TOWARD AN ARCHAIC GERMANIC PSYCHOLOGY

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This article is concerned with the structure of ancient Germanic
soul conceptions and represents an attempt to establish semantic
fields for the terms involved, as well as a tentative effort to deter-
mine their structural relationship. It is concluded that at least the core
elements of the common Germanic psyche were probably conceived
of as a three-fold structure of 1) a breath concept, 2) an emotive
faculty and 3) a cognitive faculty.

I. Contexts

Any attempt to determine the nature of the psychological
conceptions held by the ancient Germanic peoples and to for-
mulate a structure in which these conceptions might have func-
tioned(1) is beset with a variety of difficulties due to the dis-
parate nature of the textural evidence and general discontinuity
of the pre-Christian contexts for the lexical items involved.

Since documentation of the old Germanic dialects only be-
gan after the Christianization process had commenced, most of
the texts yield either ecclesiastical contexts, or secular ones
which must be understood within an at least partially Christian-
ized cultural matrix.(2) Only Old Norse preserves the pre-
Christian terminology within an indigenous ideological frame-

(1) Most of the handbooks have dealt with this problem to some extent, e.g.
Grimm 1875, II, 689-99; II, 728-30, Rydberg 1886, 545-58, Meyer 1891, 61-75;
1903, 68-91, de la Saussaye 1902, 289-303, Herrmann 1903, 35-37; 1906, 3-44, de
Vries 1937, II, 348-58, Helm 1913, 132-47; 1937, II, 10-21; 1953, II, 13-35, de
Vries 1956, I, 217-41, Turville-Petre 1964, 221-35. A number of studies of ON soul
conceptions have appeared, but most deal only with limited, usually magical, aspects,
cf. Ellis (Davidson) 1943, 121-69, Falk 1926, Grönbech 1931, I, 105-227, Mundal
1974, Strömbäck 1935, 160-90; 1975. Polomé 1969 presents a study of the more
dynamistic ON conceptions (*ǫnd óðr*, etc.), but no comprehensive studies in a Ger-
manic framework have appeared.

(2) This article examines material from Gothic (Go.), Old High German (OHG),
Old English (OE), Old Saxon (OS), Old Frisian (OFris.), and Old Norse (ON). The
principal sources for Go. are: Streitberg 1919 and Feist 1923; for OHG: Sievers repr.
1966, Piper 1882, Sehrt-Starck 1933-34, von Steinmeyer 1916, Zipper 1960; for OE:
Krapp-Dobbie 1931-53, Holthausen 1974, Bosworth-Toller 1898; for OS: Sievers
1878, Berr 1971: for OFris. Richthofen 1840; and for ON: Neckel-Kuhn 1962,
Finnur Jónsson 1931, Guðni Jónsson 1946-49; 1950, Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957,
Jóhannesson 1951, and de Vries 1961.

(3) The main ON sources are the *Codex Regius* (Neckel-Kuhn 1962), the *Edda
Snorra Sturlusonar* (Finnur Jónsson 1931), and the saga literature, especially the
Íslendinga sǫgur (Guðni Jónsson 1946-49), and the *Fornaldarsögur* (Guðni Jónsson
1950). Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957 is a convenient ON glossary, while de Vries 1961 is
perhaps the best etymological dictionary for ON.

work.(3)

Archeological evidence, especially with regard to grave finds and burial customs,(4) is also important for an overall understanding of this topic; as is the investigation of certain other religious practices and beliefs, e.g. the pagan 'baptism' (ON *verpa vatni á*, or *vatni ausa*), shape-shifting, the peculiarly Germanic type of 'metempsychosis,' etc.(5) However, due to considerations of space we must here confine ourselves to linguistic evidence, which, when kept in perspective, may then be applied to these other areas to gain a more complete understanding of the Germanic 'soul conceptions.'

A working definition of the term 'soul' is provided by the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* which states:

> Soul...in its primary meaning, designates an entity conceived as the cause or vehicle of the bodily life and the psychical activities of the individual person. The soul is assumed to exist as a spirtual substance, in rather sharp antithesis to material substances, thus giving form to the contrast of soul and body...and the assumption of their separability...The contrast under regard, in the more primitive intention, is not that of material and spiritual substances (for neither of these categories is recognized), but it is very near to the reflective distinction between form and energy. (Hastings 1920, XI,725-26)

The later statement is most relevant to what seems to be the situation with the archaic Germanic polypsychic conceptions. This is apparent in the Old Norse sources where the 'whole person' (a sort of psychophysical complex) seems to be understood to consist of many aspects or substances (*efni*), each with its own funcation, but fundamentally linked with the whole.(6)

Some of these various soul-types are separable from the rest of the complex and may wander away and return without causing death, while others must remain attached to the body and constitute 'life.' Another type may continue to exist after separation of the life entity and the body. Thus we are essentially faced with a three-fold pattern with respect to the various types of soul conceptions:

(4) For a recent survey of this type of evidence cf. Kruger 1976.
(5) For an outline of these practices cf. de Vries 1956, I, 178-84; 217-18; II, 97-99.
(6) Rydberg 1886, 545ff. had already noticed this.

      I. embodied soul
      II. disembodied soul
      III. separable soul

Since this article mainly concerns the psychological world of the living individual, considerations are usually restricted to category I, with some references to II and III.

