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

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

By
Jackson Crawford

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Doctor of Philosophy (Scandinavian Studies)

at the

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Salvatore Calomino, Associate Professor, German
DEDICATION

In memory of W.Q.,
a shining lamp of life.
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At the University of Georgia, Jared S. Klein has continued to be a source of inspiration and of enhancements to my bibliography.

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# Table of Contents

Abstract iv  
Chapter 1: Introduction 1  
Chapter 2: Individual Color and Color-Like Terms in Old West Norse 18  
Chapter 3: Determining the Basic Color Terms of Old West Norse 125  
Chapter 4: Theoretical Perspectives on the Basic Color Terms of Old West Norse 154  
Appendix 1. Abbreviations Used 167  
Appendix 2. Occurrences of Color and Color-Like Terms in the Texts Excerpted 170  
Bibliography 224
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 bjártr (bright), ljóss (light), hreinn (pure, clean), fagr (beautiful), heiðr (bright), mikill (large), myrkr (dark), dókkr (dark), friðr (beautiful), dimmr (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. 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. 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

1 No language has been reliably reported to have fewer than three BCTs (Robertson et al. 2000: 370, MacLaury 1992: 161). Rosch Heider (1972) claimed, based on fieldwork with the Dugum Dani language, which Berlin and Kay cited as having only two BCTs, that this language has more, and that the apparent existence of only two is a result of a failure to attain a large enough sample of the population, which has a color term system that is in flux and is not the same for all members, nor the same in all contexts in which color terms might be elicited. She cautioned against assuming such a limited number of BCTs based on a limited number of informants or insufficient consideration of the environmental and cultural contexts in which color terms are used. There are also cases reported from multiple languages where informants simply have no word for the color of a given referent, and weaknesses in testing methods may cause such languages to appear to have fewer BCTs than they actually have (Kristol 1980: 182).

2 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).
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 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.³

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage: I &gt;</th>
<th>II &gt;</th>
<th>III (a or b) &gt;</th>
<th>IV &gt;</th>
<th>V &gt;</th>
<th>VI &gt;</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ³

³ 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).

⁴ 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.
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 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\(^5\) 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

\(^5\) 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.
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 Berlin and Berlin 1975: 84):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage:</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III (a or b)</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dark/cool</td>
<td>dark/cool</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>dark/cool</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cool</td>
<td>cool</td>
<td>grue</td>
<td>cool</td>
<td>grue</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light/warm</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warm</td>
<td>&gt; red</td>
<td>&gt; red</td>
<td>&gt; yellow</td>
<td>&gt; yellow</td>
<td>&gt; red &gt;</td>
<td>red &gt;</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>&gt; red</td>
<td>&gt; red</td>
<td>&gt; red</td>
<td>&gt; red</td>
<td>&gt; brown</td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>brown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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6 “Grue” is a term used for a cool color whose field of reference includes both blue and green.
7 At Stage VII terms for *purple, pink, orange*, and *gray* would emerge in no particular order.
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 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. Note that gray and brown may emerge at any point in this sequence after Stage I:

Variants of Stage III:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>III_\text{G/Bu}</th>
<th>III_\text{Bk/G Bu}</th>
<th>III_\text{Y/G Bu}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red/yellow</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow/green/blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green/blue</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black/green/blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variants of Stage IV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IV_\text{Bk/Bu}</th>
<th>IV_\text{G/Bu}</th>
<th>IV_\text{Y/G}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>yellow/green</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>green/blue</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{black/blue} \\
\text{black} \\
\text{black}
\end{array}
\]

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 OWN, 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_{R/Y}, 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, reddenn, 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\textsuperscript{9}, 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 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 OWN 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.

OWN 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 OWN) 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 *adalhending*) 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 Lawrensson’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 OWN 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 OWN 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 OWN period, but our basic fields of inquiry are different – Brückmann seeks primarily to make a contribution to the study of OWN 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 OWN literary artifacts.

II. General Remarks on Color Terms in OWN Literature

II. A. Infrequency of Color Terms in OWN Literature

It has been observed that, in the literature of OWN’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 OWN 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 sóðul allglæsiligan. Hann hafði búit sverð ok guillrekit spjót, myrkblán skjöld ok mjök gylltan, vonduð ðll klæði. Hann hafði þar ok til varit mjök ðllum sínum farerefnum. En Snorri var í svartrí 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. 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 Grípiissespá (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, Völspá, the original human beings Askr and Embla lack litu góða (good looks, st. 18) till the god Lǫdur 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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10 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 *døkkur* “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. *dānkui-* “black, dark” (Heidermanns 1993: 146). Similarly, PGmc *gelvaz* forms color terms for “yellow” in WGmc (Eng yellow, German *gelb*), but is absent from NGmc (although Kroonen 2013: 174 has suggested that *gelvaz* 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 svarp).

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” : Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog (Fritzner 1867,
supplement by Hødnebø 1973)
“Cleasby-Vigfússon” : An Icelandic-English Dictionary (Cleasby and Guðbrandur
Vigfússon 1874, supplement by Craigie 1957)
“Hægstad-Torp” : Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tyding (Hægstad and Torp
1909)
“Lexicon Poeticum” : Lexicon Poeticum Antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis (Finnur
Jónsson 1931)
“ONP” : Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog (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. ámr 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” : *Færøysk-norsk ordbok* (Lehmann 1987)
- “ModIce” : *Íslensk orðabók* (ed. Mörður Árnason et al., 2007)
- “Norn” : *An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland* (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 “Eirikr the Red,” Porsteinn 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 *Heimsþýsing ok Helgífróði* 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 *róðinn*, 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, døkkir,* 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 *hvitr*” 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)
Modlce: “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”
Fritzer: “skinnende, blank, klar, lys af Farve”
Hægstad-Torp: “bjartklar, skinande, lysande”
Lexicon Poeticum: “lys, strålende … -om personer, især kvinder, og betegner da deres lyse ansigtsfarve og måske tillige det lyse hår”

Faroese (bjartur): “bjart, ljós, klár”
ModIce (bjartur): "skinandi, 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 bjartr

See Appendix 2.

III. B. 1. a. Occurrences of bjartr in compounds

See Appendix 2.

III. B. 2. Discussion of Referents: bjartr

III. B. 2. a. HUMAN FACES

A person who appears bjartr 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 bjartr at Edd.Gôr.III.233.13 and Gylf. 31.16.

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


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 *\textit{bjartr} at FJ.A1.007/Heims. I.028.09.

III. B. 2. k. THE SUN

The sun is *\textit{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 *\textit{bjartr} at FJ.A1.399/Skáld.096.02.

III. B. 2. m. WEATHER

The weather is a very frequent referent of the term *\textit{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: \textit{Bjartr}

III. B. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: \textit{Bjartr}


III. B. 3. b. Conclusions: \textit{Bjartr}

\textit{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 \textit{bright} in the ModEng texts of Jeffers (see Ch. 3 under \textbf{IV. A. 11}), which have 54 occurrences of \textit{bright} as against 85 noncompounded occurrences of \textit{bjartr} in this OWN corpus (in both languages, the term is close in frequency to the color term \textit{grönn/green}, and to \textit{bleikr}). Like \textit{bright}, it appears that \textit{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. *svart*, 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 *ɔ*:) 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**


**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,
**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. *oibell* (glow, fire, heat), OPruss. *ballo* “forehead,” OWN *b ál* (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. *phlégo* (to burn, ignite), Latin *flagrāre* (to burn, blaze), and Gk *epéphleuse* (scorch all around), OE *blysa* (torch), and Pol. *lyskać* (to shine).

From this root there arise a wide variety of color terms in the IE daughter languages. Some of these, including OCS *belb* (white), Gk. *phálós* (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 *flăvus* 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 associative
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). This is supported by its application to brass (see below), which normally would not be considered “black.” 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,

11 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."

12 However, based on the context, the brass may be tarnished: Hann átti dóttur eina, er kólluð var Ása en fagra, því at hon bar af öllum jómfrum henni samtíða sem rauða gull af eiri blókku eoa sem sól af himintunglum gírum. "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 *blákkr* 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 en blákk* (ÍF VI.004.04) implies adjectival use to describe the color of a person's hair, plus the existence of the toponym *Blákkgerði* («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 blókku* (*blákkr* 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-Vigfússson: “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. blå, blåsort, sort (distinktion ikke altid mulig), 2. (om den metalliske farve på rustning, våben, etc.), 3. (om flamme), 4. (om forslået hud)”

Faroese (*bláur*): “blå; (i sume ordlag) døkk, myrk, svart; (sjø-ord for *kráka*) *hin bláa* (á *kóstinum*…)
ModIce (*blár*): “með lit heiðs himins eða hafðjúps í ýmsum blæbrigðum”
ModNorw (*blå*): “som har ei 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 as blár at ÍF XII.314.11 (the

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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.Rþ.283.15, Heims. II.41.10, Heims. III.186.13, ÍF VI.064.20, Edd.Rþ.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 *bláflekkótt* (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.

*Siðan tók Skarphéðinn til sin skæðurnar en kastaði brókum blám til Flosa ok kvað hann þeira meir þurfa. Flosi mælti: “Hví mun ek þeira meir þurfa?” Skarphéðinn svarar: ”Þvi þá ef þú eft brúðr Svinfellsáss sem sagt er hverja ina niundu nótt ok geri hann þik at konu.” “Then Skarphéðinn 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?’ Skarphéðinn 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.Rþ.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.Rþ.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 blátønn*, "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 Aftican 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 *riddarasǫgur*, 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 *svatr*, *blásvatr*, or *dókk*). 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 *hrafnblár* ("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, 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 times.

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14 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**


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

Ships and boats are rather frequently described as *blár* in poetry; numerous examples
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 bláflekkóttr ("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. Blásvatr ("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 adalhending), Shields are fagrbláinn ("fair-blue") at Skáld. 123.09. The hair of Guðrún's sons is hrafnbláðr ("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”). 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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15 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,” 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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16 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)”
Høegstad-Torp: “bleik”
ONP: "1. bleg (ɔ: med 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): “ljósraður, ljósgulur; fólur; (um hest) gulbrúnn með ljósrauðrí sliðju”
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**

*Breinn-Njáls saga* includes a memorable passage in which Gunnarr, deciding not to flee Iceland, describes his fields in positive terms as bleikr (Fógr er hliðin svá at mér hefir hon aldrei jafnfógr sínsk, bleikir akrar en slegin tún, ok mun ek ríða heim apr 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 hôngs, 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 bleikálóttar (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 fifilbleikr (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 fifilbleikr (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 Bleiksmyrardalr (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 (blíkja – 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.17 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

17 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, *bleikaz* (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 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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18 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 IF XI.279.08).
4. Bleikr forms the head of four conspicuous color compounds (with fis-, fifil-, 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, § 1. 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
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\(^20\)). However, most previous researchers have foregrounded a non-hue meaning, viz. “bleg (ø: 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: bleikálóttr (3 times, all for horses), fífilbleikr (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

\(^{19}\) 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.

\(^{20}\) Cf. the editors’ frequent glossing of 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)”

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 OWN 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 OWN 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 brúnmóálóttr 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 *brūnn* only once, at ÍF VII.325.16; the hair in question is also described as *svatr*.

**III. F. 2. d. CLOTHING**

A jarl’s kirtle is *brúnaðr* (“browned”) at Heims. III.388.22. Another kirtle is *brūnn* at ÍF IX.240.21. A jacket of two colors is mentioned at ÍF III.334.14; one of the colors is *brūnn*. A cloak made of *purpuri* is *brūnn* at Heims. III.101.20.

**III. F. 2. e. HUMAN SKIN**

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

**III. F. 2. f. BEARS**

A bear is *brūnn* at Edd.Vkv.118.15. *Bjǫrn/bera* (and cognates such as ModEng *bear*) are derived from the same PIE root as the color term *brūnn/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 *brūngras* (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 *brūnn* at ÍF XI.227.02.

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21 The passage in question is a skaldic poem spoken by Kormákr himself: *Baugi varð at bóta / brúnlegs hvaðrantveggja / gulduð fé fyrr bjørtrar / halsfang mýils spangar; / gáttu gjallar móta / golls laufguðum þolli, / túl hefkt teitimála, / tveir kossar fêmeiri*. “I was going to repay this, the fact that I took the bright woman twice into my *brūnn* 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 *(b)her*- (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 brún 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, brún, and svartr, distinguished – ÍF IX.240.21), I suggest that svartr encompasses brún in the OWN period. This supposition is given further force by the identification of the same person’s hair as brún and svartr (ÍF VII.325.16). Consequently, I am hesitant to ascribe basic status to brún 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 brún 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”

Faroese (dimmur): “dimm, døkk, såm; myrk”
ModIce (dimmur): “myrkur, døkkur”
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. _Døkkr_

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “dark”
Fritzner: “mørkladen, mørkfaret”
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, uklår”
ModIce (dökkur): “dimmur, skuggalegur, myrkur”
ModNorw (døkk): “noko mørk; dim, uklar, matt”
Norn (døkk): “gloomy, depressed, discouraged”

III. H. 1. a. Occurrences of døkkr

See Appendix 2.

