

Some Aspects of the Pronunciation of English Place-Names (I)

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Part 1

The discrepancy between orthography and pronunciation is a major problem for learners of English - that goes without saying. One particular area is harder than the rest, and even causes trouble to native speakers sometimes. This is the pronunciation of proper names, both of people and places. The difficulty here is analogous to the notorious one of *ateji* (当て字) in Japanese. In both languages, a combination of factors - linguistic evolution, historical considerations, folk etymologies, even personal taste - have led to certain names being pronounced in a way different from that which we would expect from the way they are written. The problem can be got round in Japanese by writing the appropriate *kana* by the side of the name or (on the telephone) by explaining the relevant *kanji* by referring to other words. Thus, the place where I live is 鶴甲 pronounced 'Tsurukabuto', and I can show this in writing by putting down the *kana* equivalent つるかぶと or explain it over the phone by saying "'kabuto' is written with the character for 'kō' in 'Rokkō'." In English, too, we can solve the problem, rather less efficiently, in similar ways. A person may write in a letter "My name is Featherstonehaugh, pronounced 'Fanshaw'." On the telephone, he will say "My name is ['fænfəʊ], spelt F-E-A-T-H-E-R-S-T-O-N-E-H-A-U-G-H."

In the case of doubt over the pronunciation of personal names, embarrassment may arise; with place-names embarrassment is less likely than confusion and even serious inconvenience, as in the legend of the English tourist who spent a long and fruitless time poring over the road map trying to find his destination in Norfolk, which he had been told was [ˈheɪzberə], He was unaware that it was spelt *Happisburgh*.

It is with English place-names that this paper will deal. Its object is to list and discuss the most common cases in which the pronunciation of English place-names cannot be deduced from the spelling. This will be done according to criteria which will shortly be presented. First of all, however, I would like to consider two factors which affect the whole approach to this very complex subject:

1) Even among native speakers, there are many types of pronunciation, and for any given place-name there may be many different pronunciations in use according to the age, education, social class or locality of the user. Thus, an aged Sussex countryman may refer to Heathfield as [ˈhefɪ]; a Geordie coal-miner will call his hometown [njuːˈkɑːsɪ] (accent on the second syllable): a well-educated Northumbrian, speaking Received Pronunciation might say [njuːkɑːsɪ], with a standard vowel but still a stress on the second syllable: an educated member of the middle class elsewhere in England will probably refer to these places as [ˈhiːθfɪəld] and [ˈnjuːkɑːsɪ], stressing the first syllable in both cases. Plainly any study of place-name pronunciation must adopt some standard, which may place a greater or lesser emphasis on local usage.

2) A study of pronunciation will be facilitated by taking into account that place-names can be classified according to their elements: certain aspects of pronunciation may become more meaningful if they are related to these elements. A semantic and etymological breakdown of English place-names yields the following categories:

1) Simplex names; these originate from a single word or idea and are mainly monosyllabic, though two syllables are sometimes found. Examples

are *Leigh, Thame, Clun, Ruckinge* (the last appears to have two elements but is probably derived from a single Old English word meaning 'a rookery').

2) Names having only one word (although it may originally have been set out as more than one) and with two or more distinct elements of meaning. Thus, *Norfolk*, 'home of the North people', *Oadby*, 'the village or homestead of Audi', *Beaulieu*, 'the beautiful place', *Newcastle, Heckington*, 'the enclosure of Heca's people', *Piddletrenthide*, probably 'the marsh measuring thirty hides'.

3) Names made up of two or more words, which can be sub-divided as follows:

i) Cases in which there is a basic name, to which is added a description of its size, location, nature or purpose. This may come first (as in *Much Hadham, Little Gidding, Market Bosworth, Marsh Baldon, Cold Ashby, Chipping Norton* (OE *cēping* = market) or afterwards (*Wickham Market, Chesham Bois, Colney Hatch, Charing Cross*). Longer instances are *Stratford upon Avon, Stow on the Wold, Eyton upon the Weald Moors, Weston super Mare*.

ii) Names linked with other names denoting ownership or some other connection with people: *Kings Langley, Abbess Roding, Newton Abbot, Lyme Regis, Sutton Poyntz, Combe Raleigh, Stoke Mandeville*. There are a great many of these cases, and as the personal names concerned are frequently of Norman French origin, there is a high incidence of irregular pronunciation.

