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TÍTOL: Experiences of Love in the Old English vocabulary

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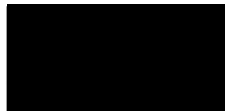
ABSTRACT: The aim of this end of degree paper is to explore and analyse the Old English vocabulary of love to understand its conceptualisation during the Anglo-Saxon period and observe whether it is in line with the results provided by recent studies on the conceptualisation of love in Modern English. To this end, the Old English words related with the emotion of love recorded in *The Old English Thesaurus* and other Old English dictionaries have been analysed and contextualised. Taking as a referent, Tim Lomas' (2017) theory, *The 'flavours' of love*, data have also been classified into different categories that reflect different experiences of love. Finally, results have been compared with recent studies on Modern English. This study shows that there exist substantial differences in the way love was conceptualised in previous periods and suggests that historical and social factors may actively contribute to explaining variation in the domain of emotion words.

Key words: Old English (OE), love related vocabulary, conceptualisations of the emotion.

RESUMEN: El objetivo de este trabajo de final de grado es explorar y analizar el vocabulario relacionado con el amor en inglés antiguo para entender la conceptualización que tenían los anglosajones y observar si está en la misma línea que los resultados de estudios recientes de la conceptualización del amor en inglés moderno. Con esa finalidad, las palabras del inglés antiguo relacionadas con el amor recogidas en el *Tesauro de Inglés Antiguo* y otros diccionarios de inglés antiguo han sido analizadas y contextualizadas. Tomando como referencia la teoría de Tim Lomas (2017) *Los 'sabores' del amor*, los datos han sido clasificados en distintas categorías que reflejan diferentes experiencias del amor. Finalmente, los resultados han sido comparados con estudios recientes en inglés moderno. Este estudio muestra que existen unas diferencias sustanciales en la conceptualización del amor en los periodos previos y sugiere que los factores históricos y sociales pueden contribuir activamente para explicar la variación en el domino de las palabras de emociones.

Palabras clave: Inglés antiguo, vocabulario relacionado con el amor, conceptualización de la emoción.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

For the past twenty years, research on emotion conceptualisation and vocabulary has grown significantly (Coleman, 1999; Diller, 2004; Soós, 2009; Tissari, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2016; among others). These studies suggest that words used to portray emotions are in constant variation and are a mirror of the changing conceptualisations of emotions (Tissari, 2016). In the field of love, English words have experienced an evolution (Tissari, 2003) as the emotion itself has changed through time from a liberation experience in the Classic Tradition to a narcissistic emotion in the Renaissance (Frost, n.d). Despite its evolution, the emotion of love consists of different experiences that coexist at a time (Lomas, 2017). Sociologists and psychologists have explored the nuances and shades of love experiences and have created typologies to classify the variation of the emotion. (Lee, 1973, 1977; Sternberg, 1986; Lomas, 2017).

Sociolinguistics research points out that variation in language is motivated by social factors (Vance, 2019). This theory not only applies to synchronic linguistics, but also to diachronic linguistics. Thus, given the social changes that western societies have experienced throughout history, the analysis of the English vocabulary on love should show variation throughout the different stages of its development. By extension, when looking into a particular period of the English language, a direct relation between the main concepts and ideas depicted in the spoken language and the social perceptions and beliefs should be found.

In this paper, I am going to analyse the OE vocabulary of love to observe whether the conceptualisation of love that English vocabulary reflects is in line with the results provided by recent studies on the conceptualisation of love in Modern English. In the following sections, I will review the literature about the emotion of love, about the Anglo-Saxon society and about emotion words in the English language. Then, the methodology explains how the results were reached. Next, those results are presented, discussed and contrasted with recent research on Modern English in order to reach a conclusion on love words.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1. Love Experiences

Love has always been a compelling research topic in many disciplines; as Tim Lomas said: "Few experiences are as cherished as love" (Tim Lomas, 2017:134). Thus, many researchers from different fields have been trying to decipher every aspect of love. In "The impact of Love on the concept of Man in Western Philosophy and Theology", Frost (n.d.) analyses the evolution of the experience of love from the Classical Tradition to the Renaissance and Modernity. Frost explains that classical men used love to liberate themselves from the brutality of the wheel of life. Love was "a spiritual mystery both in life and death" (Frost, n.d), which connected lovers and isolated them from the rest. Moreover, love was considered an eternal and never-ending element connected to the soul regardless of the soul's metamorphosis. Their Classical conceptions of love are found in *the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice* and *the myth of Eros and Psyche*. With the arrival of Christianity, elements such as caring and "love thy neighbour" reshaped the concept of love. Christianity had two different approaches to the topic of love (Frost, n.d.). On the one hand, Christian Pietism believed that men were powerless beings who completely depended on *Agape* – God's love – to love and care for thy neighbour and stay away from the sinful physical aspects of the romantic love. On the other hand, Christian Humanism maintained that "love thy neighbour" had to be accompanied by "love thy self". Nonetheless, the concept of love evolved into a caritas love, which is centred on others rather than on oneself. Love was dictated by God and its physical expression was considered a sin; hence it should be avoided.