III. H. 1. b. Occurrences of døkkr in compounds

See Appendix 2.

III. H. 2. Discussion of Referents: Døkkr

III. H. 2. a. HUMANS

A man is dokklitaðr at ÍF V.189.13. King Eysteinn is døkkr 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 døkkr.

At ÍF XII.070.17 Grímr is described (approvingly) as having dokkr hair; at ÍF XI.258.23 Ásbjørn is described disapprovingly as døkkr-haired. The Irish Haraldr gilli (whose svartr eyes are also commented upon in the same passage) has døkkr hair at Heims. III.267.3. A man has døkkr 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 ódøkkur, apparently since this eminently light-reflective material is paradigmatically not dark.

The existence of the term dokklitaðr (ÍF V.189.13) implies either that certain colors were
considered $dþkkr$, or that they could be $dþkkr$. 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 $dþkkr$ at FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.274.21.

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

A face changing color in response to emotions is $dþkkr$ at Heims. III.331.10.

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

Ravens are $dþkkr$ at Edd.Rm.178.13, FJ.A1.078/Heims. I.199.1.

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

A hat is $dþkkr$ at FJ.A1.044/ÍF II.259.02.

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

Hillsides are $dþkkr$ at Edd.H.H.137.19.

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

A dungeon is $dþkkr$ at ÍF IX.215.16.

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

Ships are $dþkkr$ at FJ.A1.304/ÍF III.171.25.

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

Waves are $dþkkr$ at FJ.A1.387/Heims. III.110.01.

### III. H. 3. Discussion: $Dþkkr$

### III. H. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: $Dþkkr$

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: Dokkr**

It would be misleading to state that *dokkr* 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 *dokkr* in OWN. The compound *døkklitaðr* (ÍF V.189.13) implies that colors could be *døkkr*. However, *døkkr* 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”

Faroese (*fagur*): “fager, væn; (um lit) lysande, sterk; veðrið var av tí fagrasta (med det finaste)…”
ModIcel (*fagur*): "1 fallegur; 2 gljáandi, skinandi"
ModNorw (*fager*): “vacker, 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**

Metalllic 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.


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*.

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 *svatr, fólfr, and sölfr*, 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 *fagralit* 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 \textit{fagr} at Edd.Vsp.007.22. Onions are \textit{fagr} at ÍF XIII.294.11/29, ÍF XIII.295.04/14.

III. I. 2. l. PAINT

Paint is \textit{fagr} at FJ.A1.397/Heims. III.113.20.

III. I. 2. m. WATER

A pool is \textit{fagr} at ÍF XIV.014.04. A well is \textit{fagr} at Heims. II.405.10.

III. I. 2. n. PRECIOUS MATERIALS

Precious materials (not further specified) are \textit{fagr} at Edd.Grp.166.06, Edd.Grp.166.06.

III. I. 2. o. PROCESSIONS

A procession is \textit{fagr} at Heims. III.81.6.

III. I. 2. p. ROADS

A road is \textit{fagr} at FJ.A1.378/Heims. III.060.03.

III. I. 2. q. SHIELDS

Shields are frequently \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{fagr}; at ÍF II.091.03 some importance seems to be attached to the paint job in evaluating the ship as \textit{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-, paǵ- (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: \textit{Fagr}

Having collected all its occurrences in the texts excerpted, it appears that the word \textit{fagr} does not have hue associations (as ModEng \textit{fair} may sometimes have in application to hair), but denotes only notions of attractiveness, propriety, good workmanship, and approval. Similarly the PGmc etonym *\textit{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 \textit{fagr}, though frequently it appears that we are meant to do so by OWN authors, for whom the cultural associations of \textit{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, \textit{fagr} does frequently co-occur with hue terms.

III. J. \textit{Fölør}

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “pale ”
Fritzner: “bleggul, graagul”
Hægstad-Torp: “bleik”
Lexicon Poeticum: “bleg, hvidlig”
ONP: (no entry at this time)

Faroese (\textit{følin}): “(mest um folk) folen, bleik”
ModIce (\textit{fölur}): “(einkum í andliti) hvítleitur”
ModNorw (\textit{folen}): «1 niðs, forferdeleg; ofseleg, svær \textit{ein f- kar / fole (til) vêr / 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 \textit{fölør}

See Appendix 2.

III. J. 1. a. Occurrences of \textit{fölør} in compounds

See Appendix 2.
III. J. 2. Discussion of Referents: Fölfr

III. J. 2. a. HUMAN FACES

Most occurrences of fölfr 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 fóllitaðr (ÍF XII.302.01) and fólleitr 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 fölfr 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 allfölfr (“thoroughly fölfr”).

III. J. 2. b. CORPSES

Fölfr 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 fölfr with fear is compared to a corpse. At FJ.A1.341/Heims. III.044.03, skulls are fölfr.

III. J. 2. c. HORSES

Fölfr 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 ófölfr – suggesting that fölfr is an attribute which these particular horses do not possess, perhaps even in a litotic way). The one poetic
occurrence of \( f\!o\!l\!r \) as a horse color in the texts excerpted is Edd.H.H.II.160.27. The OE cognate \textit{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 \( f\!o\!l\!r \) 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: \( f\!o\!l\!r \)**

**III. J. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: \( f\!o\!l\!r \)**

According to the OED entry for \textit{fallow} (the ModEng cognate to \( f\!o\!l\!r \)), the root in Gmc \( \ast f\!a\!l\!w\!a\!z \) from which it derives is likely cognate with the root in Greek \( \pi\!o\!l\!-\!i\!\acute{c} \) (gray, old man), Latin \textit{pal\!-\!lidus} (pale). To this I would add (from Pokorny 6. \textit{pel\!-}) Skt \textit{pal\!i\!t\!\acute{a}-} “gray of age, old man,” Av \textit{pouru\!\-\!\-a\!-\-}, \textit{paouru\!\-\!\-a\!-\-} “gray, old,” Arm. \textit{al\!i\k\!\-\-} “white (applied to sky, beards, hair),” OHG \textit{fal\!aw\!\-\!\-}\(\textit{isk}\)a “ashes,” \textit{fal\!co} “falcon,” Gk \textit{pel\!ios} “dark,” \textit{pel\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!\-\!” 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: \( f\!o\!l\!r \)**

\( f\!o\!l\!r \) 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 (\textit{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 \( h\!j\!a\!r\!tr \) and \( f\!a\!g\!r \) are frequently contrasted with \textit{svartr}. By way of contrast, the OE cognate \textit{fealu} does appear to have been a hue term which was focused near ModEng \textit{yellow} (Barnes 1960: 511).
III. K. Gránn

Cleasby-Vigfússon: (no entry)
Fritzner: (no entry)
Hægstad-Torp: “graa (= grár) (poet.)”
Lexicon Poeticum: “grá”
ONP: (no entry; occurs only in poetry)

Faroese (gráin): “vid ~ takk med skiti takk, vantakka”
ModIcel: “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, *rânes* (*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*): “grá”
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 grāg, OHG grāo, 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 zbrjǭ “glance, see” (Heidermanns 1993: 259). Within Gmc, the same root forms the OWN term grýandi “dawn,” OSw. grý “to dawn,” and likely Far. glíggja “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”
Høegstad-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 gróinn 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, gróinn 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 gróinn 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 gróinn without particular reference to plants at FJ.A1.386/Heims.
I.158.16. Particularly grassy land is gróinn at FJ.A1.118/ÍF IX.020.10, ÍF XIV.132.07. Yggdrasill
is gróinn at Edd.Vsp.005.08, and a tree trunk seen in a dream is gróinn at Heims. I.148.8.

Roads, probably with the implication that they are overgrown with plant life, are gróinn at
Edd.Fm.187.24, Edd.Rþ.280.06.

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

Onions are gróinn at Edd.Gðr.II.224.07, Edd.Vsp.001.16.

III. M. 2. b. TEXTILES & CLOTHING

Textiles can be died gróinn – 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 gulgróinn (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, grønn 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.

Grønn 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): “gúl, gul”
ModIce (gulur): “með lít 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 *Gulapíng*, located near the modern Norwegian community of *Gulen* on the *Gulafjorden*, 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 *Svinfellinga 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,” *hiranya-* “gold,” Av. *zāirī-* “yellow,” *zaraṇīa-* “gold,” Middle Persian *zard* "yellow"), Gk (*chlōrós* “green,”), Italic (Latin *helvus* “pale yellow,” *holus* “vegetables,”
galbinus “green-yellow,” fel “bile”), Alb (diell "sun," dhelpër “fox”), Celtic (OfIr. gel “shining, white,” glass “green, gray, blue,” Welsh gell “yellow,” glas “blue,” Breton glaz “green,” gell "brown, orange, yellow," Cornish gell “brown,” Gaulish giluos "light brown"), Gmc (OE geolu “yellow,” gold “gold,” OWN gull “gold,” gall “bile, poison”), Balto-Slavic (Lith želvas "greenish, yellowish," žolė “grass,” gulgės “swan,” Latv zelts “gold,” zils “blue,” OCS zlato “gold,” zelē “green,” žlēčė “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 hiranya- “gold,” OHG glenzen “to shine,” OfIr. 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 gulp, OCS zlato, is to be traced to a derived zero-grade nominal formation *ǵh₁-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 želvas "greenish, yellowish," and Gaulish giluos "light brown" (Lloyd and Lühr 1999: 145). OWN gulr, which is
frequently cited as a precise cognate with WGmc *gelwaz or its descendants,\(^\text{22}\) cannot in fact derive from *gelwaz, which would give OWN *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 (> OWN blár), *grēwaz (> OWN 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 OWN 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 OWN *gjöl faker. Kroonen is also incorrect in his statement that there are no traces of a-umlaut in gulr and its derivates, as several compounds (attested outside the texts excerpted) are found with the A-umlauted stem gol-: golgrónn "g.-green," golmóraðr "g.-brownish-red," golsóttar "g.-bellied

\(^{22}\) 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 suffixed u in OWN gulúsótt "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 berfúts, 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\(^{23}\))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary referent</th>
<th>Secondary referent</th>
<th>Number of examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hár</em></td>
<td><em>silki</em></td>
<td>2 (Óláfs saga helga 172.22, Óláfs saga kyrra 203.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hár</em></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>1 (<em>Haraldssona saga</em> 331.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>silki</em></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>1 (<em>Magnúss saga berfòotts</em> 235.17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*\(^{24}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Referent</th>
<th>Secondary Referent</th>
<th>Number of examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hár</em></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>2 (<em>Laxdóla saga</em> 187.14, <em>Brennu-Njáls saga</em> 53.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tág</em></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>1 (<em>Fóstbróðra saga</em> 276.11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3. *Gulr in skaldic poetry*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Referent</th>
<th>Secondary Referent</th>
<th>Number of examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>viðr</em></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>1 (<em>Skjaldeigbtning</em> A1:133 / <em>Eyrbyggja saga</em> 78.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The saga puts this stanza in the mouth of Björn Ásbrandsson Breiðvikingakappi. 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

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\(^{24}\) 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).
86
century (Finnur Jónsson, Skjaldedigtning A1: 133; Einar Ól Sveinsson and Matthías Þórdarson 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. 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 silkiskyrtta (“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

25 According to the interpretation of the stanza by Einar Ól Sveinsson and Matthías Þórdarson (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 *silkibleikr* (“silk-pale”) occurs once as a descriptor of hair color as well (*Magnúss saga berfóttis* 227.25). Since *faogr* is often used of hair color and frequently collocated in the corpus with *bjartr* (“bright”), *ljóss* (“light, shining”), and *hvitr* (“white”), the feature of silk being alluded to with its comparison to *faogr, 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*, 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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26 Though Ewing (2006: 157) suggests that it may be in reference to the hue of undyed silk, which is “golden.”
rutiae dicitae (“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, gullsitr, gulr*, was originally reddish rather than yellowish, though in the modern West Norse languages and possibly already in later OWN, 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 OWN (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 OWN 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. hátvara, ags. hár [sic]), især graahaaret”
Lexicon Poeticum: “gráhâret, gammel”
Haugstad-Torp: “graa, serl. graahærð”

Faroese: (no apparent descendent term)
ModIce: “gráhærður”
ModNorw: No apparent descendent term, but note the toponym *Hárteigen* 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


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 *ḱei- (Pokorny ̃kei-) is, with various suffixes, used to form color terms all over the spectrum: “white, whitish” (Skt śi-ti-, Lith syvas), “dark brown” (Middle Irish cíar, Skt śyā-vā-), “orange” (Gk kirrós), “gray” (OWN hárr, OCS sēr, though the latter may be a loan from Gmc according to Kroonen 2013: 201), and “blue” (OE hēwen “blue,” OCS sīn “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
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, skylaus”

Faroese: No apparent descendent adjective, but note *heiðursdagur* “heidersdag;
godvðsdag,” *heiðurveður* “heide vêr, klârvêr”
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: Heiðr

Heiðr 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 Hólmarrsson et al. 1989: 180), which is not a color term.