iii) Saints' names, either alone or in conjunction with other elements. Examples are *St Ives, St Osyth, Mary Tavy, Burton Leonard, Ayot St. Lawrence, Bury St. Edmunds, St. Just in Roseland, Llanrothal*.

iv) Place-names which do not appear to fit into any other category: *Cat and Fiddle, Cross-in-Hand, Westward Ho!*

The names listed above will remind us that English place-names are derived from Celtic (*Avon*), Old English (*Norfolk*), Scandinavian (*Oadby*), French (*Beaulieu*) and later English (*Newcastle*). This fact has relevance in a study of pronunciation; for instance, place-names on the Welsh border and of Celtic origin may be pronounced by some English people using phonemes

not found in standard English (e.g. *Llanrothal* as [tæn'rʊθəl], and the original pronunciation of place-names of Norman French origin may influence some of the ways they are pronounced today (e.g. *Jervaulx* as ['dʒɜ:vəʊ]). In Cornwall, the old Celtic speech-patterns may account for a tendency to stress many names on the second syllable where a different stress might be expected from the habits of standard English: *Penwith* [pen'wɪθ], *Lanivet* [læn'ɪvət], *Penzance* [pen'zæns].

The above classification is according to semantic and etymological criteria. A study of the pronunciation of English place-names must cover the same corpus but not necessarily in the same way.

Bearing these points in mind, let us formulate criteria for listing problematic pronunciations of English place-names.

Coverage This survey will cover place-names in England within the boundaries established by the Local Government Act, 1972, according to which England was divided into 46 large County Authorities. These are as follows, with their abbreviations in this paper in brackets:

Avon (Avon)	Gloucestershire	London (Lond.)
Bedfordshire (Beds.)	(Glos.)	Merseyside (Mer.)
Berkshire (Berks.)	Greater Manchester	Norfolk (Norf.)
Buckinghamshire (Bucks.)	(G. Man.)	Northamptonshire
Cambridgeshire (Cams.)	Hampshire (Hants.)	(N'hants.)
Cheshire (Ches.)	Hereford & Worcester	Northumberland
Cleveland (Cleve.)	(Here.)	(N'hum.)
Cornwall (Corn.)	Hertfordshire (Herts.)	North Yorkshire
Cumbria (Cum.)	Humberside (Hum.)	(N.Yorks.)
Derbyshire (Derby.)	Isle of Wight (IoW)	Nottinghamshire
Devonshire (Dev.)	Kent (Kent)	(Notts.)
Dorset (Dor.)	Lancashire (Lancs.)	Oxfordshire (Oxon.)
Durham (Dur.)	Leicestershire	Shropshire*
East Sussex (E. Sus.)	(Leics.)	(Shrops.)
Essex (Ess.)	Lincolnshire (Lincs.)	Somerset (Som.)

* Originally denoted *Salop* in the Act, the county has now reverted by popular demand to the old English name of *Shropshire* (1980).

South Yorkshire (S. Yorks.)	Tyne & Wear (Tyne)	West Sussex (W. Sus.)
Staffordshire (Staffs.)	Warwickshire (War.)	West Yorkshire (W. Yorks.)
Suffolk (Suff.)	West Midlands	Wiltshire
Surrey (Sur.)	(W. Mid.)	(Wilts.)