During the Renaissance, the Classical figure of Eros emerged as Cupid; the god of love was personified and once again the concept evolved: "love was not directed towards any other goal than man himself." (Frost, n.d.) The Modern man has a clear tendency towards self-love which resembles the Classic *myth of Narcissus* who falls in love with his own reflection. Love loses its caritas aspect and becomes more self-centred; the Modern man "falls in love with love." (Frost, n.d.) This brief overview of the development of the concept of love through time shows how love has evolved from an eternal intangible mysterious force that provided an escape from the mundane world into a caritas attitude towards an outer object to achieve God's approval and how God is eventually replaced by Cupid and love becomes an individual experience. Thus, the social conditions and the historical moment have a clear impact on the experience of love both externally and internally.

From a strictly synchronic point of view, there are multiple shades of love and these vary from culture to culture. Tim Lomas' (2017) work on the polysemy of love has shown that the experience of love in the Judeo-Christian tradition can be classified into 14 different types that he called "'flavours' of love". His classification is based on the analysis of a large corpus of words extracted from several languages, which do not have direct translations into English. The love-related words were arranged into 14 'flavours' labelled with a Greek word. Each flavour represents an experience of love. The 14 types were organised into 4 categories: non-personal, caring, romantic and transcendent.

In the non-personal category, there are three flavours: (a) *Meraki*, experiential love or love for any type of action. For instance, *ambulophilia*, which means love for walking in Greek. (b) *Érōs*, aesthetic love or love for an 'object' rather than for the experience it provides. For example, Plato's love for the divine Forms/Ideas. (c) *Chōros,* rooted love or love for those places where one feels rooted as in the Russian word *toska,* which means a heartfelt connection with a place. This 'flavour' closes the non-personal category. In the caring category, there are three more love 'flavours': (a) *Philia*, friendly love or the 'Platonic' love, which defines a close friendship. For instance, the Spanish words *cariño* and *confianza* would be included in this type of experience of love. (b) *Philautia,* which is the 'flavour' dedicated to the self-love. French has two words that fit this category: *amour de soi* and *amour propre,* both meaning self-love. The last 'flavour' in the caring category is (c) *Strogē*, familial love that is the "care affection usually between family members". In the Aboriginal Pintupi language there is a verb that captures this concept, *Kanyinipa,* which means "the deep feelings of nurturance and protection a parent usually feels for a child" (Lomas, 2017:141).

The romantic category is the widest with 5 'flavours', all of which refer to different nuances of the bond between partners. (a) *Epithymia,* passionate love which includes the sensual desire and the physical attraction. In Tagalog, the word *kilig* refers to "the butterflies in the stomach arising from an interaction with someone one desires or finds attractive". (b) *Paixnidi,* the playful love that refers to the cheeky flirtation between lovers. An example would be the Tagalog word *gigil,* which means "the irresistible urge to pinch/squeeze someone because they are loved or cherished". However, many scholars such as Sarwer, Kalichman, Johnson, Early and Ali (1993) agree on the negative connotations that this 'flavour' can have, since the game can be manipulative. In connection with this, the last 'flavour', and especially its dark connotation, is the notion of (c) *Mania*, which refers to a possessive and dependent form of love. A clear example

of this type of love is the feeling described by the French word *amour fou*, which translates as 'mad love', implying qualities such as anger, jealousy and anxiety. Counterpoising this flavour, there is (d) *Prâgma*, which signifies a rational type of love that refers to "the long-term process of building a life together". The Korean word *jeong* 'standing in love' is a clear example of this 'flavour'. The last 'flavour' of the romantic category is (e) *Anákē*, star-crossed love, which alludes to destiny and fate, as well as capturing "the sense that powerful forces guides its appearance in people's life". For instance, *koi no yokan* in Japanese refers to "the feeling on meeting someone that falling in love with will be inevitable".

The last category of 'flavours' that Lomas developed was transcendent and it consist of three types of love: (a) *Agápē*, compassionate, charitable and 'selfless' love. An example of this is the "unconditional love that God was depicted to hold towards humanity" in the Bible. In Sanskrit, the word *maitrī* refers to the 'loving-kindness' this 'flavour' portrays. Another flavour of this last category is (b) *Koinōnía*, momentary love, which refers to "love with momentary micro-feelings of connection with people". For example, the French word *frisson* meaning "a sudden thrill, involving a potent combination of fear and excitement. Finally, the last 'flavour' is (c) *Sébomai*, reverential love that counterparts the *Agápē* love explained above. Instead of representing the love "flowing down". *Sébomai* refers to the devotional love flowing 'upwards'. An example of this "spiritual emotion" is the Sanskrit word *bhakti*. Lomas' (2017) classification has been summarised in the following table:

Table 1: Summary of Tim Lomas typology

Category	*"Flavour" of Love*	Definition
Non-personal	Meraki	Love for activities and experiences.
	Érōs	Love for objects (from physical items to abstract concepts).
	Chōros	Love for places.
Caring	Philia	The 'Platonic' love for people.
	Philautia	Self-love, love for oneself.
	Storgē	Love between family members.
Romantic	Epitymia	Passionate love implying sensual desire and physical attraction.
	Paixnidi	Playful and flirtatious love.

	Mania	Possessive and dependent love.
	Prâgma	Long-term and rational love.
	Anákē	Love dictated by destiny and fate.
Transcendent	Agápē	God's love.
	Koinōnía	.
	Sébomai	Devotional love.