The general effect of Christianization seems to have been a simplification of each of the concepts coupled with a tendency toward sharper divisions between them in a primary dichotomy (body:soul) and a secondary trichotomy (body:soul:spirit) based upon ecclesiastical models.(7)

For purposes of this article, the term 'soul' may be understood to designated a substance or quality which seems to be distinct from the body at a certain level.

A number of items in the West Norse vocabulary must be considered separately, both because they are functionally distinct from that which we usually refer to as 'soul,' and because the other Germanic dialects do not offer a corresponding vocabulary for comparative purposes. The special West Norse terms seem to fall into two distinct groups: 1) the semi-physical, and 2) the 'magical' or animistic.(8)

'Semi-physical' applies to those qualities which are said to have divine origin in Old Norse mythological texts, and which tend to have a visible manifestation or apparent organic function. The best sources for the study of these concepts are *Vǫluspá* 17-18 (Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 4-5) and *Gylfaginning* ch. 9 (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 16). Here we read of a triad of gods who endow the primal man and woman with certain essential gifts distinct from their physical shape. The gifts of the first two gods are better discussed below, however, those of the third (Lóðurr in the *Vǫluspá*) seem to have a physical and/or sensory quality, e.g. *lá*: 'hair,' or perhaps 'mien,' *litir góðir*:'good complexion' (Polomé 1969, 283ff.). Other terms which appear in

(7) This analysis can only be valid for the conceptual world of extant texts — the popular contemporary conceptions must remain obscure due to the lack of texts unaffected by Christian ideas.

(8) Here, 'magical' might indicate an entity or power by which one is able to cause changes to occur in the environment, to alter physical shapes, to attack another or to defend one's self by 'non-physical' means, etc. For the distinction between the terms 'animistic' and 'dynamistic,' cf. van Gennep 1960. Van Gennep essentially uses 'animistic' for those things which are conceptualized as living (often conscious) beings, while 'dynamistic' refers to non-personal power concepts, e.g. *mana*.

this context seem to support this idea.(9) The fact that these generally physiological qualities are so firmly coupled in the same 'shaping' process with the more 'spiritual' qualities only further emphasizes the fundamentally inextricable nature of these categories in the conceptual world of the Norse.

The more animistic soul conceptions also seem to have strong links to the physical world. This type of soul plays an important role in the West Norse literature (Mundal 1974; Kelchner 1935), and it has been much discussed in the scholarly literature which deals with archaic Norse psychology. While this is understandable, it is also unfortunate that many discussions which propose to treat Norse 'soul conceptions' tend only to discuss these terms to the exclusion of more widely distributed lexical items (e.g. Falk 1926; Ellis 1943, 121-38; Strömbäck 1975). East and South Germanic generally lack this type of terminology;(10) therefore the obvious question arises: are these terms Norse innovations or were they, or their functional equivalents, lost elsewhere due to cultural and/or linguistic processes? A satisfactory solution may never be forthcoming due to lack of evidence.

A brief analysis of these West Norse terms may prove helpful in indicating their scope as well as the nature of the psycho-physical complex which provides the context for the terminology central to this article.

The *hamr*:'skin, shape' (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 236; de Vries 1956, I, 208), is a kind of semi-plastic image creating essence which can be molded into various forms by the *hugr* (cf. **hug-*) of certain persons (cf. Grönbech 1931, I, 264; de Vries 1956, I, 222-23). Its original meaning was simply 'skin' or 'hide,'(11) but it acquired a 'magic' quality in the Norse context. It is also noteworthy that the link with the physical ap-

(9) Other terms which occur in this context in the Younger Eddic passage are: *mál*:'speech,' *sjón*:'sight,' *heyrn*:'hearing,' and *ásjóna*:'outer appearance.'

(10) According to Skeat 1879-82, 724, English 'wraith' was probably borrowed from Scandinavian *vprðr*, and it first appears in (16th century) Ayrshire as 'wrath' > 'wraith' with metathesis, cf. also OE *weard*:'guardian.' But Klein 1967, II, 1953 sees a possible derivation from OIr. *arracht*:'apparition, specter.' Since 'wraith' is only attested from modern times, an etymology remains difficult. The English 'fetch' is even more obscure. It seems to be indigenous, but the only possible attestation is the questionable *faecce* in the *Corpus Glossary*, ca 800. The word does not appear (again?) until 1787, and is restricted to the North Country and Ireland, cf. OE *feccan* (?).

(11) Cf. for example OHG *līh-hamo*:'body' (and *gund-hamo* in the *Hildebrandslied*:'war-corslet'), and OE *līchamo*:'body.'

paratus was never lost, for example, if the *hamr* of an individual
was injured, the 'normal' physical body would receive the same
wound.(12) The *hamingja* carries a three-pronged definition:
1) 'shape-changing force,'(13) 2) 'luck' or 'fortune,' and 3)
'guardian spirit' (Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 236). All of these are
in one way or another linked with the notion of *hamr* (de Vries
1956, I, 224; Mundal 1974, 86), but each indicates its dynamic
and magical function. Another concept similar to the *hamingja*
is the *fylgja*: 'guardian spirit' (Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 179).
Etymologically it is probably derived from the verb *fylgja*: 'to
follow' ⟶ 'following spirit' (de Vries 1961, 147-48 and 1956,
I, 124-25). The 'guardian' aspect is emphasized by the *vǫrðr*:
'guardian,' a personification of a single aspect of the *hamingja-
fylgja* complex.(14) The Old English *weard* is used in a similar
sense, but in a Christian context.(15)