III. Q. Hvítr

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 fargeintrukket som kjem fram når mest alt lyset blir kasta attende”
Norn (hwid): “white”

III. Q. 1. Occurrences of hvítr

See Appendix 2.

III. Q. 2. Occurrences of hvítr in compounds

See Appendix 2.

III. Q. 2. Discussion of Referents: Hvítr

III. Q. 2. a. SNOW

One definitive referent of OWN hvítr is snow; the collocation hvítr sem snjór “white as snow” occurs twice (H.&H. 154.24, H.&H. 166.29), hvítr sem dript “white as driven snow” once (Heims. II.290.21). Snow is described by hvítr twice (Heims. I.90.12, ÍF XIII. 102.17); at ÍF XIII.102.17 snow is described as hvitastr “whitest.” This is the only occurrence of the superlative form of a color adjective in the texts examined.
Compounds such as *drífhvítr* (“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), *mjallhvítr* (“snow-white,” Edd.Alv.125.08, FJ.A2.459/ÍF XIV.110.12), *snaehvítr* (Edd.Am.257.26), also suggest a proverbial association of *hvítr* 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 *hvitabjörn* “white bear” in OWN (occasionally as *hvitabjörn* in ModIce, though more often as *isbjörn* (ice bear); the animal is also known as *isbjørn* 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 *hvítr* 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 *Hvittingr* (ÍF III.136.09), and at ÍF VII.373.21 it is the horse’s mane specifically that is *hvítr*. The compound *alhvítr* 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 *hvitingur* (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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>color term</th>
<th>occurrences (when used about horses) in texts excerpted</th>
<th>meaning (when used about horses) in ModIce (source: Arnþrúður Heimisdóttir)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>alhvitr</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alrauðr</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apalgrår</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>blakkr</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bleikálóttr</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>bay dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bleikr</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>yellow dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Color Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blessótr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>blaze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brúnn</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fífíbleikr</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>yellow dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólr</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fóxótttr</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heíðaraðr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinnskjóttr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litþrótttr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>roan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ljóðbleikr</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>light-yellow dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ljóss</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móáldótttr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>blue dun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móskjótttr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rauðr</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>chestnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*, *rauðr*, *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, bleikálóttr, blessóttr, fifilbleikr, foxóttr, litfóróttr*, 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 *Guðrúnarhvötn* for the hair of a young woman, Svanhildr, though here the word *hvítr* alliterates with another in the line (of *pá ann 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-Grimssonar* 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 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>color term</th>
<th>occurrences (when used about human hair) in texts excerpted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brún</td>
<td>1 (= svartr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dókkjarpr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulr</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hárr</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarpr</td>
<td>10 (1x = svartr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ljósjarpr</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raudbleikr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raudr</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartjarpr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uðfgrár</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 álítum ok bjártr 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 marga 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.)

In Modern Norwegian (and Swedish), the plant known as Balder(s)brá 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-Grimsson’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.Rþ.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.Rþ.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.Gôr. 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 *kweti- (Pokorny 3. kyei-). This root forms common Germanic color terms for “white” (e.g. Goth. hweits, OWN hvítr, OE hwēt, OHG wīz) and by extension the term for “wheat” (e.g. OWN hveiti, OE hwēte, apparently in reference to white flour). The root is widely distributed with a meaning of “white,” for instance in Skt. śvētā- “white,” Gk. Pindos “the
white” (name of a city), but also more generally as “light” or “shine,” especially in Balto-
Slavic, e.g. Lith. šviesa “light,” OCS švět “light,” and Skt śvinda “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 hvítast – “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. Höss

Cleasby-Vigfússon: “gray, of a wolf”
Fritzner: “graar, graalig”
Lexicon Poeticum: “grå, især om ulvens farve”
Hægstad-Torp: “gra”

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 höss

See Appendix 2.
III. R. 1. a. Occurrences of ḥǫss in compounds

See Appendix 2.

III. R. 2. Discussion of Referents: Ḥǫss

III. R. 2. a. ANIMALS

An eagle’s foot is ḥǫss at FJ.A1.370/Heims. III.083.01; a ram is ḥǫss at ÍF VII.237.23.

III. R. 3. Discussion: Ḥǫss

III. R. 3. a. Etymology and Cognate Terms: Ḥǫss

OWN ḥǫss is cognate with OE hasu “gray.” The PIE root is *kas- (Pokorny ḱas-). 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/hēri, OHG haso, English hare, OPruss. sasins). The root certainly dates back to PIE, probably with the primary meaning “gray.”

III. R. 3. b. Conclusions: Ḥǫss

Ḥǫss 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 ḥǫss 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 ḥǫss “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): “gùlbrun, ljosbrun”
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.Gòr.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 døkkjarpr (“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 (eorp) 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-Vigfússons 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: “ljos, klaar, bjart, blank”
Lexicon Poeticum: “lys, skinnende”

Faroese (ljósur): “ljos”
 ModIce (ljós): "1 bjartur, 2 ljósleitur"
ModNorw (ljos/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 NGm.

**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: *móbrún* (graabrün), *mórauðr* (rödbrun), *mórendr* (brunstribet, med rødbrune eller graabrune Striber)
Hægstad-Torp: *móbrún* (mobrun, graabrún), *mórauðr* (moraud, brunraud), *mórendr* (som hev molita render, brunrendut)
Lexicon Poeticum: *mórauðr* (brunråd)

Faroese: *morreyður* (moraud, raudbrun)
Modlce: *móbrún* (dökkrbrún), *móraður* (móbrúnn, rauðbrúnn), *mórendr* (með mórauðum (ullarl)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 ofReferents: 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 brúnmóálóttr (one occurrence), móálóttr (one occurrence), móbrúnn (one occurrence), mókóllóttr (two occurrences), mórauðr (one occurrence), móskjóttr (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 uncleanliness 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 móálóttr, can be used in the specialized vocabulary of horse color in ModIce (the one occurrence of móálóttr 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 ljos; 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.Rþ.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,
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.Gðr.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 (reydur): “raud; (um saud) raudleg, raudkvit”
ModIcelce (rauður): “sem hefur lit blóðs”
ModNorw (raud): “med farge som ligg mellom oransje og fiolett i sollysspekteret”
Norn (röd): “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 *blöðrauðr* (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 *hvitr*, 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 *blöðrauðr* (“blood-red”) at Heims. I.297.21. Similarly, gold is *glöðrauðr* (“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 *Raudülfs þáttr*, 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 *raudr* (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 *allraudr* (thoroughly red) at ÍF V.127.27, *dreyrrraudr* (“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 *raudr*, 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.
Horses’ ears specifically are red at ÍF V.135.13. A horse is named Heidarauðr “bright red” at ÍF XI.256.17.

Horses are alrauðr (all red) at ÍF X.222.04.

Since this is a large number of occurrences for this color term applied to horses in prose, rauðr was evidently a common recognized shade of horse color in the OWN period. In ModIce, the term raður 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 rauðr at ÍF XIII.275.05/18, ÍF XIII.126.09, ÍF VIII.171.22, ÍF V.189.04, Heims. I.356.21, Edd.Rþ.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 fagrær auðr (“fair-red”) at Edd.Vsp.010.06, while another is sótrauðr (“soot-red”) at Edd.Vsp.010.10.

III. W. 2. g. HEATED IRON

Heated iron is rauðr 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 rauðn rijf (red-nose) at Hauksbók 112.30.

III. W. 2. m. HUMAN CHEEKS

A woman’s cheek is rauðr at Hauskbók 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 bjartur.

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-Grimsson wears a rauðr kirtle at ÍF II.243.30. Other rauðr kirtles are found at ÍF IX.136.15, ÍF IX.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 rauðkembingr 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 *h₁reudh- (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 rō:hita-, Av raoiōita-), Celtic (OIr rūad, Welsh
rhudd), Balto-Slavic (Lith. raudona, OCS rudь), and Tocharian (Toch. B rātre).

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 monolexemic 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 rødull for the sun also 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. rjolleitt (Tel.) og rø for rjød, rjod, Sfj.”
Lexicon Poeticum: “rød, rødmusset”

Faroese: (no apparent descendent term)
Modlce (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.Rþ.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 rjóda (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 (svartrur): “svart”  
ModIce (svartrur): “sem er á litinn eins og kol, koldökkur, myrkur”  
ModNorw (svartr): “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 svartr

See Appendix 2.

III. Y. 1. a. Occurrences of svartr 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 svartr, 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.Rþ.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
It is notable that the most frequent article of clothing which may be *svart* is the cowl. On occasion it is possible that the use of the term *svart* 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 *svart* at Gylf. 19.38 and at *Elucidarius* 35.08 (translating Latin *niger*); blood is “*svart* as ink” at ÍF VII.363.16; “*svart* as ink” also occurs at ÍF XII.321.02.

**III. Y. 2. e. EYES**

*Svart* 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**

*Álsvart* (“all-black”) is a term used descriptively only of oxen: Edd.Hym.091.08, Edd.Brk.114.13, ÍF XII.133.11, ÍF X.121.21, though a giant is named *Álsvart* (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 *svart* 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 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 *svart* eyes elsewhere (FJ.A1.081/ÍF VIII.211.11).

The term *svart* clearly has negative connotations, as discussed under **III. D. 3. b.** (above, in the context of differentiating *blár* and *svart*). 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 kolsvartr, 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 Hreinssson, 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 educing 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, brünð, gránn, grár, grónn, gulr, hárr, hvítr, hóss, jarpr, rauðr, rjóðr, and svartr.

Some of these terms are frequently compounded, 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

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27 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 OWN 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 OWN 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 *brún* 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*,\(^{28}\) 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.

\(^{28}\) In a separate paper (forthcoming) I have suggested that this compound does not refer to the color of apples (*eplú*), but to the blue-gray color of the eyes of newborn calves and foals.
Dreyrrauðr ("blood-red") occurs four times, always about an angry human face. Fífilbleikr ("dandelion-yellow") occurs four times, only about the color of horses. Glóðrauðr ("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 hóss 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 rauðr, 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:

*brún*: 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 *svart* 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 infequent, is too restricted in application to be considered a basic color term. The cognate *haer* 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 *brúnri*, was a hyponym of *svartr* in the OWN period. Interestingly, the ModIc descendant term *jarprur* is applied only to horse hair, while in OWN *jarpr* is restricted to
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>color term (or near-color term)</th>
<th>total occurrences in texts excerpted</th>
<th>occurrences in skaldic poetry?</th>
<th>occurrences in eddic poetry?</th>
<th>occurrences in Ísl. sǫgur?</th>
<th>occurrences in Heimskringla?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ámr</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>blakkr</td>
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<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bĺár</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
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<td>heiðr</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>159</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>mó- (prefix)</td>
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<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>181</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the terms in the table, it is bjart, blár, bleikr, brúnn, dokkr, fagðr, fólr, grár, gránn, hárr, hvítr, ljóss, myrkr, rauðr, and svartr that occur in all four genres. This criterion would exclude ámr, blakkr, dimmr, gránn, gúlr, 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, redder (Biggam 2012: 30); *greenen, *brownen, etc. would perhaps be understandable, but are not in use.29 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), grônka (grónn).30

29 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).
30 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 døkkr (døkkna) and fǫlr (fǫlna), 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 Viðbláinn (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),31 myrkvi “darkness” (to myrkr), rauði “iron ore” and the surprising rauða “egg yolk” (to rauðr),32 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-, myrkr-), bleikr (with fis-, fífil-, ljós-, rauð-), brúnn (with mó-, rauð-, skol-), døkkr (with ó-), fagr (all-, gang-, hopp-, lit-, ó-), fól (all-, nauð-, nef-, ó-), grár (with al-, apal-, járn-, úlf-), grónn (with al-, fagr-, gul-, iðja-, i-, lauf-), heiðr (with sól-), hvítr (with al-, all-, blá-, blik-, drif-, fagr-, fann-, frán-, lin-, mjall-, snæ-, sól-, svan-), jarpr (døkk-, ljós-, svartr-), ljóss (with all-, far-, víg-), myrkr (with nið-), rauðr (with al-, all-, barð-, blóð-, dreyr-, fagr-, glóð-, heiða-, mó-, sót-, tand-, val-).