It is important to highlight that this categorisation is built on two previous love typologies created by Lee (1993, 1997) and Sternberg (1986), which were less specific and they argue that there are three 'primary' forms of love that are either by themselves or combined to create other types of love. Despite their differences, it is undeniable that these two previous typologies had an influence on Tim Lomas' *Flavours of Love* not only in the terminology the three scholars use to categorise the types of love, but also in the segregation of the feeling in similar experiences of love.

This paper will use Tim Lomas's *'Flavours' of* Love categorisation to classify Old English vocabulary about love. This classification will show which experiences had and did not have lexicalisations in the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons who inhabited Britain between 410 and 1066.

2. 2. Society, language and love

At this point, it is important to raise the idea of language as a mirror to society. Social factors have an impact on language, in fact, there is a discipline dedicated to the study of these circumstances: sociolinguistics. Speakers use language to communicate their experiences, thoughts and ideas, hence, language is adapted to its society and has the terms to express the main concepts. A language might not have lexicalisations of all the types of love mentioned above, if the speakers do not contemplate those experiences. Thus, it is important to have a detailed contextualisation of Anglo-Saxon society from the 5th to the 11th century to demonstrate if language certainly mirrors their society.

Old English was the language spoken by the Anglo-Saxons. Different aspects of the Anglo-Saxon society have been studied by many scholars. Clack (2010), Cunliffe, Bartlett, Morrill, Briggs and Bourke (2004) give a general portrait of the Anglo-Saxon society, which was organised into classes and in which the upper class was the warrior aristocracy. From the literary texts, especially in poetry, we know the Anglo-Saxons'

world was based on the bond of loyalty between fighting men. In their world, love meant love for your fellow warriors, and they believed in the idea of sacrificing yourself for the group.

Stanlay (2008) studied the Anglo-Saxon concept of family and concluded that "a sense of 'family', as it is now understood, was not part of their understanding", instead their definition of family was closer to *häusliche gemeinschaft* 'domestic community'. In other words, the immediate family was not as relevant as it is nowadays. The Anglo-Saxons understood the notion of society in terms of house, household, servants and slaves. As far as gender roles are concerned, Albano (1994) and Hudson (n.d.) give us an overview of the role of women in the Anglo-Saxon times that is useful to comprehend not only their role as mothers but also how the romantic relationships and marriages were understood. Albano (1994) bases his theory on the feminine characters in the poems *Beowulf* and *The Volsunga Saga*. Hudson (n.d.) takes written accounts from different women to justify her words. From works that remain today, one can deduce that Anglo-Saxon women were warriors and took part in their husbands' battles. Marriage was not understood as a romantic bond; it was a 'bond of loyalty' and it was used as 'bonds of peace'.

Finally, the role of religion has been studied by Roberts (2016) who states that Anglo-Saxons remained pagan until the 7th century. It is precisely thanks to the information discovered in their pagan burial rituals that scholars have concluded that they had a warrior identity since males were buried with their weapons. Then, they converted to Christianity; religion reshaped society as it did in the rest of Europe and the notion of *Agápē* appeared.

Thus, from a sociolinguistic point of view the Old English vocabulary should reflect the multiplicity of experiences of love that the Anglo-Saxon society distinguished through distinct lexicalisations of the concept with small nuances to represent the different shades of love. The Thesaurus of Old English collects most of the lexicalisations of the concept of love that had been found in Old English.

When it comes to connecting English linguistics with the emotion of love, research has been done to shed light on the question of how we talk about love and how language is used to portray the multiple experiences of love that we understand. Tissari (2003) suggested that the word *love* has changed its meaning throughout the different stages of the English language. She collected data using the work *The Four Loves* by Lewis (1968) and found that, in Early Modern English, love words were more frequent than in Present-

day English. Then, she organised the data and noticed that there were more words to refer to sexual love in Present-day English than in Early Modern English. The words to refer to friendship and family love were less common in Present-day English than in Early Modern English. Against all odds, the religious love was the least frequent in the Early Modern English vocabulary. Finally, she found that love for things has a large presence in Present-day English words for love. Tissari (2016) concludes that words about emotions are constantly changing in order to reflect the social reshaping of the concept.

Research about words and love has been done by other scholars as well. For instance, Coleman (1999) collected the 2,950 words in *The Historical Thesaurus of Oxford English Dictionary* and divided them into three different classes: words for love as an emotion, words for the beloved and words for the loving behaviour. She covered all the periods in the history of the English language. Her division was not diachronic but semantic. Trim (2007) and Koivisto-Alanko (2006) worked on the field of love metaphors in Early Modern English. Their works are relevant in the linguistics studies of the words for love. Unfortunately, they do not feature aspects that will be explored in this paper.

To this end, this paper explores how the analysis of the Old English vocabulary about love experiences can serve as a window into the Anglo-Saxon conceptualisation of love and its multiple facets. These words will be compared with recent studies on the conceptualisation of love in Modern English to see if love words behave in line with Tissari's (2016) conclusion on emotion words.

