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# The Viking Language of the Highlands and Islands: Reconstructing the Norn Language from Old Norse

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THE VIKING LANGUAGE OF THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS:  
RECONSTRUCTING THE NORN LANGUAGE FROM OLD NORSE

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in the  
Department of Anthropology/Sociology

By

Michael Putnam

Under the mentorship of Heidi Altman, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

The Orkney and Shetland islands of Scotland were at one time colonized by Vikings and belonged firmly within the field of Scandinavian cultural influence. During this time the people of these archipelagos spoke a unique language known as Norn which evolved from the Old Norse language. Norn went extinct under the influence of Scots English some time after Scottish annexation of the islands, and the majority of the language was lost, save for a handful of remembered words and one ballad comprising thirty-five stanzas. Using this ballad and its Old Norse translation, this paper attempts to map the sound changes that resulted in the emergence of the Norn language.

**Keywords:** Norn language, historical linguistics, Germanic linguistics, sound change

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INTRODUCTON

Norn is a functionally extinct language that was spoken in the now-Scottish areas of Shetland and Orkney around the ninth century until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (for dating cf. Barns (2010), Knooihuizen (2008), and Millar (2010)). However, the term *Norn* is somewhat confusing in its implementation as Barnes points out:

To some the term denotes any piece of Scandinavian language material emanating from Scotland or, more narrowly, the Northern Isles – including medieval runic inscriptions and roman-alphabet documents. To others Norn means only the spoken Scandinavian of Orkney and Shetland and written records of such speech...For my part I would restrict ‘Norn to mean ‘the distinctive form of Scandinavian [Norse] speech that developed on the Scottish mainland, in the Hebrides, and in Orkney and Shetland’. (Barnes 2010, 27)

Accepting this definition, we find the linguistic “parent” of Norn is the language we today know as Old West Norse<sup>i</sup>, a language once spoken throughout the North Sea Region from Norway to Iceland. Old Norse came to the Northern Isles via Viking raiders in the eighth century and its standing was made permanent with the annexation of Orkney and Shetland by King Harold Fairhair of Norway in 872 (Anderson 1873). By 1549, Norn had emerged as a unique language from its Nordic parent and could be identified as the *norn leid* or Norn speech (Barnes 2010, 28). This paper will investigate the linguistic morphological and grammatical changes which took place during the shift from Old Norse to Norn.

## BACKGROUND

Relatively little is known about the aboriginal Pictish inhabitants of the Orkney and Shetland islands as both cultures gave way to Scandinavian settlers and Viking raiders, who began colonization around the turn of the ninth century. However, it is known that by at least the year 1000 CE Scandinavian speech had become the lingua franca of the islands (Barnes 2010). Earldom of Orkney and Shetland was established on the “(Dano-) Norwegian colony” (Knoihuisen 2013, 49) and a long succession of \*/iarla/ (< ON /jarlar/), earls that lasted until 1222 (Anderson 1873, 201); a line which boasts Vikings, Crusaders and one Saint amongst its ranks. In 1468 and 1469 both Orkney and Shetland, respectively, were pledged to King James III of Scotland as a dowry for Queen Margaret of Denmark (Barnes 2010). With the islands under Scottish rule, a steady influx of Lowland immigrants began to settle Orkney and Shetland; bringing with them their Scots language. Much controversy surrounds the dating of the death of Norn (cf. Barnes (2010, 36-43) for full discussion); however it is generally agreed that by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the lingua franca of the Highlands and Islands was Scots and Norn was functionally dead save for a handful of terms and idioms.

In 1774, new Reverend George Low was assigned a parish in Orkney islands. He set off by boat to tour the islands and meet the people, during his trip he maintained a travel journal that would be published in 1879 as *A Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Schetland*; in which he recorded “two pieces of continuous Norn: the *Lord’s Prayer* and the *Hildina* ballad” (Barnes 2010, 29). The Hildina ballad was recorded on the island of Foula, where he met William Henry, an older man that could recount the Norn ballad from memory but could not fully translate the

poem directly (Knooihuizen 2008, 103). These still exist as the only complete examples of Norn and the ballad forms the basis of much Norn study.

