Emotions in the Household: Emotion Words and Metaphors in *Domesday Book* Personal Names

JAVIER E. DÍAZ-VERA
Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Spain

This paper presents an analysis of the set of emotion-related personal names recorded in the *Domesday Book*. Through the fine-grained analysis of the themes used in these names, this paper proposes a semantic description of late Old English personal names, which have been classified into the following seven name sub-categories: HAPPINESS, JOY, LOVE, TENDERNESS, PRIDE, ANGER, and FEAR. This analysis shows that emotion-related vocabulary was a favorite personal name element in post-Conquest England. Furthermore, it proposes some of the general tendencies behind name-giving practices, especially in relation to (i) gender distribution of emotion themes and concepts and (ii) frequent lexical combinations of emotion-related themes. Finally, the paper offers an interpretation of the metaphorization processes that motivated the development of some of these combinations of words and their usage as personal names in Anglo-Saxon England.

KEYWORDS Old English, *Domesday Book*, emotions, Anglo-Saxon, name-giving, conceptual metaphor and metonymy

Aims and scope

This paper analyzes the Old English emotional vocabulary used in the vernacular names, both monothematic and dithematic, recorded around 1086 in the *Domesday Book* (hence *DB*; Darby, 1979; Forde, 1986; Hallam, 1986; Wood, 1999) and subsidiary surveys. The relevance of the *DB* as a source of information for the history of the English language in general (Fisiak, 1984; 1985; 1990; Díaz-Vera, 1996), and of late Old English onomastics in particular (von Feilitzen, 1937; Clark, 1992; Okasha, 2011) has long been recognized by scholars. In spite of the high number of name-forms recorded in the *DB*, its use is not without problems. One major complication is related to the oral nature of the process of data collection. The spellings used by the royal commissioners who interviewed local informants are both irregular and unreliable, in so far as not all of them used the traditional orthographic rules

inherited from Old English (Sawyer, 1955; Dodgson, 1985; Clark, 1992). Furthermore, informants had varied linguistic backgrounds, from recently arrived French settlers with no knowledge of English to survivors of the pre-Conquest land-holding class. These factors produced a high degree of scribal errors in the *DB* (von Feilitzen, 1937: 7–8).

According to Clark (1992: 457), the lexical elements (or "etymological themes") used in Old English personal names are characterized by the use of recurrent concepts, such as:

(i)   nobility and renown (e.g., *Æðel-* "noble," *Cyne-* "royal")
(ii)   national pride (e.g., *Peoht-* "Pict," *Wealh-* "Celt")
(iii) religion (e.g., *Ælf-* "supernatural being," *Ealh-* "temple")
(iv)   strength and valour (e.g., *Beald-* "brave," *Cyne-* "royal")
(v)   warriors and weapons (e.g., *Beorn-* "war," *Here-* "army")

The idea that the Anglo-Saxons had a strong preference for using etymological themes belonging to such a reduced set of semantic domains in the personal names that they chose for their offspring is in clear contrast with traditional accounts of name-giving practices in Anglo-Saxon England (Stenton, 1924; Woolf, 1939), according to which the selection of a name was not based on semantic principles but, rather, on purely onomastic rules. This includes the well-known principles of *variation* (i.e., combining name-elements from the child's parents or other relatives, as in the case of St Wulfstan, son of *Æðelstan* and *Wulfgifu*); *alliteration* (i.e., calling children by names alliterating on one letter, normally the first one, as in the case of the legendary brothers Hengist and Horsa); and *repetition* (i.e., giving a child the name of an ancestor or a dead relative).

The pervasive effects of these principles on name-giving practices have led scholars to affirm that Anglo-Saxon parents were indifferent towards the meaning of the etymological themes used in Old English personal names; as Okasha (2011: 121) explains in a recent study on Old English women's names, "the meaning of Old English vocabulary items identical to, or associated with, the elements of personal names seems to have been largely or completely irrelevant to the choice of personal name." However, the very limited number of semantic domains from which a vast majority of these themes are drawn points towards the existence of well-defined conceptual preferences amongst Old English speakers.

Taking these principles into account, this paper will offer an analysis and classification of late Old English personal names consisting of, at least, one emotion word. Emotion vocabulary occupies, as shall be seen later, a prominent position in the list of etymological themes preferred by the ancient Anglo-Saxons in their choice of personal names. Using the whole set of personal names recorded in the *DB*, this paper will offer a description of some general tendencies related to (i) the emotional experiences referred to by etymological themes; (ii) the use of positive and negative emotion words as (part of) personal names; and (iii) the apparent gender-specific distribution of some of these emotion concepts.