3. METHODOLOGY

In order to explore how love was conceptualised and lexically encoded in OE, the Old English vocabulary related to love was extracted from *The Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts, Kay & Grundy, 2000) and the online edition of the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1882-1898) and classified using Tim Lomas' typology (2017). Then, historic sources were consulted in order to understand the Anglo-Saxon culture and provide a historic, social and grammatical context for those lexicalisations. Extract from Old English literary pieces – *The Seafarer, The Wanderer, The Wife's Lament* and *Beowulf* – were also consulted to see how the Anglo-Saxons depicted their love experiences in their elegiac and epic poetry.

Once an in-depth analysis of the socio-historical context of the Anglo-Saxon England had been conducted, the information gathered was used as background to the study of the

OE vocabulary of love. The semantic aspects of the OE lexicalisations of love were first commented, contextualised and exemplified with real data and then compared and contrasted with recent studies to see how language mirrors the evolution of the experiences of love.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Love is a polysemic concept (Lomas, 2017) and in Old English its wide polysemy was portrayed in the lexicon. The Present day English word *love* comes from the Old English word *lufu*. *Lufu* 'love' has four entries in *The Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,* which reflect that in OE this term was used to refer to the notion of affection, passion, love for God and love for a man or woman:

1. Warm, affection, attachment.
2. In a religious sense, caritas:
    2.1. love of God towards man.
    2.2. love of man towards God.
    2.3. love of God's creatures to one another.
3. Strong feeling, passion, affection.
4. Love between man and woman.

Lufu 'love' is an important term to consider since the majority of Old English nouns that referred to different experiences of love are literal or metaphorical compounds with "lufu" as their second constituent. According to Lass (1994), Old English had three main word formation strategies: compounding, affixation and conversion. From the 25 lexemes analysed below, 96% are compounds. Only one of them is a simple lexeme - *Cyþþ(u)* 'friendly affection'. In fact, 72% of the terms analysed here are compounds with *-lufu* 'love' as its second constituent and 88% of the compounds with *-lufu* are noun-noun combinations. Those lexicalisations will be analysed, contextualised and classified in this section. The majority of these lexicalisations can be classified within four main groups. Taking Lomas' typology (2017), those four categories are: caring love (love for the family or community), romantic love (interpersonal love), transcendent love (love in a religious context) and non-personal love (abstract love). However, there are three lexicalisations that do not fit into this categorisation. Those words are the following:

Heortlufe. which means 'love which comes from the heart'. This term does not describe a love experience but portrays the physical origin of the feeling in the *heort-*

'heart'. This is a metaphorical compound because the emotion of love is placed inside the body, specifically in one organ, the heart. And this physical embodiment of an emotion "is based on the broader metaphor EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL SENSATION" (Kovecses 2000:133). Thus, in Old English the emotion of love was metaphorically placed in the heart. This was not an arbitrary connection, but based on the physiological response associated with the emotion "change in heart rate" (Kovecses, 2000:134).

Another metaphorical compound with *-lufu* as its second constituent is *oferlufu* meaning 'excessive love'. This term was used in Sammlung der ihm zugeschrieben Homilien (1) to describe the emotion felt towards the earth. This word depicts the intensity with which the emotion is felt by resorting to the metaphor MORE IS UP.

(1) Seō oferlufu eorþan gestreōna

[Wulfst. 149, 4: 263, 24]

'That too great love for the earth gained'

Following the same metaphorical construction resorting MORE IS UP there is the word *heāhlufu.* The first constituent of the term *heāh-* is an adjective that means 'high or tall' and its meaning becomes 'great love'. This lexeme also depicts the intensity of the emotion.

There is another lexicalisation that does not fit into Lomas' typology: *ēadlufe* which refers to 'the eternal happiness of love'(2). It is also a compound with *-lufu* as its second constituent. However, it has a transparent meaning in that the meaning of both constituents *ēad-* 'happiness' and *-lufu* 'love' complement each other to create a new lexeme which portrays the happiness one feels whilst under the effects of love. According to Lass (1994), placing two nouns together was one of the most common compounding strategies in Old English and *ēadlufe* is a perfect example of this word formation strategy.

(2) "ce ēadlufan"

[Th. 248, 31]

'The eternal happiness of love'

The remaining lexicalisations have been organised following Lomas' typology and are commented below (see table 2).

Table 2: Love-related vocabulary in Old English classified in accordance with Tim Lomas' typology (2017)

'Flavours' of love according to Tim Lomas		Lexicalizations in OE
Caring (concern)	**Philia**: Friendly Love	Mægsibb
		Siblufu
		Hláford-Hyldo
		Cyþþ(u)
		Frēondlufu
		Frēondræden
	Storgē: Familia Love	Mōdorlufu
		Bearnlufu
	Philautia: Self Love	Selflīce
Romantic (desire)	**Prâgma**: Rational Love	Brydlufe
		Wīflufu
		Wīfmyne
	Mania: Possessive Love	Sohrlufu
Transcendent (self-transcendence)	**Agápē**: Compassionate Love	Gæstlufu
		Brōþorlufu
		Mannlufu
	Sébomai: Reverential Love.	Trēowlufu
		Fyrhþlufe or ferhþ-lufe
Non-Personal (appreciation)	**Chōros:** Rooted Love	Eardlufu
	Éros: Aesthetic Love	Feohlufu
	Meraki: Experiential Love	Frēondmynd