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31 Kroonen (2013: 118) adduces also irpa “brown mare” from ModIce, though the word is not attested except as a name in OWN.
32 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.
sværtr (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.

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 /ɡ/ 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 mollusces 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).

33 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 rauðr 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 OWN 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 – rauðr, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>total occurrences in texts excerpted</th>
<th>frequency, relative to frequency of next most frequent term, rounded to 2 decimal points after 0</th>
<th>percentage of total occurrences of all color terms in texts excerpted, rounded to 2 decimal points after 0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rauðr</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>2.44x commoner than: 36.97%</td>
<td>36.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>1.14x commoner than: 15.17%</td>
<td>15.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>1.10x commoner than: 13.33%</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blár</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1.45x commoner than: 12.15%</td>
<td>12.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2.70x commoner than: 8.38%</td>
<td>8.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grönn</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.03x commoner than: 3.1%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hárr</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.13x commoner than: 3.02%</td>
<td>3.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.19x commoner than: 2.68%</td>
<td>2.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brún</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.92x commoner than: 2.26%</td>
<td>2.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarpr</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2x commoner than: 1.17%</td>
<td>1.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulr</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.17x commoner than: 0.59%</td>
<td>0.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grán</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5x commoner than: 0.50%</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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34 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.
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>rjóðr</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.33x commoner than:</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hóss</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3x commoner than:</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ámr</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1,193 total</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, *hóss* (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*). 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).

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35 A twelfth, *silver*, is sometimes added to this list (e.g. at Anderson 2003: 21).
The proportion taken up by the achromatic terms – *svarr/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 OWN 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 OWN texts or the ModEng texts surveyed. Cognates with OWN *rauðr, hvítr,* and *svarr* make up the top three, as they do in OWN, 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 OWN 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 OWN *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 *wan, geolo, or hawen*. 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 of frequency of *rauðr* than of other color terms in OWN to the absence of any near-synonyms (other than infrequent and specialized *röðr*), whereas *hvítr* and *svartr* may have near-synonyms that can be substituted for them, such as *ljóss* for *hvítr* and *myrkr* for *svartr*.36 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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36 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, grönn, 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*.37

**Fig. 5. Occurrences of color terms used of human eyes in the OWN texts studied**38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>color term</th>
<th>total occurrences (about eye color) in <em>Íslendinga sögur</em> (prose)</th>
<th>total occurrences (about eye color) in <em>Heimskringla</em> (prose)</th>
<th>total occurrences (about eye color) in skaldic poetry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>blár</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>svartr</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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37 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).
38 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 Hliðarendi, Hóror Grímkelsson), while those who have *svartr* eyes are ugly (Egill Skalla-Grimsson) or in some other way pointed out as socially undesirable or foreign (Haraldr gilli, Kormákr Ögmundsson, Sighvatr skáld Þórdarson in Óláfs saga helga). *Svartr* eyes are also connected to Irishmen (Haraldr gilli) and Icelanders\(^{39}\) – Egill Skalla-Grimsson, Gunnlaugr ormstunga, Húnbogi enn sterki son Álfs ór Dóllum, Kormákr Ögmundsson (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*.

\(^{39}\) 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 (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.

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 hrafnbláir “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 *snehvítr* (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 OWN (and its predecessor OWN) did not distinguish yellow from red (see further on this possibility, Ch. 4 § I. B.).

One more possibility for type-modification in the OWN 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 OWN, or of wines in modern European languages) or social importance (like the color of human eyes in OWN, 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 OWN 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 *svart* – 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 *hvít* 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.

Hvítr is exemplified by reference to snow; hvítr sem snjór (“white as snow,” both times in Heimslýsing ok helgifróði, pp. 154 and 166) and once in the alternative wording hvítr 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 jǫrð* (“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
“light blue.” It is sinij which is used in all abstract contexts, but there are referents for which sinij cannot 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 OWN 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. This may give a small indication of what contrasts were most psychologically salient to OWN writers.

**Fig. 6. Frequency of Color Contrasts in OWN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>colors contrasted</th>
<th>occurrences of contrast in texts excerpted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blár / brúnn</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blár / hvítr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blár / svartr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bleikr / rauðr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bleikr / rjóðr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bleikr / svartr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 hvergvi/ 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brünn / grár</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brünn / rauðbrún</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brünn / rauðr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brünn / svartr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fjólr / svartr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár / hvítr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár / rauðr</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár / svartr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gróinn / rauðr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr / jarpr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr / ljósjarpr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr / rauðlitaðr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr / rauðr</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr / rjóðr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hvítr / svartr</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rauðr / mórendr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rauðr / rjóðr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rauðr / svartr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartr / hárr</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the only contrasts which occur three or more times, suggesting a greater salience of contrast, are hvítr-svartr (13 times), hvítr-rauðr (5 times), and grár-rauðr (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 – 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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42 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 sogur, 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern English</th>
<th>Old West Norse</th>
<th>Modern Icelandic</th>
<th>Modern Norwegian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td><em>svartr</em></td>
<td><em>svartur</em></td>
<td><em>svart</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td><em>blár</em></td>
<td><em>blár</em></td>
<td><em>blå</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>(hyponyms of <em>svartr</em> or <em>bleikr</em>)</td>
<td><em>brúnn</em></td>
<td><em>brun</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43 The Basic Color Terms of Faroese and Norn are much less clear, and not included in this table.
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, grønn, 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: *hár*, *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*, *grønn*, *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 *myrkrblár* (*"dark-blue,"* implying that lighter shades of blue exist), it is much more likely that *blár* was focused on blue in the OWN period. Indeed the most difficult case with *blár* is the famous *blámenn* (*"blue-men,"* African people) of OWN 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 OWN 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\textsubscript{G/Blu}, 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage I</th>
<th>Stage II</th>
<th>Stage III&lt;sub&gt;G/Br&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Stage IV&lt;sub&gt;R/Y&lt;/sub&gt; (late PGmc?)</th>
<th>Stage V (OWN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black/green/blue</td>
<td>black/green/blue</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>blue/green</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td>blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>green</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white/red/yellow</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red/yellow</td>
<td>red/yellow</td>
<td>red/yellow</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 blår/*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_{G/Bu}, 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_{R/Y}, 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 descendental 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 OWN uses a different adjective than WGmc *gelwaz to form its BCT for yellow, while all other BCTs in OWN 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 OWN (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 OWN\(^44\)) by the less semantically ambiguous gulr, which in classical OWN 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 OWN (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 OWN 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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\(^44\) As suggested by its greatly increased frequency in late Riddara sǫgur. 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 OWN, 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 OWN with that of the Most Similar Modern Languages from World Color Survey Data (2009).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BCT</th>
<th>OWN</th>
<th>Micmac</th>
<th>Guambiano</th>
<th>Buglere</th>
<th>Kamano-Kafe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>magtaweeg</td>
<td>yalig</td>
<td>jere/jerere</td>
<td>haninke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>hvítr</td>
<td>wapeeg</td>
<td>polig</td>
<td>jutre/jusa</td>
<td>efeke</td>
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<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>rauðr</td>
<td>megweeg</td>
<td>piguig</td>
<td>dabe/dabere</td>
<td>koranke</td>
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<td>yellow</td>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>watapteg</td>
<td>kseñig</td>
<td>moloin/moloinre</td>
<td>kaninkruke' (extended to other non-red warm colors)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(extended to other non-red warm colors)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(extended to other non-red warm colors)</td>
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<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>grónn</td>
<td>stognamuug/stognamugsit</td>
<td>chilga</td>
<td>lere/lerere/lejre</td>
<td>yafasin’age</td>
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<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>blár</td>
<td>eewneeg</td>
<td>pillig</td>
<td>leren (extended to purple)</td>
<td>movegę’ (extended to purple)</td>
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<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>grár</td>
<td>grayewit (not BCT)</td>
<td>ošig (also &quot;pastels&quot;)</td>
<td>kwajusa (not BCT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>brúnn and jarpr (not BCTs; but most frequent of non-basics)</td>
<td>wisaweeg, jijuaga [tamug], brownewit/brown (basicness debated)</td>
<td>cafe (not BCT)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>
The closest parallels to the classical OWN 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 OWN 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 OWN 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 OWN, is a striking parallel considering the other similarities in their color categorization systems.

As stated earlier, historically OWN 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 R/Y. 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 OWN, show clear relics of having emerged from an earlier Stage IV G/Bu 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 OWN, Guambiano and Micmac, for instance). While there is little evidence in OWN for such a grue category, and the BCT for green is well-established in OWN 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 OWN is in fact the successor of a Stage IV G/Bu system in late PGmc or early OWN. 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. Dr. Dráp Níflunga, in the above volume.
Edd. Fm. Fáfnismál, in the above volume.
Edd. Gr. II Guðrúnarkviða ðonnur, in the above volume.
Edd. Gr. III. Guðrúnarkviða en bríðja, in the above volume.
Edd. Grp. Grípisspá, in the above volume.
Edd. H. H. II. Helgakviða Hundingsbana ðonnur, in the above volume.
Edd. Hm. Hamðismál, in the above volume.
Edd. Ls. Lokasenna, in the above volume.
Edd. O. Od. Oddrúnargrátr, in the above volume.
Edd. Rm. Reginsmál, in the above volume.
Edd. Sg. Sigurðarkviða en skamma, in the above volume.
Edd. Skm. Fór Skírnis, in the above volume.
Edd. Ærk. Prymskviða, in the above volume.
Edd. Vm. Vafþrúðnismál, in the above volume.
Edd. Vsp. Vólsápð, in the above volume.
ÍF Íslensk fornrit, vols. 1-14.
Kristni Kristni saga
Physiologus Physiologus
Abbreviations for Language Names:

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<td>Old West Norse</td>
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<td>Language</td>
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<td>Proto-Germanic</td>
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<td>Ved.</td>
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<td>W.</td>
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<tr>
<td>WGmc</td>
<td>West Germanic</td>
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Appendix 2. Occurrences of Color and Color-Like Terms in the Texts Excerpted

Columns represent the following:

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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>term</td>
<td>location of term</td>
<td>referent</td>
<td>poetic context</td>
<td>other notes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- *aðalh.* = the color term is in *aðalhending*, or full rhyme, with another word
- *allit.* = the color term alliterates with another word
- *skoth.* = the color term is in *skothending*, or consonant-rhyme, with another word

**Occurrences of ámr**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ámr</th>
<th>FJ.A1.208/</th>
<th>woman</th>
<th>allit., skoth.</th>
<th>context is insulting</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ÍF III.290.07</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Occurrences of bjartr**