As a general guide, places have been chosen which appear both in the *BBC Pronouncing Dictionary of British Names* (1971) and *Johnston and Bacon's Road Atlas of Great Britain (3 miles to 1 inch)* (1963), though some items have been taken from Eckwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1960), the *Blue Guide to England* (1972) and relevant volumes of the *Publications of the English Place-Name Society*. These works are henceforth abbreviated as *BBC*, *Johnston*, *Eckwall*, *BG* and *EPNS* (followed by the volume number) respectively. The places listed are mainly cities, towns and villages, but there are a few mountains and rivers and a few buildings (colleges, priories, historic houses, etc.) have also been included. The list does not pretend to be exhaustive. Names presenting no problems of pronunciation to the educated native speaker or proficient foreign student of English have been left out, except for a few instances where they have been used for contrast. Thus *Ibstock* and *Horsepool* do not appear, but *Painswick* does, as it is an example of a regular pronunciation of *-wick* in contrast with cases in which the *w* is not pronounced. Some smaller localities have had to be omitted because, although I feel doubt about their pronunciation, they do not figure in the works I have mentioned and I can get no clear information about them. Thus *Dulcote*, near Wells, does not appear, despite my uncertainty whether it is pronounced [-kʊt], [-kət] or [-kəʊt]. A host of tiny places have been left out because, although they appear in *BBC* as examples of problematic pronunciation, they do not figure in the index to *Johnston* and I have been unable to find them mentioned anywhere else. Thus *Vogue Beloth* ['vəʊg br'ləθ], picturesque though its appearance and pronunciation may be, is not in any of the lists which follow.

Still, the coverage is quite large and the would-be pronouncer (native or foreign) will be able to look up the names of a great many places in England, see how they are pronounced, compare these pronunciations with those of other places of the same name, see how the individual elements are pronounced in other names and, in certain cases, learn something of the geographical distribution of certain pronunciations.

Type of Pronunciation Shown Earlier in this paper I posed the question of how to decide the type of pronunciation to be listed. I have elected to follow the criterion given by G. M. Miller in the introduction to *BBC*: ".....place names should be pronounced as they are locally, with perhaps rare exceptions where there is a recognized 'national' pronunciation." It is presupposed, however, that a standard RP accent is a desirable basis. My aim has therefore been to show the pronunciation of the educated Englishman referring to a place in a way which can be understood by another educated Englishman and still be felt appropriate by the well educated, or even not so educated, local inhabitant. It represents a compromise between tradition, courtesy to local custom, intelligibility and socially acceptable diction. Although my debt is heavy to *BBC*, *Eckwall*, *BG* and *EPNS*, especially the first of these,* I have drawn extensively on my personal knowledge of place-name pronunciation and that of other native speakers known to me. Excellent as are the works referred to, they have a number of shortcomings. Some of the spellings in *BBC* may be incorrect, certain of the pronunciations listed there are (as I shall point out) obsolete and some confusion arises from the fact that the counties where most of the places are situated are not specified. This is unfortunate, for where there are several places of the same name in different counties (or even in the same county) they may have different pronunciations. In my own listings I have tried to clarify these cases. *Eckwall*, who is mainly concerned with etymology, does not always show unusual pronunciations and when he does so, he may be wrong (as with *Caterham* (Sur.)). The *BG* is not always clear by reason of its

* Except where noted, all pronunciations are to be found in *BBC*.

inconsistent way of representing pronunciation without phonetic symbols. *EPNS* sometimes gives local pronunciations but these may not represent modern or educated usage. In doubtful cases I have given the various forms shown in the works mentioned and made appropriate comments.

Phonetic Transcription All the works referred to above use different systems for showing pronunciation. *BBC* and *EPNS* both use the International Phonetic Alphabet, but *BBC* employs a version of Gimson's transcription while *EPNS* appears to follow Daniel Jones. *Eckwall* uses the figured pronunciation of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. *BG*, as stated, uses a very inconsistent figured pronunciation of its own. I have reduced all these systems to the broad transcription given on pages vi to ix of Gimson's *Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (1962), which is almost identical to that used by *BBC*. It is as follows:

Vowels

i:	as in <i>see</i>	ʊ	as in <i>dog</i>
ɪ	“ <i>sit</i>	ɔ:	“ <i>saw</i>
e	“ <i>bed</i>	ʊ	“ <i>put</i>
æ	“ <i>cat</i>	u:	“ <i>do</i>
ʌ	“ <i>cup</i>	ɜ:	“ <i>bird</i>
ɑ:	“ <i>car</i>	ə	“ last vowel of <i>other</i>

Diphthongs

eɪ	as in <i>may</i>	aʊ	as in <i>out</i>
aɪ	“ <i>my</i>	ɪə	“ <i>near</i>
ɔɪ	“ <i>boy</i>	ɛə	“ <i>their</i>
əʊ	“ <i>go</i>	ʊə	“ <i>moor</i>

Consonants

p, b, t, d, k, m, n, l, r, f, v, s, z, h, w as customarily used in English.