   These terms occupy an important position within the Norse
psychophysical structure, but it is significant that none of them
encroached upon the semantic fields of the other soul concep-
tions, although *hugr* increasingly took over semantic qualities
contained in the *hamingja-fylgja* complex.(16) There can be
little doubt that these terms reflect an archaic, pre-Christian
ideology in the North. Any further discussion would lead us
astray of our central purpose, but it is necessary to note the dis-
tinction between these concepts — magical in function, quasi-
physical in origin, and capable of anthropomorphic or zoömor-
phic(17) conceptualization; and the more dynamistic 'spiritual'
qualities necessary to psychic life considered below.

   There is a widely represented group of terms which seems to
have originally indicated a variety of physiological life pro-
cesses. These are best left out of this psychological analysis, but
they could not be ignored in a comprehensive examination of

   (12) This is discussed by de Vries 1956, I, 223, and a good example of it may be
found in *Friðjólfs saga* ch. 6.
   (13) A generally convincing etymology is provided by Falk 1926, 171. *Hamingja*
< **ham-gengja:*'one who goes about in a shape (= hamr)' —— a kind of 'dynamic
shape.'
   (14) An interesting IE parallel is found in the Iranian concept of the *farvaši*,
which is a pre-existing, celestial being which becomes a protective spirit for the war-
rior (*marut*), cf. Widengren 1965, 20-23.
   (15) Cf. *Beowulf* 1741, and also the OHG *uuartil* in the *Muspilli* 66.
   (16) Cf. Strömbäck 1975 where we see the term *hugr* used for a wide variety of
functions.
   (17) This is especially prevalent with the *fylgja*, cf. Mundal 1974 for *fylgjur* in
female and animal forms.

the entire complex. Two examples of these would be PIE *leip-: 'to stick, adhere; fat' > PGmc. *līf-:'life,' cf. ON líf, OE līf, OHG līb; and PIE *perk̑-:'to enclose(?)' > PGmc *ferh-:'life,' cf. Go. fairh:us: 'world,' and ON fjǫr, OHG ferah~ferh, OE feorh, OS ferah, all meaning 'life.' If we can connect PGmc. *ferh- to Skt. párśu:'rib,' and/or to Gk. πόρκης:'a ring to hold a spear-head on the shaft' (cf. Wiedemann 1904, 17; Feist 1939, 103; Pokorny 1959, I, 820), then the idea of 'life' as a substance which 'holds body and soul together,' or encloses the soul in the body might be suggested. But any etymology remains tenuous.

II. Root Concepts

These Proto-Germanic roots, many of which became terms for aspects of the psychic structure in the Germanic dialects, must be examined in order to determine something of their original semantic content so that some basic conclusion concerning the nature and structure of the archaic Germanic soul may be reached.

*ah-

PIE *ok̑-:'to (mentally) reflect, ponder'(18) > PGmc. *ah-. Gk. ὄκνος 'doubtfulness,'ὀκνέω :'to hesitate,'ὀκηρός:'slothful.'

Within Germanic *ah- is reflected in several dialects: OE eaht:'deliberation,' eahtian:'to consider;' OHG ahta:'thought, contemplation,' ahtōn:'to consider; ON ætla < *ahtilōn:'to think, mean, suppose.' These are all within the psychological field, but only Gothic employs this root for a true soul conception. It is found in two distinct lexical items: aha:'mind, understanding' (Ulf. trans. νοῦς) and ahma: spirit' (Ulf. trans. πνεῦμα) which is used for the 'holy spirit' (cf. Matt. 3:11; Mark 1:12) as well as for 'evil spirits' (cf. Matt. 8:16). Aha reflects the simple root, while ahma (< *ah-ma) reflects a suffixed form (cf. Go. mal-ma:'sand,' milh-ma:'cloud,' ect.). It seems clear that this root originally indicated an 'internal mental process, reflection,' which Go. expanded by means of the suffix -ma into new sematic territory.

*an-/*and-

(18) Pokorny 1959, 774, cf. also Uhlenbeck 1902, 115, who derives PGmc. *ah- > *oqᵘ-:'to see' — which is phonologically impossible since it would yield *ah- in Go.

PIE verbal root *an(ə)-:'to breathe,' Skt. ániti:'(it) breathes,' ánilah:'breath' (with no psychic qualities); Lat. animus/anima: 'spirit, life, etc.,' MWel. eneit: 'soul;' and a PIE *-t suffixed nominal stem *ant-:'breath' developed in ON as ǫnd~andi.