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Am.249.20</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Gór.II.224.03</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Gór.III.233.13</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit.</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Grp.166.14</td>
<td>woman</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Grp.169.11</td>
<td>woman’s hair</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Rp.285.03</td>
<td>cheeks: Jarl</td>
<td>allit.</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Sg.215.12</td>
<td>clothing</td>
<td>c/ blár</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Edd.Vsp.012.15</td>
<td>Freyr</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.007/ Heims. I.028.09</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.018/ Skáld.032.25</td>
<td>shields</td>
<td>allit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.080/ ÍF VIII.209.02</td>
<td>woman’s eyes</td>
<td>allit.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>allit., skoth.</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.156/ Skáld.68.21</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.238/ Heims. II.140.13</td>
<td>ring: golden</td>
<td>allit., aðalh.</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.259/ Heims. II.367.21</td>
<td>blood</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.259/ Heims. II.379.09</td>
<td>helmet</td>
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<td>Reference</td>
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<td>allit., aðalh.</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.348/Skáld.033.34</td>
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<td>skoth. contrast: svartr, dökkur</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.373/Heims. III.152.02</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.391/Skáld.098.24</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.093.15</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.094.10</td>
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<td>aðalh.</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.399/Skáld.096.02</td>
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<td>FJ.A1.458/Skáld.086.08</td>
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<td>aðalh. may refer to their armor</td>
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<td>FJ.A2.455/ÍF XIV.072.04</td>
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<td>c/ hvítr</td>
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<td>FJ/Heims. III.215.24</td>
<td>fire</td>
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<td>FJ/Heims. III.378.3</td>
<td>arrow</td>
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<td>Gylf. 20.8</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>c/ fagr</td>
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<td>Gylf. 23.16</td>
<td>(myth.): Baldr</td>
<td>c/ fagr, ljóss, hvítr</td>
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<td>Gylf. 31.16</td>
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<td>c/ ljóss</td>
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<td>Gylf. 50.20</td>
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<td>Heims. I.353.6</td>
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<td>Heims. II.378.24</td>
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<td>Heims. II.387.10</td>
<td>face: St Olaf’s in death</td>
<td>c/ fagr, rauðr</td>
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<td>ÍF II.274.03</td>
<td>Þorsteinn Egilsson</td>
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<td>ÍF IV.208.26</td>
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<td>ÍF IV.260.04</td>
<td>men: seen in a dream</td>
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<td>ÍF IX.114.11</td>
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<td>ÍF IX.143.18</td>
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<td>ÍF IX.146.01</td>
<td>sword; “bjart sem silfr”</td>
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Occurrences of bjartr in compounds

bjart-leitr ÍF XIII.336.12 man seen in a dream

bjart-litað Edd.H.Hv.142.21 woman

Gagl-bjartr Edd.Akv.246.21 woman allit.
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<td>vinn-</td>
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<td>bjartr</td>
<td>Skáld. 119.18</td>
<td>sword</td>
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**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: Fáðir’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.A1.086/  ÍF VIII.269.19  sea  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/
Heims. II.032.06  sword
blár  FJ.A1.250/
Heims. II.274.12  stripes allit, aðalh. on a sail
blár  FJ.A1.294/
Heims. II.037.10  raven allit.
blár  FJ.A1.334/
Heims. III.009.01  raven allit.
blár  FJ.A1.343/
Heims. III.063.06  raven
blár  FJ.A1.360/
Heims. III.187.29  sword allit.
blár  FJ/
Heims. II.037.10  raven
blár  Gylf. 20.24 (top.): Viðbláínn
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: brún, svartr (kirtles)
blár ÍF IX.245.01 kirtle
blár ÍF V.095.14 (top.): Bláskógahiðr
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 contrast: svartr
blár ÍF V.188.09 kirtle
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/ ljósliðar, 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, fólkr
blár ÍF XII.296.12 cape
Occurrences of blár in compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all-blár</td>
<td>ÍF IX.092.27</td>
<td>smoke</td>
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<tr>
<td>blá-blár</td>
<td>ÍF XIII.163.06</td>
<td>cloak</td>
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<td>flekkót-blá</td>
<td>Edd.Ghv.264.20</td>
<td>bedcovers allit.</td>
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<td>hvitr-blá</td>
<td>Edd.Hm.270.01</td>
<td>bedcovers allit.</td>
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<td>hvitr-blá</td>
<td>ÍF XII.335.01</td>
<td>sword</td>
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<td>naðr-blá-rendr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.304.02</td>
<td>breeches c/ blár, svartr</td>
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<td>rendr-blá-rendr</td>
<td>ÍF XIII.039.22</td>
<td>frock</td>
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<tr>
<td>blá-</td>
<td>Edd.H.H.138.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.480/</td>
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<td>fagr-</td>
<td>Skáld. 123.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>hrafn-</td>
<td>FJ.A1.001/</td>
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<td>blár</td>
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<td>kolblár</td>
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<td>kolblár</td>
<td>ÍF V.082.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>kolblár</td>
<td>ÍF VII.252.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>kolblár</td>
<td>ÍF XII.035.16</td>
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<td>kolblár</td>
<td>ÍF XII.078.06</td>
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<td>myrk-</td>
<td>ÍF IV.023.03</td>
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<td>blár</td>
<td>Heims II.054.28</td>
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**Occurrences of bleikr**

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<tr>
<th>bleikr</th>
<th>Edd.Akv.242.18</th>
<th>shields allit.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Edd.Rþ.285.03</td>
<td>hair: Jarl’s allit. allit with bjartr</td>
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<td>bleikr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.022/</td>
<td>ship allit., skoth.</td>
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<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Skáld.074.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.244/</td>
<td>eagle: foot contrast: rauðr</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. II.314.014</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.272/</td>
<td>face: allit, aðalh. “bleikr sem bast”</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. III.016.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.288/</td>
<td>face aðalh. injured man, c/ fðlr; contrast: fagr</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>ÍF VI.274.18/</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims II. 392.005</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.480/</td>
<td>sun</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Skáld.091.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Skáld.038.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. I.297.12</td>
<td>face: emotional/angry; contrast: svartr</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. II.119.13</td>
<td>face (fearful) c/ fðlr</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. II.355.5</td>
<td>painted crosses</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. II.392.2</td>
<td>face: injured man</td>
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<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. II.60.7</td>
<td>painted crosses</td>
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<tr>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td>Heims. III.198.27</td>
<td>hair: Haraldr Harðráði</td>
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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-
álóttr  ÍF VII.039.15  horse
bleik-
álóttr  ÍF XII.133.16  horses
bleik-
álóttr  ÍF XII.134.01  horses
fífil-
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
Occurrences of brúnn

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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>Edd.Vkv.118.15</td>
<td>bear</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>Edd.Vsp.003.33</td>
<td>(nom.): Brúni (only in Hauksbók)</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.291.12</td>
<td>arm:Kormákr allit., contrast: bjartr</td>
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<tr>
<td>brúnn</td>
<td>FJ.A1.159/Heims. I.263.19</td>
<td>blood allit.: c/ blakkr</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>FJ.A1.225/Heims. II.021.007</td>
<td>blood allit. c/ rauðr</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>FJ.A1.338/Heims. III.101.20</td>
<td>cloak of purpuri c/ hvítr</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>FJ.VIII.99.06</td>
<td>(top.): Brúnsvin</td>
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<td>FJ.III.288.22</td>
<td>(nom.): Brúni</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF III.334.14</td>
<td>jacket: contrast: rauðr, grár</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF IX.240.21</td>
<td>kirtle contrast: blár, svartr (kirtles)</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF IX.299.03</td>
<td>(top.): Brúnastaðir</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF VII.099.06</td>
<td>horse</td>
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<td>ÍF VII.148.07</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF VII.325.16</td>
<td>hair c/ svartr</td>
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<td>ÍF X.016.15</td>
<td>(nom.): Brúni</td>
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<td>ÍF XI.059.01</td>
<td>(nom.): Brúni</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XI.227.02</td>
<td>sword c/ litr, grónn</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XII.148.05</td>
<td>horses</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XII.276.22</td>
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<td>ÍF XII.277.14</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XII.407.20</td>
<td>(nom.): Brúni</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XIII.265.14</td>
<td>(top.): Brúnahaugr</td>
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<td>ÍF XIV.077.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XIV.079.06</td>
<td>(nom. – of a horse)</td>
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<td>brúnn</td>
<td>ÍF XIV.256.05</td>
<td>grass: “brúngar”</td>
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</table>

Occurrences of brúnn in compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>brún-</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>kirtle: jarl’s c/ rauðr (and alternate: rauðbrúnaðr)</td>
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<td>brún-</td>
<td>ÍF XI.100.15</td>
<td>horse (Freyfaxi)</td>
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<td>ÍF IV.034.26</td>
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Occurrences of **dimmr**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dimmr</th>
<th>Edd.Vsp.015.07</th>
<th>dragon</th>
<th>allit.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dimmr</td>
<td>ÍF III.234.10</td>
<td>fire: dwindling</td>
<td>contrast: ljóss</td>
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<td>dimmr</td>
<td>ÍF VI.130.11</td>
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<td>ÍF VI.138.22</td>
<td>room</td>
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<td>ÍF VI.298.26</td>
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<td>contrast: ljóss</td>
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<td>ÍF XIV.354.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>dimmr</td>
<td>ÍF XIV.360.19</td>
<td>room: after extinction of a fire</td>
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Occurrences of **dókkr**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dókkr</th>
<th>Edd.H.H.137.19</th>
<th>land: hillsides</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dókkr</td>
<td>Edd.Rm.178.13</td>
<td>raven</td>
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<td>dókkr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.044/</td>
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<td>ÍF II.259.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>dókkr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.078/</td>
<td>ravens</td>
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<td>Heims. I.199.1</td>
<td>allit., skoth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occurrences of dokkr in compounds

dókk-
jarpr  ÍF V.188.25 hair

dókk-
litaðr  ÍF V.189.13 man c/víkingligr

Odókkur Edd.Fm.188.04 gold

Occurrences of fagr

fagr  Edd.Alv.126.01 sky

dagr  Edd.Alv.126.17 sun

dagr  Edd.Alv.128.13 wood

dagr  Edd.Am.252.04 clothing allit.

dagr  Edd.Fm.187.22 woman gold-
dagr  Edd.Gór.II.228.18 gold

dagr  Edd.Grp.166.06 precious materials gold-
dagr  Edd.Grp.166.06 precious materials

dagr  Edd.Grp.168.09 woman

dagr  Edd.Grp.168.14 woman

dagr  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.123.18  clothing  hvítr
fagr  Edd.Vsp.007.22  mistletoe
fagr  Edd.Vsp.015.01  sun
fagr  FJ.A1.081/ÍF VIII.211.18  man  aðalh.  contrast: svartr, fólkr, sölkr
fagr  FJ.A1.087/ÍF VIII.274.09  woman
fagr  FJ.A1.090/ÍF VIII.294.12  woman  allit.
fagr  FJ.A1.091/ÍF VIII.301.05  woman
fagr  FJ.A1.115/ÍF IV.056.20  gold
fagr  FJ.A1.137/Skáld. 20.13  jewel  aðalh.
fagr  FJ.A1.196/ÍF III.090.17  woman  aðalh.
fagr  FJ.A1.208/ÍF III.290.06  ships  allit.
fagr  FJ.A1.226/Heims. II.022.019  land  skoth.
fagr  FJ.A1.258/Heims. II.367.05  golden standard  c/gylltr
fagr  FJ.A1.283/ÍF VI.283.19  gold  allit.
fagr  FJ.A1.288/Heims. II.392.006  face: healthy  c/ rjóðr, rauðr; contrast: fólkr, bleikr
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Word(s)</th>
<th>Alliteration</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.288/ÍF VI.274.19</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td>contrast: bleikr, ǫlr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.300/ÍF III.122.01</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.302/ÍF III.149.04</td>
<td>cape</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.318/Skáld.069.10</td>
<td>shield</td>
<td>allit., skoth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.377/Heims. III.055.21</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.378/Heims. III.060.03</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>allit., skoth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.381/Heims. III.141.21</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.385/Heims. III.071.08</td>
<td>ship</td>
<td>c/svartr?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.392/Heims. III.094.06</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.397/Heims. III.113.20</td>
<td>paint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.456/Heims. III.251.14</td>
<td>sword</td>
<td>c/rauðr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.478/Skáld.057.35</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.479/Skáld.071.08</td>
<td>axe(?)</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.482/Skáld.093.09</td>
<td>windvanes</td>
<td>allit., skoth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A1.490/Heims. III.239.17</td>
<td>ship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A2.206/ÍF IX.169.10</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit., aðalh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A2.456/ÍF XIV.098.22</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>allit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>FJ.A2.457/ÍF XIV.099.06</td>
<td>woman’s hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Gylf. 04.22</td>
<td>(nom.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Gylf. 04.23</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Gylf. 04.25</td>
<td>(nom.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Gylf. 04.39</td>
<td>ivory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Gylf. 05.1</td>
<td>hair (Thórr’s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>Mythology/Personification</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05.8</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.) Sif</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.11</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(nom.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.11</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.13</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.) Búri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.27</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>day (personified)</td>
<td>ljóss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.36</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>moon (personified)</td>
<td>friðr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.36</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>sun (personified)</td>
<td>friðr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.10</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): locations in the sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.37</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>ljóss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.39</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Breiðablik</td>
<td>bleikr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): a hall</td>
<td>bjartr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.15</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Baldr</td>
<td>bjartr, ljóss, hvítr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.18</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Baldr</td>
<td>fagr, bjartr, ljóss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.26</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Freyr and Freyja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): a hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.22</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Ullr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.38</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Loki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>ornaments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>(myth.): Gerðr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.15</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.27</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>corslet</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.35</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>grónn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.21</td>
<td>Gylf.</td>
<td>sun (personified)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.122.25</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>hair (Harald the Fair-haired)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.133.13</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>beard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.148.7</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>tree: trunk (seen in a dream)</td>
<td>grónn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.149.14</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.17.9</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>(myth.): Óðinn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.25.5</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>(myth.): Hnoss &amp; Gersimi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.315.23</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>feast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.353.10</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>ship</td>
<td>mikill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.353.6</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>weather</td>
<td>bjartr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.91.2</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>litr, ljóss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.037.20</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>hair (that of Hákon jarl)</td>
<td>mikill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.04.7</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>eyes: those of St Olaf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.126.19</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>contrast: ljótr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.182.24</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>village of Lóar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.323.8</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.369.9</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.387.9</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>face: St Olaf’s in death</td>
<td>rauðr, bjartr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.405.10</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.100.1</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>feast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.122.10</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>Eindriði Einarsson</td>
<td>friðr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.184.9</td>
<td>Heims.</td>
<td>shields</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Hálfdanarson
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)  friðr
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: “skógóttr”
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  grásloðinn
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
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.) Ónundr 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: Kormlöð
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 hvítr
fagr ÍF XIII.102.16 woman: Bárðr’s mother
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, dýrðilgr
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
dog
hand
(nom.): Freysteinn inn fagri Grímkelsson
feast
beltelasp(?)
woman
Woman: Ólof in væna
pool
Woman: Ólof in væna
hair
Hands of a woman
table
cushions(?)
valley
face
“þó mógr”
feast
grove
woman
horses
fifibleikr
land: suitable for settlement
grónn
valley
mikill
smithwork
woman
fríðr
(?)
(?)
land: suitable for settlement
man: baby
man: baby
man: baby
man: baby
ships
hair
man
ship
shields
shields
sun (personified)
ljóss, allit.(?)
hair (Sif’s),
made of gold
wood
rauðr, gold
ring: golden
woman
shield
allit., skoth.
Occurrences of `fólkr`