4. 1. Caring Love

The Anglo-Saxon had a strong sense of community, which is reflected in the concept *häusliche gemeinschaft* 'domestic community' (Stanlay, 2008). The Anglo-Saxons attached more relevance to their fellow warriors and the loyalty bonds they shared with their community members than to the blood ties they shared with their families. According to Stanlay, "a sense of 'family' as it is now understood was not part of their understanding" (2008:43). The Old English elegies, in particular *The Wandered* and *The*

Seafarer, portray the proud feeling of belonging to a community, the love felt towards the rest of the warriors and the sadness experienced when one lost their community or a member of the clan. Historians and literature agree on the relevance of the notion of community to the Anglo-Saxon. Language also captures the importance of these relationships between kinsmen with two words that fit with the *Philia* 'flavour' in the caring love category of Tim Lomas' typology: *Mægsibb* refers to 'the love and affection felt between kinsmen'. It is a compound word formed by *mæg-* 'relative to kinsmen' and *-sibb* 'bond and relationship'. Old English also had the term *Siblufu* to refer to 'the kindly affection, kindness and the love between kinsmen'. This word is used in the Anglo-Saxon version of the Genesis(3).

(3) *Git mē sibblufan and freōndscipe cȳðaþ*

[152, 3; Gen. 2514 (1834)]

'You make me know your affection and friendship.'

The Anglo-Saxon tribes had a society organised in classes and the warrior aristocracy was extremely respected (Clack, 2010). In the flavour of *Philia*, we can also include the term that validates the respect for the leader: *Hláford-hyldo* 'the fidelity, the loyalty and affection one serves to their lord'(4).

(4) *Ac hī gecȳðdon raðe ðæs hwylce hlāford-hyldo hī þohton to gecȳðanne on heora ealdhlāfordes bearnum*

[Ors. 6, 37; Bos. 132, 23]

'but soon after they shewed what kind of loyalty they intended to shew to the children of their late lord.'

There were multiple lexicalisations in Old English to refer to friendship and the love felt towards people within your community. That is the case of *Cyþþ(u),* which meant 'loving relations of intimacy, familiarity and friendliness'. In other words, the friendly affection one could feel for their acquaintances (5).

(5) *Abraham…tō Gode cýððe hæfde*

'Abraham was called the friend of God'

In the 'flavour' *Philia,* we can also include the term *Frēondlufu* 'love felt towards friends'(6) and *frēondrǣden*, which referred to the loving relationship between friends we now call 'friendship'(7).

(6) Saga ðæt ðū sīe sweostor mīn, ðonne ðē leōdweras fricgen, hwæt sīe freōndlufu
    uncer twega

'Say that thou art my sister, when the men of the country ask thee what may be the intimacy of us two'

(7) Ðæt heō mīnre ne gȳme freōndrǣdenne

'That she cares not for my friendship'

It has been said that family bonds were not as important as community bonds. However, the OE vocabulary shows that filial bonds, specifically between mothers and children, also occupied a prominent place. The next two lexicalisations fit into Lomas' flavour *Strogē* which refers to the familial experience of love:
Mōdorlufu is a compound noun that stands for 'love for a mother'(8).

(8) Jōhannes, swā dyde, and hē hiē þā in mōdorlufan hæfde

'Johannes, as did, and he had loved her with that love for a mother'

Within the field of filial relationships there is another word to consider: *bearnlufu,* which is a noun-noun compound formed by *bearn-* 'child' and *-lufu* 'love' and which meant 'the love one feels for their offspring'.

Thus, in the caring category of love, the OE vocabulary shows a clear correspondence with the historic evidence. Whereas there are only two lexicalisations related with the familial experience of love – *Strogē* in Lomas' flavours –, there are six terms that refer to

the bond between tribe members and friends – *Philia* in Lomas' typology. Within the caring experience of love, Lomas also includes the flavour *Philiautia* that refers to the love one feels for oneself. In Old English this concept is linguistically encoded in the word *selflīce* 'self-love'.

4. 2 Transcendental Love

Anglo-Saxons remained pagan until the 7th century (Bartlett, 2004) but the Old English period extends until the 11th century and language shows the effects of Christianisation in words related to the Christian experience of love. Seven lexicalisations have been found to fit into Lomas' category of transcendental love which is linked with religion and the reciprocal love between God and followers. The words fit into different flavours in Lomas' classification. Old English had two different terms to refer to the spiritual love and selfless love experience – *Agápe* in Lomas' typology. *Gæstlufu* is a compound noun with *gæst-* as its first constituent and *-lufu* as its second constituent. It literally means 'love for the soul' and stands for spiritual love. This term is mainly found in religious contexts and refers to the compassionate love which 'flows down' from God towards the worshippers. In the same 'flavour', we can also include *brōþorlufu,* a compound noun in which the first component is *brōþor-* 'brother'. However, when joined to *-lufu* 'love', it gains a religious connotation and its meaning becomes 'charity love'. Examples of this term have been found in religious rituals books (9). This kind of love is a selfless love like the one God has for all the living beings.

(9) *Māra ðisra is brōðerlufu*

[Rtl. 6, 23: 28, 31]

'Great doing is charity love'

Manlufu also fits into the *Agápe* flavour because it means 'love of humanity'. *Mann-* in Old English not only meant adult male, it was also used to refer to the notion of human being - a human being of either sex or age. And the term *mannlufu* stood for the charitable love people felt for others. The selfless and charitable meaning of this word is evident in the following example taken from the Anglo-Saxon version of the Holy Gospel (10).

