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You mean *Slaithwaite*: Stress and reduction in English place-names

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Introduction

In this paper we report the preliminary findings in a study of the nature and scope of the rules determining the pronunciation of English place-names. The general approach is in the tradition established by L. Guierre and his colleagues, while the data comes essentially from Ekwall (1936, 4th edition 1960), Forster (1981), EPD 15th edition, Miller (1971), Mills (1991), LPD 1st and 2nd editions, and a variety of other sources, more or less closely connected with the work of the *English Place-Name Society* (see bibliography). Additional material has been added recently from Watts (2004).

Our starting point is a quotation from Gelling (1978:26):

> For many centuries in England a large proportion of the population has been aware of place-names as sequences of written letters, not just as sequences of sounds, and this has played havoc with oral tradition. The interaction of the spoken and written forms of English place-names does not appear to be consistent, or amenable to simple rules. The process can be understood in regard to most names, but each name has to be considered separately.

The challenge thus concerns not so much the majority of names, but that nonetheless considerable number of English place-names, the pronunciation of which cannot be predicted by the straightforward application of common-core phono-graphemic rules of the type set out in Deschamps (1994). The problem will be treated here in essentially synchronic terms, the aim being to make available to teachers and non-native advanced learners of English, of whom the latter are assumed to have some basic etymological insights, a set of rules which dictionaries cannot provide. The complexity of the problem calls for modesty: we doubt whether it will ever be possible to construct an algorithmic model guaranteed to account for all the data. The work reported here is of an exploratory nature. Our orientation will be from spellings to sounds rather than the other way round, since it is the operation of having to pronounce unfamiliar place-names which often meets with incomprehension or mirth, whereas there is

nothing embarrassing about having to ask how a heard place-name is spelt. The quantity and the nature of the data necessitate a long and detailed study, which we intend to report as it evolves. Here we attempt to answer the two questions which have become the traditional starting point in any phono-graphemic analysis:

1 The nature of the data : what are the formal and semantic properties of toponyms?

2 Which are the stressed syllables, or, more modestly, in how far can the present-day forms of toponyms be used as indicators of stress-placement rules?

With regard to the going on to the third question, which concerns the resulting value of the vowels, we have, for the moment only got as far as examining the complex business of reduction. Detailed phono-graphemic analysis is in progress, but will not be reported here.

1 Formal characteristics of the data

The overwhelming majority of the place-names currently in use in England date from the period between the 5th and the 11th centuries. We are thus dealing with an essentially Germanic name stock which has incorporated a few Romano-British names, (e.g. *Aust* (GLO) ?< *Augusta; Catterick* (YON) < *Cataractoni* 'rapids'; *Dover* (KNT) < *Dubris* 'waters'; *Speen* (BRK) < *Spinis* 'thorn bushes', and which has been very slightly augmented by Norman French names (e.g. *Belper* (DRB) < *Be(a)urepeir*; *Devizes* (WLT) < *Devises; Haltemprice* (YOE) < OF *hautemprise*). The Norman French component consists mainly of postmodifying manorial names (e.g. *Burton Hastings* (WAR) < *Henry de Hasteng*, 1242; *Shepton Montague* (SOM) < *Drogo de Montacute*, 1086 (< *Montaigu* (NMDY)).

1.1 Germanic toponyms

Structurally speaking, most English place-names are compounds consisting of a premodifying **specific** (which may itself be complex – see below 1.1.3, 1.1.4) followed by a **generic** (which is always simple)[1]. Within this Germanic set-up, we find different matrices:

1.1.1 Monothematic toponyms : Bath

These forms must, by virtue of their monothematic structure, be automatically treated as unspecified generics. Examples include: *Bath* (SOM) < OE *æt Bathum* 'at the baths'; *Castor* (NTP) < OE *cæster; Heugh* (DRH) < OE *hoh* 'heel, projecting ridge of land'.

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[1]. A name like *Southampton* (HMP), which appears to contain a compound generic, is actually a premodified dithematic name whose medial element is < OE *hamm* 'water meadow', functioning here (somewhat unusually) as a specific. Other sources of *-ham(p)-* are OE *hæma* 'dwellers' as in *Witchampton* (DOR) 'dairy farm-dwellers-enclosure', and OE *ham* 'home farm', (usually a generic), as in Easthampstead (BRK) ?< OE *geathamstede* 'homestead by the gate', and *Hampstead* (MDX) 'homestead'.

1.1.2 Dithematic toponyms: Harrowby

- **N (or pers. N)+N:** *Harrowby* (LIN) < ON *Hergeirrby* 'Hergeirr's homestead'; *Shipley* (YOW) < OE *sceap leah* 'sheep-clearing'; *Wilden* (BDF) < OE *wilg denu* 'willow-valley'.

- **Adj+N:** *Blacko* (LNC) < OE *blæc* 'black' + ON *haugr* 'hill'; *Mirfield* (YOW) < OE *myrge feld* 'pleasant land'.

- **Prep + N:** *Attercliffe* (YOW) ?< *æt þæm clife* 'at the cliff' (with later insertion of <r>); *Bygrave* (HRT) < OE *bi gravan* '(the place) by the ditch'.

1.1.3 Trithematic toponyms: Birmingham

These forms, like those in the following category, are arguably straightforward dithematic names, whose specific happens itself to be complex. Examples include *Birmingham* (WAR) < OE *Beorma + ing + ham* 'Beorma-people-home farm'; *Harpford* (DEV) < OE *herepæþ + ford* 'military(= main) road-ford'.

1.1.4 Tetrathematic toponyms: Hagworthingham

There are very few tetrathematic toponyms constructed on a specific + generic base. Examples include: *Hagworthingham* (LIN) < OE *hæcg + worþ + ing + ham* 'haw-enclosure-people-home farm'; *Kenardington* (KNT) < OE *Cyneheard + ing + tun* 'Cyneheard (= 'royal-hard')-people-enclosure'.

1.2 Modified Germanic toponyms

Germanic toponyms can be modified in a variety of ways:

1.2.1 Premodified Germanic toponyms: Full Sutton

Dithematic and trithematic names are fairly frequently premodified by a single orthographically separate adjective, noun or (more rarely) a manorial name or the name of a public office, giving such formations as:

- **Premodifying adjective:** *Full Sutton* (YOE); *Great Bardfield* (ESX); *Hanging Heaton* (YOW).

- **Premodifying noun:** *Castle Bolton* (YON); *Chapel Brampton* (NTP); *Child Hanley* (WOR).

- **Premodifying manorial name:** *Bank Newton* (YOW); *Beauchamp Roding* (ESX); *Colly Weston* (NTP).

- **Premodifying public office:** *Bishops Frome* (HRE); *Canons Ashby* (NTP); *Constable Burton* (YON).

1.2.2 Postmodified Germanic toponyms: Walton Inferior

Monothematic, dithematic, but apparently not trithematic, toponyms may be postmodified by a single, orthographically separate adjective, noun, manorial name, the name of a public office, the name of a neighbouring locality, or a prepositional phrase.

- **Postmodifying adjective:** *Ash Magna & Parva* (SHR); *Burgh Parva*[2] (NFK); *Castle Carrock*[3] (CMB).

- **Postmodifying noun:** *Berwick Hill* (NTB); *Buckland Monachorum* (DEV); *Burton Coggles* (LIN).

- **Postmodifying manorial name:** *Buckland Tout Saints*[4] (DOR); *Cotes de Val*[5] (LEI); *Newton Blossomville* (BUC).

- **Postmodifying public office:** *Barrow Minchin*[6] (SOM); *Brompton Regis* (SOM); *Charlton Kings* (GLO).

- **Postmodifying neighbouring locality:** *Bardfield Saling* (ESX); *Carlton Husthwaite* (YON); *Compton Dundon* (SOM).

- **Postmodifying prepositional phrase (= prepcom toponyms[7]): Ashton under Lyne**

These toponyms have one of the three following structures:1) **toponym[8] + prep (+ det) + N (+ N)**, e.g. *Ashton under Lyne* (LNC); *Bourton on the Water* (GLO); *Holme upon Spalding Moor* (YOE); 2) **toponym (+ en) + le + N**, e.g. *Adwick le Street* (YOW); *Chapel en le Frith* (DRB); *Chester le Street* (NTB); 3) **toponym + de + la + manorial name,** of which only two: *Ashby de la Launde* (LIN); *Ashby de la Zouch* (LEI).

1.3 Saints' name toponyms: St Annes

These are largely concentrated in the south-west of England. Of these there are six distinct types:

- **Saints' name without genitive *s*:** *St. Allen* (CNW); *St. Austell* (CNW); *St. Cleer;*

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[2]. *Burgh* /bʌrə/.