Following Reverend Low's contribution to Norn, the study of Norn fell into the realm of obscurity until the 1890s when Faroese philologist Jakob Jakobsen traveled to the Shetland Islands to study what remained of the language. Jakobsen's prior work helped to illuminate his native Faroese language, a close cousin to Norn, and had established him as an accomplished etymologist (Barnes 2010, 32). Jakobsen's major contribution to the study of Norn is his *Etymological Dictionary* (1928) a massive, two volume work that not only outlines an account of his travels through Shetland but also provides a word list of over a thousand words and proposed etymologies for them. For years Jakobsen's Dictionary stood as the standard for Norn scholarship so much that Barnes states, "It was only in the second half of the twentieth century that sporadic criticism began to be voiced" (2010, 34). These criticisms will be discussed and developed later in this paper.

## THEORY

I expect that the change from Old Norse to Norn followed a regular pattern. As such, I believe that these changes can be mapped and applied in order to recreate the Norn language's morphological system.

Historical Linguistics is the "attempt to determine the changes that have occurred in a language's history and how language's history and how languages relate to one another historically" (Ohio State University 2011, 523). Historical Linguistics can be traced to the early studies in comparative philology in, what would be termed, Indo-European languages (523). These early studies led to the identification of language families, groups of languages originating

from a common mother tongue or protolanguage. Within these families exists several clusters of languages that are more closely related and from each cluster branches off one or more descendant languages. The Indo-European language family tree contains several branches, one of which is the Germanic branch, which in turn branches off in three ways and so on until only a single language is left. In linguistic notation the trip from Proto-Indo-European to Norn is as follows: PIE>PGmc>Proto-Norse (North Germanic)> ON>Norn.

In order for historical linguistics to be valid, one must note that sound change is a regular occurrence; that is, one that occurs according to a pattern (Ohio State University 2011, 534). Morphological change, however, is not regular but paradigms may be traced (2011, 537). Reconstruction is possible based upon the Comparative Reconstruction method, which takes two or more related languages and compares words which are phonetically and semantically similar to determine commonalities (2011, 550).

The study of Germanic linguistics began with Jacob Grimm in the nineteenth century. Grimm discovered the “First Germanic Sound Shift” (Trask 1996, 224), better known as Grimm’s Law, which detailed a major shift from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic. According to Grimm’s Law Proto-Indo-European voiceless stops [p, t, k] become voiceless fricatives [f, θ, x] in Proto-Germanic. Further Proto-Indo-European voiced stops [b, d, g] lose voicing in Proto-Germanic thus becoming [p, t, k] and aspirated voiced stops [bh, dh, gh] in Proto-Indo-European become the Proto-Germanic voiced stops [b, d, g] (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013). Grimm’s Law is important to the study of Norn, not just in that it shows some of the earliest sound shifts which separate the Germanic language branch from the Indo-European family but also it stands as proof of the regularity of sound change (Encyclopædia

Britannica 2013). Following Grimm's Law one can see the Proto-Indo-European *\*k<sup>u</sup>o-* (University of Texas 2013) to shift to the Proto-Germanic *\*/hvar/* (Torp, Falk and Frick 1909, 114), the form of which is maintained in Old Norse */hvar/* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, 296) and then to Norn as */whar/* (see Appendix B, 7).

Grimm's Law does not account for certain anomalies within Germanic languages which seem to behave against the expected sound shift. In solution to this Karl Verner came forward with what he titled "An Exception to the First Sound Shift", later to be known simply as Verner's Law (Trask 1996, 226). Verner noted that Grimm's Law only applied to Germanic words when the root of the Sanskrit cognate was accented; however, if the root was unaccented an exception occurred. Thus he postulates that, "in the Germanic branch of Indo-European, all non-initial voiceless fricatives (spirants) became voiced between voiced sounds if they followed an unaccented syllable in Indo-European or Sanskrit" (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013). That is to say, non-initial Proto-Indo-European *\*[p, t, k s]* can become either Proto-Germanic *\*[b, ð, x, s]* when root is accented (following Grimm's Law) or *\*[β, ð̥, x̥, z]* when root is unaccented, respectively. The prototypical example of Verner's Law is the Proto-Indo-European word *\*[pəteṛ]* (Ohio State University 2011, 551) which comes to Sanskrit as */pitā/* (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013) but to Proto-Germanic as *\*/fader/* (Torp, Falk and Frick 1909, 227) and Old Norse as */faðir/* or */föðr/* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, 137).

