devising or drawing up a plan to get them out of the country’.
- (5) *He [Antecrist] deð þæt fyr cymð ufene ... ac se ðe for þæs fyres ege him to gebihð, he sceal aa on helle on ecan bryne wunian.* (Whom 4 62)
‘He [the Antichrist] made that fire come from above... but those who bend their knees by fear of the fire will live forever in the eternal flames of hell’.

Unlike OE *ege*, the OE expression *forhtu* (424 attestations) encodes more negative aspects of fear, such as physical and mental paralysis and the need to escape away. The corpus shows very few occurrences of *forhtu* words with nouns referring to God, kings, or social superiors in general as sources of fear. On most occasions, the emotion of fear is provoked by death, as in examples (6) and (7):

- (6) *Wæs him ægweðer þæm eadigan were ge seo Godes lufu toðæs hat & toðæs beorht on his heortan, ðeah he for ðæm deaþe ne forhtode, ah hine ðæs heardost langode hwanne he of ðisse worlde moste* (LS 17.1, MartinMor, 271).
‘Not only was the love of God so fervent and bright in his heart of this blessed man, but he also was not afraid of death, but longed very greatly for it when he might depart from this world’.

4 Following Dillard and Anderson, I will claim here “that negative emotions arise from the appraisal that the environment is incongruent with the individual’s goals and that positive emotions follow from appraisals of compatibility between goals and environment” (2004: 911-12).

- (7) Ne forhta ðu ana for ðysum feondlican cwellere, *ac underfoh þone deað swa swa ðine gebroðra dydon, þæt ic ðe eft underfo on eadignysse mid heom* (ÆLS, Maccabees, 180).
‘And fear not only because of this fiendlike murderer, but receive the death, even as your brothers did, that I may again receive you in blessedness with them’.

Less frequently, fear is provoked by the urgent need to carry out an order (as in 8) or by the risk of committing sin (as in 9):

- (8) *Þa he ða se biscop ðas word ... mid mycelre inbryrdnesse heortan & swylce eac forhtigendre tungan gefylde, ða dydon ða broðor swa he het, ond þone lichoman gegyredon mid neowum hrægle* (Bede 4 31.376.25).
‘When the bishop had said this ... with great penance of the heart and their tongues full of fear, the brothers did as he had commanded and dressed the body in new garments’.
- (9) *Ondræde man domdæg & for helle agrise, & ecre reste earnie man georne, & æghwylce dæge a manna gehwylc forhtige for synnum* (WHom 10c 182).
‘Man shall fear Doomsday and tremble at the thought of hell, and man shall eagerly earn eternal rest and on each day always each man shall be frightened on account of his sins’.

Similarly, OE *þracian* and its derivatives *āþracian* and *onþracian* (31 attestations in all) are used in OE texts in order to refer to extreme fear or dismay, normally in relation with someone’s inability to cope with peril or calamity (glossing or translating Latin *horrens* and *terribilis*), as illustrated by (10):

- (10) *Hī anðraciað to gefarenne lifes wegas. and swa ðeah ne wandiað to licgenne on stunnysse heora asolcennysse* (ÆCHom II, 43 321.104).
‘They dread to travel the ways of life, and yet do not shrink from lying in the folly of their sloth’.

Taking all this into consideration, one could confidently affirm that OE *ege* is the most prototypical lexeme within the dimension of FEAR and, as a consequence, has the widest semantic coverage within its semantic space. The remaining lexical units within this space can thus be treated as hyponyms of OE *ege*, that is, versions of qualitatively the same emotion expressing different degrees of intensity, rapidity or duration. This is the case of OE *forht* and its causative cognate *fyrhtu*, as well as OE *þracian* and its derivatives, which encode a clearly negative axiological value in most of the examples analyzed here.