Methodology and data

The personal names analyzed for this study were extracted from the *DB* section of the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (hence *PASE*) database, which aims to

provide structured information on all the recorded inhabitants of England until the end of the eleventh century.[1] *PASE Domesday* includes information on up to 12,553 males and 973 females (plus a number of mixed or undefined groups of people). All in all, the whole set of individuals included in the database bears about 1200 different personal names.

Using the *PASE Domesday*, a full list of name themes that mean (or, at least, suggest) a given emotional state has been created for this research. The translations of these name themes are based on Clark's (1987) study of Old English names and on Bosworth and Toller's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1898). Themes were classified into positive and negative emotions, after which the relative frequencies of each set of emotion-related themes among masculine and feminine name-bearers were calculated. This approach is radically different from earlier linguistic studies on Anglo-Saxon personal names (e.g., Redin, 1919; von Feilitzen, 1937; Okasha, 2011), in so far as we are especially interested here in the classification of these name themes into semantically-related groups and in the reconstruction of the general name-giving tendencies as illustrated by these groups. Consequently, it will be assumed here that, even if Anglo-Saxon name-giving practices were obviously governed by the three principles sketched above (i.e., variation, alliteration, and, to a lesser extent, repetition), Old English speakers were not completely indifferent towards the concepts suggested by the emotion-related vocabulary used in dithematic personal names.

The classification of emotion concepts used here is based on the Geneva Emotion Wheel (hence GEW) (Sacharin et al., 2012: 3). The GEW gives information on twenty emotion families, with five different intensity degrees for each one of them. These twenty emotion families are then classified into subgroups: negative emotions are placed on the left half of the wheel, whereas positive emotions occupy the right half. Furthermore, different degrees of coping potential (CONTROL/POWER) are represented on the horizontal axis: high-control emotions (such as INTEREST and IRRITATION) are placed on the upper half of the wheel, whereas low-control emotions (such as PITY and SURPRISE) occupy the lower half.

Broadly speaking, the emotions represented by the Old English personal names recorded in the *PASE* refer to five high-control, positive emotion concepts (i.e., HAPPINESS, JOY,[2] LOVE, TENDERNESS, and PRIDE) and to two negative emotion concepts (i.e., ANGER and FEAR). All the personal names analyzed here were classified into one of these seven groups. Thereafter, the total number of occurrences of each personal name in the *DB* has been calculated in order to illustrate their statistical relevance in the corpus used here. Finally, using recent research on emotion metaphors and metonymies (Kövecses, 2000; Stefanowitsch, 2006) and on the expression of emotions in Old English (Geeraerts and Gevaert, 2008; Díaz-Vera, 2011), the lexical combinations used in Anglo-Saxon dithemes that illustrate conventional conceptualizations of emotion events were analyzed.[3] Metaphorization and metonymization processes are considered two of the most basic notions of human cognition and language. The relevance of these processes of meaning extension in the origin of personal names has been recently described by Dobrić (2010), who claims the universal nature of metaphorization in forging personal names. In the following sections, each subset of emotion names will be introduced individually.

HAPPINESS *names*

The neutral noun OE *ead* "happiness, felicity, prosperity" is one of the most pro-
ductive name themes in the *DB*. Several of the *ead*-nouns recorded here can be given
to both men and women, which is illustrative of the popularity of this formative in
Anglo-Saxon times. The list of 30 dithematic male names with a first element *ead-* (or
its variants *ed-* and *edd-*) includes the following OE personal names:[4] *Eadbald* (12),
Eadberht (46), *Eadflæd*, *Eadfriþ* (8), *Eadgifu* (3), *Eadgils* (2), *Eadgyth* (2), *Eadhæd*,
Eadheah, *Eadhelm* (18), *Eadhere*, *Eadhrid*, *Eadhun*, *Eadhyse*, *Eadlaf*, *Eadlufu*, *Ead-
mær* (16), *Eadnoþ* (27), *Eadred* (31), *Eadric* (86), *Eadsige* (15), *Eadstan* (13), *Eadwald*
(40), *Eadwig* (25), *Eadwulf* (52), *Eadwynn* (2), *Edgard* (17), *Edmund* (32), *Edward*
(34), *Edwin* (57). Furthermore, the *DB* includes the monothematic masculine names
Eada/Eoda (6) and *Edda* (4), which represent shortened forms of dithematic names,
and the diminutive *Eading* (derived from the original patronymic).

Women's names based on this theme include 9 different dithemes, namely: *Eadburg*
(9), *Eadflæd* (7), *Eadgifu* (20), *Eadgyþ* (11), *Eadhild*, *Eadleofu*, *Eadswiþ*, *Eadwulfu*,
Eadwynn (2). To these, the shortened form *Eda* (and, less probably, the diminutive
Edlu[5]) could be added. As can be seen from all these examples, OE *ead* is exclusively
used as the first element of dithematic nouns, independently of the gender of the
name-bearer. As for the second elements used in these personal nouns, OE *ead* is
combined in the *DB* with up to 33 different nouns or adjectives, corresponding to a
wide variety of semantic fields.