[3]. *Castle Carrock* < WE *Castell cærog* 'fortified castle'.

[4]. Although it appears to be a French version of 3.6 (below), this name actually derives from that of William de Tuz Seynts (1242).

[5]. After the Deville family.

[6]. *Minchin* < OE *mynecen* 'nun'.

[7]. The prepositions mobilised are *at, atte, by, cum, de, en, in, juxta, next, o', on; over, sub, super, under, upon*. (*On* and *in* together account for 69% of prepcom toponyms).

[8]. There appears to be a rule usually preventing anything longer than a mono- or dithematic toponym form entering into a prepcom, the prototypic rhythm of which is something like /2031(0)/. However, see **3.4** (below).

- **Saints' name with genitive _s_:** _St. Albans_ (HRT); _St. Bees_ (CMB); _St. Germans_ (CNW). (In accordance with general toponymic practice, there is never an apostrophe);

- **Saints' name postmodified by single Adj or N:** _St. Columb Major & Minor_ (CNW); _St. Mary Church_ (DEV); _St. Michael Caerhays_[9] (CNW).

- **Saint's name + prep (+ det) + N:** _St. Anthony in Meneage_ (CNW); _St. Giles in the Heath_ (DEV); _St. Just in Penwith_ (CNW). These may conveniently be referred to as **Saint's name prepcoms.**

- **Mono- or dithematic name postmodified by a saint's name:** _Bradfield St. George_ (SFK); _Chalfont St. Giles_ (BUC); _Covenham St. Bartholomew_[10] (LIN).

- **Dithematic name postmodified by _all Saints_**[11]: _Barnwell All Saints_ (NTB); _Fornham All Saints_ (SFK); _Gussage All Saints_ (DOR).

1.4 Celtic toponyms

1.4.1 Monothematic Celtic toponyms: Crich

The are a small number of these. Examples include: _Crich_ (DRB) < Brit _cruc_ 'hill'; _Dover_ (KNT) < Brit _dubra_ 'waters'; _Penn_ (BUC) ?< Brit _pen_ 'hill'

1.4.2 Dithematic Celtic toponyms: Blencarn

Unlike their Germanic counterparts, Celtic compound toponyms coined, or remodelled later than the 6th century[12] consist of a generic, and a **post**modifying specific, along the lines of _Trenowth_ (CNW) composed of Co _tre_ 'village' + Co _newydh_ 'new'. These names are found mainly in Cornwall, Cumberland, Herefordshire and Shopshire. Examples include: _Blencarn_ (CMB) < We _blæn_ 'top' + _carn_ 'cairn'; _Bossiney_ (CNW) < Co _bod_ (< _bot_) 'dwelling' + OCo _Cini_ pers. N.; _Llanymynech_[13] (SHR) < We _Llan_ 'church' + We _myneich_ 'monks'.

1.4.3 Celto-Germanic tautological hybrids: Blencow

There exists a small number of toponyms whose first element is Celtic and whose second element is a Germanic generic with a closely related meaning, e.g. _Blencow_ (CMB) < an obscure element containing ?We _blaen_ 'top' + ON _haugr_ 'hill'; _Breedon_ (LEI) < We _bre_ 'hill' + OE _dun_ 'hill'; _Cheetwood_ (LNC) < Brit _ceto_ 'wood' + OE _wudu_ 'wood'.

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[9]. Etymology uncertain.
[10]. _Covenham_ /kəʊvənəm/.
[11]. Among the saints' name toponyms only this type is found to any extent outside the South West.
[12]. For details see Gelling (1978 : 52)
[13]. Not all toponyms in _Llan-_ even in these areas are Celtic, cf. _Llangrove_ (HRE) 'long grove' (spelling influenced by Welsh).

1.5 Minor types

Minor, but nonetheless productive types include:

- **Agglutinated prepcoms: Burham Overy**

Here the preposition is procliticised, e.g. *Burham Overy* (NFK) 'over the water'; *Weston Underwood* (BUC) 'in the wood'.

- **Dithematic non-agglutinated name: Bessels Leigh**

These are names whose specific and generic are orthographically separate. Examples include: *Bessels Leigh* (BRK); *Dunmail Raise* (CMB); *Goldshaw Booth* (LNC)[14].

- **Dithematic name postmodified by an important building to which it belonged: Bolton Abbey**

Examples of these include: *Bolton Abbey* (YOW); *Bradford Abbas* (DOR); *Darley Abbey* (DRB).

2 Semantic characteristics of the data

2.1 Toponyms, meaning and transparency

It is the destiny of any phonetic and/or graphemic sequence chosen as the name of a locality to cease to function as a linguistic sign consisting of a *signifiant* and *signifié* used to designate a referent. Though a toponym such as *Chatsworth* (DRB) /'tʃætswɜːθ/ ~ /'tʃætswəθ/ once meant "*Ceatt's* enclosure ~ homestead" the sequence has fossilised into a semantically empty pointer whose only motivation is the final element *-worth* which suggests the role of a proper name (cf. *Haworth* (YOW) and (Personal N) *Hayworth*, but cf. also common-core words *money's-worth*, *pennyworth*). Once released from the constraints of analogy and (regular) sound change operating on common-core vocabulary, a toponym is free to evolve in an often idiosyncratic way, which often involves marked dissociation of written and spoken forms, of the *signifiant* (*sa*) and the *signifié*, and of the *signifié* (*sé*) and the referent (see below).

Transparency, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. Rather than being an inherent quality of words, it is an index of the information available to the reader /hearer; thus any name in *-by* is likely to be more transparent to a Scandinavian than to the average English native speaker, who would probably recognize this final element as a largely meaningless name-forming bound morph. Of course, the original referent of a toponym, which might have been something like a broad ford, a bridge over which the road going in a particular direction passed, or an area of woodland owned by a particular Anglo-Saxon thegn, has usually long since disappeared, leaving the name as a quite unsuitable name for an often large conurbation. *Birmingham* (WAR) composed of '*Beorma*-people-home

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14. *Goldshaw Booth < Goldgeofu boþ.*

farm' is an example of this, where we are left with what has become for most people an unrecognizable first element followed by what looks like a compound name-forming morph *-ingham.*

Complete transparency is preserved where the sound-spelling relationship is regular, where the relationship between the *sa* and the *sé* is predictable by reference to common-core vocabulary and where the *sé* actually corresponds directly to the referent without the necessity of passing through any metonymical or historical mediation. The five case studies below show different types of profile.

2.2 Five case studies

In these sketches, a single dash represents a direct, or regular link, while a dotted line represents an indirect or irregular one. A double dotted line represents a misleading link.

2.2.1 Newtown (var. cos)

sa <Newtown> — /'nju:taʊn/ — *sé* 'new town' — *ref*: a town which has (in fact) developed more recently than surrounding ones.

Here, *sa*, *sé* and referent are linked by single dashes, indicating maximum cohesion which facilitates (we assume) universal transparency. Such a degree of cohesion is rare. Much more common are the sort of arrangements we see below.

2.2.2 Fordingbridge (HMP)

sa <Fordingbridge> —/'fɔ:dɪŋbrɪdʒ/ - - - *sé* 'ford-people-bridge' - - - *ref*: a small town in Hampshire.

In this case, though the sound-spelling relationship is regular, the *sa* – *sé* relationship is obscured, given that most native speakers would (we suppose) think of 'a bridge for fording'. The *sé* – referent relationship is metonymical.

2.2.3 Cholmondeley (CHE)

sa <Cholmondeley> - - - /'tʃəʊmli/ ~ /'tʃʊmli/ ~ /'tʃʌmli/ - - - *sé* 'Ceolmund's *leah*' (= 'Ceolmund's clearing') - - - *ref*: a small town in Cheshire.

Here, none of the 3 phonetic variants enters into a wholly regular relationship with the written form, the *sa* suggests no more than a possible place-name (thanks to *-ley*) by way of a *sé* (and would only suggest an OE personal name to an experienced toponymist), while the image of a clearing in some way connected to an Anglo-Saxon can only be related to the referent by a historical and metonymical detour.

2.2.4 Cogenhoe (NTP)

sa <Cogenhoe> - - - /'kʊknəʊ/ - - - *sé* 'Cugga's hoe' (= 'Cugga's spur of land') - - - *ref*: a small town in Northamptonshire.

Here the sound-spelling relationship is irregular, the *sa* suggests practically nothing by way of a *sé*, given that the relatively unusual *-hoe*, unlike *-ley*, is not immediately recognizable as a place-name-forming morph[15], while the *sé* — referent relationship is tortuous (cf. *Cholmondeley* above).

2.2.5 Beer (DEV)

sa <Beer> — /'bɪə/ === *sé* 'grove'[16] === *ref*: a small town in Devon.