(10) Woldun ðæt him tó móde fore monlufan sorg gesóhte, ðæt hé síþ tuge eft tó éþle

[Exon. 37 b; Th. 123, 18; Gú. 324]

'they desired that for love of men care would visit his mind, that he might take his journey back to his country (and not remain as a hermit),'

There is a counterpart for this experience of love, which is the reverential love that 'flows up from the believers to God'. There are three words in Old English that fit into this 'flavour' called *Sébomai* by Lomas. Firstly, *Trēowlufu* is a compound noun formed by *trēow-* 'faith' and *-lufu* 'love'. It means 'faithful love'. It is used on the Codex Exoniensis to portray the love that the disciples felt for Christ after the ascension (11).

(11) Wæs seō treōwlufu æt heortan

[Exon. Th. 34, 7; Cri. 538]

Secondly, *Fyrhþlufe* or *ferhþ-lufe* means 'love of the soul, mental love'. In The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis (12) the soul love is mainly dedicated to God, on the contrary, the physical love is dedicated to other beings.

(12) Ic to ānum ðē staðolige fæste fyrhþlufan

[Andr. Kmbl. 165; An. 83-]

'I keep the steadfast love of my soul firmly fixed to thee only'

All in all, the OE vocabulary of love contains the ideas of caritas love and reverential love, which have been traditionally linked with religion and with the love experiences related with faith.

4. 3. Romantic Love

In the Anglo-Saxon world, romantic relationships were not conceived as an intimacy bond between two people. Historians agree on the role of marriage as a loyalty bond more than a romantic union. Marriage was used as a "bond of peace between the nations" and "once a bond of loyalty was established in either Anglo-Saxon or Old-Norse culture, such loyalty would last indefinitely" (Albano, 1994:4). This idea is supported by OE literary

texts. Anglo-Saxon's marriages did not imply romantic connections between the partners. However, *The wife Lament*, an Old English elegy, contains hints that romantic love was not alien to the Anglo-Saxons. Moreover, the OE Thesaurus shows that at least four distinct terms existed in Old English that would fit into Lomas' category of romantic love. The following three lexicalisations could fit with Lomas' 'flavour' *Prâgma* – rational love – and they demonstrate that, despite the idea of marriage as a loyalty bond, there was also place for the romantic experience of love in the Anglo-Saxon world.

Brydlufe is a compound noun that meant 'a bride's love'(13) - the love from a woman about to be married or newly married, a wife or a woman in general.

(13) He ða brýdlufan sceal sécan

[Th. 249, 20]

‘He must seek a bride's love’

In the same 'flavour' *Prâgma* but with a different meaning we could include the word *wīflufu,* a compound noun meaning 'love for a woman'. This lexeme can be found in the Anglo-Saxon Poem of *Beowulf* (14).

(14) Ðan Ingelde weallaþ wælnīðas, and him wīflufan cōlran weorðaþ

[Beo. Th. 4137 (1855)]

‘Then in Ingeld murderous hate will well up, and in him the love for his woman will become cooler surging grief’

And, finally, the third noun in this group is *wīfmyne,* which also meant 'love for a woman'. An example of this lexicalisation can be found in the Anglo-Saxon version of the Genesis, meaning 'The love for Sarah' in this context (15).

(15) Hæðere drihten wearð, frea Faraone fah and yrre for wīfmyne

[Cd. Th. 111, 25; Gen. 1861]

‘the Lord God turned his anger upon Pharaoh because of his love for the woman.’

This idea of the existence of romantic love is supported by the existence of the lexicalisation *sorhlufu,* which means 'sorrowful love'. An example of this word can be found in the poem *Deor* (16). In Lomas' classification this lexicalisation would be considered part of the 'flavour' *Mania* because, according to Lomas, it is the "anxious romantic attachment" (2017:142) and the term *sorhlufu,* as we can see in the poem *Deor,* portrays the anxiety a sorrowful love produces that deprives Matilda of sleep.

(16) *We þæt Mæðhilde mone gefrugnon wurdon grundlease Geates frige, þæt hi seo sorglufu slæp ealle binom. Þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg.*

[Déor, 16a]

'We heard that the moans of Matilda, of the lady of Geat, were numberless so that (her) sorrowful love entirely deprived of sleep. That was overcome, so maybe this'.

4. 4. Non-Personal Love

In the Anglo-Saxon world, the concept of household had more relevance than it does nowadays. This is seen in Old English elegies such as *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer,* in which warriors were constantly longing for their former life, their lord and the other kinsmen while being in exile. In Lomas' 'flavours', this kind of love would fit into *Chōros,* which means "love of particular places, especially the feeling of being *rooted* in such places" (Lomas, 2017:140). The fact that Anglo-Saxons had a word to describe this rooted love explains how strong the concept of homeland was in their society. *Eardlufu* is a compound noun whose first constituent *Eard-* 'land, country, province, region, place of residence, dwelling, home' is joined with *-lufu* 'love' and means 'the love for your home'.