Both roots are represented in Germanic, and both contain some psychological sense. In the strong compound Go. verb us-anan:'to expire,' this 'spiritual' sense is perhaps only palely reflected. It is attested twice in the third person singular preterite uzon (Mark 15:37, 39) where it refers to the expiration of Jesus. Because of this particular context it is tempting to conclude that *an- had a more 'spiritual' original sense in Gothic. The tenuous psychic quality present in us-anan is more developed in the Old Norse, where we find ǫnd alternating with andi, both apparently derived from PIE *ant- > PGmc. *and-: '(life-giving) breath.' Later Christian uses of this word introduced semantic contents of Lat. spiritus,(19) however, pre-Christian contexts tend to present a more dynamistic quality for andi/ǫnd, which seem to indicate it was conceived of as a life-giving power.(20) The most revealing pagan context is Vǫluspá 18 and Gylfaginning ch. 9 where it is identified as the gift of Óðinn (or the first son of Borr) during the process of shaping the primal man and woman, Askr and Embla. It seems most reasonable to conclude that, at least in NGmc., *and- originally indicated a dynamistic life-giving and life-sustaining power (given by the gods?) contained in the breath, but that it did not demonstrate the psychoid characteristics of the Latin-Christian spiritus. (21)

*ēþma-

PIE *ētmen-:'breath, vapor. > PGmc. *ēþma-:'breath, spirit.' Skt. ātman:'breath, soul;' Gk. ἀτμός:'vapor.' It is perhaps derived from a PIE compound root *et-men-, in which the radical might have meant 'breath,' (cf. OIr. athach [< *ĕt-āko-]: 'breath, soul'?), and the suffix *-mĕn- would then indicate the

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(19) In ON, the andi form of the root, which had formerly been more restricted in meaning as 'breath,' was expanded under Christian influence to assume the semantic content of Lat. spiritus and animus (Gk. πνεῦμα), while ǫnd seems to have had a pre-Christian psychic content — although it too was incorporated into the ecclesiastical psychological lexicon generally to translate Lat. anima — although distinctions are often lost (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 20; 764).

(20) Polomé 1969, 268, cf. also the ten contexts in the Poetic Edda, nine of which refer to the loss of this vital force in death situations.

(21) See footnote 23.

reality of the process of the radical.(22)

The two PIE roots *an(ə)-/*ant- and *étmen- seem sematically identical, but phonological quite distinct. Both developed side by side in Indic; however, only *étmen- took on a psychological significance. A similar, but dialectally distributed process occured in Germanic. There, ēþma- is absent in NGmc., and EGmc., and within SGmc. an interesting sematic distribution is evident. A survey of this SGmc. material shows: OE ǣðm: 'breath, vapor;' OS āðom:'breath;' OFris. ēthma:'breath,' and in OHG it is only attested in Bavarian, Alemanic and East Franconian as ātum: 'breath, spirit.' This is possibly a synonymic loanshift (cf. Haugen 1950, 219ff.) from Lat. spiritus (Braune 1917-18, 404ff.), but the possibility that ātum represented an aspect of the preChristian psychophysical complex must not be discounted. The striking phonological and semantic parallel between OHG ātum and Skt. ātman, as well as the development of the semantically and functionally equivalent ON ǫnd into a soul conception in an apparently pagan context tempt one to conclude that, already in certain SGmc. dialects, *āþma- was a cultic term for 'an animating life force (given by the gods?).'
*gaist-
PIE *gheis- > *gheiz-d-:'to be angry; amazed; frightened.' Skt. hédah:'anger,' Av. zaeša:'horrible.'

In many ways, the history of *gaist- is similar to that of *ēþma-. Its strict psychological function is dialectally restricted to SGmc., where we find OE gāst, OS gēst, OFris. iēst~gāst, and OHG geist, all meaning 'spirit' in a Christian context. This specifically Christian sematic quality is probably the result of a loanshift, again from Lat. spiritus, which could have actually taken place in England and then have been brought to the Continent by missionaries. This loanshift was not synonymic, but approximate, since *gaist- originally had nothing to do with a 'breath' concept.(23) The lack of pre-Christian contexts remains a problem, yet the fact that *gaist- seems to have been in original complementary distribution with *ēþma- in the Christian vocabulary is perhaps significant (Braune 1917-18, 404ff.). Other Germanic attestations help crystalize the more archaic

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(22) Cf. Perrot 1961, 237ff., for a discussion of the semantic content of the suffix *-men in Italic.

(23) Concerning the 'spiritualization' of Lat. spiritus and Gk. πνεῦμα under the influence of Heb. ruah, cf. Betz q959, 143.

nature of the term. In OE we see the verb *gǣstan*:'to frighten,'(24) and in Go. there is *us-gaisjan*:'to frighten;' *us-gaisnan*: to become frightened,' while ON has *geisa*:'to rage.' Perhaps most revealing of all is the Go. past participle *usgeisips* which translates Gk. ἐξέστη in Mark 3:21. Thus it seems reasonable that **gaist-* might have indeed originally indicated 'a bursting forth of emotive(25) energy within a person. This is emphasized by constructs which clearly place the term in the emotive psychological field. This is also a basic idea for which a religious and cultic importance is well attested in the Germanic cultures and languages (cf. also **wōð-* and **mōð-*). In the heathen vocabulary the word was probably part of a religious, perhaps 'shamanistic,' terminology, and denoted an inner (emotive) movement of ecstatic excitement.

*hĕrt-

PIE **kĕr-d-*:'springer, leaper —› center; heart.' (it is universally known in I-E, cf. Szemérenyi 1970a, 110; 157-8.) > PGmc. **hĕrt-(ōn-)*:'heart, middle.'