The *umlaut*, the shifting of vowel pronunciation based upon the phonemes around it, is another factor of Germanic linguistics that must be noted here. Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia (Carpenter 1895, 337) gives that the Old Norse umlaut can occur by process either of palatization or labialization. Palatization occurs both the i-umlaut and the *u*-umlaut which are caused by a

vowel being immediately followed by an /i/ (/j/) or a [□] respectively. I-umlaut effects the Old Norse vowels /a, á, o, u, ú, au, ai, jo, ju, jú/ and renders them as /e (æ), æ, ø, ó, y, ý, øy (øý), ei, jø (ø), y, ý/. The □-mutation effects Old Norse vowels /a, á, u (o), ú, au, ju/ shifting them to /e (æ), æ, ø, ý, øy (ey), ý/. The labializing umlaut (also called the u-mutation) occurs when the Old Norse vowels /a, á, e, i, í, ei, va, vá, vi, ví/ are immediately followed by a /u (o), v/ which pushes them to form /ö, ó, ø, y, ý, øy (ey), vö, vó (ó), y, ý/ (Carpenter 1895, 337). The umlaut is most noticeable in the conjugation of strong verbs and in the third person plural of a certain set of nouns (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, xxix). Another vowel change called “breaking” occasionally takes place within Old Norse. This breaking alters the Proto-Germanic /i/ or /e/ into /ja/ in Old Norse (thus ON /hjálp/ but Germ /hilfe/ and Eng /help/) (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, xxix-xxx). Both the umlaut and breaking should be reflected in Norn as they are in other languages derived from Old Norse, such as Faroese, Icelandic and Swedish<sup>ii</sup>.

Given the fluctuating nature of orthography of Old Norse manuscripts a number of normalized spelling standards have been put in place. I will follow the orthographical method employed by the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874). This method utilizes the acute accent over a vowel to denote lengthening as opposed to the system of doubling (i.e. /á/ not /aa/). Further, both /ø/ and /□/, which originally represented two distinct sounds but soon coalesced into one, are combined under the sign /ö/ (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, xxxv-xxxvi).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

During my research, I discovered that relatively little prior work has been done concerning the change from Old Norse to Norn. Indeed, it seems that few researchers have

worked with this obscure language and most are concerned with how Norn affected the Modern Shetlandic and Orcadian speech. That being said, the works of Reverend Low and Jakob Jakobsen both deserve some commentary as does Remco Knooihuizen's 2013 paper concerning a phonological anomaly.

As previously mentioned the Reverend George Low traveled the Orkney and Shetland islands in the late 1700s and recorded a collection of Norn words and one ballad. However, Low was far from an authority on the Norn language or on any language. Barnes (2010) suggests that Low had no knowledge of any Nordic language and his transcription of the "Ballad of Hildina" (cf. Appendix A) had to be corrected by Norwegian scholar Marius Hægstad in 1900. In his corrections, Hægstad attempts to restore the ballad to a "form which he believes William Henry or his immediate predecessors will have recited it" (Barnes 2010, 34). In doing so, Hægstad gives his understanding of the sound changes that occur between Old Norse and Norn. Further, Barnes points out that the Norn recorded by Low had more in common with Faroese than the later records of Norn (2010, 29). Even with the issues present in Low's works, it still stands that he recorded to most complete record of the Norn language and grammar.