As can be seen in Table 1, the personal names with a higher number of occur-
rences in the corpus are those composed of OE *ead* plus a second elements denoting
POSSESSION or, more specifically, CAUSATIVE POSSESSION: this is the case of the nouns
OE *ric* "rich" (86 masculine nouns), OE *sige* "victory" (15 masculine names), OE

TABLE 1

EMOTION CONCEPTUALIZATION SUGGESTED BY OE *EAD*- DITHEMATIC NAMES RECORDED IN THE DB

CONCEPTUAL MAPPING (HAPPINESS)	NO. OF PERSONAL NAMES		FREQUENCY	
	male	female	male	female
A VALUABLE COMMODITY (VICTORY)	14	2	202	12
A VALUABLE COMMODITY (WEALTH, GIFT)	3	1	121	20
LIGHT	1	–	46	–
UP	1	–	1	–
WILD ANIMAL	1	1	52	1
LOCATION (HOME)	–	1	–	9
HIGH SOCIAL STATUS	3	–	48	–
HARDSHIP, STRENGTH	1	1	13	1
VIRTUE (PURITY, WISDOM)	2	1	31	8
FRIENDSHIP	1	–	57	–
ANOTHER EMOTION (LOVE, JOY)	2	2	3	3
Total	*29*	*9*	*574*	*54*

mund "hand, bridal gift; protection" (32 masculine nouns) and OE *gifu* "gift" (20 feminine nouns and 3 masculine nouns). Based upon these nouns, HAPPINESS is conceptualized as possession of a VALUABLE COMMODITY (Kövecses, 2000: 106–108) that can be either exchanged through marriage or gained through military victory. Military-related vocabulary is in fact very frequently combined with OE *ead* in Anglo-Saxon male names; this is the case of OE *bald* "courageous," OE *friþ* "peace," OE *gar* "spear," OE *gisel* "hostage," OE *guþ* "battle," OE *helm* "helmet," OE *here* "army," OE *hyse* "warior," OE *laf* "survivor," OE *noþ* "courage," OE *wald* "power," OE *wig* "battle," OE *weard* "guardian." As for names for women, the preference is for names related to the exchange of gifts (as in OE *gifu* "gift") and to the possession of moral virtues and intellectual or physical qualities (as in OE *flæd* "purity, glory, beauty," OE *ræð* "wisdom," OE *swiþ* "strength," or OE *stan* "stone, hardship"). Similarly, HOME is represented as the place where HAPPINESS is found and protected in the female name *Eadburg* (from OE *burg* "dwelling, fortress, protection"). Military vocabulary is also used in a few female names, such as *Eadgyþ* (from OE *guþ* "battle") and *Eadhild* (from OE *hild* "war").

The *ead*-names recorded in the corpus can also be used in order to illustrate other well-known metaphors of HAPPINESS (Kövecses, 2000: 24–25), such as HAPPINESS IS LIGHT (OE *beorht* "bright"), HAPPINESS IS UP (OE *heah* "high") and HAPPINESS IS A WILD ANIMAL (OE *wulf* "wolf"). The metonymic extensions HAPPINESS IS A RESULT OF HIGH SOCIAL RANKING and HAPPINESS IS A RESULT OF FRIENDSHIP appear in names with a second formative OE *hād* "degree, rank, OE *hreð* "famous," OE *mære* "famous, distinguished," and OE *wine* "friend." Finally, Anglo-Saxon personal names normally combine OE *ead* with other words for positive emotions, as in the case of OE *wynn* "joy" and OE *leofu* "love."

JOY *names*

The feminine noun OE *wyn(n)* "joy" is undoubtedly one of the most productive themes in the corpus. This element can be found both in dithematic nouns (either in first or in second position) and in monothematic nouns. Masculine dithematic nouns with OE *wyn(n)* in initial position are *Wynnbald* (3), *Wynnberht* (3), *Wynnfrith* (3), *Wynngeat*, *Wynnhelm* (7), *Wynnhere* (2), *Wynnsige* (30), *Wynnstan* (9), and *Wynnric*; furthermore, the diminutive *Wynning* appears once in the *DB*. As a second element of masculine personal names, OE *wyn(n)* appears on only five occasions in the corpus: *Alwynn*, *Ælfwynn*, *Deorwynn*, *Mærwynn*, and *Wulfwynn* (one occurrence each). As in the case of OE *ead*, the corpus shows an overwhelming preference for masculine personal nouns that combine OE *wynn* with a second element expressing CAUSATIVE POSSESSION, as in *Wynnsige* (which is, by far, the most frequently recorded masculine *wynn*-name in the *DB*) and *Wynnric*. Furthermore, the vocabulary of war and peace is frequently used as a second element of these dithemes, as in, for example, OE *bald* "courageous," OE *friþ* "peace," OE *helm* "helmet," and OE *here* "army." Finally, the metaphor JOY IS LIGHT is illustrated by the name *Wynnberht*. In those cases where OE *wynn* appears in final position, the first element of the ditheme makes reference to a living being, indicating very probably the subject of the emotional experience. This is the case of OE *eall* "all," OE *ælf* "elf," OE *deor* "deer, dear," OE *mære* "famous, distinguished," and OE *wulf* "wolf" (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