3.2. Fear and related emotions

According to our analysis of OE words for *fear*, the emotions that seem more similar to FEAR are ANGER, DISGUST and SADNESS. The connection between FEAR and ANGER is not new. According to Kövecses (2000: 21-24), Present-Day English conceptual metaphors for these two emotions have six different source domains in common, that is, they are drawn from the same six conceptual fields: HOT FLUID, OPPONENT, INSANITY, BURDEN, NATURAL FORCE and SOCIAL SUPERIOR. Furthermore, in his statistical approach to

emotion metaphors, Stefanowitsch (2006: 71-82) identifies up to fourteen common source domains, including LIQUID, COLD, HEAT, LIGHT and DARKNESS. According to his analysis of a sample from the British National Corpus, up to 282 occurrences of ANGER metaphors (out of 388, i.e. 73.06%) illustrate source domains that are shared with FEAR metaphors, whereas up to 138 occurrences of FEAR metaphors (out of 172, i.e. 80.23%) represent source domains that are shared with ANGER metaphors.

It is hard to justify this relationship between *fear* and *anger* in terms of similar physical responses. According to Ungerer and Schmid (2006: 134), these two emotions have completely different physiological effects, namely drop vs. increase in body temperature; paleness vs. redness in face and neck; dryness of mouth vs. crying and tears; lapses of heartbeat vs increased pulse rate. From a sociological perspective, Stets and Turner (2008: 35-36) argue that *anger* is caused by *fear*, especially in those cases where individuals attribute their fear not to their own, personal shortcomings but to external factors: "Fear comes from a lack of power, and if individuals attribute this fear to their own shortcomings, then fear leads to withdrawal and flight responses; if individuals make external attributions, fear turns into anger, aggression, and fight response" (Stets and Turner 2008: 36).

From an etymological point of view, the existence of an ancient link between these two emotions is illustrated by the presence in our lexical list of OE *ācol* (16 attestations), a term exclusively used in poetic texts. Derived from the Indo-European root **aig-* (originally meaning 'angry'), this adjective has kept its original primary meaning of Old Norse *eikinn* 'angry, fierce', whereas its OE cognate *ācol* has changed its original meaning of 'anger' to 'fear', as in (11):

- (11) *No on gewitte blon, acol for þy egesan, þæs þe he ær ongann, þæt he a domlicost dryhten herede, weorðade wordum* (And 1265).
 'Never did he cease, stricken by fear, from what he had formerly began, but he ever most gloriously praised his Lord, honoured Him with words'.

On a more synchronic level, the OE polysemic expression *lād* (from Indo-European **leit-* 'to hate') can be used to refer either to the act of showing anger (as in 12) or to the act of showing terror (as in 13). However, this second meaning (which is a diachronic derivation from the original one and, consequently, chronologically later), is restricted in our OE texts to glosses and translations of Latin *horroscere* (two single attestations in the whole corpus):

- (12) *No þy ær in gescod halan lice; hring utan ymbbearh, þæt heo þone fyrðhom ðurhfon ne mihte*, locene <leodōsyrcan> laþan fingrum (Beo 1502).
 'But no harm came thereby to the hale body within, the harness so ringed him that she could not drive her dire fingers'.
- (13) *horrescit alapode* (AldV 13.1; from ALDH. Pros.virg. 47, 301.11 *verumtamen mens Deo dedita ... olidos ergastulorum squalores horrescit*).

Stefanowitsch (2006: 88-90) refers to up to nine different source domains that link Present-Day metaphors of FEAR and DISGUST. The list includes not only very general

emotion metaphors (such as SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, OPPONENT, LIQUID), but also more specific patterns (as in the case of ORGANISM, SHARP OBJECT). Up to 93 occurrences of DISGUST metaphors (out of 120, i.e. 77.50%) illustrate source domains shared with FEAR, but only 111 occurrences of FEAR metaphors (out of 386, i.e. 28.76%) correspond to source domains shared with DISGUST metaphors. In fact, our physical responses are very different, the existence of a link between these *fear* and *disgust* being justified by the fact that both emotions are aroused when we perceive a threat from an object.