Within the same category of non-personal love, but in a different 'flavour', there is the Old English word *Feohlufu* 'the love of money'. In this case, it is a material experience of love, so it fits with the *Érōs* 'flavour', the love for objects. In Lomas' typology, there is a counterpart flavour to the love for objects and it is *Meraki* which signifies the love for experiences and in this 'flavour', we can fit *frēondmynd*, a compound noun that literally meant 'love mind' but had a metaphorical meaning, e.g. 'love or desire for an abstract concept or for an experience'. An example of this lexicalisation can be found in

the *Holy Gospels* (17). In this case, the enemy's love of revenge might make him kill Ms. Onagen.

(17) Ic me onēgan [MS. onagen] mæg ðæt me wrāþra sum, wæpnes ecge, for
freóndmynde, feore beneóte

[Cd. 89; Th. 109, 31; Gen. (1830)]

'I for myself may fear that some enemy, through amorous mind, may deprive me of life with a weapon's edge'

Thus, when it comes to love experiences, Old English mirrors the Anglo-Saxon society by lexicalising their most important love experiences. Language agrees with historians and it can be seen that there is a correspondence between the most important aspects of the society (warriors and community bonds) and the amount of lexicalisations to describe those love experiences. Other love experiences are also portrayed on the language, such as the importance of mothers for children, the possibility of romantic love despite the loyalty bond, the exitance of faith and the love for home.

While doing research I came across some love terms to refer to people in love, as well as verbs related with love but not to the love experiences. Those terms have not been included in the discussion but are listed below:

(a) Leofra geholena 'beloved friends', (b) *Lēofe* 'lovers', (c) *Luftācen* 'a token of love', (d) *Carian* 'to take care', (e) *Dēoran* 'to hold dear, to love', (f) *(ge)Frēogan* 'to love, embrace', (g) *(ge)Lufian* 'to love, to esteem, to feel affection for a person', (h) *Rēcan(be)* 'to care', (i) *gefeallan on lufe* 'to fall in love'.

4. 5. Present-day love experiences

In the following parts, the data that will be used to compare and contrast OE and ModE was extracted from Tissari's (2003) *Lovescapes: changes in prototypical sense and cognitive metaphors since 1500* and Lewis' (1968). *The four loves*. This data is not part of the findings of this paper.

According to Tissari (2016), words about emotions are constantly changing in order to reflect the social reshaping of the concept and the emotion of love is not an exception. Tissari (2003) concludes that love words are less frequent in Present-day English than in

any of the previous stages of the English language and that sexual love – in this paper sexual love has been referred to as romantic love – is the most frequent category of love words in Present-day English. Nowadays, love is mainly related to the romantic side of the emotion. Tissari (2003) states that 64% of the love words she took into account belong to the sexual love category and she also highlighted the change of meaning in some words towards sexual love. For instance, *lover* could mean 'friend' in Early Modern English and has evolved into the romantic partner perception we have nowadays. Moreover, new concepts have arisen, for instance *need-love.* According to Lewis (1968), this term refers to a transitory affection that finishes once the need is fulfilled. Furthermore, the concept of *affection* has achieved relevance. Borrowed from the French during the Middle English period, this word means 'fond, attachment, devotion or love'. It is difficult to classify this concept in one of Lomas' 'flavours' because as Lewis explains: "affection, besides being a love itself, can enter into the other loves and colour them all" (1968:25).

From a morphological perspective, as we have seen, Old English has a tendency to create compounds to lexicalise the different experiences of the concept of love. The experiences of love are currently lexicalised by means of noun phrases. For instance, compounds such as *frēodlufu* 'love felt towards friends' have evolved into noun phrases in Present-day English, such as *love for a friend* or *friendly love.*

4. 5. 1. Romantic Love in Present-day English

During the Renaissance in the 15th and 16th century, love became a joyful experience between a man and a woman. With the arrival of the Enlightenment in the 17th century, the emotion of love developed towards the idea of a rational pursuit of happiness that maximised pleasure and minimised pain. In this context, marriage evolved from a social bond to a rewarding interpersonal relationship (Karandashev, 2017). Romanticism, at the end of the 18th century, played a big role in terms of encouraging people to follow their passions and love became an important premise for marriage. In the 19th century, during the Victorian era, love-based marriages were sentimentalised and, in the 20th century, those marriages were taken a step further and were sexualised. The last decades of the past century saw the emergence of the culture of erotism where sex became a manifestation of love. In the millennium, the idea of marriage and love changed; marriage is still the ultimate expression of commitment in the romantic experience of love, but new realities have emerged. Romantic love is no longer exclusive to heterosexual couples (Karandashev, 2017).

Language portrays the historic evolution of the conceptualisation of love. In the previous section we commented that in Old English there were three words representing the romantic relationship between a man and a woman– *brydlufu* 'a bride's love' , *wīflufu* 'love for a woman' and *wīfmyne* 'love for a woman'. In Present-day English, those terms have been lost, but in order to fulfil speakers' needs, considering the current kinds of romantic relationships, new words have appeared such as *polyamory*, *life-long love* or *erotic love*. In the 1990s, the term *polyamory* emerged. This noun means 'the practice or condition of participating simultaneously in more than one serious romantic or sexual relationship with the knowledge and consent of all partners'. Going back to Lomas' (2017) typology, this love experience would fit into the 'flavour' *Prâgma,* a long-term and rational type of love. The difference is that more than two people are involved in the experience. Lewis (1968) highlighted the existence of *appreciative love,* which refers to the realisation and appreciation of the partner and the shared love emotion. This mature experience of love could also be included in the 'flavour' *Prâgma* since it refers to the rational experience of romantic love.