EMOTION CONCEPTUALIZATION SUGGESTED BY OE *WYNN*- DITHEMATIC NAMES RECORDED IN THE DB

CONCEPTUAL MAPPING (JOY)	NO. OF PERSONAL NAMES		FREQUENCY	
	male	female	male	female
A VALUABLE COMMODITY (VICTORY)	5	–	45	–
A VALUABLE COMMODITY (WEALTH, GIFT)	1	1	1	1
LIGHT	1	1	3	2
HARDSHIP/STRENGTH	1	–	9	–
WILD ANIMAL	2	4	2	12
SUPERNATURAL BEING	1	–	9	–
LOCATION	–	3	–	4
HIGH SOCIAL STATUS	–	2	–	5
VIRTUE	–	1	–	7
ANOTHER EMOTION (LOVE, HAPPINESS)	–	3	–	12
Total	*11*	*15*	*69*	*43*

As for names for women, the general tendency is quite the opposite, with a clear preference to use OE *wynn* as a second element (16 personal names in all), as in the following cases: *Ælfwynn* (9), *Æscwynn* (2), *Æþelwynn* (4), *Beorhtwynn* (2), *Beornwynn*, *Cenwynn*, *Ceolwynn* (2), *Cynnewynn*, *Eadwynn* (2), *Ealhwynn*, *Eawynn*, *Leofwynn* (3), *Mærwynn*, *Oswynn*, *Welwynn*, and *Wulfwynn* (9). Whereas some of the first elements in these personal names refer to the subject of the emotional experience (normally an animal or a supernatural being, as in OE *ælf* "elf," OE *beorn* "bear," OE *cyne* "family," and OE *wulf* "wolf"), some others indicate a quality of this subject. In the second group, the corpus contains personal names illustrating the mappings JOY IS LIGHT (as in OE *beorht* "bright") and JOY IS HIGH SOCIAL RANK (as in OE *æþel* "noble" and OE *mære* "famous, distinguished"). The metaphor JOY IS A WILD ANIMAL, as illustrated by the use of Old English nouns for deer, bear, and wolf, is also found in the female name *Cenwynn* (from OE *cēne* "fierce"). Finally, a few personal nouns include references to locations: this is the case of OE *ceol* "ship," OE *ealh* "temple" and OE *ea* "river." Only three names for women show OE *wynn* in initial position: *Wynnflæd* (7), *Wynngifu*, and *Wynnþryþ*. Whereas the use of OE *gifu* "gift" suggests the mapping JOY IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY, OE *flæd* "purity, glory, beauty" and OE *þryþ* "might" indicate some of the qualities metonymically associated with this emotion. OE *wynn* is usually combined with other nouns for positive emotions, such as OE *ead* "happiness" and *leofu* "love." Furthermore, the recurrent use of the feminine noun OE *wynn* as the final element of female names confirms earlier hypotheses regarding the general tendency to associate the biological sex of the name bearer with the grammatical gender of the second element in a personal name (Kitson, 2002; Hough, 2002).[6]

The unrecorded Old English adjective **tāt* "glad" (derived from the verb OE *tǣtan* "to gladden"; Redin, 1919: 55), appears in four dithematic masculine personal names in the *DB*: *Tatberht* (2), *Tatfriþ* (2), *Tatnoþ* and *Tatwine* (3). As a second element,

this theme is found in *Leoftæt* (3). The names *Tæbba* and *Tætwa* can be considered hypocoristic variants for *Tatberht* and *Tatwine*, respectively (Redin, 1919: 70). The monothematic form *Tata* shows 6 occurrences in the *DB*. As a woman's name, this theme is recorded twice in the *DB*: once as a dithematic name *Tathere* and once as a monothematic name *Tetta* (2). Finally, the OE adjective *glæd* "gladness"[7] appears on two single occasions in the corpus, namely in the masculine names *Glædmann* and *Glædwine*.