Otherwise:

g	as in <i>get</i>	t̪	as in Welsh <i>llan</i> (voice- less <i>l</i>)
tʃ	“ <i>church</i>	θ	“ <i>thin</i>
dʒ	“ <i>jet</i>		

ð	“	<i>there</i>	ʃ	as in	<i>shut</i>
ŋ	as in	<i>eaten</i> (syllabic <i>n</i>)	ʒ	“	<i>measure</i>
ŋ	“	<i>sing</i>	j	“	<i>yes</i>
l̩	“	<i>bottle</i> (syllabic <i>l</i>)			

Main stress is indicated by the symbol' preceding the stressed syllable and secondary stress by the symbol, . Following the example of *BBC*, I have reserved the use of the syllabic *l* and *n* to midword positions where they remove ambiguity, e. g. *Chittlehamholt* ['tʃɪt|əm'həʊlt].

Order of Presentation Names will be presented in four alphabetically arranged lists, according to elements.

List A will be of final elements (-BURY, -HAM, -WORTH, etc.) and will include some simplex names (e. g. *Bury*, *Ham*, *Worth*) where these also figure commonly as final elements.

List B will be of initial elements (AC-, CLAV-, HAIGH-, SHOTTIS-, etc.) and will include some simplex names (e. g. *Haigh*, *Haulgh*, *Quy*) where these also figure commonly as initial elements or have not occurred in the previous list.

As the (very few) phonetically problematic words indicating size, purpose, location, etc., will be included in one or other of these lists (e. g. *Bois*), along with any problem names resisting standard classification (like *Hall-i'-th'-Wood*), these two lists will effectively cover the cases classified semantically above as types 1, 2, 3(i) and 3(iv).

List C will be of place-names incorporating family or personal names or titles of the type classified above in 3(ii) (e. g. *Lyme Regis*, *Buckland Monachorum*, *Shipton Bellinger*, *Combe Raleigh*).

List D will be of place-names incorporating the names of saints, as classified above in 3(iii) (e. g. *St. Budeaux*, *Newton St. Cyres*, *Hoo St. Werburgh*).

Names will appear in those lists appropriate for the part or parts of the name presenting difficulty and consequently a certain amount of duplication is inevitable. Thus *Melton Mowbray* will appear only in List C and *Quy*

in List B, but *Combe Raleigh* will figure in Lists A, B and C, since *Combe* is a name which can be a simplex, a first element or a final element, offering several pronunciation alternatives, and the personal name *Raleigh* also offers variants of pronunciation. Likewise, *Halstead* will be found in List A and List B, since the initial element HAL- is rendered [hæɫ-] in some names and [hɔ:l-] in others, while -STEAD is realised sometimes as [-sted] and sometimes as [-stɪd].

The breakdown into elements, especially in Lists A and B, will be found to follow the vagaries of spelling rather than phonological or etymological criteria. Thus *Wantage*, *Hathersage* and *Breage* will all appear under -AGE in List A, although of quite different derivation and pronunciation. The first, according to *Eckwall* is from OE *wanotingc broc*, 'intermittent stream', the second from OE *haefers-ecg*, 'ridge of the he-goat' and the third, a simplex, is probably an old Cornish saint's-name. However, for the elucidation of their pronunciation (respectively, the endings are [-ɪdʒ], [-eɪdʒ] and [-eɪg] or [-i:g]) they can be conveniently grouped under -AGE, which is where a reader interested in sounds rather than etymologies would be more likely to look. The same reasoning lies behind the inclusion of *Breage* in List A, its origin as a saint's-name not being apparent from inspection (it also comes in Lists B and D for good measure).

In each list, every entry starts with the more common ways in which the element under consideration is pronounced, the most irregular forms being left till last. Thus for -ASH, *Saltash* [sɔ:l'tæʃ] comes first and *Prinknash* ['prɪndʒ] last.