Here, though the sound-spelling relationship is regular, the *sa* is misleading (hence the double dotted line) since the hearer almost inevitably thinks of 'drink made from fermented malt'. Thus the *sé*-referent relationship is equally misleading, as the imagined *sé* suggests a place where beer is brewed.

These five brief sketches should suffice to illustrate the various kinds of dissociation and compensatory re-motivation which characterizes the phono-graphemic-semantic relationship of place names.

2.3 Toponymic hyper-reduction

The question of the pronunciation of place-names is complicated by the existence, in many cases, of several (quite often very different) phonetic variants, of a given name and, less frequently, two different written variants. For examples, Forster (1981) gives, as the possible pronunciation of the *a priori* inoffensive-looking *Almondsbury* (YOW): /'eɪmbri/ ~ /'ɔːmbri/ ~ /'oːmbri/ ~ /'eːmbri/ ~ /'ɑːmbri/ ~ /'ɔːmbrə/ ~ /'əʊmbi/ [sic] ~ /'ɑːmbəri/ ~ /'ɔːmbəri/ ~ /'ælmən[d]bəri/; *Ludgvan* may also be spelt *Ludjan*, and *Iwerne Courtney* (DOR), pronounced /juːən 'kɔːtni/, is alternatively called *Iwerne Shroton*, according to Ekwall (1960).

On close examination, many of the variants, which frequently come under Forster's heading of *local and archaic*, turn out to be hyper-reductions. In the following table, we list a small selection of names, all taken from Forster (1981), showing, in the centre column, a hyper-reduced form which cannot be guessed at by an uninitiated observer. The 'standard' (cf. Miller (1971) or LPD) form, where it differs from the hyper-reduced form, is given in the right-hand column.

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[15]. cf. *beano, hello; minnow, Pernod* (all ending in /əʊ/).
[16]. < OE *bearu* (dat (SW) *beara*) 'wood, grove'.

spelling	hyper-reduced form	standard form
Bathingbourne (WIGHT)	/ˈbænbərn/	Ø
Boulton (DRB)	/bəʊn/	/ˈbəʊltən/
Braithwell (YOW)	/ˈbruːəl/	/ˈbreɪθwel/
Carlisle (CMB)	/ˈkeərəl/	/ˈkɑːlaɪl/
Cirencester (GLO)	/ˈsɪstə/ ~ /ˈsaɪrən/	/ˈsɪsɪtə/ ~ /ˈsaɪrənsestə/
Fairy Pool (CMB)	/ˈfruːl pruːl/	Ø
Faulkbourn (ESX)	/ˈfɔːbɔːn/	/ˈfɔːbɜːn/
Grappenhall (CHE)	/ˈgrɒpnə/	/ˈgrɒpnəl/
Leycourt (HNT)	/ˈlegət/	Ø
Liverpool (LNC)	/ˈlɜːpl/ ~ /ˈlɜːpuː/	/ˈlɪvəpuːl/
London (GTL)	/ˈlʌnn/	/ˈlʌndən/
Pevensey (SSX)	/ˈpemzi/ ~ /ˈpɪmzi/	/ˈpevənzi/
Roughdown (HMP, HRT)	/ˈraʊdaʊn/	Ø
Sedbergh (YOW)	/ˈsæbə/	/ˈsedbə/
Skippool (LNC)	/ˈskɪpə/	Ø
Tideswell (DRB)	/ˈtɪdzə/ ~ /ˈtɪdzl/	/ˈtaɪdzwel/
Uttoxeter (STF)	/ˈʌstə/	/ʌˈtɒksɪtə/ ~ /juː- /
Worcester (WOR)	/ˈʊstə/	/ˈwʊstə/
Worksop (NTT)	/ˈwəsəp/ ~ /ˈwʊsəp/	/ˈwɜːksɒp/

3 Stress

In the following discussion, /**1** / = primary stress, /**2** / = secondary stress, /**3** / = a weakly stressed syllable containing a peripheral vowel (i.e. neither /ə/ nor /ɪ/), /**0**/ = a weakly stressed syllable containing /ə/ or /ɪ/) or vowelless (as in *Ecclesfield* (YOW) /ˈeklzfiːld/ /**102**/.

The status of /ɪ/ is often ambiguous. In, for example, *Sittingbourne* (KNT) / **102**/ it has the values /**1**/ and /**0**/. We have adopted the (phonetically questionable) practice of attributing to it the value /**0**/ in positions other than that of primary stress where the morph concerned does not constitute a recognizable PE word. Thus *Woking* (SUR) /ˈwəʊkɪŋ/ /**10**/. However, when the morph does constitute a recognizable PE word we attribute the value /**2**/, hence *Fordingbridge* (HMP) /ˈfɔːdɪŋbrɪdʒ/·/**102**/. It must be remembered that the numbers correspond to **relative** and not **absolute** values; thus, sequences which might phonetically be [**13**], [**130**], and [**103**] are standardized as /**12** /, /**120** / and

/102/ respectively, a /3/ being found only in a name containing a /2/. Stress-patterns such as /21 / or /12/ are perfectly licit in our notation, for two reasons. The first is that we are dealing with what are essentially, historically speaking, compounds. Secondly, from the point of view of the non-native learner, to attribute the value /0/ to a non-reduced vowel, is not helpful. What he or she needs to know, in, for example, a disyllabic toponym, is which syllable is dominant /1/, and whether the subordinated syllable contains a vowel which is reduced or not.

Taking the first example of each of the formal types listed in **1** above, we obtain the following picture, with regard to the stress patterns:

Castor	/10 /	*Barrow **Minch**in*	/2310 /
Bath	/1 /	*Bardfield **Saling***	/2310 /
Harrowby	/100 /	*Ashton under **Lyne***	/20301 /
Blacko	/12/	*Adwick le **Street***	/2001/
Attercliffe	/102/	*Ashby de la **Launde***	/20031/
Birmingham	/100/	*St. **Allen***	/010/
Hagworthingham	/1200/	*St. **Albans***	/010/
*Full **Sutton***	/210/	*St. **Columb** Major*	/02010/
*Castle **Bolton***	/2010/	*St. **Anthony** in Meneage*[17]	/0200001/
*Bank **Newton***	/210/	*Bradfield St. **George***	/2301/
*Bishops **Frome***	/201/	*Barnwell All **Saints***	/2331/
Blencarn	/21/	**Crich**	/1/
Blencoe	/21/	*Buckland Tout **Saints***	/2031/
*Ash **Magna***	/210/	*Burham **Overy***	/20100/
*Berwick **Hill***	/201/	*Bessels **Leigh***	/201/
*Bolton **Abbey***	/2010/		

The data clearly suggest a general tendency for primary stress to fall on the initial syllable of names written as a single orthographic word[18]. However, when the name consists of more than one word the primary stress falls on the expected syllable of the final word, whatever its syntactic and semantic status. We shall first examine the single-word data, with a view to determining the power of what we shall refer to as the **initial-stress rule** and the frequency of the stress-patterns. Secondly, though in less detail, we shall consider the multi-word data.

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[17] /snt æntəni ɪn mɪniːg ~ mɪneɪg/.
[18]. Rare exceptions to this rule, disregarding Celtic names, are, for example, *Holmfirth* (YON), *Skegness* (LIN), *Georgeham* (DEV).

3.1 Stress in toponyms consisting of a single orthographic word

3.1.1 Single-word names with initial /1- /

The enormously powerful rule which places the primary stress /1/ on the initial syllable of dithematic and trithematic single-word Germanic compounds means that the greater part of the data may be accounted for in terms of a very small number of extremely hard-worked patterns. Monosyllabic names, which represent no immediate problem from the point of view of stress, will not be considered here.

3.1.1.1 Names stressed /10 /: Rugby

This very frequent pattern, as exemplified in *Borstal* (KNT) /'bɔːstl/ *Bradford* (YOW) /'brædfəd/; *Gloucester* (GLO) /'glɒstə/; *Kington* (SHR) /'kɪŋtən/; *Rugby* (WAR) /'rʌgbi/; *Woking* (SUR) /'wəʊkɪŋ/, accounts for 27 of the first 100 names in Forster (1981). It can thus provisionally be estimated that around 30% of the place-names in the dictionary are disyllabic and are stressed, or have at least one variant which is stressed /10/ (see below).

3.1.1.2 Names stressed /100/: Nottingham

This equally hard-worked pattern, as exemplified in:

Abbotsford (NFK) /'æbətsfəd/; *Arundel* (SSX) /'ærʌndl/; *Banbury* (OXF) /ˈbænbəri/; *Dorchester* (DOR) /'dɔːtʃɪstə/; *Nottingham* (NTT) /'nɒtɪŋəm/; *Thurmaston* (LEI) /'θɜːməstən/,

accounts for 25 of the first 100 names in Forster (1981). Thus its estimated workload is, like that of /10 /, between 25% and 30% of English place-names (see below).