This PGmc. root received its psychological content through a post-Christian loan translation from Lat. *cor*, and may not be considered a part of any archaic Germanic terminology of the soul itself. However, the **hĕrt-ōn-* may very well have already been conceived of as a seat of certain psychic activity, since it probably contained emotive connotations. This may be infered from the derivatives in Hit. *kartim-*:'anger,' OCS *srъditi sę*:'to be angry,' Lith. *širdytis*:'to be angry,' Arm. *srtnim*:'I become angry,' (cf. Szemerényi 1970b, 515ff.). In the OS *Heliand* (ca. 830 E.E.) *herta* is restricted to a more psysiological sense, but in Otfrid (ca. 860 C.E.) *herza* is used to translate Lat. *cor* in every sense (Becker 1964, 166-67).

*hug-

(Etymology uncertain) Perhaps from PIE *k̂euk-*:'to shine,' (Johannesson 1951, 205-06), Skt. *śóka*:'glow, flame,' *śōkati*:'to shine, be bright' > PGmc. **hug-*. Others have tried to connect it to Lith. *kaũkas*:'dwarf; spirit of an unbaptized dead child' (Mikkola 1897, 541), and to Gk. Κυκάω:'to stir up' —› 'to excite' (Uhlenbeck 1897, 541).

This root is attested in all the Germanic dialects as a substan-

(24) Cf. also modern English 'aghast,' and 'ghastly.'
(25) That is, 'emotive' in contrast to the cognitive or rational, a physiological response or psychic phenomenon devoid of ideological content.

tive (Go. *hugs*:'mind' [Ulf. trans. νοῦς]; OHG *hugu*:'spirit,
mind, sentiments;'(26) OS *hugi*:'spirit, mind heart;' OE *hige*:
'mind, heart, soul;' OFris. *hei*:'mind;' ON *hugr*:'mind; mood,
heart; desire; foreboding; courage'). Nominal and verbal deriva-
tives are too copious to enumerate, but a review of these items
seems to indicate a basic cognitive function. **Hug-* is the best
attested Germanic term for the abstract seat of various psychic
functions. No other word is so widely distributed and so firmly
established in the psychological field, and it would seem plausi-
ble to suggest that **hug-* represents an extremely archaic con-
cept of the soul. However, the major problem remains the lack
of any certain etymology outside Germanic. Therefore, we must
turn to a comparative study of archaic Germanic contexts in
order to come to any viable conclusions. The compounds and
verbal constructs reinforce the results of such a study which
indicates a synthetic yet limited function for **hug-* in the se-
mantic field of cognition, especially in the reflective and volitive
areas. This term may have had a non-specific quality around
which certain intellectual qualities aggregate (probably during
the Common Germanic period). The derivation from PIE
*k̑euk- might make the most sense here, since 'shining, bright-
ness, etc.' is an ambiguous quality by itself, and yet within Ger-
manic we often find it used to indicate (divine) intelligence and
power, or other numinous qualities.(27)

*minþ-/*mund-
PIE **men-*:'to think, reflect' in two **-ti-* suffixed roots which
indicate the objective completion of a process (Benveniste
1948, 93; Bahder 1880, 62): ∅-grade **mn̥-ti-* > PGmc. **(ga-)
mund-*, and a fullgrade **men-ti-* · PGmc. **minþ- (ja)*. Cognates
are Lat. *mēns*, *mentis*: 'mind,' Skt. *mayti-*: 'thought,' Osl.

(26) Only attested in Rhine Franconian (15 times in Otfrid), and only three times
outside this, in Bavarian and South Rhine Franconian.
(27) This is evidenced by the 'shining' or 'sharp' eyes of various heroes, e.g.
Sigurðr in ch. 13 of the *Völsunga saga*, Helgi in the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* 6, Jarl
in the *Rígsþula* 34, and Þórr in the *Þrymskviða* 27. Tacitus (*Germania* ch. 4) also
mentions the *acies oculorum* as a characteristic of the Germanic warriors. To this
should also be added the etymology of ON *álfr*:'elf' <**albh-*:'to shine, be white' (de
Vries 1961, 5-6), and the possible connection with Skt. *r̥bhu*:'skilled, artist, (other-
worldly) craftsman,' cf. Kuhn 1855, 110. In Vedic mythology concept *r̥bhu* indicates
a relationship between the ideas 'shining' and 'skilled,' and indicates the divine and
immortal attributes which can be attained through this 'skill,' cf. MacDonell 1897,
131-34.

paméti: 'remembrance,' Lith. *atmintis*: 'memory' reflect the ∅-grade form.

This vigorous IE root which takes in many of the senses of *hug-* in Germanic, but *minþ-/*mund-*remains well represented in the Germanic dialects in the more restricted sense of 'memory' with an archaic secondary shift to 'loving memory (of the ancestors, gods, etc.),' cf. OHG *minni/minna*:'love,' OS *minna*: 'love,' OFris. *minne*:'love,' but ON *minni*:'memory; memorial,' OE *gemynd* (<∅ -grade):'memory, remembrance,' Go. *gaminþi~gamunds*:'memory, remembrance' (Ulf. trans. μνεία, μνημοσύνη, ἀνάμνησις).

**mōð-*

PIE **mē-*:'to be of furious and forceful will' > PGmc. **mō-ð-*. Lat. *mōs*:'custom,' OCS *sŭměją*:'to dare' are possible cognates, but an etymology outside Germanic remains difficult.