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fólkr</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Edd.Alv.124.06</td>
<td>corpse: nose thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Edd.H.H.138.16</td>
<td>blades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Edd.H.H.II.160.27</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Edd.Sd.189.14</td>
<td>chains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Edd.Vsp.011.18</td>
<td>corpse: nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.049/ÍF.II.110.02</td>
<td>face: drunk aðalh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>FJ.A1.341/Heims. III.044.03</td>
<td>skulls skoth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>FJ.A2.460/ÍF.XIV.113.15</td>
<td>ship, wood aðalh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Gylf. 03.25</td>
<td>plant: wilting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Gylf. 45.5</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Heims. I.301.13</td>
<td>face grunnleitr (thin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Heims. II.119.13</td>
<td>face (fearful) compared to corpse, bleikr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>Heims. II.391.9</td>
<td>face: of an injured man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF IX.026.05/19</td>
<td>face: of an injured man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF IX.103.01</td>
<td>horses contrast: svartr, fagr, vænn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF IX.155.02</td>
<td>face: grieving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF IX.274.07</td>
<td>face: of an injured man “litlauss sem nár,” ólítr, bleikr; rauðr, blár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.292.02</td>
<td>face: changing color in response to emotions: “fólkr sem gras”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.294.20</td>
<td>candle; seen in a dream(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólkr</td>
<td>ÍF XIV.268.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occurrences of `fólkr` in compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fólleitr</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF IV.262.24</td>
<td>woman ljósjarpr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XI.063.15</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.070.14</td>
<td>man: Skarpheðinn jarpr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.298.21</td>
<td>man: disapprovingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.299.25</td>
<td>man: disapprovingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.301.06</td>
<td>man: disapprovingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.304.25</td>
<td>man: disapprovingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fólleitr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.302.01</td>
<td>man: disapprovingly jarpr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nauðfólkr</td>
<td>Edd.Akv.243.08</td>
<td>corpses allit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neffólkr</td>
<td>Edd.Akv.246.06</td>
<td>man: Atli allit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occurrences of gránn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gránn</th>
<th>Edd.H.H.II.155.02</th>
<th>wolf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gránn</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.306/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skáld.039.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gránn</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.399/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skáld.096.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>gránn</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.476/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skáld.103.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>gránn</td>
<td>F:J/ÍF VI.147.01</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>gránn</td>
<td>F:J/ÍF VIII.182.15</td>
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Occurrences of grár

<table>
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<tr>
<th>grár</th>
<th>Edd.Br.198.22</th>
<th>horse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.Gór.II.224.09</td>
<td>silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.Ghv.264.11</td>
<td>horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.Grm.064.08</td>
<td>(nom.): Grábakr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.Grt.299.12</td>
<td>mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.H.H.132.02</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.H.H.II.150.18</td>
<td>wolf</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Edd.Hm.269.11</td>
<td>horses</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.030/</td>
<td>eagle</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ÍF II.070.10</td>
<td>eagle</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.119/</td>
<td>spears</td>
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<td>ÍF IX.071.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.186/</td>
<td>shipwreck(?)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ÍF IX.224.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.194/</td>
<td>silver</td>
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<td>ÍF III.063.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.300/</td>
<td>lumpsucker</td>
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<td>ÍF III.169.04</td>
<td>aðalh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.302/</td>
<td>mood(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ÍF III.144.19</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.359/</td>
<td>(deceit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heims. III.134.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.366/</td>
<td>mood(?)</td>
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<td>Heims. III.054.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>FJ.A.1.486/</td>
<td>mood(?)</td>
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<td>Heims. III.242.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Heims. I.212.11</td>
<td>pelt</td>
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<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Heims. I.212.18</td>
<td>(nom.): Haraldr gráfeldr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Heims. II.149.30</td>
<td>pelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grár</td>
<td>Heims. II.253.9</td>
<td>pelt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.): Grásteinn 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
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
ÍF XI.261.12 kirtle
ÍF XI.286.31 cape blár
ÍF XII.069.02 (nom.): Valgarðr inn gráí Jórundarson
ÍF XII.070.05 mood(?)
ÍF XII.117.29 mood(?)
ÍF XII.141.06 mood(?)
ÍF XII.148.27 mood(?)
ÍF XII.228.27 bag contrast: rauðr
ÍF XII.320.23 horse: seen in a dream(?)
ÍF XII.363.16 (nom.): Eysteinn inn gráí Þórðarson
ÍF XII.454.14
ÍF XIII.062.21 mood(?)
ÍF XIII.127.16 cowl
ÍF XIII.129.09 cowl
ÍF XIII.133.03 cowl
ÍF XIII.135.02 cowl: worn to blend with shadows(?)
ÍF XIII.139.06 cowl
ÍF XIII.145.21 dog: Snati litr
ÍF XIII.359.03 bear
ÍF XIII.401.05 silver
ÍF XIV.052.26 mood(?)
ÍF XIV.132.25 mood(?)
ÍF XIV.169.16 pelt
ÍF XIV.169.16 pelt
ÍF V.185.03 cloak: rain-weather blár

**Occurrences of grónn**
grónn Edd.Fm.187.24 road
grónn Edd.Gör.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)
FJ.A1.062/ Heims. I.158.16
FJ.A1.066/ Heims. I.195.21
FJ.A1.120.10
FJ.A1.240/ sea: specifically, apparently, the Baltic
FJ.A1.386/ Heims. II.145.18
FJ.A1.488/ land allit.
FJ.A1.488/ Heims. III.102.01
FJ.A1.488/ Heims. III.247.08

Heims. III.247.08
grönn Heims. I.148.8  tree (seen in a dream)  fagr
grönn Heims. II.266.13  cape: hooded
grönn Heims. II.273.18  ship: stripes on a sail  gold-, blár, rauðr
grönn Heims. III.343.26  (top.): Gróningasund
grönn ÍF IV.060.11  (top.): Grónland
grönn ÍF IX.052.02/14  cape
grönn ÍF IX.064.03  cape
grönn ÍF VI.276.12  heart fibers  rauðr, hvítr, gulr
grönn ÍF VIII.153.06
grönn ÍF X.233.01  cape
grönn ÍF XI.227.02  sword  litr, brúnn
grönn ÍF XIII.140.18  (top.): Grónamýrartunga
grönn ÍF XIII.236.14  kirtle
grönn ÍF XIV.132.07  land: hillsides: grassy  fagr
grönn ÍF XIV.272.16  (top.): Grónmör
grönn ÍF XIV.280.29
grönn 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, grönn
gulr ÍF XII.053.11  hair: Gunnarr  mikill, ljóslitaðr, blár, rauðr
gulr FJ.A1.133/  wood skoth.
ÍF IV.078.09

Occurrences of hárr
hárr Edd.Fm.186.19  hair: aged
hárr Edd.Grm.067.13  (nom.): Hábarðr
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/  hair: aged allit.
Heims. I.127.27
hárr FJ.A1.011/  hair: aged
Heims. I.050.017
hárr FJ.A1.018/  hair: aged allit.
Skáld.032.31
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/  (man): Erlingr
   Heims. II.319.18
hvítr  Edd.Þrk.113.10  (myth.) Heimdall
hvítr  Gylf. 25.32  (myth.): Heimdall
hvítr  Skáld. 19.10

   ÍF III.077.20
hárr  FJ.A1.196/  hair: aged  allit., skoth.
   ÍF III.085.01
   Heims. III.030.07
   Skáld.088.11
hárr  Heims. I.148.10  hair: aged  hvítr
hárr  Heims. III.412.19  hair: aged  ljóslitaðr
hárr  ÍF IV.168.22  (nom.): hærkollr
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
   Skáld.024.10
hárr(?) FJ.A1.347/  hair: aged (?)  allit.
   Skáld.100.07
hvitr ÍF III.136.09 (nom. – of a horse) Hvitingr
hvitr ÍF VIII.234.10 (nom. – of a sword) Hvitingr
hvitr ÍF XII.440.02 (nom.) Dávið hvíti
hvitr Heims. II.432.16 (nom.) Hrói inn hvíti
hvitr ÍF XII.181.17 (nom.) Hógni inn hvíti
hvitr ÍF XII.451.07 (nom.): Ámundi hvíti
hvitr ÍF V.066.21
hvitr Heims. II.52.13 (nom.): Bárðr hvíti
hvitr ÍF II.016.09 (nom.): Bárðr inn hvíti Brynjólfsson
hvitr ÍF XIV.286.18 (nom.): Bersi inn hvíti
hvitr ÍF XI.143.12 (nom.): Ámundi hvíti
hvitr ÍF XII.424.10 (nom.): Ámundi hvíti Kaðalsson
hvitr ÍF XII.343.07 (nom.): Bóðvarr inn hvíti
hvitr ÍF IV.133.07 (nom.): Gizurr hvíti Teitsson
hvitr Heims. I.279.21 (nom.): Guðbrandr inn hvíti
hvitr Heims. I.74.2 (nom.): Hálfdan hvítbeinn
hvitr Heims. I.114.13 (nom.): Hálfdan hvíti
hvitr ÍF XII.120.13 (nom.): Hallbjörn hvíti Skarfsoss
hvitr ÍF IX.057.10 (nom.): Halli inn hvíti Þorbjarnarson
hvitr ÍF XII.074.13 (nom.): Hallvarðr hvíti
hvitr ÍF VI.181.16 (nom.): Helgi inn hvíti Snorrason
hvitr ÍF XII.238.02 (nom.): Herjólfr inn hvíti
hvitr ÍF XI.004.05 (nom.): Hróðgeirr inn hvíti Hrafnsson (= Hrappsson IX.211?)
hvitr ÍF IX.211.25 (nom.): Hróðgeirr inn hvíti Hrappsson
hvitr Heims. I.215.5 (nom.): Hrói inn hvíti
hvitr FJ.A1.273/ (nom.): Hvíta-Kristr
    Heims. III.017.04
hvitr ÍF XIV.056.08 (nom.): Hvitserkr
hvitr Skáld. 58.31
hvitr Heims. III.289.16 (nom.): hvítsunnudagr
hvitr ÍF VI.124.11 (nom.): Hógni inn hvíti Ótryggsson
hvitr Heims. II.285.18 (nom.): Ívarr hvíti
hvitr Heims. I.122.7 (nom.): Óláfr hvíti
hvitr ÍF IV.004.22 (nom.): Óláfr hvíti Ingjaldsson
hvitr ÍF XII.232.06 (nom.): Sigmundr hvíti Lambason
hvitr Heims. III.258.25 (nom.): Stigr hvitaleðr
hvitr ÍF VII.209.18 (nom.): Þorsteinn hvíti
hvitr ÍF XIV.176.08 (nom.): Þorsteinn hvíti
hvitr Heims. I.345.9 (nom.): Þorsteinn hvíti af Oprostðoðum
hvitr ÍF XIII.258.05 (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti
hvitr ÍF XI.003.09 (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti Ólvisson
hvitr ÍF XII.352.08 (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti Ólvisson
hvitr Heims. II.255.18 (nom.): Þrándr hvíti
hvitr ÍF XI.003.02 (nom.): Ólvisson inn hvíti Ósvaldsson
hvitr ÍF XII.242.07 (nom.): Þorsteinn inn hvíti Ólvisson
hvitr ÍF II.074.09 (top.): Hvítá
hvítr FJ.A1.474/
Skáld.104.9 (top.): Hvítaby
hvítr ÍF V.148.05
hvítr ÍF XII.246.16 (top.): Hvitanes
hvítr Heims. II.235.29 (top.): Hvitisgey
hvítr ÍF III.195.07 (top.): Hvitingshjalli
hvítr ÍF IV.234.05 (top.): Hvitrarmannaland
hvítr ÍF IV.276.12 (top.): Hvítskerk
hvítr ÍF VI.178.03 (top.): Hvíståðir
hvítr Edd.Gór.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 clothing
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 clothing
hvítr ÍF V.158.16 clothing
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/  coward
          ÍF III.189.19
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/  face: of a woman: approvingly
          ÍF VI.276.17/
          Heims.II.391.014
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/  horn
          ÍF IV.074.04
hvítr  FJ.A1.282/  horn
          ÍF VI.176.06
hvítr  FJ.A1.466/  horn
          Heims. III.271.24
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
man

man: Albanians when they are born

man: approvingly

man: child of a hermaphrodite when born

man: disparagingly?