LOVE *names*

The adjective OE *leōf* "beloved" is one of the most productive themes in the corpus. This adjective appears in the following men's names in the *DB*: *Leofcild* (4), *Leofcwen* (2), *Leofdæg*, *Leofenaþ*, *Leofflæd*, *Leofgar* (6), *Leofgeat* (2), *Leofgifu*, *Leofgyþ*, *Leofheah* (3), *Leofhelm*, *Leofhild*, *Leofketel*, *Leofkoll*, *Leofmann*, *Leofmær* (4), *Leofnoþ* (9), *Leofræd* (5), *Leofric* (79), *Leofrun* (2), *Leofsexe*, *Leofsidu*, *Leofsige* (45), *Leofstan* (34), *Leofsunu* (11), *Leoftæt* (3), *Leofwald*, *Leofwaru* (2), *Leofweald*, *Leofweard* (4), *Leofwig* (3), *Leofwine* (103), *Leofwulf*, *Leofwynn*. Furthermore, OE *leōf* appears in the monothematic names *Leofa* (6) and *Leofing*.

As for women's names, this noun is found in *Leofcwen*, *Leofdæge*, *Leofflæd* (8), *Leofgifu* (4), *Leofgyþ* (2), *Leofrun* (7), *Leofsidu*, *Leofwaru* (2), *Leofwynn* (3), *Leofswiþ*. As was seen above, all these names can also be used for male bearers. As a second element, it is found in the names *Ælfleof*, *Cyneleof* (2), *Eadleof*, and *Hereleof*. Finally, the corpus yielded one occurrence of the feminine monothematic name *Leoba*.

The masculine noun OE *wysc* "wish, choice" is found in the man's name *Wuscfrea* (2). The adjective OE *cyme* "comely, lovely" appears in the monothematic masculine names *Cyma* (3) and *Cymmi*. Finally, the adjective OE *swǣs* "beloved, dear" is used in the man's name *Swesa*.

As described above for HAPPINESS and JOY, LOVE names frequently conceptualize love as a VALUABLE COMMODITY (see Table 3). In fact, some of the most recurrent personal names within this group are *Leofric* (from OE *ric* "rich") and *Leofsige* (from OE *sige* "victory"). The causative dimension of this conceptualization is illustrated by the noun *Leofgifu*, derived from OE *gifu* "gift." The corpus also includes a large set of personal names derived from the combination of OE *lufu* with the following military: OE *naþ* "courage," OE *gyþ* "battle," OE *helm* "helmet," OE *hild* "war," OE *ræd* "power, counsel," OE *waru* "protection," OE *weald* "power," OE *weard* "guardian," and OE *wig* "battle."

OE *wine* "friend," OE *cild* "child," OE *mann* "man," OE *sunu* "son," and OE *cwen* "wife" indicate the recipient of this emotion and illustrate the conceptualization LOVE IS A BOND (represented by kinship or by friendship). The mappings LOVE IS LIGHT, LOVE IS UP, and LOVE IS A WILD ANIMAL are illustrated by personal names with a second element OE *dæg* "day," OE *heah* "high," and OE *wulf* "wolf," respectively. Furthermore, LOVE can also be related to VIRTUE (as in OE *flæd* "purity, glory") and HIGH SOCIAL STATUS (as in OE *mær* "famous, renowned").

TENDERNESS *names*

The adjective OE *milde* "mild, gentle" is used in the masculine name *Mildfriþ*, as well as in the monothematic name *Milde*. Women's names show a greater variety of forms

TABLE 3

EMOTION CONCEPTUALIZATION SUGGESTED BY OE *LEOF-* DITHEMATIC NAMES RECORDED IN THE DB

CONCEPTUAL MAPPING (LOVE)	NO. OF PERSONAL NAMES		FREQUENCY	
	male	female	male	female
A VALUABLE COMMODITY (VICTORY)	11	3	79	5
A VALUABLE COMMODITY (WEALTH, GIFT)	2	1	80	4
LIGHT	1	1	1	1
UP	1	–	3	–
WILD ANIMAL	1	–	1	–
HARDSHIP/STRENGTH	1	1	34	1
BOND	6	1	121	1
HIGH SOCIAL STATUS	1	–	4	–
VIRTUE	1	1	1	8
ANOTHER EMOTION (JOY)	1	2	1	4
Total	*26*	*10*	*325*	*24*

in the corpus, with three different dithematic names derived from this adjective: *Mildburg*, *Mildgyþ,* and *Mildriþ*. Each of these names had one single occurrence. The adjective OE *swēte* "sweet" appears in the man's name *Swetmann* (3), as well as in the monothemes *Swete* (3 occurrences for men, and 1 single occurrence for women) and *Sweting* (masculine, 1 occurrence). As can be seen from these personal names, OE *milde* "mild, gentle" is normally combined with terms for war and peace, as in OE *friþ* "peace," OE *burg* "protection," OE *gyþ* "battle, war," and OE *þryþ* "force, strength."