In North and East Germanic this root never developed into a soul conception, nevertheless, these dealects provide important clues to its underlying meaning, e.g. ON *móðr*:'excitement, anger' and Go. *mōþs*:'anger' (Ulf. trans. θυμός and ὀργή). These are clearly not soul conceptions, but they remain within the emotive/volitive psychological field and probably indicate something of the more primary sense of the word. In South Germanic this root universally became a soul conception, cf. OHG *muot*:'soul, spirit; mind; mood, heart; excitement; desire; courage,' OE *mōd*:'spirit, soul; courage; arrogance; power; violence,' OS *mōd*:'soul; heart; will,' OFris. *mōd*:'courage; mind; will.' These SGmc. developments attest the continued underlying emotive/volitive sense. Most notably OHG *muot* assumes the position of the container of the undivided 'inner man' (Becker 1964, 156), and acts as a synthetic concept for divergent psychic aspects (in various texts it translates Lat. *cor, spiritus, voluntas, anima, animus*, and *mens*). Originally it seems to have belonged to the same semantic field as **gaist-* and *wōð-*, but with a more complex sense which includes *volition*.

**saiwalō-*

This root is unknown outside Germanic, and its use within Germanic is limited in such a way that any etymology remains conjectural. (28)

(28) The etymology offered by Weisweiler 1939, 25ff. which connects this term to PGmc. **saiwa-z*:'the sea,' as **saiwa-lo*:'the one from the sea' (i.e. the 'soul' as an

It is attested in all the Germanic dialects, where we find:
OHG *sēula sēola sēla*, OE *sāw(e)l*, OS *sēola*, OFris. *sēle*, Go.
saiwala (Ulf. trans. ψυχή), and ON *sál(a)* — all with the unif-
orm meaning 'soul, life.' This term is not indigenous to North
Germanic and was brought by missionaries at a relatively late
date and only occurs in Christian contexts (Cleasby-Vigfusson
1957, 516-17). Therefore, **saiwalō* seems to be common to
South and East Germanic only. Moreover, it appears to be a
term of particularly Christian content. It is rare in *Beowulf* (6
occurrences as a substantive); all except one (2422) are unques-
tionably within a Christian context, and all are in the mouth of
the poet and concern life:death situations.(29) It has been spec-
ulated that **saiwalō* was originally a life-term similar in func-
tion to **līf-* and **ferh-* (Eggers 1957, 17ff.). While this may go a
bit too far with too little evidence, it does seem that it original-
ly might have denoted some life process, but one of the second
soul-type which could exist after physical death. Many of the
passages in Ulfilas refer to the life:death situation and the sur-
vival of the *saiwala/*ψυχή (e.g. Matt. 2:20, 10:28, 29; Mark 3:4,
8:35-37; Luke 2:35). In OHG *sēula* often translates Lat. *anima*,
but only in the 'transcendental' sense. When *anima* simply
means '(earthly) life,' *ferah* or *līb* are more often found (Becker
1964, 167ff.).

*saf- → **sef-*

PIE **sap-*: to taste; perceive' > PGmc. **saf-* (with i-*umlaut*) in
nominal and verbal constructions. Evidence for the original Ger-
manic **sāf-* is limited to the preterite forms OHG *suob* and
MDu. *besoef* 'tasted, perceived.' Possible cognates are Lat.
sapio:'taste, discern,' Arm. *ham*:'taste,' OIr. *sāir*:'experienced,
clever.' However, the etymology remains difficult.

The root is only found as a soul conception in the OS *Heliand*
sebo:'heart; mind,' OE *sefa*:'understanding, mind; soul,' and ON
sefi:'mind, affection.' Its most archaic meaning is also revealed
in a number of verbs, e.g. OHG *intseffen*:'to perceive, notice,'
OS *afsebbian*:'perceive,' ON *sefa*:'to soothe (of anger, etc.).'
The terms, common to the North Germanic and Ingvaeonic

entity which originates in the water and returns to it after death), is not generally
convincing, while that provided by Eggers 1957, 21, which associates **saiwalō* with
the concept 'shadow' still remains conjectural.

(29) Cf. also in this regard the compounds *sāwuldīor*:'life-blood,' and *sāwollēas*:
'lifeless.' The Christian element in *Beowulf* is discussed by Klaeber 1911.

dialects, clearly indicates a sentient aspect of the psychic complex.(30)

*sinp-

PIE *sent-:'to take direction, go;' primary nominal derivation *sento-:'the walk; way.' This developed an intellectual meaning of 'perception' in Lat. sentio sensus.

The root occurs in all Germanic dialects, but only OHG (Bavarian, Alemanic, South Rhine Franconian) sin:'mind, understanding, reason, thought, sense,' and OFris. sin:'mind, sense, understanding,' developed it into a psychological term under the direct influence of Lat. sensus. The older meaning was also retained in Go. sinps, OE sīð, OS sīð, ON sinn~sinni, and OHG sind, all with the general definition 'walk, journey, way, etc.'

*þank-

PIE *tong-:'to think, feel' > PGmc. *þank-:'. Lat. tongere:'to know, Osc. tanginúd:'a way of thinking.'