3.1.1.3 Names stressed /1000 /: Canterbury

This pattern is considerably less frequent than /10/ and /100/. Not without difficulty we have managed to find: *Ashmansworthy* (DEV) /'æʃəndʒəri/; *Attenborough* (NTT) /'ætənbərə/; *Canterbury* (KNT) /'kæntəbəri/; *Irthlingborough* (NTP) /'aːtlbərə/; *Itteringham* (NFK) /'ɪtərɪŋəm/; *Winteringham* (LIN) /'wɪntərɪŋəm/. Only 8 (= 1.6%) of the first 500 names in Forster (1981) are stressed (or have a variant which is stressed /1000/. Its workload can therefore be estimated at around 2% of the place-names listed in the dictionary.

3.1.1.4 Names stressed /102 /: Ilfracombe

Examples of the more frequent pattern /102/ include: *Bledisloe* (GLO) /ˈbledɪsləʊ/; *Ecclesfield* (YOW) /'eklzfiːld/; *Hartfordbeach* (SFK) /'haːtfədbiːtʃ/; *Hartlepool* (DRH) /'haːtlɪpuːl/; *Ilfracombe* (DEV) /'ɪlfrəkuːm/; *Withenshaw* (CHE) /'wɪðənʃɔː/. 28 (= 5.6%) of the first 500 names in Forster (1981) are stressed, (or have a variant which is stressed) /102 /. Thus about 6% of the place-names listed in the dictionary may be assumed to be stressed according to this pattern.

3.1.1.5 Names stressed /1020/: Kidderminster

Only 2 (= 0.4%) of the first 500 names in Forster (1981) have the stress pattern /1020/. With difficulty, we found the following examples: *Aldermaston* (BRK) /ˈɔːldəmɑːstən/; *Edmundsbury* (SFK) /ˈedməndzberi/; *Godmanchester* (HNT) /ˈɡɒdməntʃestə/; *Hindleveston* (NFK) /ˈhɪndlvestn/; *Kidderminster* (WOR) /ˈkɪdəmɪnstə/; *Sandiacre* (DRB) /ˈsændieɪkə/. The indications are that this rare stress pattern accounts for less than 0.4% of the place-names listed in the dictionary.

3.1.1.6 Names stressed /12/: Pigtail

27 (= 5.4%) of the first 500 names in Forster (1981) are stressed (or have a variant which is stressed) according to the pattern /12/. It is not difficult to find instances of this pattern. Well known examples include: *Bromsgrove* (WOR) / ˈbrɒmzɡrəʊv/ ~ /ˈbrʌmz-/; *Cambridge* (CAM) /ˈkeɪmbrɪdʒ/; *Freetown* (LNC) / ˈfriːtaʊn/; *Knightsbridge* (GTL) /ˈnaɪtsbrɪdʒ/; *Pigtail* (WIGHT) /ˈpɪɡteɪl/; *Soho* (GTL) /ˈsəʊhəʊ/. Thus, this pattern appears to account for c. 5% of the dictionary.

3.1.1.7 Names stressed /120/: Tolpuddle

Only 5 (= 1%) of the first 500 names in Forster (1981) are stressed according to the pattern /120/. A rapid search of the dictionary gave around 20 names of this type, including the following: *Benacre* (SFK) /ˈbeneɪkə/; *Coldwaltham* (SSX) /ˈkəʊldwɔːlθəm/; *Clayhanger* (DEV) /ˈkleɪhæŋə/; *Southminster* (ESX) /ˈsaʊθmɪnstə/; *Tolpuddle* (DOR) /ˈtɒlpʌdl/ ~ /ˈtəʊlpʊdl/; *Whitehaven* (CMB) /ˈwaɪthevn/. Thus, less than 0.5% is probably a safe estimate for the workload of this pattern.

3.1.1.8 Names stressed /132/: Borrowash

/132/ appears to be the only remaining pattern with any currency. Our search of the dictionary revealed only 7 instances, of which: *Borrowash* (DRB) / ˈbʌrəʊwɒʃ/; *Borrowdale* (CMB, WML) /ˈbɒrəʊdeɪl/; *Buckfastleigh* (DEV) / ˈbʌkfɑːstliː/; *Derwenthaugh* (DRH) /ˈdɜːwenthɑːf/; *Ingatestone* (ESX) /ˈɪŋɡeɪtstəʊn/; *Uswayford* (NTB) /ˈʌzweɪfɔːd/. With the exception of *Uswayford*, unusual also in its maintenance of an unreduced *-ford*, and *Borrowash*, names stressed /132/ have a /102/ variant, which suggests that the former pattern is moribund in most areas.

3.1.1.9 Minor stress patterns: Hollicondane

So far, 4 other very minor /1- / patterns have come to light. They are:

/1032/ 3 instances: *Hollicondane* (KNT) /ˈhɒlɪkɒndeɪn/; *Hollytreeholme* (YOE) /ˈhɒlɪtriːhəʊm/; *Thorngumbald* (YOE) /ˈθɔːnəɡʊmbɔːld/, /1200/ 2 instances: *Almodington* (SSX) /ˈɔːlmɒdɪŋtən/; *Osmotherly* (LNC, YON) /ˈɒzmʊðəli/, /1002/ 1 instance: *Andoversford* (GLO) /andəvəzˈfɔːd/ [sic], /13020/ 1 instance: *Woolfardisworthy* (DEV) /ˈwʊlfɑːdɪswɜːði/ (one of 7

variants, all the others of which involve hyper-reduction, e.g. /ˈwʊlzəri/). Together, these minor types appear to account for less than 1% of the dictionary.

3.1.2 Single-word names with non-initial /-1- /

Of the c. 10,300 single-word names listed in Forster (1981), only 469 (= c. 4.6%) are indicated as having primary stress on a syllable other than the initial one. This low percentage is reduced even more, as it turns out that 155 of these names also have a variant in /1- /, i.e. with the primary stress on the initial syllable. Thus, in fact, only 314 (= c. 3% of single-word names) appear **never** to have initial primary stress. It is interesting to note, that with the sole exception of *Marazian* (CNW) /mærəˈzaɪən/ ~ /mæˈrɑːzɪən/, /2010/ ~ /2100/, the binary choice, when it exists, is exclusively between the initial and one other syllable.

Where there is an initially-stressed variant, that variant is very frequently syncopated, while the late-stressed one is phono-graphemically largely regular. This suggests that the late-stressed version is a recent spelling-pronunciation, phono-graphemically regular but irregular in terms of stress (given the massive following of the initial-stress rule). Examples of this tendency include: *Barnoldswick* (YOW) /bɑːˈnəʊldzwɪk/ ~ /ˈbɑːlɪk/ *Hunstanton* (NFK) /hʌnˈstæntən/ ~ /ˈhʌnstən/ *Kelynack* (CNW) /keˈlaɪnək/ ~ /ˈklaɪnək/ *Osbaldeston* (LNC) /ɒzbəlˈdestən/ ~ /ˈɔːbɪstən/ *Quidhampton* (HMP, WLT) /kwɪdˈhæmptən/ ~ /ˈkwɪdɪŋtən/ *Uttoxeter* (STF) /juːˈtɒksɪtə/ ~ /ˈʌkstə/. The names stressed /-1- / are, like those with initial stress, essentially accounted for by a very limited number of hard-worked patterns, as can be seen below.

3.1.2.1 Names stressed /210/: Cleckheaton

173 (= c. 36.8%) of the names having a variant with non-initial /-1- / are stressed /210/, e.g. *Bathampton* (WLT) /bæθˈæmtən/; *Cleckheaton* (YOW) /klekˈhiːtən/; *Lanhydrock* (CNW) /lænˈhaɪdrək/; *Pendennis* (CNW) /penˈdenɪs/; *Polruan* (CNW) /pɒlˈruːən/.

3.1.2.2 Names stressed /21/: Carlisle

128 (= c. 27%) of the names having a variant with non-initial /-1- / are stressed /21/, e.g. *Bierley* (IOW) /bɪəˈlaɪ/[19]; *Carlisle* (CMB) /kaːˈlaɪ/; *Goonvrea* (CNW) /guːnvreɪ/; *Heathrow* (MDX) /hiːθˈrəʊ/; *Penton* (CMB) /penˈtɒn/; *Totnes(s)* (DEV) /tɒtˈnes/.