PRIDE *names*
Two different examples of PRIDE names have been found in the set of personal names recorded in the *DB*. Firstly, the adjective OE *deal* "proud, exulting," which is recorded in the dithematic masculine name *Dealwine* (from OE *wine* "friend, protector") and in the monotheme *Dela*. Secondly, the root OE *wlanc* "proud" appears in the masculine names *Wlancheard* and *Wlancthegn* (one single occurrence each), from OE *heard* "hard, brave" and OE *þegn* "warrior." As can be seen from these names, PRIDE is conceived of as the result of military success.

ANGER *names*
The masculine noun OE *anda* "malice, envy, hatred, anger" appears in two different masculine names: *Andhun* (from OU *hun* "Hun; bear cub; 2 occurrences) and *Andrac* (etymology uncertain). The masculine monotheme *Wode* can be related to the adjective OE *wōd* "mad with rage," with 1 single occurrence in the corpus used for this analysis. Furthermore, the masculine name *Belgi* (one occurrence) could be tentatively connected with the verb OE *belgan* "to become angry"; however, as indicated by Redin (1919: 73), it is more than likely that this noun is derived either from Celtic or from Old Norse.

FEAR *names*

Three different Old English themes within the semantic field of FEAR are recorded in the *DB* as name themes. To start with, the masculine dithematic name *Egesrik* (from OE *ric* "rich"; one single occurrence) is derived from the masculine noun OE *ege* "fear, terror, dread." Further, the masculine noun *ōga* is found, with a variety of spellings,[8] in seven different cases, all of which correspond to masculine, monothematic names. Finally, the masculine noun OE *brōga* "fear, terror, horror, monster" appears once in the masculine monotheme *Broga*.

Discussion

As was seen here, emotion-related vocabulary is a major source of themes for late Old English personal names. Words referring to a wide variety of emotions were used by the Anglo-Saxons. These emotions ranged from the positive (i.e., HAPPINESS, JOY, LOVE, TENDERNESS, and PRIDE) to the negative (i.e., ANGER and FEAR). These emotive bases were found either alone or in combination with other lexical elements to derive personal names.

Following the rules that governed the permutation system inherited from the ancient Germanic tribes, Old English speakers tended to combine themes into dithematic personal names. Most of the emotion words analyzed here tend to appear in initial position in the personal name. Consequently, their use in personal names normally responds to the variation and alliteration principles according to which children from the same family would share in common either the first name element (e.g., *Eadwynn* and *Eadgifu*) or, at least, the initial consonant in their names (e.g., *Wulfstan* and *Wigburg*).

According to the data presented here, three emotion-related onomastic roots are especially frequent as protothemes in the names recorded in the *DB*: OE *ead* "happiness" (44 names), OE *wyn(n)* "joy" (33 names) and OE *leōf* "love" (52 names). Broadly speaking, the personal names derived from these three words correspond to individuals of both sexes. However, OE *wyn(n)* is used more frequently as a woman's name (19 names out of 33), especially when this feminine noun is used as the second element of a personal name, indicating a clear association between the grammatical gender of the second element in the name and the sex of the person that bears that name.

Furthermore, the *DB* data indicates that these three themes are frequently combined with nouns expressing the general idea of *(causative) possession* in Old English. In fact, whereas men's names beginning with any of these three themes frequently have such elements as OE *rīce* "rich" and OE *sige* "victory, success, triumph," dithematic women's names indicate a clear preference for OE *giefu* "gift, present."

As for the other emotion themes analyzed here (i.e., words expressing TENDERNESS, PRIDE, ANGER, or FEAR), the number of occurrences is very low. Nevertheless, some very general tendencies could be discerned here. Words expressing TENDERNESS are apparently more frequent in women's names than in men's names. Only in the case of names derived from the adjective OE *swēte* "sweet," the number of masculine subjects is superior to the number of females. However, many of the names recorded in the *DB* can be considered nickname forms, either simple or double (as in the case

of *Swetmann*; see Clark, 1992: 460), used with descriptive purposes and, consequently, cannot be counted as baptismal names. Whereas TENDERNESS is apparently conceived of as a typically feminine emotion, the use of PRIDE words is restricted to men's names in the *DB*.