Following Low, Jakob Jakobsen's work (*An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland* 1928) has been considered the most comprehensive study of Norn, but this does not mean that it is without its flaws. George Flom (1902) was the first English speaking scholar to offer his input concerning Jakobsen's work. While he largely lauded the Faroman for his work and "valuable contribution to our knowledge of Old West Scandinavian (1902, 114)," he does note that Jakobsen failed to acknowledge the possibility of Danish (an Eastern Norse language and the official language of Shetland for seventy years) having an effect on Norn

(1902, 115-116). A more serious claim come from Barns where he laments the lack of systemization in Jakobsen's work and his poor understanding of the process of language shift from Norn to Scots (Barnes 2010, 34). Further, as Jakobsen was writing in the days before the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), he was forced to create his own phonetic system. In doing so he has been accused of being overly precise which Stewart called "phonectics run riot" (Knouihuizen 2013, 60). The system can be difficult to interpret, especially if one does not have a background in Danish, the language Jakobsen uses as a reference for much of his explanations (Jakobsen 1928, VII-X). Jakobsen's biggest failure, however, was his inability to separate "living" language from loanwords and his interview style may have artificially inflated the informants' perceived knowledge of Norn (Knouihuizen 2008, 102).

The issue of Norn phonology has been addressed on several occasions, unfortunately it is generally agreed that this aspect of the language cannot be adequately reconstructed. Barns (1984) attempted to discover the phonology of Norn based upon 12<sup>th</sup> century Icelandic, Faroese and Norwegian phonologies but concluded that the data needed does not exist. Indeed by 1991, Barns states,

...one wonders whether investigation of the current pronunciation of place-names, primarily those which have no authorized written form such as field-names, might yield new insights, but it should be remembered that at least three generations intervene between the last speakers of Norn and today's oldest informants.... (M. P. Barns 1991)

While the complete phonology of Norn may never be reconstructed, Remco Knouihuizen investigates a unique phonetic anomaly in his 2013 article, "Preaspiration in Shetland Norn." Using Jakobsen's overly phonetic transcription to his advantage, Knouihuizen investigates the presence of preaspiration, a feature common to North Atlantic languages but not present in modern Shetlandic Scots (Knouihuizen 2013). He determined that Norn did, in fact, employ

preaspiration similar to that seen in Faroese; however, stop preaspiration was lost “before or during language shift” (2013, 69) while sonorant devoicing was maintained until the 20<sup>th</sup> century (2013, 69). The implications of Knooihuizen’s findings have not been fully realized yet, but they could lead to a better understanding of Norn’s phonology.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to map the changes occurring during the language change from Old Norse to Norn I used the comparative method of historical linguistics. Using Marius Hægstad’s corrected transcription of the “Ballad of Hildina” and the Old Norse rendering of the same poem, I create morphological pairs of corresponding words. Thus the opening stanza of the ballad: (Low, Hægstad and Lockwood 2012)

Da vara Iarlin o Orkneyar	Þat var jarlinn af [ór] Orkneyjum
for frinda sîn spirde ro,	fyrir frænda sínum spurði ráð(a)
whirdi an skildè meun	hvort hann skyldi meyna
or vannaro eidnar fuo –	ór vandaráði hennar fá -
Or glasburyon burtaga.	ór glasborginni burt taka?

Where the pairs would be /da/ and /þat/, /vara/ and /var/, /iarlin/ and /jarlinn/, and so forth. I then made a table which included the Norn and Old Norse (corrected for Normalized Spelling) words as well as the English translation provided by William Lockwood. This English translation served as a free translation and provided a guideline for later reference. Next, using *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874), I translated and parsed the Old Norse. This information, the morphological pairs, English translation and parsing, was then entered into *Toolbox (The Field Linguist’s Toolbox)*<sup>iii</sup>. The Toolbox program formatted that information into the dictionary found in Appendix B. Finally, the process of mapping changes could begin. Individual letters (loosely termed “phones” but bear in mind the issues with Norn

phonology) from the Old Norse lexicon were selected, mostly phones located in a word final or initial positions, and compared to the corresponding Norn phones.

## FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Based on my analysis of the source materials, several sound change rules can be determined and attested.

### VOWELS

When Old Norse word final /a/ follows a nasal (i.e. ON /Na#/) then it becomes Norn /i, e, é#/. In all other situations ON /a#/ becomes Nrn /a, e#/. Bearing in mind Barns's claim that the phonology of Norn is now beyond reconstruction (1984), I propose that ON /Na#/ > Nrn [i] or an allophone thereof.

ON /#a/ > Nrn /#a/. Though my dataset for this situation was only nine words with two (ON /at/ and /auga/) which do not follow the rule, Jakobsen agrees that /a/ is often retained (1928, XLIV-XLV).