3.1.2.3 Names stressed /010/: Wincanton

38 (= c. 8.1%) of the names having a variant with non-initial /-1- / are stressed /010/. They often also have a variant in /210/, thus joining the major group (see above 3.1.2.1). Examples include *Croglin* (CMB) /kərˈɒglən/; *Kinoulton* (NTT) /kɪnˈaʊltən/; *Lewannick* (CNW) /ləˈwɒnɪk/; *Relubbas* ~

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[19]. A very small number of names in *-ly* and *-ham* and *-ford* are stressed /ˈlaɪ/, /ˈhæm/ and /ˈfɔːd/. Other examples are *Longham* (DOR, NFK) /lɒŋˈhæm/, *Seaford* (SSX) /siːˈfɔːd/ and *Twisley* (SSX) /twɪzˈlaɪ/

Relubbus (CNW) /rɪˈlʌbəs/; *Torpenhow* (CMB) /trəˈpenə/; *Wincanton* (SOM) /wɪnˈkæntən/.

3.1.2.4 Minor stress-patterns

The only other non-initial /-1- / patterns with any currency are e.g. /2010/: 29 instances (= c.6.2%), e.g. *Littlehampton* (SSX) /lɪtlˈhæmptən/; /201/: 26 instances (= c.5.5%), e.g. *Waterloo* (DOR) /wɔːtəˈluː/; /213/: 19 instances (= c. 4.1%), e.g. *Gunwalloe* (CNW) /gʌnˈwɒləʊ/; /01/: 14 instances (= c. 3%), e.g. *Lewarne* (CNW) /ləˈwɔːn/; /2100/: 13 instances (= c. 2.8%), e.g. *Aspatria* (CMB) /æsˈpeɪtrɪə/.

Given that a third of the names given by Forster as having /-1- / also have a variant stressed /1- /, it is not a straightforward matter to predict the stress-pattern from the nature of the first (or other) elements in the name. However, the following general tendencies may be observed:

(i) Trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic names, (usually trithematic) whose final elements are *-hampstead* or *-hampton* are usually stressed on *-hamp-* (e.g. *Bathampton* (WLT); *Berkhampstead* (HRT); *Ditchampton* (WLT); *Easthampstead* (BRK). However, this rule has a number of exceptions for which no late-stressed variant is recorded, e.g. *Bricklehampton* (WOR) /ˈbrɪkləm/ ~ /ˈbrɪklənd/; *Fletchamstead* (WAR) /ˈfletʃəmstəd/; *Glasshampton* (WOR) /ˈglɑːsən/ ~ /ˈgleɪzəntən/; *Shilvinghampton* (DOR) /ˈʃɪlvɪŋtən/.

(ii) The following first elements have a tendency, particularly in Celtic-influenced areas (CNW, CMB, HRE, IOM, NTB, SHR, WML), to refuse primary stress themselves and throw it onto the following syllable:

Car-, e.g. *Carhullan* (WML); *Carlyon* (CNW); *Carnkie* (CNW) /kɑːnˈkaɪ/.

Cum- e.g. *Cumdivock* (CMB); *Cumrew* ~ **Cumrew** (CMB); *Cumwhitton* (CMB).

Kirk- (when followed by a dithematic name), e.g. *Kirkheaton* (WRY); *Kirknewton* (NTB); *Kirkoswald* (CMB); (cf. **Kirkstall** (WRY)).

L(l)an- e.g. *Landrake* (CNW); *Laneast* (CNW); *Landulph* (CNW); *Llanwarne* (HRE).

Monk-, *Nun-* (when followed by a dithematic name), e.g. *Monkseaton* (NTB); *Monkwearmouth* (DRH); *Nunburnholme* (YOE); *Nuneaton* (WAR); (cf. **Monkton** (DEV); **Nunwick** (NTB)).

Pen- e.g. *Pencoys* (CNW); *Pendarvis* (CNW); *Pengersick* (CNW), *Perran-*, e.g. *Perranporth* (CNW); *Perranuthnoe* (CNW); *Perranwell* (CNW); *Perranzabuloe* (CNW); but *Perranarworthal* (CNW)[20]

Pol- e.g. *Polbathic* (CNW); *Polglaze* (CNW); *Polzeath* (CNW); but **Poljew** (CNW); **Polstead** (SFK) /ˈpəʊlsted/.

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[20]. *Perran* is the Saint's name *Peran Ú Piran*.

Porth- e.g. *Porthallow* (CNW); *Porthcurno*; *Porthpean* (CNW),

Tol- e.g. *Tolcarne* (CNW); *Tolgullow* (CNW); *Tolskithy* (CNW)

Tre- e.g. *Trebarwith* (CNW); *Trebullet* (CNW); *Trefonen* (SHR) /trɪ ˈvɒnɪn/. When the name in *Tre-* has four syllables, the stress moves onto the penultimate, while *Tre-*regains its peripheral vowel under secondary stress, e.g. *Tregadillet* (CNW); *Tregaminian* (CNW); *Tregavethan* (CNW).

3.1.3 Stress in single-word names: summary

We have seen that the initial-stress rule applies to c. 10,000 (= c. 97%) of the single-word names recorded by Forster. If the percentage estimates of the /1- / stress-patterns are added together and then added to the percentage of the dictionary accounted for by /-1- / and by multi-word names, we arrive at a total of 90%. We take this shortfall as indicating that our estimates (based on a smaller sample than the rest) of the frequency of /10/ *Rugby* and /100/ *Nottingham* at c. 30% each, may both safely be increased to 35%. Of the 469 names potentially stressed : /-1- /, 388 (= 82.7%) are stressed on the second syllable. Thus we are left with an overall picture of the single-word data as consisting of seven prototypical stress-patterns:

/1-/	/-1-/
/10/ *Rugby*	/210/ *Cleckheaton*
/100/ *Nottingham*	/21/ *Carlisle*
/102/ *Ilfracombe*	/010/ *Wincanton*

/12/ *Pigtail.*

From a semantic point of view, primary stress in a single-word name is largely predictable if its composition is understood. The underlying principle is that **primary stress usually falls on the specific**, whether the latter is premodifying as in **Lampton** (MDX) (< OE *lamb-tun*) or **post**modifying as in Celtic names such as *Llanwarre* (HRE) < We *llan* + *gwern* 'church-swamp ~ alder grove'.

The question of how to predict the accentual behaviour of the rest of the name, in particular where syncope and vowel reduction are involved, will be dealt with below. First we present a rapid survey of the stressing of multi-word names.

3.2 Stress in toponyms consisting of two or more orthographic words[21]

As we saw in **3** above, the fact of a name being written in two or more separate words has the very powerful and virtually inviolable effect of moving primary stress onto the expected syllable of the final word.[22] By *expected*, we mean the syllable that would be stressed /**1**/ if the word were alone. Thus we get:

Two-word names (of which 1,537 in Forster): *Chipping Norton* (OXF); *Market Harborough* (LEI); *St Catherines* (WOR).

Three-word names (of which 157 in Forster) : *St Just in Penwith* (CNW); *St Michael Penkivel* (CNW); *Stratford upon Avon* (WAR).

Four-word names (of which 27 in Forster) : *Bourton on the Water* (GLO); *Stow on the Wold* (GLO).

Five-word names (of which 1 in Forster) : *Byton-on-the-Weald-Moors* (SHR)

The fact of being embedded in a prepositional compound demotes the original /**1**/ of say **Bourton** to a /**2**/. This powerful rule, which is found to operate with names of food stuffs and with names of beauty products (see Daniels 1998; 1999), can be seen here as simply an extension of a general rule for the stressing of toponyms which can be formulated as follows:

1) stress the specific : *Eaton* (var. cos) /**10**/

2) in any case of **post**modification, stress the final word of the postmodifier: *Eaton Bishop* (HRE) /**2010**/; *Eaton under Haywood* (SHR) /**203013**/.

However, the principle according to which it is the modifier that is stressed /**1**/ stops there, for in the case of **pre**modification, the 'stress the final word' rule takes over, giving *Castle Eaton* (WLT) and *Water Eaton* (SFT), even when the premodifier is agglutinated : *Nuneaton* (WAR). Thus, though stressing is contrastive in all cases of postmodification, it is the orthography which dictates the stress pattern in cases of premodification.

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[21]. These totals include all multi-word names listed in Forster (1981), some of which are street-, mountain- and river-names.

[22]. The only possible exception we have found is that of **Chester le Street** (DRH), stressed /**1002**/ according to Forster (1981) and Miller (1971) which appears to be governed by the rule which blocks the attribution of /**1**/ to *street* in street-name data (cf. *Kings road ; Church Lane* /**21**/). Note that EPD and LPD both record a regularized stress-pattern /**2001**/ for this name.

Names consisting of **St + personal N** are forced by both rules to be stressed on the name of the saint, with obligatory reduction of the first element: *St. Helens* (IOW) /snt'helənz/.