An unsuffixed and suffixed from developed in Germanic, cf. *þank- > OHG gedank:'thought, OE ðank:'thought, feeling, OS thank:'thanks, ON þǫkk:'thanks,' Go. þank (acc. sg.):'thanks,' and *(ga-)þanh-ti- > *(ga-)þāhti- > OS githāht:'thought,' OE geþeaht:'thought,' and Go. andaþāhts:'temperate, reasonable.' Although this root is well represented in the psychological field, with pervasive cognitive qualities, it seems to be a late development as a true psychological category under the influence of Lat. cogito and cogitatus in OHG, OE, and OS. As with others of this type, *þank- encroached upon the semantic field of *hug-, and to some degree replaced it in certain aspects (Becker 1964, 164-65).

*wil-

PIE *u̯el-:'to wish, will' > PGmc. *wil(-l-)jan~*wil-jōn. Skt. váras:'choice, desire,' Lat. volo:'to be willing, wish,' voluptās: 'pleasure,' Lith. viltìs:'hope,' OCS veljǫ:'to command,' Gk. ἔλδομαι:'to long (for something).'

This word also became a 'soul conception' in post-Christian times, although its wide distribution and rich content indicate it was a vigorous root in more archaic times. It is found in all

(30) The term sefa occurs 14 times in Beowulf, many times in ambiguous passages; however, it is clearly in the reflective category, often combined with adjectives such as geomor (3x), hreoh (1x), and grim (2x), or verbs such as greotan (1x), or sweorcan (1x). Only once does it have volitive force in the phrase þin sefa hwette (Beow. 490), cf. also Becker 1964, 161-62.

Germanic dialects, Go. *wilja*, OHG *willio* ~ *willo*, OE *willa*, OFris. *willa*, OS *willio*, ON *vili* — all with the general meaning 'will, desire, wish, etc.', but nuances of pleasure, activity, and the results of activity are strongly present. This was most certainly a 'sacred' concept to the ancient Germanic peoples as witnessed by the ON divine triad Óðinn, Vili, Vé (originally an alliterative formula: *Wōðanaz, *Wiljan, *Wīhaz) from at least before ca 600 C.E.

*wōð-

PIE *u̯āt-:'to be of excited mental state' > PGmc. *wōð-. Lat. *vātēs*:'soothsayer,' OIr. *fáith*:'seer, prophet,' MWel. *gwawd*: 'song, peotry.'

In Germanic this root is also of sacred importance (cf. the divine name *Wōð-an-az*:'the master of inspired mental activity' > ON Óðinn, OE *Wōdan*, OHG *Wuotan*, OLG *Wōdan*, but it only occurs as a psychic term in ON *óðr*:'(seat of [?]) inspired numinous activity.' It has often been misinterpreted as a term for mind, wit, reason, understanding, etc., but at least in the original sense this is hardly possible.(31) Adjectival forms in other Germanic dialects show a less religious context, Go. *wōps*: 'angry, possessed' (cf. Ulf. Mark 5:15, 18), OE *wōd*:'mad, raging, furious' (cf. also the noun *wōd*:'madness'), OHG *wuotig*: 'raging, mad, furious.' Originally, *wōð- seems to have belonged to the same semantic field as *gaist- and *mōð-, and denoted an emotive state of ecstatic intensity.

III. Structures

An analysis of this PGmc. psychological lexicon seems to reveal a definite functional structure on the most archaic level. Terms of late formation or re-definition, i.e. *sinþ- and *hert-, must be eliminated from our considerations before we proceed to classify the remaining items according to their most archaic meanings.

Certain classifications emerge from the analysis of the PGmc. root forms discussed above. The principal criteria for these classifications must remain the apparent primary function of the term, while secondary dialectal functions should also be

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(31) This mistake is noted by Polomé 1969, 269, and that this error had often been made earlier is evidenced in Rydberg 1886, 551-52. Also cf. ON *œði*:'rage, fury' <*óðr* with i-*umlaut*.

considered in context. A survey of this material indicates the
existence of a breath concept (*and-/*ēþma-), an emotive
aspect (*gaist-. *wōð-. *mōð-) all of which indicate some type
of release of ecstatic inner power, and a manifold cognitive
aspect with what would appear to be relective (*minþ-/*mund-,
*ah-, *þank-), perceptive (*sef-), and volitive (*wil-) subsets.
Moreover, this cognitive aspect is represented by a 'synthetic'
concept, *hug- (dialectally also *mōð-), which functioned as
the seat of the various cognitive aspects from an extremely early
time. Its difficult etymology and apparent neutral origins seem
to reinforce this conclusion, as does the fact of its eventual
replacement in South Germanic by later analytical terms.
*Saiwalō- remains a problem. As near as can be determined it
does not seem to have originally belonged in the same field as
these psychological terms, but rather to a more specialized
vocabulary of death, which was probably involved with taboos
(Eggers 1957, 21; Becker 1964, 169). It might be best under-
stood together with ON draugr:'a ghost, spirit (of the dead),' as
an active *post mortem* essence or 'shade.'(32)

For the sake of context and wholeness, the structural align-
ment presented here includes those aspects which strictly fall
outside the psychological field, since any view of the archaic
Germanic psychological complex which postulates independent
categories would seem inadequate. Such a functional structure
might appear:

    1) body
    2) life
    3) breath
    4) emotive force
    5) cognitive complex
        a) synthetic concept
        b) reflective aspect
        c) perceptive aspect
        d) volitive aspect
    6) shade
    7) magical conceptions/entities

Confirmation of much of this may be drawn from an exami-
nation of distributional patterns for the root concepts in the
Germanic dialects (cf. Table I). Note for example the distribu-

(32) Cf. the etymology of Eggers 1957, 21.