The four lists which make up the bulk of this paper, together with my concluding comments, will be presented in instalments. A full bibliography will appear at the end of the final instalment. I would like, however, to thank at this stage the various people who have so far provided information to help me. It seems invidious to mention only a few, nevertheless I am specially obliged to my mother, Mrs N.B. Powell of Carshalton, Surrey (for information on that place-name), to the Rev. Graham Emery (for data

on place-names in Staffordshire, Northumberland and elsewhere), to Mr Edward Light (for details of place-names chiefly in the West Country), to Mr Edward Costigan (for advice on place-names in Cornwall) and to Miss Y. Morita of the British Council Kyoto Centre for finding me reference books and helping me look for the locations of *Althorp* and *Avishays*. With all this help from books and people, any mistakes lurking in this paper are acknowledged as my own responsibility.

List A

Final Elements and Simplex Names which May Appear as Final Elements

- ACRE This is [eɪkə] in *Acre* (Norf.) and *Long Acre* (the street in London) (neither in BBC) and in the final in *Benacre* ['beneɪkə] (Suff.), but [-əkə] in *Gatacre* (Shrops.), *Gateacre* (Mer.), both ['gætəkə], *Linacre* (Cams.)
- AGE The commonest form appears to be [-ɪdʒ] as in *Wollage Green* (Kent) and *Wantage* (Oxon.) Other realisations are found in *Hathersage* (Derby.) ['hæðəsɛɪdʒ], *Breage* (Corn.) ['breɪg] or ['brɪg] and *Meneage* (Corn.) [mɪ'ni:g] or [mɪ'neɪg].
- AGER *Alsager* (Ches.) [ɔ:l'seɪdʒə] or ['ɔ:lsædʒə].
- AKE *Savernake* (Wilts.) ['sævənæk].
- AKER *Halnaker* (W. Sus.) ['hænəkə]. ('half an acre')
- AL *Gomersal* (W. Yorks.) ['gʊməsəl], *Wirral* (Mer.) ['wɪrəl].
- ALL BBC indicates two common pronunciations: [-ɔ:l] and [-l]. The first is found in *Bothamsall* (Notts.) ['bʊðəmsɔ:l] and *Ecclesall* (S. Yorks.) ['eklɜ:əl] the second in *Balsall* (W. Mid.) ['bɔ:sl] *Camp-sall* (N. Yorks.), *Crundall* (Hants.), *Gnosall* (Staffs.) ['nəʊsl]. *Walsall* (W. Mid.) is given as ['wɔ:sl, 'wɔ:lsɔ:l] or ['wɔ:sl]. (See also -HALL)
- AM Usually [-əm]: *Abram* (G. Man.) ['æbrəm], *Spadeadam* (Cumb.) [speɪd'ædəm], *Wylam* (N'hum.) ['waɪləm]. In the case of -IAM,

the villages of *Bodiam* and *Northiam* (E. Sus.) are given by *BBC* as [ˈbɒdɪəm, ˈnɔːðɪəm] and [ˈnɔːðɪəm]. *Eckwall* and *EPNS* (V) give the first as [ˈbɒdʒəm] and the second as [ˈnɔːdʒəm].

- ARD seems generally to be [-əd]. *BBC* gives *Barnard Castle* (Dur.) [ˈbɑːnəd], *Herriard* (Hants.) [ˈhɛrɪəd] and *Lydiard Park* (Wilts.) [ˈlɪdɪəd]. Nothing is said about the pronunciation of *Rudyard Lake* (Staffs.), however, and in view of the fact that many people pronounce the name of Rudyard Kipling (who was named after the lake) as [ˈrʌdʒɑːd], it is possible that the place-name also has this pronunciation in some idiolects.
- ARGH A Lancashire element, pronounced [-ə] in *Brettargh Holt* [ˈbrɛtə ˈhəʊlt] *Goosnargh* [ˈguːsnə] (*BBC*), [ˈguːznə] (*Eckwall*), *Grimstargh* [ˈgrɪmzə] (*Eckwall*; not in *BBC*).
- ASH As a simplex this is [ˈæʃ] (*Johnston* gives *Ash* as the name of two localities in Kent, two in Somerset and one in Surrey). As a final element, the same pronunciation is found in *Saltash* [sɔːlt ˈæʃ] and *Warsash* [ˈwɔːsæʃ, ˈwɔːzæʃ], (note differing stress) both in Cornwall, but in *Prinknash* (Glos.) we find [ˈprɪnɪdʒ], (See also -WASH)
- ASK [-æsk] in *Matlask* (Norf.) (sic in *Johnston* and *Eckwall*; spelt *Matlaske* in *BBC*).
- AUGH [-ɔː] in *Pettaugh* (Suff.); *Belaugh* (Norf.) is given in *BBC* as [ˈbiːlɑː, ˈbiːlɔː, ˈbiːləʊ, ˈbiːluː]; *Bylaugh*, also Norf., as [ˈbiːlɑː, ˈbiːləʊ ˈbaɪlɑː, ˈbaɪləʊ]. (See also -HAUGH)
- AULT *Hainault* (Ess.) [ˈheɪnɔːt].
- AVON As a simplex and as a final element, usually [eɪvən]: *Stratford-upon-Avon* (War.), *Upavon* (Wilts.) [ˈʌpeɪvən]. However, the *River Avon* in Dev. is [ˈævən].
- BACH [-bætʃ] in *Comberbach* [ˈkʌmbəbætʃ] and *Sandbach* (both Ches.) but note *Debach* (Suff.) [ˈdebɪdʒ].
- BEAR(E) [-bɪə] in *Aylesbeare*, *Shebbear* and *Rockbeare*, all Dev.