The OE verb *þracian* (described in 3.1) represents this link from a diachronic onomasiological point of view. In fact, from the original meaning ‘fear’ inherited from Indo-European, OE speakers developed a secondary meaning ‘to regard with disgust, abhor’, as in (14):

- (14) *Þu to alysenne þu onfenge menn þu ne aðracodest mædenu innoðes* (PsCaF 14(10).16).
 ‘When you took upon yourself to deliver man, thou did not shun the Virgin's womb’.

Similarly, the OE noun *atol* (from the Indo-European root **od-* ‘hate’) and its derivatives are used in order to refer to something that produces either fear (as in 15; 121 attestations in the corpus) or revulsion (as in 16, translating Latin *deformis*), illustrating the semantic connection between ANGER, FEAR and DISGUST:

- (15) *Grap þa togeanes, guðrinc gefeng atolan clommum* (Beo 1501).
 ‘She groped towards him, seized the warrior, in horrid grasp’.

- (16) *Deformem atole* (ClG 3 1616; prob. from ALDH. Carm.virg. 597 *matronae rugosae ... figuram vidit ... deformem*).

As for SADNESS, Stefanowitsch (2006: 84-88) identifies seven different source domains shared with FEAR in Present-Day English: CAPTIVE ANIMAL, NATURAL FORCE, PAIN, HEAT/COLD, DARKNESS, DISEASE and LIQUID. The degree of overlap is much lower here than in the cases of ANGER and DISGUST described above. In fact, only 102 occurrences of SADNESS metaphors (out of 238, i.e. 42.86%) illustrate source domains that are shared with FEAR metaphors, whereas just 59 occurrences of FEAR metaphors (out of 386, i.e. 15.28%) represent source domains that are shared with SADNESS metaphors. The link between FEAR and SADNESS is illustrated by the OE adjective *frēorig*, used by Anglo-Saxon speakers in order to refer to ‘sad’ (two attestations) and to ‘scared’ (one single attestation), a synaesthetic expression of the sensation of cold that frequently accompanies these two emotions, as illustrated by (17):

- (17) *Ongon ða hygegeomor, freorig ond ferðwerig, fusne gretan* (GuthB 1156).
 ‘He, mournful, sad and weary of soul, resolved to greet the departing’.

3.3. Bodily reactions 1: Fear as uncontrolled movement

In many cases, bodily reactions to fear are metonymically used to refer to the emotion. This is the case of OE *eargian* ‘to turn coward, to grow timid’ (14 attestations in the corpus), derived from an Indo-European root **ergh-* ‘to tremble, shake’, which is also present in Greek *ῥαχέω* ‘to dance’. Significantly, OE *earge* is sometimes used to gloss

Latin *adulter*, *peccatrix*, *luxuriosus* and other words for socially inappropriate behaviours, fear being one of the immediate consequences of such acts.

- (18) <*Generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit*> *cneorisso yflo & arg becon soecas* (MtGl (Li) 12.39).
 ‘He looks for signs of a bad and adulterous generation’.

Similarly, OE *drædan* (from Indo-European **ter-* ‘to turn around’) and its derivatives (163 attestations in the whole corpus) referred originally to the instinctive reaction of moving away from the source of fear, turning the face in another direction in order to avoid seeing it. The semantic change from the original ‘to turn around’ to the metonymic ‘to fear’ was already completed in OE times, as can be seen in example (19):

- (19) *Ondræde man domdæg & for helle agrise, & ecre reste earnie man georne, & æghwylce dæge a manna gehwylc forhtige for synnum* (WHom 10c 182).
 ‘Man shall fear Doomsday and tremble at the thought of hell, and man shall eagerly earn eternal rest and on each day always each man shall be frightened on account of his sins’.