Names postmodified by a manorial or family name follow the contrastive and 'stress the final word' rules. It is useful to know that most of these manorial names are stressed on their initial syllable, thus we have prototypical stress patterns : *Barton Peverel* (HMP) /2010/; *Charlton Musgrove* (SOM) /2013/; *Newport Pagnell* (BUC) /2310/; *Newton Blossomville* (BUC) /20100/; *Stockleigh Pomeroy* (DEV) /20103/; *Upton Scudamore* (WLT) /20103/; BUT *Wooton Fitzpaine* (DOR) /2021/.

4 Reduction

4.1 The problem

Diachronically speaking, phonetic attrition has characterized proper names certainly as much as, and probably more than any other area of the lexicon. It is a commonplace to find that earlier forms e.g. *halh, haugr, leah* have reduced to *-al, -hoe / how* and *-ley* respectively while first elements such as *Hymel, Leik* and *Thorleifr* have reduced to /hem/, /leɪ/ and /θɜːlə/ in *Hemsworth* (YOW), *Laysthorpe* (YON) and *Thurlaston* (LEI), and the central element *-ing-* has reduced to /-ən-/ in *Lakenheath* (SFK).

For the etymologically uninformed speaker, such considerations are unimportant. The problem he or she faces is how to get from the written form to the spoken one. If there is some kind of attrition, is it a matter of vowel reduction, aphæresis, syncope or apocope? Do specifics behave in the same way as generics and does reduction in one automatically entail reduction in the other? We shall attempt in the remaining pages to come to approximate answers to some of these questions in as far as the complexity of the data and the space available will allow.

4.2 Reduction in the first element

Since the primary stress falls on the initial syllable in the vast majority of names, very few have vowel reduction here (*Bosinney* (CNW) /bə'sɪnɪ/ is unusual in this respect). Weakening affects the second syllable of polysyllabic names in the form of **vowel centralization**, as in *Bridestowe* (CMB) /'brɪdɪstəʊ/ *Delamere* (CHE) /'deləmɪə/; *Rodmersham* (KNT) /'rɒdməʃəm/, in the form of **syncope,** as in *Bulkeley* (CHE) /'bʊklɪ/; *Courteenhall* (NTP) /'kɔːtnɔːl/; *Lavendon* BUC) /'lɑːndən/. Meanwhile, it is the whole of the first element that is affected by **stressed vowel shortening or monophthongization** as in *Heathpool* (NTB) /'heθpuːl/; *Sneinton* (NTT) /'snentən/; *Worstead* (NFK) /'wʊstɪd/.

There are other surprising features of first elements which do not come under the heading of reduction and will therefore not be considered here. The picture is so complicated that without an in-depth analysis of the phono-

graphemic behaviour of a very large number of first elements, it is vain to look for rules.

4.3 Reduction in the final element

The search for rules is much more rewarding when it come to final elements, as some reduce almost automatically, e.g. *-den; -ley; -ton*, while others such as *-church; -croft; -grove;* and *-worthy* appear not to reduce, while others again go so far as to attract primary stress, e.g. *- 'bow, - 'carn,* and *- 'ness*. It is clearly of interest to know which final elements fall into which category.

In the following table, 165 frequently-occurring final elements are listed along with their phonetic realization(s). Where the examples in the two columns are the same name, we can be fairly sure that the weak one is local and/or old-fashioned. A blank in the centre or right-hand column indicates that the final element in question appears not to occur in this form. Forms in brackets are considered by the authors to be rare or obsolete (see below). As the authors are working from secondary sources, it has not been possible to sort out current reduced forms from obsolete ones. The table should thus be seen as an indicator of a second element's potential for reduction, rather than as a precise guide to the current pronunciation(s) of individual names.

Reduction in 165 final elements

	strong form as in	*weak form as in*
-ack		*Landewednac* /ˌlændɪˈwednək/
-acre	*Sandiacre* /ˈsændɪeɪkə/	*Gateacre* /ˈgætəkə/
-age		*Avenage* /ˈeɪvənɪdʒ/
-al		*Lyneal* /ˈlɪnɪə/ [sic]
-all		*Brignall* /ˈbrɪgnəl/
-am		*Arram* /ˈærəm/
-an		*Illogan* /ɪˈlʌgən/
-ar		*Kuggar* /ˈkʌgə/
-ard		*Barnard Castle* /ˈbɑːnəd/
-bach	*Cotesbach* /ˈkəʊtsbætʃ/	
-bank	*Firbank* /ˈfɜːbæŋk/	
-bon		*Barbon* /ˈbɑːbən/
-borne	*Osborne* /ˈɒzbɔːn/	*Osborne* /ˈɒzbən/
-borough		*Malborough* /ˈmɑːlbərə/
-bourn	*Bassingbourn* /ˈbæsɪŋbɔːn/	*Bassingbourn* /ˈbæsɪŋbən/
-bourne	*Eastbourne* /ˈiːstbɔːn/	*Eastbourne* /ˈiːsbən/
- 'bow	*Barnbow* /ˈbɑːnbəʊ/	

-brook	*Birdbrook* /ˈbɜ:dbrʊk/	
-broke	*Begbroke* /ˈbegbrʊk/	
-brough		*Aldbrough* /ˈɔ:ldbərə/
-burgh		*Bawburgh* /ˈbeɪbə/
		Tasburgh /ˈteɪzbrə/
-burn	*Leyburn* /ˈleɪbɜ:n/	*Leyburn* /ˈleɪbən/
-bury		*Rothbury* /ˈrɒθbəri/
-by		*Corby* /ˈkɔ:bi/
-car	*Redcar* /ˈredkɑ:/	*Boscar* /ˈbɒskə/
-'carn	*Blen'carn* /blenˈkɑ:n/	
-caster	*Doncaster* /ˈdɒŋkæstə/	*Doncaster* /ˈdɒŋkəstə/
-castle	*Boscastle* /ˈbɒskɑ:sl/	
-cester	*Cirencester* /ˈsaɪrənsestə/	*Bicester* /ˈbɪstə/
-champ		*Beauchamp* /ˈbi:tʃəm/
-chapel	*Whitechapel* /ˈwaɪtʃæpl/	
-chester	*Manchester* /ˈmæntʃestə/	*Manchester* /ˈmæntʃɪstə/ ~ /-tʃəstə/
-chief		*Beauchief* /ˈbi:tʃɪf/
-child	*Bapchild* /ˈbæpʃaɪld/	
-church	*Hornchurch* /ˈhɔ:ntʃɜ:tʃ/	
-cliff(e)	*Arncliffe* /ˈɑ:nklɪf/	(*Haltecliffe* /ˈhɔ:tlə/)
-comb		*Acomb* /ˈeɪkəm/
-combe	*Ilfracombe* /ˈɪlfrəku:m/	*Challacombe* /ˈtʃæləkəm/
-cot		*Didcot* /ˈdɪdkət/
-cote	*Walcote* /ˈwɔ:lkəʊt/	*Shorncote* /ˈʃɔ:nkət/
-cotes	*Bevercotes* /ˈbevəkəʊts/	
-cott(e)		*Caldecott* /ˈkɒldɪkət/
-court		*Leycourt* /ˈlegət/
-covey		*Biscovey* /ˈbɪskəvi/
-crake	*Blindcrake* /ˈblɪnkreɪək/	
-croft	*Ancroft* /ˈæŋkrɒft/	
-dale	*Borrowdale* /ˈbɒrəʊdeɪl/	(*Borrowdale* /ˈbɒrədəl/)
		(*Garsdale* /ˈgazdl/)
-dean	*Bramdean* /ˈbræmdi:n/	
-del		*Arundel* /ˈærəndəl/
-den	(*Horsmunden* /ˈhɔ:smənden/)	*Arden* /ˈɑ:dən/
		Marden /mɑ:n/