Another concept that exists in Present-day English is *life-long love*; this idea represents the permanent affection between a couple. This love experience could also fit into *Prâgma* but in some situations it could also be classified as *Anáke,* which represents that kind of love dictated by destiny or fate.

Lewis (1968) also refers to the existence of the concept *erotic love,* which represents the most physical experience of love and is linked to sexuality. In Lomas' typology, *erotic love* would be classified as an example of *Epitymia* which signifies the passionate love that implies physical desire. In the same 'flavour', we can also include the word *love-affair,* which portrays the idea of being unfaithful to one's romantic partner, normally because of the sexual attraction felt towards another person. In Old English, we did not find any term that portrayed fidelity or infidelity towards one's romantic partner. However, we found *Hláford-Hyldo,* which represented 'the love and the fidelity one had towards their lord'. This term was included in the *Caring* category under the flavour *Philia*.

4. 5. 2. Transcendental Love in Present-day English

In the transcendental category, we had five Old English words which were related to religion. In Modern English there is the concept *gift-love* which stands for 'longing to suffer for God' (Lewis, 1968:13). In Lomas' typology (2017) this love experience would

fit with *Sébomai* flavour, which portrays a devotional experience of love. In Old English, we found two terms that could fit in this category *trēowlufu* 'faithful love' and *fyrhþlufu* 'love of the soul'.

4. 5. 3. Caring Love in Present-day English

In the previous sections, the relevance that the community had for the Anglo-Saxons had been analysed. In Old English, there were many lexemes portraying the love for the community. In present day English, terms such as *siblufu* 'the kindly affection, kindness, and the love between kinsmen', *mægsibb* 'the love and affection felt between kinsmen' and *Cyþþ(u)* 'loving relations of intimacy, familiarity and friendliness'' have been simplified in the concepts of *friendship* or *amiability*.

4. 5. 4. Non-personal Love in Present-day English

According to Tissari (2003), 19% of the Modern English data that she analysed were terms related to a love for things. Lomas (2017) refers to these kinds of love experiences as non-personal love. In Present-day English we can find the term *wanderlust,* which means 'love for travelling'. It is borrowed from German and would fit in Lomas' flavour *Meraki,* which refers to the love for activities and experiences. In the same flavour, we could also fit contemporary concepts such as *love for beauty* or *love for nature.*

In the same category of non-personal love but in the flavour *Chōros,* we have classified the Old English word *eardlufu* 'love for your home'. According to Lewis (1968), in present day English, there exists the concept *love for your country* also known as *patriotism.* This love experience implies love for the way of life, the history, the family, the acquaintances and all those aspects linked with the country.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the limitations of the Old English data provided in this paper for assuring an understanding of the love experiences in the Anglo-Saxon world, the analysis provided in this study supports the sociolinguistics theory of language being a reflection of a society's culture and values (Vance, 2009). Through my own research, I collected data, which seems to support the idea that both historians and Anglo-Saxon literature explain on the understanding of the emotion of love in their society. Highly valued experiences of love, such as the bond between kinsmen, are reflected in the OE language by 2 different terms: *mægsibb* and *siblufu,* both meaning 'love between kinsmen'. Other appreciated love conceptions such as friendship also have lexicalisations in OE: *cyþþ(u)*, *frēondlufu* and *frēondrǣde;* all three meaning 'friendly love'. In fact, 36% of the lexicalisations described in the previous section refer to caring love experiences, which supports the claim that community bonds were extremely important to the Anglo-Saxons (Standlay, 2008). Transcendental love represents 20% and includes two different types of love experiences, with *gæstlufu, brōþorlufu* and *mannlufu* representing the 'caritas love' and *trēowlufu* and *fyrhþlufe* representing 'devotional love'. Although it is the most valued type of love nowadays, romantic love only represents 19% of the OE data analysed here, which translates into four lexicalisations. Three of those lexicalisations connect the experience of romantic love to a female figure: *brydlufu, wīflufu* and *wīfmyne.* Finally, non-personal love only represents 12% of our data with three lexicalisations: *eardlufu* 'love for home', *feohlufu* 'love for money' and *frēondmynd* 'love for an experience'.

When comparing the data collected with recent studies on the conceptualisation of love in Modern English, we can observe that the familial and friendship sides of love continue to be represented in language. However, the romantic experience of love has gained relevance in vocabulary as this understanding of the emotion of love occupies a relevant role in modern societies. The vocabulary related to the transcendental experiences of love maintains its connection with religion in Modern English as it did in Old English. However, recent studies conclude that these words are the least frequent (Tissari, 2003). Finally, in Modern English there is an increase in the number of words related with non-personal love compared with our OE data.

In conclusion, when comparing our analysis of the Old English vocabulary of love with Tissari's (2003) study on love words in Modern English, we can conclude that love vocabulary has undergone an evolution and follows suit of other emotion words, which according to Tissari (2016) change in order to reflect the social reshaping of the concept.

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