Table I

	Go.	ON	OHG	OE	OS	OFris.
*hug-						
*sinþ-						
*minþ-/*mund-						
*bank-						
*ah-						
*wil-						
*sef-						
*aþma-						
*an-/*and-						
*gaist-						
*mōð-						
*wōð-						
*saiwalō-						

Legend:

- soul conception
- attested as adjective and/or substantive in psychic field
- attested as verb in psychic field
- attested as verb and/or substantive in psychic field
- attested outside psychic field
- unattested

Table II
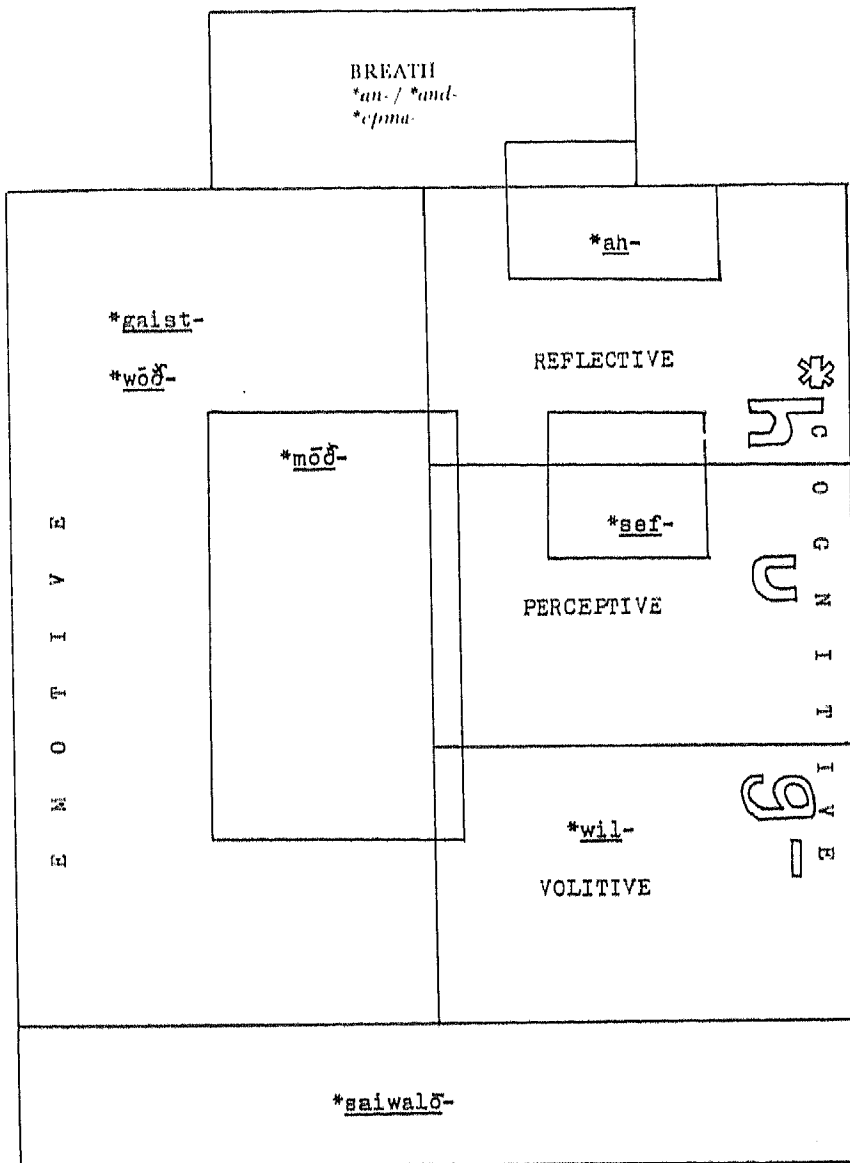
tion within the emotive field, where *wōð- and *gaist- are in
complementary distribution in North and South Germanic. Due
to secondary shifts, terms such as *mōð- have perhaps acquired
a whole set of cognitive qualities, and similarly the reflective
term *ah- has been 'spiritualized' (cf. Go. ahma). These might
represent underlying nuances present in the archaic root which
are reflected in these secondary functions. Such Considerations
help to form a conceptual model (Table II) which shows appar-
ent interplays on the secondary level. Any final conclusions on
these matters must, by the very nature of the material, remain
in the realm of shadows.

IV. Summary

From the results presented here it seems reasonable to con-
clude that there is a definite functional structure underlying the
rich Germanic vocabulary of the psyche, and that it is, in the
strict 'psychological' field, divided into three main categories,
1) breath concept, 2) emotive force, and 3) cognitive seat and
functions. Two observations in this regard might be that the
breath concept is much less prominent than might otherwise
been thought,(33) and that the emotive force is in fact a domi-
nant factor in the constitution of the psychic world of the
ancient Germanic peoples.

(33) Evidence for the importance of the magical, Óðinic,' function of the breath
concept is perhaps found on a number of bracteates from the Germanic Migration
Age, which depict a figure (the god Óðinn or Baldr (?) with a rush of air issuing from
his mouth, cf. Hauck 1970, 340 et passim.

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