Whereas this OE verb, which is frequently used without an expressed object, has fear as its basic meaning, other Anglo-Saxon predicates have kept their original meanings related to motion, but are frequently used to refer to the instinctive reactions and movements produced by fear. This is the case of OE *wandian* ‘to turn away from something’ (from Indo-European **wendh-* ‘to wind’; 10 attestations), OE *feallan* ‘to fall down’ (from Indo-European **phol-* ‘to fall’; three attestations) and OE *creopan* ‘to creep’ (from Indo-European **ger-* ‘to turn’; three attestations). Examples with these verbs can be seen in (20-22):

- (20) *Sien gesciende & forwandian t scunian fiend mine þa ðæ sæcæð sæule mine* (PsGlE 69.3).
 ‘Let my enemies be confounded and scared, who seek my soul’.
- (21) *And þa eode he lythwon from him, & feoll ða ofer his anwlitan, & gebæd* (HomS 19 64).
 ‘And he went a little farther from him and fell on his face and prayed’.
- (22) *& þa wreccan munecas lagon onbuton þam weofode. & sume crupon under. & gyrne cleopedon to Gode his miltse biddende. þa þa hi ne mihton nane miltse æt mannum begytan* (ChronE 1083.20).
 ‘And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under, and earnestly called upon God, imploring his mercy, since they could not obtain any at the hands of men’.

Downward inclination of the body or the head is also considered a sign of veneration, submission and reverence in the Anglo-Saxon world. In fact, OE writers use the predicates *feallan* and *creopan* in order to refer to the physical expression of these feelings, showing the existence of a close connection between them and fear. These

predicates indicate that fear was conceptualized as A NATURAL FORCE (as in OE *wandian*) and as A SUPERIOR (as in OE *feallan* and *creopan*) by speakers of OE.

Another kind of behaviour that is typically associated with fear is PARALYSIS, as someone who is scared tends to keep still in order to remain unnoticed. In this group of predicates we find OE *bidan* ‘to wait’ (15 attestations as fear-word) and OE *sittan* ‘to sit’ (eight attestations as fear-word), both of which have the secondary meaning ‘to fear’ in OE, as can be seen in (23) and (24), respectively:

(23) *Ewit bad heorte min & ermðu* (PsGLA 68.20).
‘My heart feared affront and disgrace’.

(24) *Fela we mihton ymbe þissum þingum maðelian, ac we asittað þæt þa boceras ascunion þæt we ymbe heora digolnyssa þus rumlice sprecað* (ByrM 1 3.3.120).
‘Many of us might tell about these things, but we feared that the scholars would regard us with disfavour if spoke at length about their secrets’.

Similarly, the OE expression *blycgan* ‘to frighten’ (derived from the Indo-European root **bhlēu-* ‘weak’; 28 attestations) refers to the impossibility to move caused by fear, as can be seen in example (25):

(25) *His magas þa & necheburas wurdon þearle þurh ða dæde ablicgede. & heora nan ne dorste þam fearre genealæcan* (ÆCHom I, 34 466.19).
‘His relatives and his neighbours were struck with fear by these deeds and dared not approach nearer to them’.

3.4. Bodily reactions 2: Fear as change in volume, colour or flexibility

The OE fear-domain also finds a source of metonymic expressions in the field of physical change, as fear is experienced as becoming small, pale or rigid. Change in volume is expressed in the OE predicate *scrincan* ‘to shrink’ (from Indo-European **sker-* ‘to lean’; seven attestations in all). Similarly to other OE fear-words metonymically derived from verbs expressing paralysis, OE *scrincan* refers to the need to remain unnoticed by the cause of fear (an enemy, a danger, etc), as (26) illustrates:

(26) *Þa wearð se cyng to þan swyðe afyrht þæt he eall asranc & man him lædde to þone wytege Daniel* (ÆCHom II, 33 (G) 253.142).
‘The king shrank with fear and they took him to Daniel the Wise’.

OE *blācian* ‘to turn pale’ (derived from the Indo-European root **bhleg-* ‘shine’; 3 occurrences as fear-word, e.g. 27) and *æhīw* ‘paleness, lack of colour’ (privative form of the Indo-European root **kei-* ‘dark’, i.e. ‘not dark’; two attestations in translations such as 28) can also be used to express fear in OE. From a biological point of view, becoming pale can be seen either as a direct consequence of the blood pressure decrease that normally accompanies the sensation of fear or, as in the case of the preceding predicates of change of volume, as a mimetic mechanism of self-defense.