ON /á#/ > Nrn /(w)o#/ the /w/ is dropped after the phonemes /r, m, lj/ in this dataset. Jakobsen notes the /wo/ form as appearing in this ballad but maintains that the “o□” (his transcription for a long close vowel similar to Danish /ost/ (1928, VIII) possibly [□□]) is the more common form (1928, XLV).

ON /#e/ exhibits evidence of breaking in two instances in the dataset: ON /ek/ > Nrn /yach/ and ON /eyk/ > Nrn /yoch/. This breaking may be evidence of the Danish influence as suggested by Flom (1902).

ON /i#/ > Nrn /e, (/)#/ though some evidence points to ON /i#/ > Nrn /i#/ when preceded by (what can be interpreted as) an alveolar consonant (cf ON /skyldi/ > Nrn /skilde/).

ON /u#/ > Nrn /a#/ though Nrn /u#/ is also attested.

ON /#u/ and /#ú/ > Nrn /o/. Jakobsen (1928, XLVII) notes that Nrn /u/ is more common, given my dataset only included two lexemes for his situation I am inclined to take note of this. When proceeding a /r, s/ ON /y/ > Nrn /o/ but in all other situations ON /y/ > Nrn /i, e/.

ON /æ/ is the most conditioned sound change among the vowels. When /\_ð/ > Nrn /o/, when /\_r/ > Nrn /e/, when /\_n/ > Nrn /i/ and in all other cases ON /æ/ > Nrn /u/. On this vowel too do Jakobsen and I most disagree, though it is possible that his “æ” ligature and mine denote completely separate vowels.

ON /ö/ is an interesting case and as such I will not speak with certainty on the changes associated with it; however, it seems to maintain an element of roundness and often > Nrn /u/ when proceeding a velar plosive (i.e. /k, g/) and usually > Nrn /o/ when before a nasal. These assumptions seem to reflect Jakobsen’s notes on “□” (1928, XLVIII).

Concerning the umlaut I am forced to agree with Jakobsen when he contends that “...in spite of Shetland’s close connection to Norway, and the steadily maintained linguistic influence from that country, the i-mutation was never completely carried out in Shetland Norn (1928, LX).” Further, he maintains that the labial umlaut does come into Norn but due to regular change from ON /u/ > Nrn /o/ and the occasional change of ON /a/ > Nrn /o/ it is hard to say to what degree these changes are a result of mutation as opposed to regular sound change.

## CONSONANTS

ON /p/ > Nrn /t, d/. This change seems to be unconditional and the phones seem to freely exchange but the possibility of allophones cannot be ruled out either.

ON /ð/ > Nrn /d/ when not final and following a consonant but is dropped when following a vowel in a non-final position. When /ó\_/ ON /ð#/ > Nrn /g/ else ON /ð#/ > (/). The exception is in prepositions which appear irregular.

ON /r#/ is a very common ending and, as such, is extremely conditioned in its sound change pattern. As a general rule, in nouns where the ON /Cr#/ construct exists the /r/ is dropped in Norn. If the Old Norse consonant is a /ð/ (i.e. ON /ðr#/) then in Norn both phones are dropped. If the ON /Cr#/ construct occurs on something other than a noun, then a vowel inserted between the consonant and the /r/ and the /r/ may or may not drop, thus: When not a noun ON /Cr#/ > Nrn /CV(r)#/.

When ON /ar#/ follows a palatized consonant > Nrn /er#/. When ON /ar#/ is /n\_/ or /v\_/ > Nrn /ar#/ but when ON /e(i)nn\_/ > Nrn /ner#/. In all other situation ON /ar#/ > Nrn /a#/. When ON /ir#/ follows /v/ > Nrn /er#/ else > Nrn /e, a#/.

ON /s#/ when preceded by ON /n/ is dropped in Norn but otherwise it is maintained as /s#/.

Old Norse initial /h/ when /\_ei/ > Nrn /#y/ though Jakobsen notes this change may result from the dropping of ON /#h/ and then the breaking of the resulting /#e/ (1928, LIV). When ON /#h/ is /\_C/ > Nrn /#C/ unless the consonant is /v/. In this case (i.e. ON /#hv/) > Nrn /#wh/ or sometimes /kw/ (realized as /qu/ as is the case with Nrn /quirto/) (1928, LIV).