Similarly, words for negative emotions such as ANGER and FEAR are used exclusively in masculine names in the corpus used here. This is the case of OE *anda* "malice, envy, hatred, anger," which appears in combination with OE *hūn* (meaning either "bear cub" or "Hun") and OE *wracu* "revenge." Very possibly, the capacity to cause ANGER and FEAR on their rivals was seen as an eminently masculine quality by the Anglo-Saxons, whereas the same ability was not expected at all from females. In the case of themes expressing FEAR, there exists a strong preference for monothematic nicknames used to refer to a person on the basis of a personality feature. The dithematic formation *Egesrik* appears to be the only authentic baptismal name within this group.

Related to the conceptualizations of emotions conveyed by these personal names, the data analyzed here indicate a strong preference for Anglo-Saxon personal names to refer to positive emotional experiences as something valuable. The general mapping POSITIVE EMOTION IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY can be further subdivided into two main groups: POSITIVE EMOTION IS A GIFT (which is almost exclusive of female personal names) and POSITIVE EMOTION IS A RESULT OF MILITARY VICTORY (a metonymic extension illustrated by the military vocabulary used in these personal names). In the case of TENDERNESS and PRIDE, the general tendency is to combine the corresponding Old English emotion words with vocabulary related to war and peace. As for the other positive emotions analyzed here (i.e., HAPPINESS, JOY, and LOVE), the corpus of Anglo-Saxon personal names illustrates the following mappings: POSITIVE EMOTION IS LIGHT, POSITIVE EMOTION IS UP, POSITIVE EMOTION IS SOCIAL RANKING, POSITIVE EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL, POSITIVE EMOTION IS A LOCATION. Furthermore, the metaphors JOY IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING and LOVE IS A BOND are also illustrated in the corpus. In the case of negative emotions (i.e., ANGER and FEAR), the low number of personal names contained in the corpus did not allow a conceptual classification.

Conclusion

The study presented here confirms the initial hypothesis that Old English dithematic names and the naming practices related to them are governed by onomastic choices. Furthermore, this study has also demonstrated the potential of the semantic approach to Anglo-Saxon onomastics, identifying a series of general semantic tendencies that govern the combinations of lexemes used in the dithemes recorded in the *DB*. As for the analysis of conceptual mappings, proposed here, the onomastic data contained in the database indicate a strong tendency for dithematic names to combine emotion themes with words expressing (CAUSATIVE) POSSESSION. This is especially true in the case of words for positive emotions combined with Old English words for (i) war and peace, and (ii) gift. Whereas the mapping POSITIVE EMOTION COMES WITH MILITARY VICTORY is more frequently found in male names, the mapping POSITIVE EMOTION IS A GIFT is nearly exclusively illustrated by female names and probably reflects the Anglo-Saxon wedding customs and the gift-giving traditions related to them

(Fell, 1984: 56; Jewell, 1996: 27). Interestingly, most of the personal names analyzed here illustrate these and other conventional emotion metaphors and metonymies, frequently found in a wide variety of languages from different parts of the world (Kövecses, 2000).

In sum, the Old English data presented here suggest that name choices were ruled by a combination of onomastic and semantic factors, which explains (i) the existence of names related to different emotion concepts that are exclusively used for subjects of one of the two sexes; and (ii) the pervasiveness in Anglo-Saxon personal names of combinations of themes that illustrate some well-known conceptualizations of emotions. More studies of Anglo-Saxon naming practices that take into account the semantics of protothemes are obviously needed. However, as has been shown here, the ancient Anglo-Saxons were not completely indifferent towards the meanings of the words used in personal names and towards the resulting combinations. In this respect, Clark's (1992) list of recurrent concepts in Old English personal names (i.e., nobility, national pride, religion, strength, and war) offers, in our opinion, a very valid starting point for modern investigations of Anglo-Saxon onomastics.

Notes

[1] The database is publicly available from <http://www.pase.ac.uk/index.html>.

[2] Based on the GEW, it will be assumed here that the difference between the emotional concepts happiness/joy relies on the intensity of the emotional experience. According to Goddard (1998: 94), whereas present-day English happiness words have "a comparatively muted quality," joy words imply "an intense but generalized and almost euphoric view of one's current existence."

[3] For example, personal names containing words of unknown meaning were excluded from this research, as well as names for nationalities (such as OE *seax* "Saxon" and OE *geat* "Geat").

[4] The total number of individuals bearing each name in *DB* is indicated in brackets; where no number of occurrences is indicated, the name appears only once in the database.

[5] Redin (1919: 41) interprets *Edlu* as a diminutive of variant of *Æþel*, derived from OE *æðel* "noble."

[6] For a critical analysis of this assumption, see Colman (1996) and, especially, Okasha (2011).

[7] Or, alternatively, the homonym neutral noun OE *glæd* "gladness."