- (27) *Ʒa strentstan [-] heold oga Ʒ ege ablacodon ealle eardigende* (PsCaJ 5(4).15).
 ‘Trembling seized on the stout men (of Moab) and all the inhabitants (of Chanaan) became white with fear’.
- (28) *meticulosis <palloribus>, timidis æhiwum, ablæcungum* (AldV 1 4779).

Finally, fear is conceptualized as rigidity of the body or the limbs by OE speakers. The expressions OE *stīþian* ‘to become hard’ (from the Indo-European root **sten-* ‘narrow’; one attestation) and *stīfian* ‘to become rigid’ (from the Indo-European root **stīp-* ‘stick’; four attestations) are used with reference to fear in examples (29) and (30):

- (29) *Ʒa wurdon gedrefede synd fromringas Ʒ ealdras [-]; Ʒa strengstan [-] heold bifung; <ablacodon> Ʒ astiðedan ealle eardigende [-]* (PsCaG 5(4).15).
 ‘Then were the princes (of Edom) troubled; trembling seized on the might men (of Moab); all the inhabitants (of Chanaan) became pale and stiff with fear’.
- (30) *Ne mæg Ʒær æni man be <agnum> gewyrhtum gedyrstig wesan, deman gehende, ac ealle Ʒurhyrñð oga ætsomne, breostgehyda ... and Ʒær stænt astifad, stane gelicast, eal arleas heap yfeles on wenan* (JDay II 170).
 ‘Nor may there any man, by work of merit, bold become in presence of the judge, but fear will run alike through all, thoughts of the heart ... and there will stand, stiffened like to stone, all the wicked troop in expectation of evil’.

3.5. Bodily sensations and the container metaphor

Lakoff (1987: 380-415) analyzes the conceptualisation of certain emotions and feelings in terms of metaphors and metonymies dealing with the temperature domain. In his account, many of our everyday words for emotions stem from a combination of two ontological metaphors: THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS and EMOTIONS ARE TEMPERATURE CHANGES. It is difficult to know where these metaphors originated; in any case, they are highly consistent with the general belief that emotions “must be released or they will cause damage, either by being held in or by exploding out of control” (Planalp 1999: 107). The idea of the body container is expressed in the corpus by the OE predicate *fyllan* ‘to fill’ (22 attestations in relation to fear, one of them illustrated by 31):

- (31) *ForƷan Ʒe ... he us fylled mid Godes ege* (ÆCHom I, 22(B) 363.228).
 ‘So that he will fill us with fear of God’.

The use of the concepts of HEAT and COLD as source domains for a wide variety of emotions is well attested in many world languages (Kövecses 2005: 39). According to Stefanowitsch (2006), HEAT is used in Present-Day in order to refer to ANGER, FEAR, HAPPINESS and DISGUST, whereas COLD is used for ANGER, FEAR, SADNESS and DISGUST. These synaesthetic conceptualizations are expressed in the OE vocabulary by the expressions *blysian* ‘to blaze’ (one single attestation: example 32) and *frēosan* ‘to freeze’ (two attestations, one of which is 33). Furthermore, fear is conceptualized as trembling in the OE verbs *cwacian* (from **cwac-*, a typically Anglo-Saxon root expressing agitation or instability; 11 attestations, e.g. 34) and *bifian* (from Indo-European **bhōi-* ‘to fear’; 22 attestations, e.g. 35):

- (32) *Syn gescynde & anþracian samod þa þe secað sawle mine ... gecyrran on bæcling & anþracian t & ablysan þa þe wilniad t willaþ me yfelu* (PsGII 39.15).
‘Are both confused and frightened those who seek my soul... repented and frightened and blazing those who want me badly’.
- (33) *Warað hine wræclast, nales wunden gold, ferðloca freorig, nalæs foldan blæd* (Wan 32).
‘The path of exile holds him, not at all twisted gold, a frozen spirit, not the bounty of the earth’.
- (34) *Swa Dauid cwæþ, þa eaðmodan heortan & þa forhtgendan & þa bifigendan & þa cwacigendan & þa ondrædendan heora Scyppend, ne forhogað þa næfre God ne ne forsyhþ* (HomU 20 9).
‘As David said, the humble and fearing and trembling and quaking hearts and those fearing their Creator, God will never despise nor disregard’.
- (35) *On þan twelften dæige eorneð mænn geond eall middeneard byfigende & drædende Cristes tocyme to demene cwican & deaden* (Notes 22 38).
‘On the twelfth day men ran through all the earth shivering and dreading Christ’s coming to judge the living and the dead’.