-ditch	*Houndsditch* /ˈhaʊndzdɪtʃ/	
-don		*Baildon* /ˈbeɪldən/
-down	*Ashdown* /ˈæʃdaʊn/	
-dulph	*Biddulph* /ˈbɪdʌlf/	*Biddulph* /ˈbɪdl/
-'end	*Bridgend* /brɪdʒˈend/	
-er(s)		*Sockinber* /ˈsɒkɪnbə/
		Troopers /ˈtruːpəz/
-ern	*Askern* /ˈæskɜːn/	*Colerne* /ˈkʌlən/
-ey		*Balney* /ˈbæni/
-field	*Sheffield* /ˈʃefiːld/	(*Hartfield* /ˈhɑːtfʊl/)
		(*Heathfield* /ˈhefl/)
-fleet	*Benfleet* /ˈbenfliːt/	(*Marfleet* /ˈmɑːflɪt/)
-font	*Chalfont St. G.* /ˈtʃælfɒnt/	*Chalfont St. G.* /ˈtʃælfənt/
-ford	(*Seaford* /siːˈfɔːd/)	*Bradford* /ˈbrædfəd/
		Aberford /ˈæbəfəθ/
-forth	*Ampleforth* /ˈæmplfɔːθ/	*Wentworth* /ˈwentwəθ/
-garth	*Aysgarth* /ˈeɪzgɑːθ/	(*Aysgarth* /ˈeskə/)
		Gatesgarth /ˈɡækət/
-gate	*Harrogate* /ˈhærəgeɪt/	*Harrogate* /ˈhærəgət/ ~ /-gɪt/
-grave		*Gargrave* /ˈɡɑːgrɪv/
-grove	*Bromsgrove* /ˈbrɒmzgrəʊv/	(*Skinningrove* /ˈskɪnɪŋgrɪf/)
-hall		*Benhall* /ˈbenl/
	Bramhall /ˈbræmhɔːl/	*Bramhall* /ˈbræmə/
-ham	*Westham* /ˈwesthæm/	*Topham* /ˈtɒpəm/
-ham(p)stead	*Berkhamstead* /ˈhæmstɪd/	*Berkhamstead* /ˈbɑːkəmstɪd/
-hanger	*Clayhanger* /ˈkleɪhæŋə/	*Foghanger* /ˈfɒgnə/
-haugh	*Kirkhaugh* /ˈkɜːkɑːf/	
	Thornhaugh /ˈθɔːnhɔː/	
-head	*Gateshead* /ˈgeɪtshed/	
-heath	*Blackheath* /ˈblækhiːθ/	
-heim		*Blenheim* /ˈblenəm/
-hill	*Godshill* /ˈgɒdzhɪl/	*Godshill* /ˈgadzɪl/
-holme	*Carholme* /ˈkɑːhəʊm/	*Hipperholme* /ˈ(h)ɪprəm/
-holt	*Knockholt* /ˈnɒkhəʊlt/	*Wiggonholt* /ˈwɪgənəlt/
-hop	*Mythop* /ˈmɪθɒp/	*Meathop* /ˈmiːθəp/
-hope	*Covenhope* /ˈkəʊvənhəʊp/	*Covenhope* /ˈkɒnəp/

-house	Lofthouse /ˈlɒfthaʊs/	Lofthouse /ˈlɒftəs/
-how(e)	Greenhow /ˈgriːnhaʊ/	
	Torpenhow /ˈtɔrpenə/	(Torpenhow /trəˈpenə/)
-hunt	Boarhunt /ˈbɔːhʌnt/	Cheshunt /ˈtʃesənt/
-hurst	Chislehurst /ˈtʃɪzlhɜːst/	Gathurst /ˈgæθəst/
-'hythe	Bulverhythe /ˈbʊlvəˈhaɪð/	
-ing	Clavering /ˈkleɪvərɪŋ/	
-kirk	Romaldkirk /ˈrɒməldkɜːk/	
-knowl(e)		Bucknowle /ˈbʌknəl/
-lake	Gunnislake /ˈgʌnɪzleɪk/	
-lam		Beadlam /ˈbɪədləm/
-land(s)		Elland /ˈelənd/
-laugh		Skirlaugh /ˈskelə/
-leigh	(Glynleigh /ˈgrɪnlaɪ/ [sic])	Beeleigh /ˈbiːli/,
		Stoneleigh /ˈstəʊnli/
-let		Hunslet /ˈhʌnslət/
-ley	(Twisley /ˈtwɪzlaɪ/)	Armley /ˈɑːmli/
-lieu		Beaulieu /ˈbjuːli/
-low	Ludlow /ˈlʌdləʊ/	
-marsh	Bickmarsh /ˈbɪkmɑːʃ/	
-mere	Blakemere /ˈbleɪkmɪə/	
-mont	Clermont /ˈkleəmɒnt/	Cleremont /ˈklɜːmənt/
-more	Ashmore /ˈæʃmɔː/	Breamore /ˈbremə/
-mouth	Tynemouth /ˈtaɪnmaʊθ/	Falmouth /ˈfælməθ/
-nell		Beadnell /ˈbiːdlən/ [sic]
-ness	Skegness /skegˈnes/	
	Amounderness /əˈmaʊndənes/	
-nock		Cannock /ˈkænək/
-nor		Bradnor /ˈbrædnə/
-north	Bridgenorth /ˈbrɪdʒnɔːθ/	
-ock	Wenlock /ˈwenlɒk/	Braddock /ˈbrædək/
-oe	Clitheroe /ˈklɪðərəʊ/	Binsoe /ˈbɪnsə/
-op		Bradnop /ˈbrædnəp/
-over	Bolsover /ˈbəʊlzəʊvə/	Bolsover /ˈbaʊzə/
-oy	Chedzoy /ˈtʃedzɔɪ/	
-phan		Bulphan /ˈbʊlvən/

-pool	*Blackpool* /ˈblækpuːl/	*Hellpool Bridge* /ˈhelpə/
-port	*Stockport* /ˈstɒkpɔːt/	*Stockport* /ˈstɒpət/
-royd	*Mytholmroyd* /ˈmaɪðəmrɔɪd/	
-sand(s)	*Cockersand* /ˈkɒkəsənd/	*Cawsand* /ˈkɔːsənd/
-scar	*Ravenscar* /ˈreɪvənskɑː/	
-scoe		*Briscoe* /ˈbrɪskə/
-scough	*Burscough* /ˈbɜːskəʊ/	*Burscough* /ˈbɜːskə/
-sea	*Hornsea* /ˈhɔːnsiː/	*Brinsea* /ˈbrɪnzi/
-shaw	*Ickornshaw* /ˈɪkɒnʃɔː/	*Stagshaw* /ˈstædʒi/ ~ /ˈsteɪnʃə/
-shot	*Aldershot* /ˈɔːldəʃɒt/	
-side	*Gunnerside* /ˈgʌnəsaɪd/	*Gunnerside* /ˈgʊnəsɪt/
-stairs	*Broadstairs* /ˈbrɔːdsteəz/	
-stal		*Borstal* /ˈbɔːstəl/
-staple		*Barnstaple* /ˈbɔːnstəpl/
-stead	*Binstead* /ˈbɪnsted/	*Binstead* /ˈbɪnstəd/ ~/ɪd/
-stock	*Woodstock* /ˈwʊdstɒk/	
-stoke	*Bishopstoke* /ˈbɪʃəpstəʊk/	
-stol		*Bristol* /ˈbrɪstl/
-stone		*Alstone* /ˈɔːlstən/
-stow(e)	*Chepstow* /ˈtʃepstəʊ/	
-strode	*Bulstrode* /ˈbʊlstrəʊd/	
-thorn	*Anthorn* /ˈænθɔːn/	
-thorp		*Westhorp* /ˈwestrəp/
-thorpe	*Scunthorpe* /ˈskʌnθɔːp/	*Scunthorpe* /ˈskʌnθrəp/
-thwaite	*Slaithwaite* /ˈsleɪθweɪt/	*Slaithwaite* /ˈslaʊwɪt/
-toft(s)	*Lowestoft* /ˈləʊəstɒft/	*Lowestoft* /ˈləʊstəft/
-ton	(*Penton* /penˈtɒn/)	*Weston* /ˈwestn/
-town	*Bridgetown* /ˈbrɪdʒtaʊn/	
-tree	*Braintree* /ˈbreɪntriː/	
-trop	*Adlestrop* /ˈædlstrɒp/	
-vale	*Merevale* /ˈmerɪveɪl/	*Merevale* /ˈmerɪvəl/
-ville	*Granville* /ˈgrænvɪl/	*Gunville* /ˈgɒnvl/
-voir		*Belvoir P.* /ˈbiːvə/
-wade	*Biggleswade* /ˈbɪglzweɪd/	
-ward	(*Westward* /westwˈɔːd/)	*Hayward* /ˈheɪwəd/
-was		*Broadwas* /ˈbrɔːd(w)əs/

-wash	*Burwash* /ˈbɜːwɒʃ/	*Burwash* /ˈberɪʃ/ ~ /ˈbʌrɪʃ/
-water	*Broadwater* /ˈbrɔːdwɔːtə/	
-way	*Broadway* /ˈbrɔːdweɪ/	
-well	*Cherwell* /ˈtʃɑːwel/	*Cherwell* /ˈtʃɑːwəl/
-wich	*Northwich* /ˈnɔːθwɪʃ/	*Harwich* /ˈhærɪtʃ/
-wick	*Aldwick* /ˈɔːldwɪk/	*Keswick* /ˈkezɪk/
-wike	*Heckmondwike* /ˈhekməndwaɪk/	
-with		*Blawith* /ˈblɑːθ/
		Skelwith /ˈskelɪθ/
-wold	*Hockwold* /ˈhɒkəʊld/	*Methwold* /ˈmeθəld/ ~ /ˈmjʊəl/
-wood	*Cawood* /ˈkeɪwʊd/	*Cawood* /ˈkaʊəd/
-worth		*Bedworth* /ˈbedəθ/
		Wentworth /ˈwentwəθ/
-worthy	*Holsworthy* /ˈhəʊlzwɜːði/	*Holsworthy* /ˈhɒlzəri/
-wyche	*Lutwyche* /ˈlʌtwɪtʃ/	
-wycke	*Blatherwycke* /blæðəwɪk/	
-yard		*Rudyard* /ˈrʌdjəd/
-zett		*Brenzett* /ˈbrenzɪt/

This table reveals the following facts:

53 final elements occur only as strong form, e.g. *-bank; -croft; -how(e)*.