ON /j/ is typically dropped in Norn with a few exceptions. If ON /j/ follows an alveolar consonant (notably /t, s/) or a /h/ > Nrn /t/ (realized as /ch, sh/). Also, if ON /j/ is initial > Nrn /i, y/ (possibly [j]).

## GRAMMAR

While doing the sound change mapping, it occurred to me that a basic outline of the grammar of Norn would be necessary to fully understand the language.

Nouns are attested in three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter; and in four cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. Singular and plural numbers are also attested; further one instance of the dual number survives in the Norn second person personal pronoun dative and accusative /dora/. There is, unfortunately, inconclusive data for retention of the Germanic strong/weak noun construction nor is it immediately evident if multiple noun declensions exist as they did in Old Norse. However, the Old Norse structure of suffixing the definite article onto the noun is attested in all three genders but no one complete system may be attested.

Both comparative and superlative adjective endings are attested in the dataset with ON comparative neuter singular /-ri/ > Nrn /-re/ and the ON superlative feminine and neuter nominative/ masculine and neuter in all other cases /-sta/ > Nrn /-sta/ (included ON /yzta/< earlier /ytsta/ >Nrn /otsta/).

Verbs in Norn reflect first, second, and third person as well as singular and plural numbers. A present and simple past tenses can be attested (in some cases the imperfect and in other the preterit tense is maintained but with no noticeable system so I have chosen to list it as “simple past”). Indicative and subjunctive moods are realized but the imperative is unattested.

The ON infinitive marker /-a/ > Nrn /a,o/ in all cases. As with the nouns the evidence is not sufficient to indicate a strong/weak verbal construction but I would contend that, at least with verbs, the distinction did not exist based on my dataset. There is also little to no evidence for the presence of multiple conjugations or verb classes.

## CONCLUSION

My hypothesis was that regular sound changes occurred between Old Norse and Norn and that these changes could be mapped by analyzing the “Ballad of Hildina.” I believe that my findings prove that the sound changes affecting Old Norse /a, á, e, i, u, ú, æ, ö, þ, ð, r, s, h, j/ follow regular, conditioned evolutionary patterns. Largely, Jakobsen’s *Etymological Dictionary* (1928) and my findings seem to agree (adjusting for his phonetic transcription). The one major discrepancy between our two works deals with ON /æ/ but, as I mentioned, the two symbols may denote completely different vowel sounds.

Somewhat unexpected was the grammatical loss of conjugational and declensional variation (i.e. the strong/weak constructs in both nouns and verbs). Further, the underdevelopment of the umlaut is interesting. Jakobsen (1928, LX) suggests that this could be due to Norn evolving prior to the mutation’s full realization, making Norn older than both Faroese and Icelandic.

Further work is needed in Norn grammar and how it compares to that of other Germanic languages. This will prove difficult due to the nature of the surviving Norn being largely composed of poems, riddles and ballads. However, a comparison of these styles in the Northern Germanic languages may provide a rough guide for Norn’s syntax and morphology.

Additional work needs also to be carried out in Norn phonology. Barns's phonological work (Orkney and Shetland Norn 1984) may present a warning against studying this field, but I believe that the rules presented in this paper as well as the establishment of Danish influence on Norn may open the study to new insights.

With the referendum for Scottish independence scheduled later this year (September 2014) and with talk of Scotland strengthening ties with Scandinavian countries if independence is granted (MacDonnell 2011), the study of Norn draws attention to the historic and cultural ties that have existed for centuries between Scotland and Scandinavia. Moreover, due to the lack of the umlaut and the Germanic strong/weak, constructions these findings should be of interest in the field of Germanic linguistics.

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<sup>i</sup> For convention of ease Old Norse is used throughout to mean Old West Norse and the abbreviation ON occurs in linguistic notation

<sup>ii</sup> It is interesting to note here that the East and West variants of Old Norse differ here in the breaking of PGmc \*/ek(a)/ "T" > (east) /jak/ but (west) /ek/ and even more interesting that Nrn derives as /yach/

<sup>iii</sup> ©2014 SIL International

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