man: Grímr

contrast: ljósjarpr, rauð

man: tenderfoot(?), said of oneself

man: tenderfoot(?), said of oneself

man: Vǫlundr

mud

neck: Faðir’s

peat

pelt

plant: “Baldrs brár”

plant: “Baldrs brár”

sand

sand

scar

sea (personified as Rán)

sheep, turned that color by a river

shield

shield

shield: king’s

shield: 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
        FJ.A1.479/  silver
        Skáld.062.03
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.Gór. III.232.11  stone
hvítr  FJ.A1.208/  sword
        ÍF III.291.12
        FJ.A1.287/  sword
        ÍF VI.270.07
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/  woman
        Skáld.091.28
hvítr  FJ.A1.085/  woman
        ÍF VIII.265.01
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 hǫss
hǫss  FJ.A1.069/  mail  allit.
        Skáld. 66.25
Occurrences of *jarpr*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jarpr</th>
<th>Edd.Am.263.12</th>
<th>(nom.): Erpr Jónakrðsson</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jarpr</td>
<td>Edd.Dr.223.07</td>
<td>(nom.): Erpr Atlason</td>
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<td>Edd.Gór.II.227.16</td>
<td>hair</td>
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<td>Edd.Hm.271.02</td>
<td>hair: Erpr allit?</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>Heims. III.256.16</td>
<td>hair: that of King Sigurðr</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>Heims. III.330.25</td>
<td>hair: that of King Sigurðr</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>ÍF IV.139.10</td>
<td>hair: that of Hallfreðr</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>ÍF V.010.14</td>
<td>hair: that of Hallfreðr</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>ÍF V.188.04</td>
<td>hair: that of Þorkell</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>ÍF VIII.141.09</td>
<td>hair: that of Þorkell</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.070.14</td>
<td>hair: that of Skarpheðinn</td>
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<td>jarpr</td>
<td>ÍF XII.301.29</td>
<td>hair: that of Skarpheðinn</td>
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Occurrences of *ljóss*

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<tr>
<th>ljóss</th>
<th>Edd.Akv.244.24</th>
<th>rings</th>
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<tr>
<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Edd.Am.249.11</td>
<td>fire</td>
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<td>Edd.Am.251.21</td>
<td>day allit., litr</td>
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<td>Edd.Am.252.05</td>
<td>women(?) allit.</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Edd.H.H.II.161.13</td>
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<td>Edd.Háv.031.12</td>
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<td>eyebrows of a woman</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>FJ.A1.084/</td>
<td>woman: approvingly</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<td>IF VIII.233.23</td>
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<td>woman allit., skoth.(?)</td>
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<td>IF VIII.267.05</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
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<td>sword allit.</td>
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<td>IF III.093.17</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>FJ.A1.263/</td>
<td>hair(?) of St Olaf</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>FJ.A1.375/</td>
<td>gold allit., skoth.(?)</td>
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<td>barley allit.</td>
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<td>FJ.A2.457/</td>
<td>forehead aðalh</td>
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<td>(myth.) Muspell</td>
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<td>Gylf. 10.11</td>
<td>(myth.) material associated with Muspell</td>
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<td>Gylf. 12.9</td>
<td>fire: sparks</td>
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<td>Gylf. 13.27</td>
<td>day (personified) fagr</td>
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<td>Gylf. 13.32</td>
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<td>Gylf. 13.40</td>
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<td>(myth.): ljósálfar fagr</td>
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<td>(myth.): Baldr fagr, bjartr, hvítr</td>
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<td>Heims. I.189.2</td>
<td>light: glimmering off of helmet</td>
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<td>Heims. I.312.11</td>
<td>day</td>
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<td>day contrast: myrkr</td>
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<td>hair fagr, ljóss</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Heims. II.04.6</td>
<td>face: that of St Olaf rjöðr</td>
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<td>Heims. II.123.11</td>
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<td>Heims. II.126.02</td>
<td>sunlight</td>
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<td>Heims. II.186.2</td>
<td>man seen in a dream</td>
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<td>Heims. II.195.21</td>
<td>day</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Heims. II.232.3</td>
<td>night: early</td>
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<td>Heims. II.260.22</td>
<td>day</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Heims. II.265.3</td>
<td>light: a place where it can get through in a black tent</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Heims. II.279.22</td>
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<td>ljóss</td>
<td>Heims. II.282.9</td>
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<td>Heims. II.302.30</td>
<td>day</td>
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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: Ógmundr
ljóss  ÍF X.179.20 day
ljóss  ÍF XI.111.06 hair: lock thereof in ljóssarp 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- ótr
ÍF VII.099.04 horse
móál- ótr
ÍF IV.034.26 kirtle
mó- brún
ÍF VII.200.06 sheep
mó- koll- ótr
ÍF VII.200.11 (nom. – of a ewe)
mó- koll- ótr
FJ.A1.082/ sheep allit, aðalh.
mó- rauðr
ÍF VIII.214.08 pelt
mó- rendr
ÍF X.173.02 pelt
mó- rendr
ÍF XI.243.32 pelt
mó- rendr
ÍF XII.059.14 kirtle: pauper’s contrast: rauðr, góðr
mó- rendr
ÍF XII.295.17 cloak: disapprovingly
mó- rendr
ÍF XII.368.05 pelt
mó- rendr
ÍF XIII.035.02 pelt
mó- rendr
ÍF XIII.277.03 pelt
mó- rendr
ÍF XIV.315.05 pelt
mó- skjóttr
ÍF XIII.054.19 horses

Occurrences of myrkr
myrkr Edd.Akv.247.10 (top.): Myrkheimr
myrkr Edd.Rhp.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/ rock allit.
Skáld.023.18
myrkr FJ.A1.099/ earth gróinn
myrkr Skáld.086.23 land allit., skoth.
myrkr FJ.A1.319/ Skáld.071.11 snake allit., skoth.
myrkr FJ.A1.384/
Skáld.088.04 myrkr Heims. I.256.16 night myrkr Heims. I.226.1 night myrkr Heims. I.67.18 (top.): Myrkvafjørðr
day; “dark as night” contrast: ljóss myrkr Heims. I.80.14 night contrast: heiðr, bjártr
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” contrast: bjártr
myrkr Heims. II.382.12 sky contrast: heiðr, bjártr 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 vándr 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.): Ásbjǫrn myrkárskalli Hrossbjarnarson
myrkr ÍF XIII.126.13 weather sterkr
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 night contrast: ljóss, (gold?)