[8] Namely *Ocga* (2), *Ochta*, *Ogga*, *Oggod*, and *Oghe* (see Redin, 1919: 103).

Bibliography

Clark, Cecily. 1992. "Onomastics." *The Cambridge History of the English Language 1: The Beginnings to 1066*. Ed. Richard M. Hogg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 409–450.

Clark, Philip. 1987. "Notes on (Early) Old English Personal Names." Newscastle University Arthurian Society. <http://www.millennia.f2s.com/reenactment%20-%20research%20-%20early%20oe%20names.pdf> [accessed November 20 2013].

Colman, Fran. 1996. "Names Will Never Hurt Me." *Studies in English Language and Literature. "Doubt Wisely": Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*. Ed. Jane Toswell and Elizabeth Tyler. London: Routledge, 13–28.

Darby, Henry C. 1979. *Domesday England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Díaz-Vera, Javier E. 1996. "From *Domesday Book* to Lay Subsidy Rolls. Place-Names as Informants of Linguistic Change." *Studia Anglica Posnasiensia* 30: 37–43.

Díaz-Vera, Javier E. 2011. "Reconstructing the Old English Cultural Model for Fear." Atlantis 33(1): 85–103.

Dobrić, Nicola. 2010. "Theory of Names and Cognitive Linguistics — The Case of the Metaphor." *Filozifija i drustvo* 21(1): 31–41.

Dodgson, J. McNeal. 1985. "Some *Domesday* Personal-Names, Mainly Post-Conquest." *Nomina* 9: 41–51.

von Feilitzen, Olof. 1937. *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.

Fell, Christine. 1984. *Women in Anglo-Saxon England*. London: British Museum.

Fisiak, Jacek. 1984. "English Dialects in the Fifteenth Century: Some Observations Concerning the Shift of Two Isoglosses." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 4: 75–98.

Fisiak, Jacek. 1985. "The Voicing of Initial Fricatives in Middle English." *Focus on England and Wales*. Ed. Wolfgang Viereck. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 5–28.

Fisiak, Jacek. 1990. "*Domesday Book* and Late Old English Dialects." *Papers from the 8th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*. Ed. Hennig Andersen and Konrad Koerner. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 107–128.

Forde, Helen. 1986. *Domesday Preserved*. London: HMSO.

Geeraerts, Dirk, and Caroline Gevaert. 2008. "Hearts and (Angry) Minds in Old English." *Culture, Body, and Language: Conceptualizations of Internal Body Organs across Cultures and Languages*. Ed. Farzad Sharifian, René Dirven, and Ning Yu. Berlin: Mouton, 319–347.

Goddard, Cliff. 1998. *Semantic Analysis. A Practical Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hallam, Elizabeth. 1986. *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Hough, Carole. 2002. "Women in English Place-Names." *Essays in Memory of Christine E. Fell, with her Unpublished Writings*. Ed. Carole Hough and Kathryn A. Lowe. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 41–106.

Jewell, Helen. 1996. *Women in Medieval England*. New York: Manchester University Press.

Kitson, Peter R. 2002. "How Anglo-Saxon Personal Names Work." *Nomina* 25: 91–131.

Kövecses, Zoltan. 2000. *Metaphor and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Okasha, Elizabeth. 2011. *Women's Names in Old English*. London: Ashgate.

Redin, Mats. 1919. *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*. Berlings: Uppsala.

Sacharin, Vera, Katja Schlegel, and Klaus Scherer. 2012. "Geneva Emotion Wheel Rating Study." Geneva, Switzerland: University of Geneva, Swiss Center for Affective Sciences.

Sawyer, P. H. 1955. "The Place-Names of the *Domesday* Manuscripts." *Bulletin J. Rylands Library* 38: 483–506.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2006. "Words and their Metaphors: A Corpus-Based Approach." *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Ed. Anatol Stefanowitsch and Stephan Th. Gries. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 63–105.

Stenton, Frank M. 1924. "Personal-Names in Place Names." *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*. Ed. Allen Mawer and Frank M. Stenton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165–189.

Wood, Michael. 1999. *Domesday A Search for the Roots of England*. London: BBC Books.

Woolf, Henry Bosley. 1939. *The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press.

Notes on contributor

Javier E. Díaz-Vera is a Full Professor in Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics at the Department of Modern Languages, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (Spain). His research focuses on the study of conceptual metaphor and metonymy from a variationist perspective, including historical, sociolinguistic, and dialectal approaches. He has published a wide variety of papers and book chapters on the multimodal expression of emotions in historical and dialectal varieties of English.

Correspondence to: Javier E. Díaz-Vera, Departamento de Filología Moderna, Facultad de Letras, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, E-13071 Ciudad Real, Spain. Email: JavierEnrique.Diaz@uclm.es