These two concepts imply that fear (and emotions in general) is a fluid that flows within the body producing changes in its temperature. Furthermore, this fluid can dissipate or become a vapor once the emotion has come to its end, as in OE *dwīnan* ‘to disperse’ (one single attestation, shown in 36):

- (36) *Witodlice mannes ege is smice gelic & hrædlice þonne he astyred bið forwinð* (ÆCHom I, 38 515.242).
‘Human fear is similar to smoke in that it dissipates quickly when excitation goes away’.

3.6. Fear is an opponent

The need to fight fear is represented by the metaphor FEAR IS AN OPPONENT, as illustrated by the co-occurrence of many OE predicates related to war and fight. According to the data extracted from the OE corpus, the following verbs could be used in reference to fear: OE *fōn* ‘to take hold of’ (two attestations), OE *grīpan* ‘to seize’ (one attestation), *cuman* ‘to come’ (three attestations) and *flygan* ‘to put away’ (1 attestation). In some cases the reference to fear is rather vague and only contextual information reveals whether they refer to fear or not.

OE *fōn* is used as a fear-word in the asyndetic parataxis *forht, afongen* (i.e. ‘scared and seized by fear’), as in example (37):

- (37) [*heo þæt deofol genom;*] *hyre se aglæca ageaf ondsware, forht, afongen, friþes orwena: hwæt, mec min fæder on þas fore to þe, hellwarena cyning, hider onsende of þam engan ham* (Jul 319).
‘[The wretched monster] gave answer to her, scared, seized by fear, hopeless of peace: Listen, my father, the king of hell-citizens sent me on this journey here to you, from that narrow home’.

Similarly, OE *grīpan* is used with reference to fear (i.e. ‘to grip somebody with fear’) in example (38), translating Latin *apprehendo* ‘to seize’:

- (38) <*fyrhto*> *bifung* begrap hig þær sarnessa swaswa eacnigendes wifes (PsGII 47.7).
 ‘Terror took hold of them, as well as sorrow, like a woman in her travail’.

As for OE *cuman*, it is used to translate Latin *consternatus* ‘seized with fear, astonished’ in (39):

- (39) & aworden wæs miððy ðohte gelegeno † forcumeno woeron of ðisum heono tuoege wæras gestodon æt † neh ðæm in gegerelo lixende (LkGl (Li) 24.4).
 ‘While they were scared about this, two men in clothes that were as bright as lightning suddenly stood beside them’.

Finally, OE *flygan* is used to gloss Latin *concutere* ‘to strike with fear’ on one single occasion, shown in (40):

- (40) *Witodlice nu mid þiwracum nu mid witum nu mid onwrigenessum sume flyhð þæt þa þe sylfwilles beon gecyrrede* (LibSc 11.44).
 ‘Certainly now with e stricken with fear until their wills threats and now with torments and now with revelations some of them werwere changed’.

4. OE fear weighed

The overall result of this onomasiological analysis is represented in Table 2. The table, based on the model proposed by Geeraerts and Gevaert (2008: 339), mentions the etymological themes used for this research, the actual OE expressions, the semantic mechanisms they illustrate and their total number of attestations in the OE corpus. Following Radden (2003), who argues that the distinction literal-metonymy-metaphor is scalar, three different degrees of literalness will be distinguished here. The table is divided into three parts: one for literal meanings (upper half of the table) and one for figurative ones (lower half of the table), which is at its time divided into two subparts: metonymy and synaesthesia on the one side (upper half) and metaphor on the other (lower half).