54 final elements occur only as a weak form, e.g. *-age; -don; -stol*.

52 final elements occur as both a strong and a weak form, e.g. *-acre* ; *-gate; -wich*.

5 final elements occur frequently with primary stress, e.g. *-carn; -end; -ness*.

These totals do not include names in brackets, which, though listed by Forster, are, in our view, sufficiently rare as to be considered as practically non-occurring (e.g. *-dale* (/-dl/). There seems to be little indication in the form of a final element which allows us to predict its behaviour. Clearly, bound morphs such as *-age; -al; -ard* would reduce whatever kind of words they occurred in, while the non-reduction of free morphs such as *-chapel; -ditch* and *-north* is equally understandable from a semantic point of view. It turns out that there are 22 transparent (for an advanced learner, or non-specialist native speaker), free morphs which appear solely in the strong column whereas only 7 transparent, free morphs appear solely (or practically) in the weak column. These are: *-borough; -chief* (unless there is also a non-reduced form, unknown to us); *-court; -ford; -grave; -land; -ton*. The weakening of *-ford, -land* and *-ton* can be attributed to their high frequency, thus, there is some tendency for transparent,

free morphs to resist reduction. This rule, however, only partially applies to final elements such as *-mouth; -sea; -side* or *-well*, which can reduce or not. Certain final elements are unstable, by which is meant that the sociology of their strong and various weak forms is unclear. Examples of this instability are to be found in such final elements as *-caster; -chester* and *-gate*, whose several variants do not appear to be dictated purely by local pronunciation, fashion or style, and may even vary idiolectally.

The question is further complicated by the fact that a given final element may weaken in one place-name but not in another. A case in point is *-thwaite*. This final element occurs 32 times in Forster (1981). Only one name, *Huthwaite* (NTB)[23] apparently has no reduced form, whereas the other names in *-thwaite* are recorded as having any one or several of the weak forms /-æət/ (21); /-fɪt/ (5); /-wɪt/ (2); /-æət/ [sic] (1); /-ɪt/ (1); /-hwɪt/ (1); /-wət/ (1). The name *Slaithwaite* (YOW) ?< OE *slah* 'sloe', or, according to Watts 2004 < ON *slag* 'fell timber' + ON *þveit* 'clearing' has no fewer than 8 different pronunciations : /ˈslaʊwɪt/ ~ /ˈslaʊɪt/ ~ /ˈslæwɪt/ ~ /ˈslaʊɪt/~ /ˈslɔːɪt~ /~ /ˈslæθwət/ ~ /ˈslæθweɪt/ ~ /ˈsleɪθweɪt/, some of which may well be old-fashioned or archaic[24].

Given the havoc caused by spelling pronunciations in recent times, it seems likely that more and more names, particularly those of larger towns, liable to be (mis-)pronounced by uninformed outsiders, will gradually lose their local, reduced or hyper-reduced forms in favour of 'standard' forms imposed top-down in disregard of phonetic evolution, dialect or local identity: a pity perhaps.

5 Concluding remarks

We conclude with a set of preliminary but nonetheless scientifically valid and reliable recommendations to anyone seeking to pronounce English place-names according to rules and not just on a one-off basis.

1 Get into the habit of looking at place-names as regularly formed strings of themes. Notice in particular the number of orthographic words involved. Try to decide, in as far as the PE form will show, to which of the 29 morphological types (presented in 1 above) the name belongs. This kind of competence is not achieved without interest and effort. Dictionaries such as Mills (1991, 1996) and if possible Watts (2004) are essential spare-time reading.

2 In the case of a single-word name, stress the first syllable, unless

- it contains one of the elements listed in 3.1.2.4 (*-hampstead* etc.), in which case, stress that;

- it is a **purely** Celtic name, beginning with one of the pre-posed generics listed in 3.1.2.4, in which case stress the second syllable (which is the only

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[23]. Curiously, *Huthwaite* (YOW and YON) does reduce to /ˈʊθwɪt/.
[24]. J. C. Wells, who was present at the conference, pointed out the absence of one very predictable local pronunciation of the type [sleθweːt], and drew attention to the sometimes unconventional transcriptions found in Forster's dictionary.

serious rival candidate to the first). In the case of the less numerous four-syllable Celtic names, stress the penultimate syllable, and give a peripheral quality to the vowel of the initial syllable. (In the absence of sufficient linguistic knowledge, ascertain whether the name occurs in a Celtic-influenced area).

3 In two- and three-syllable names, choose the patterns /10/ and /100/ in preference to all others.

4 Learn which of the final elements reduce, which don't, which either do or don't, and which belong to the very small family of final elements stressed /1/.

Work is in progress concerning detailed phono-graphemic rules.

Abbreviations and conventions

1) Standard abbreviations of English county-names

These vary between authors and dictionaries. The abbreviations used in this article are taken from the complete list of English, Scottish and Welsh county-names used by Gelling (1984: vii-viii).

NB The counties referred to are those in existence prior to the 1974 reorganisation

ABD	Aberdeenshire
AGL	Anglesey
ANG	Angus
ARG	Argyllshire
AYR	Ayrshire
BDF	Bedfordshire
BNF	Banffshire
BRE	Brecknockshire
BRK	Berkshire
BTU	Bute
BUC	Buckinghamshire
BWK	Berwickshire
CAI	Caithness
CAM	Cambridgeshire
CHE	Cheshire
CLA	Clackmannanshire
CMB	Cumberland
CNW	Cornwall
CRD	Cardiganshire

CRM	Carmarthenshire
CRN	Caernarvonshire
DEN	Denbighshire
DEV	Devon
DMF	Dumfriesshire
DNB	Dunbartonshire
DOR	Dorset
DRB	Derbyshire
DRH	Durham
ELO	East Lothian
ESX	Essex
FIF	Fife
FLI	Flintshire
GLA	Glamorgan
GLO	Gloucestershire
GTL	Greater London
HMP	Hampshire
HNT	Huntingdonshire
HRE	Herefordshire
HRT	Hertfordshire
INV	Inverness-shire
IOM	Isle of Man
IOW	Isle of Wight
KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire
KCD	Kincardineshire
KNR	Kinross-shire
KNT	Kent
LAN	Lanarkshire
LEI	Leicestershire
LIN	Lincolnshire
LNC	Lancashire
MNX	Middlesex
MER	Merionethshire
MLO	Midlothian
MON	Monmouthshire
MOR	Morayshire
MTG	Montgomeryshire
NAI	Nairnshire
NFK	Norfolk
NTB	Northumberland
NTP	Northamptonshire
NTT	Nottinghamshire

ORK   Orkney
OXF   Oxfordshire
PEB   Peebleshire
PEM   Pembrokeshire
PER   Perthshire
RAD   Radnorshire
RNF   Renfrewshire
ROS   Ross and Cromarty
ROX   Roxburghshire
RUT   Rutland
SFK   Suffolk
SHE   Shetland
SHR   Shropshire
SLK   Selkirkshire
SOM   Somerset
SSX   Sussex
STF   Staffordshire
STL   Stirlingshire
SUR   Surrey
SUT   Sutherland
WAR   Warwickshire
WIG   Wigtownshire
WLO   West Lothian
WLT   Wiltshire
WML   Westmorland
WOR   Worcestershire
YOE   Yorkshire (East Riding)
YON   Yorkshire (West Riding)
YOW   Yorkshire (West Riding)

2) abbreviations and special symbols

< coming from an earlier form
?< coming from a supposed earlier form
Brit Brittonic
c. *circa*
Co Cornish
dat dative
EPD *English Pronouncing Dictionary*
LPD *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*
ME Middle English
mt mountain

NMDY Normandy
OC Old Cornish
OE Old English
ON Old Norse
OW Old Welsh
PE Present-Day English
Pers. N Personal Name
Prepcom Prepositional compound (having the underlying structure N+Prep+N)
ref. referent
sa signifiant
sé signifié
var. cos various counties
We Welsh

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