**Occurrences of rauðr**
rauðr Edd.Akv.240.15 helmet
rauðr Edd.Akv.241.17 ring: golden
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.Gór.II.226.17 shields allit.
rauðr Edd.Gór.II.227.14 cloak
rauðr Edd.Gór.II.228.15 ring: golden
rauðr Edd.Gór.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.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 fólkr
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.Hmr.270.02  blood: clothing colored by (alt. lines)
rauðr  Edd.Rh.283.06  hair: Karl’s  allit.  rjóðr
rauðr  Edd.Rh.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.Prk.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/  blood
Heims. I.032.006
rauðr  FJ.A1.010/  blood
Heims. I.042.008
rauðr  FJ.A1.011/  blood
Heims. I.050.014
rauðr  FJ.A1.011/  blood
Heims. I.053.004
rauðr  FJ.A1.023/  shields  allit.
Heims. I.103.17
rauðr  FJ.A1.023/  blood  skoth.  litr
Heims. I.106.1
rauðr  FJ.A1.037/  blood
ÍF II.188.13
rauðr  FJ.A1.049/  blood  allit.
ÍF II.109.09
rauðr  FJ.A1.054/  blood
ÍF II.170.21
rauðr  FJ.A1.056/  blood  allit., aðalh.
ÍF II.204.10
rauðr  FJ.A1.062/  blood  allit., aðalh.
Heims. I.161.6
rauðr  FJ.A1.065/  blood  allit.
Heims. I.188.19
rauðr  FJ.A1.066/  (nominalized)  allit.
Heims. I.194.9
rauðr  FJ.A1.076/  blood
Heims. I.156.5
| raðr   | FJ.A1.076/Heims. I.217.18 | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.077/Heims. I.238.23 | blood aðalh.           |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.078/Heims. I.199.3  | blood allit., skoth.   |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.078/Heims. I.199.3  | blood allit., skoth.   |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.082/ÍF VIII.217.07  | eyes: exposed to smoke |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.286.10  | blood allit., skoth.   |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.286.10  | .                      |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.288.16  | blood skoth.           |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.089/ÍF VIII.289.15  | rust allit., skoth.    |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.091/ÍF VIII.301.04  | blood skoth.           |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.094/ÍF VIII.261.23  | blood skoth.           |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.095/ÍF VIII.249.16  | moss                   |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.095/ÍF VIII.262.08  | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.112/ÍF IV.041.18    | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.114/ÍF IV.047.09    | shields allit., skoth. |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.157/Heims. I.253.23 | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.162/Heims. I.366.23 | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.179/ÍF IV.116.23    | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.195/ÍF III.072.14   | blood                  |
| raðr   | FJ.A1.195/ÍF III.074.02   | gold aðalh.            |
rauðr  FJ.A1.198/ÍF III.088.14  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.202/Heims. I.352.12  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.204/Heims. I.370.15  blood skoth.
rauðr  FJ.A1.207/ÍF III.278.04  blood aðalh.
rauðr  FJ.A1.209/ÍF III.300.22  blood skoth.
rauðr  FJ.A1.210/ÍF III.320.09  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.217/ÍF III.148.17  ash & rye skoth.(?)
rauðr  FJ.A1.222/Heims. II.382.09  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.223/Heims. II.007.14  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.225/Heims. II.021.006  blood aðalh. brúnn
rauðr  FJ.A1.227/Heims. II.024.002  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.227/Heims. II.026.003  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.228/Heims. II.060.019  blood allit.
rauðr  FJ.A1.230/Heims. II.063.013  blood allit.
rauðr  FJ.A1.230/Heims. II.064.003  blood aðalh.
rauðr  FJ.A1.232/Heims. II.069.007  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.244/Heims. II.314.014  blood contrast: bleikr
rauðr  FJ.A1.244/Heims. II.315.003  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.257/Heims. II.268.02  gold aðalh.
rauðr  FJ.A1.257/Heims. II.329.07  gold
rauðr  FJ.A1.258/Heims. II.367.005  shields
rauðr  FJ.A1.260/Heims. II.381.03  blood
rauðr  FJ.A1.261/  blood  Heims. II.381.10
rauðr  FJ.A1.264/  gold    aðalh.  Heims. III.021.15
rauðr  FJ.A1.267/  blood  Heims. II.092.18
rauðr  FJ.A1.278/  blood    allit., skoth.  ÍF VI.152.05
rauðr  FJ.A1.279/  blood  ÍF VI.181.06
rauðr  FJ.A1.287/  shield  allit., skoth.  ÍF VI.271.09
rauðr  FJ.A1.288/  face: healthy  allit., skoth.  fagr, rjóðr contrast: fólfr, bleikr
                   ÍF VI.276.15/
                   275.03/
                   Heims. II.391.012
rauðr  FJ.A1.291/  blood    skoth.  Heims. II.006.14
rauðr  FJ.A1.292/  blood    skoth.  Heims. II.019.04
rauðr  FJ.A1.295/  blood  Heims. II.106.10
rauðr  FJ.A1.303/  blood    aðalh.  ÍF III.167.04
rauðr  FJ.A1.304/  blood  ÍF III.178.17
rauðr  FJ.A1.306/  blood  Heims. I.358.11
rauðr  FJ.A1.314/  blood  Heims. II.332.10
rauðr  FJ.A1.318/  blood  Heims. II.311.015
rauðr  FJ.A1.333/  shields    allit., skoth.  contrast: hvítr
                   Heims. III.008.01
rauðr  FJ.A1.334/  blood  Heims. III.008.07
rauðr  FJ.A1.334/  blood  Heims. III.008.18
rauðr  FJ.A1.335/  gold    aðalh.  Heims. III.034.07
rauðr  FJ.A1.338/  blood  Heims. III.003.09
rauðr  FJ.A1.338/  blood  Heims. III.004.04
rauðr  FJ.A1.340/  blood    skoth.  Heims. III.046.18
rauðr FJ.A1.343/ blood litr Heims. III.063.01
rauðr FJ.A1.349/ blood allit., skoth. Heims. III.133.26
rauðr FJ.A1.352/ golden spearpoints Heims. III.191.11
rauðr FJ.A1.359/ blood allit., skoth. Heims. III.124.18
rauðr FJ.A1.361/ blood aðalh. Heims. III.011.21
rauðr FJ.A1.365/ blood Heims. III.053.02
rauðr FJ.A1.366/ blood Heims. III.057.14
rauðr FJ.A1.368/ blood Heims. III.065.03
rauðr FJ.A1.370/ blood Heims. III.083.01
rauðr FJ.A1.377/ blood aðalh. Heims. III.055.22
rauðr FJ.A1.378/ fire skoth. Heims. III.060.11
rauðr FJ.A1.397/ shields allit. Heims. III.113.15
rauðr FJ.A1.397/ blood Heims. III.113.22
rauðr FJ.A1.398/ blood allit., skoth. Heims. III.116.05
rauðr FJ.A1.408/ blood aðalh. Heims. III.149.12
rauðr FJ.A1.414/ blood Heims. III.196.10
rauðr FJ.A1.428/ blood ÍF III.104.19
rauðr FJ.A1.435/ blood Heims. III.217.15
rauðr FJ.A1.436/ blood Heims. III.220.03
rauðr FJ.A1.455/ blood Heims. III.322.5
rauðr FJ.A1.456/ sword fagr Heims. III.251.14
rauðr FJ.A1.456/ blood skoth. litr Heims. III.296.19
rauðr  FJ.A1.457/  blood
    Heims. III.296.23
rauðr  FJ.A1.458/  blood
    Heims. III.331.02
rauðr  FJ.A1.474/  blood  aðalh.
    Heims. III.329.02
rauðr  FJ.A1.474/  blood
    Heims. III.329.17
rauðr  FJ.A1.477/  blood
    Heims. III.359.02
rauðr  FJ.A1.477/  arrow  skoth.
    Heims. III.329.04
rauðr  FJ.A1.477/  blood
    Heims. III.359.07
rauðr  FJ.A1.487/  blood  aðalh.
    Heims. III.244.08
rauðr  FJ.A1.488/  blood: weapons colored by
    Heims. III.247.08
rauðr  FJ.A1.503/  blood: weapons colored by
    Heims. III.306.24
rauðr  FJ.A2.206/  ?  allit.
    ÍF IX.169.14
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  hlyþbirtr, 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: bjartr
rauðr Heims. II.387.9 face: St Olaf’s in death fagr, bjartr
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. 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-Bjørn
rauðr ÍF III.023.04 face: of an injured man, “rauðr sem blóð”
rauðr ÍF III.061.17 (top.): Rauðamellr
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 Hrólfsson
rauðr ÍF III.334.14 jacket: one of two colors contrast: brúnn, grár
rauðr ÍF IV.012.23 (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr Ólavsson
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.): Rauðavíkrhofði
rauðr ÍF IV.120.21 kirtle
rauðr ÍF IV.195.10 (nom.): Þorsteinn rauðr
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.): Arnór 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 rauðfellr
rauðr ÍF VI.040.04 face: changing color in response to emotions
rauðr ÍF VI.076.06 blood/gore
rauðr ÍF VI.103.08
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
rauðr ÍF VII.386.07 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.): Rauðaskríð(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
rauðr ÍF XI.049.05 ox
rauðr ÍF XI.051.17 clothing “röði svá mikill”
rauðr ÍF XI.069.03 rauðavīkingr
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 ljósliðaðr, 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” fotr, blár
rauðr ÍF XII.292.08 (nom.): Geirfinnr inn rauði Sölvasön
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.): Þórsteinn 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
rauðr  ÍF III.193.12
blóð- Heims. I.297.21  gold
rauðr
dreyr- Heims. III.132.05  face: angry
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<td>ÍF V.091.02</td>
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**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.?)
Occurrences of **svartr**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Contrast</th>
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<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>Edd.Ghv.264.10</td>
<td>horses</td>
<td>hvítr, grár</td>
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<td>appletree in Paradise, after sins of Adam and Eve</td>
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<td>Hauksbók 038.11</td>
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<td>smoke-stained axe handle</td>
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<td>shoes</td>
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<td>ÍF III.200.18</td>
<td>man: Kálfr mikill</td>
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svartr ÍF III.260.10 horses: ears thereof contrast: alhvitr
svartr ÍF III.272.17 horses: ears thereof contrast: hvítr
svartr ÍF IV.014.17 (nom.): Þórarinn svartr þórólfsþon
svartr ÍF IV.019.01 (nom.): Þorsteinn Surtr Hallsteinsson
svartr ÍF IV.023.05 cape ófagr
svartr ÍF IV.023.05 horse ófagr
svartr ÍF IV.065.05 (nom.): Svartr inn sterki
svartr ÍF IV.139.09 brows jarpr
svartr ÍF IV.140.07 cloud
svartr ÍF IV.184.05 bones: woman’s “svør sem sviðin væri”
svartr ÍF IV.206.20 hood, witch’s contrast: blár, hvítr
svartr ÍF IV.222.02 man: þórhallr veiðimaðr mikill, sterkr, þursligr
svartr ÍF IV.227.16 Skrælingar
svartr ÍF IV.258.05 (nom.): Þorsteinn svartr
svartr ÍF IV.262.23 kirtle: woman’s
cloak: one of two colors contrast: hvítr
cloak: one of two colors contrast: hvítr
svartr ÍF IX.052.04/16 tents
svartr ÍF IX.136.03 (nom.): Svarthoföi (the elder)
svartr ÍF IX.150.11 (nom.): Svarthoföi Heðinsson
svartr ÍF IX.162.16 brows
svartr ÍF IX.247.11 clothing
cloak: one of two colors contrast: hvítr
cloak: one of two colors contrast: hvítr
cloak: one of two colors contrast: hvítr
svartr ÍF IX.256.04 kirtle contrast: blár, brúnn (kirtles)
svartr ÍF IX.101.08 horse mikill, vænn, fagr
svartr ÍF IX.164.03 (nom.): Þorsteinn svartr
svartr ÍF V.003.14 (nom.): Svertingr
svartr ÍF V.003.17 (nom.): Surtr Þorsteinsson
svartr ÍF V.066.22 (nom.): Án svartri
svartr ÍF V.010.08 (nom.): Svarthǫfî Þórmóður
svartr ÍF V.160.09 hair contrast: hárr
svartr ÍF V.188.10 breeches contrast: blár
svartr ÍF V.188.18 hair contrast: hárr
svartr ÍF V.189.14 eyes vikingligr
svartr ÍF V.245.06 kirtle
svartr ÍF VI.015.18 Gisli stórr
svartr ÍF VI.079.06 (nom.)
svartr ÍF VI.124.02 hair: that of Þormóðr Bersason
svartr ÍF VI.150.09 (nom.): Illugi svartr Ærason
svartr ÍF VI.170.06 hair vænn
cloak: one of two colors contrast: hvítr
svartr ÍF VI.250.20 hair
svartr ÍF VI.254.04 ships: perceived as dark shapes in the night
svartr ÍF VI.346.02 (nom.)
cowl: worn to blend with shadows
svartr ÍF VII.149.16 cowl
svartr ÍF VII.150.11
svartr ÍF VII.151.06
svartr ÍF VII.217.11
ÍF VII.318.12/25: cape

ÍF VII.325.17: brows

ÍF VII.354.24: axe handle

ÍF VII.363.16: blood: “svart sem tjara”

ÍF VIII.073.04: cat

ÍF VIII.103.04: (nom.)

ÍF VIII.107.01: (nom.): Surtr Ingólfsson

ÍF VIII.120.22: cowl

ÍF VIII.147.08: (nom.): Surtr

ÍF VIII.206.02: hair: that of Ógmundr

ÍF VIII.210.11: man: Kormákr

ÍF VIII.211.09: eyes

ÍF X.178.20: (nom.)

ÍF X.233.03: cloak: one of two colors, contrast: hvítr

ÍF XI.024.11: (nom.)

ÍF XI.162.01: woman: disapprovingly, gamall, ljótr

ÍF XI.163.15: (nom.): Þorkell svartaskáld

ÍF XI.196.06: hair

ÍF XI.238.01: horse (Inni-Krákr)

ÍF XI.242.03: (nom.)

ÍF XI.248.18: man: Nollar: disapprovingly

ÍF XI.249.32: cowl

ÍF XI.279.08: face, “s. sem jörð” contrast bleikr; litr

ÍF XI.294.16: cloud

ÍF XII.036.13: (nom.): Ljótr inn svarti

ÍF XII.038.08: cloud

ÍF XII.069.04: (nom.): Svartr Ælfrsson

ÍF XII.092.17: (nom.)

ÍF XII.095.13: horses

ÍF XII.181.27: (nom.): Bárðr svarti

ÍF XII.259.04: (nom.): Surtr Ásbjarnarson

ÍF XII.271.01: (nom.): Þorkell inn svarti Þórisson

ÍF XII.304.03: shoes, blár, blárendr

ÍF XII.321.02: face: changing color in response to emotions; “svart sem bik”

ÍF XII.437.18: (nom.): Kolbeinn svarti

ÍF XII.446.14: hair: that of Bróðir

ÍF XIII.003.13: (nom.): Svarthófóði

ÍF XIII.010.16: (nom. – of a horse) Svartfaxi

ÍF XIII.046.06: man: Björn blásiða

ÍF XIII.054.22: horses

ÍF XIII.074.22: (nom.)

ÍF XIII.105.24: Þorkell svarti: hair and skin

ÍF XIII.111.01: (nom.): Þorkell svarti

ÍF XIII.143.02: (nom.): Surtr

ÍF XIII.148.06: fog

ÍF XIII.160.10: beard: said disapprovingly
svartr ÍF XIII.162.21 underground
svartr ÍF XIII.259.09 (nom.): Surtr járnhauss
svartr ÍF XIII.272.07 (nom.)
svartr ÍF XIII.291.05/19 bird: black-backed gold
svartr ÍF XIII.360.18 woman: disapprovingly blár
svartr ÍF XIII.448.14 (nom.): Surtr inn svarti
svartr ÍF XIV.009.19 hair: that of Kolfinnr, disapprovingly
svartr ÍF XIV.050.15 (nom.): Surtr
svartr ÍF XIV.239.19 (nom.): Svertingr
svartr ÍF XIV.247.13 (nom.): Bárðr inn svarti Atlason
svartr ÍF XIV.307.19 (nom.)
svartr ÍF XIV.327.04 man: disapprovingly illiligr, sterkr, mikill
svartr ÍF XIV.344.27 (nom.)
svartr ÍF XIV.358.20 woman: disapprovingly
svartr ÍF XIV.360.25 man illiligr
svartr ÍF XIV.369.13 (nom.)
svartr Physiologus 21.12-14 nycticorax
svartr Skáld. 111.19 (nom.): giant allit. (?)
svartr Skáld. 49.18 hair (that of Erpr and his brothers)
svartr Skáld. 62.14 (nom.): Óttarr svarti
svartr Hauksbók 072.32 land as seen from a mountaintop?

Occurrences of svartr in compounds
alsvartrSkáld 111.21 (nom.) a giant
alsvartrEdd.Hym.091.08 ox
alsvartrEdd.brk.114.13 ox
alsvartrÍF XII.133.11 ox
alsvartrÍF X.121.21 oxen
blá- FJ.A1.490/ boats
svartr Heims. III.246.09
blá- FJ.A1.480/ raven
svartr Skáld.091.18
blá- Edd.H.H.138.06 ships
svartr kol- FJ.A1.323/ woman
svartr Heims. II.309.04
kol- ÍF XIII.407.15 woman
svartr kol-
kol- ÍF XIII.409.17 woman
svartr kol-
kol- ÍF XIII.415.16 woman
svartr Jarpr
svartr Jarpr Heims I.142.06 Halfdan svarti(?), face displaying anger
svartr leitr
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