As can be seen from this table, literal denominations (such as *ege* and *forhtu*) clearly dominate in the corpus, whereas figurative expressions represent less than 18% of the total number of occurrences of fear-words.⁵ Furthermore, metaphors represent but a very small part of the whole set of figurative expressions (30 attestations in all), with an overwhelming preference for metonymy (401 attestations) and, less frequently, synaesthesia (36 attestations).

⁵ This estimate of literalness is undoubtedly conservative, as some of the expressions listed here, marked with (*) in Table 2, have completely lost their original meanings and become literal fear-words in Old English.

THEME	OE EXPRESSION	SEMANTICS	N°
STRONG EMOTION	<i>ege</i>	literal	1731
NEGATIVE EMOTION	<i>forhtu, þracian</i>	literal	455
EMOTION (GENERAL)	<i>anda</i>	hyperonymy	7 2193
ANGER	<i>ācol*, lāþ</i>	metonymy	18
GRIEF	<i>atol</i>	metonymy	121
SADNESS	<i>frēorig</i>	metonymy	1
MOVEMENT BACK	<i>eargian*, drædan*, wandian</i>	metonymy	181
MOVEMENT DOWN	<i>feallan, creopan</i>	metonymy	6
LACK OF MOVEMENT	<i>bidan, sittan, blycgan</i>	metonymy	51
CHANGE	<i>scrincan, blācian, æhīw, stīþian, stīfian</i>	metonymy	16
HEAT/COLD	<i>blysan, frēosan, cwacian, bifian</i>	synaesthesia	37 431
SUBSTANCE IN CONTAINER	<i>fyllan, dwīnan</i>	metaphor	23
OPPONENT	<i>fōn, grīpan, cuman, flygan</i>	metaphor	7 30

Table 2. Literal and figurative fear-expressions.

5. Conclusions

In the present paper I have presented a list of OE terms for FEAR and their distribution in the semantic space. Thereafter, these terms have been classified into etymological themes and degrees of literalness (literal-metonymy-metaphor). The relative importance of each expression has then been determined using corpus linguistic methods.

The data shown here makes clear that the OE vocabulary for FEAR derives from a wide variety of etymological themes or motifs, from the more literal ones (i.e. fear-words directly inherited from Indo-European) to the more figurative ones (as in the case of the metaphor FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE). However, this analysis has shown a clear preference for literal expressions for this emotion, whereas non-literal ones are normally derived through processes of metonymy (as in FEAR IS TURNING BACK or FEAR IS BECOMING PALE) or synaesthesia (as in FEAR IS COLD).

As can be seen here, metonymy is a pervasive factor of semantic change in OE, given its contribution to the development of this lexical domain. Up to 17 different Indo-European expressions from different domains (such as EMOTIONS, MOVEMENT or CHANGE) changed their original meanings and developed new senses related to FEAR in OE, losing their original meanings in some cases (for example OE *drædan*). However, the metaphoric expressions analyzed here are limited to very broad conceptualizations for emotions in general, such as THE BODY IS A CONTAINER and EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES. Finally, this article shows that the system of interconnections between semantic fields is highly motivated (semantic innovations depending greatly on the mental and physical effects caused by this emotion) and enormously consistent over long periods of time (as in the case of the semantic paths ANGER > FEAR or TURNING BACK > FEAR described above).

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APPENDIX 1: OE expressions of 'fear'.

EXPRESSIONS	ETYMOLOGICAL THEMES	SEMANTICS	LEXICAL UNITS	Nº OCCURRENCES	TOTAL
ācol	WORRY	literal or hyponymy	ācol n. *(ge)āclian wk. ācol-mōd adj. ge-ācolmōdian wk.	9 3 3 2	17
anda	STRONG EMOTION	hyperonymy	anda n.	7	7
atol	PHYSICAL DEFORMATION	metaphor	atol n. atol adj. atollic adj. atolian wk. ge-atol-hīwian wk.	7 60 50 3 1	121
æ-hīw	PALENESS	synaesthesia	æ-hīw n.	2	2
bīdan	ANTICIPATION	metonymy	bīdan str. ā-bīdan str. ge-bīdan str. an-bigund n.	1 10 1 3	15
bifian	SHAKING	metaphor	bifian wk.	22	22
blācian	RIGIDITY	synesthesia	āblācian wk.	1	1
blycgan	IMMOBILITY	metaphor	āblycgan	28	28
blylsian	HEAT	metaphor	āblylsian	1	1
crēopan	REVERENCE	metaphor	crēopan str.	3	3
cuman	ENEMY	metaphor	for-cuman str.	3	3
cwacian	SHAKING	metaphor	cwacian wk. gecwacian	4 9	13

drædan	VENERATION	metonymy	<i>drædan</i> str. <i>ā-drædan</i> str. <i>on-drædan</i> str.	30 85 48	163
dwīnan	VAPOUR	metaphor	<i>for-dwīnan</i> wk.	1	1
eargian	TIMIDITY	literal or hyperonymy	<i>eargian</i> wk. <i>earglice</i> adv.	1 13	14
ege	FEAR	literal	<i>ege</i> n. <i>ege-full</i> adj. <i>ege-fulllic</i> adj. <i>eges-full</i> adj. <i>eges-fulllice</i> adv. <i>eges-fullnes</i> n. <i>ege-lice</i> adj. <i>egnes</i> n. <i>egesa</i> n. <i>egesig</i> adj. <i>egesian</i> wk. <i>ge-egesian</i> wk. <i>eges-lic</i> adj. <i>eges-lice</i> adv.	1052 33 7 76 5 3 2 1 193 1 13 11 281 53	1731
feallan	REVERENCE	metonymy	<i>ā-feallan</i> str.	3	3
flygan	WEAPON	metaphor	<i>flygan</i> wk.	1	1
fōn	ENEMY	metaphor	<i>ā-fōn</i> str.	2	2
forhtian	FEAR	literal	<i>forhtian</i> wk. <i>ā-forhtian</i> wk. <i>be-forhtian</i> wk. <i>ge-forhtian</i> wk. <i>ge-āforhtian</i> wk. <i>ā-forht</i> adj. <i>forhtendlic</i> adj <i>(ge)forht</i> adj <i>foht-ferþ</i> adj <i>forht-full</i> adj <i>forht-ig</i> adj <i>forht-lic</i> adj <i>forht-lic</i> adv	251 28 1 4 1 1 3 117 2 1 3 5 7	424
fræppigan	REVERENCE	metonymy	<i>fræppigan</i> wk. <i>ge-fræppigan</i> wk.	1 1	2
frēosan	COLD	synaesthesia	<i>frēorig</i> adj.	1	1
frēosan	SAD	metonymy	<i>frēorig</i> adj.	1	1
fyllan	CONTAINER	metaphor	<i>fyllan</i> wk. <i>ge-fyllan</i> wk.	11 11	22
grīpan	ENEMY	metaphor	<i>be-grīpan</i> str.	1	1
lād	GRIEF	literal or hyperonymy	<i>ā-lādian</i> , wk.	1	1
scrincan	SHRINKING	metaphor	<i>scrincan</i> str. <i>ā-scrinca</i> str. <i>for-scrinca</i> str. <i>ge-scrinca</i> str.	5 1 1 1	8

sittan	ANTICIPATION	metonymy	<i>sittan str.</i> <i>ā-sittan str.</i>	5 3	8
stīfian	RIGIDITY	metaphor	<i>stīfian wk.</i> <i>ā-stīfian wk.</i>	2 2	4
stīþian	HARDNESS	synaesthesia	<i>ā-stīþian wk.</i>	1	1
þracian	VIOLENCE	literal or hyperonymy	<i>ā-þracian wk.</i> <i>on-þracian wk.</i> <i>on-þræc adj.</i>	12 14 5	31
wandian	VENERATION	metonymy	<i>wandian wk.</i> <i>ā-wandian wk.</i>	2 2	4
					2656

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