- BECH *Wisbech* (Cams.) ['wɪzbitʃ].
- BERGH *BBC* has *Sedbergh* (Cumb.) ['sedbə,'sedbɜ:g]; *Eckwall* only gives the first of these. *BBC* gives *Thrybergh* (W. Yorks.) ['θraɪbə,'θraɪbərə].
- BETH *Lambeth* (Lond.) ['læmbəθ].
- BIGGIN *Newbiggin* (Cumb., Dur., N'hum., not in *BBC*) ['nju:bigɪn].
- BIT *BBC* gives *Cowbit* (Lincs.) ['kʌbɪt]; *BG* rather ambiguously gives the figured pronunciation 'Coubbit'.
- BOIS ['bɔɪz] in *Chesham Bois* (Bucks.) ['tʃesəm'bɔɪz]. Otherwise *BBC* and *Eckwall* give *Cambois* (N'hum.) ['kæməs] (*BBC* also gives ['kæmɪs]) and *Great* and *Little Hautbois* (Ess.) ['hɒbɪs].
- BORN [-bən] in *Holborn* (Lond.) ['həʊbən] or ['həʊlən].
- BOROUGH This very common English element exists as a simplex in the old popular name for *Southwark: the Borough* ['bʌrə]. As a final element it normally has two weak vowels: [-bərə] in *Attleborough* (Norf.), *Loughborough* (Leics.) ['lʌfbərə], *Stallingborough* (Lincs.) ['stɑ:lɪŋbərə].
- BOURNE There is hesitation between [-bɔ:n] and [-bɜ:n] *Cabourne* (Lincs.) ['keɪbɔ:n], *Church* and *Cow Honeybourne* (Glos.) ['hʌnɪbɔ:n]. but *Shipbourne* (Kent) ['ʃɪbɜ:n] and *Weybourne* (Norf.) ['webɜ:n]. *BBC* gives *Faulkbourne* (Ess.) as ['fɔ:bɜ:n] or ['fɔ:bɔ:n].
- BOW *Barnbow* (W. Yorks.) [bɑ:n'bəʊ].
- BROKE [-brʊk] in *Ladbroke* (Warw.) (given as *Ladbrooke* by *Eckwall*) *Ladbroke Grove* (Lond.) and *Pembroke College* (Oxford).
- BROUGH An East Midlands and Northern version of *burgh/borough*. Usually [-brə,-bərə] as in *Aldbrough* (Hum.), *Conisbrough* (S. Yorks.) ['kɒnɪsbərə] *Masbrough* (S. Yorks.) ['mæzərə]. Further North the pronunciation is [-brʌf] in *Hemingbrough* (N. Yorks.) and *Newbrough* (N'hum.), but *Middlesbrough*

- (Cleve.) is [-brə].
- BURGH ['bʌrə] as a simplex: *Burgh-le-Marsh* (Lincs.) ['bʌrə lə 'mɑ:ʃ], *Burgh Heath* (Sur.) (also ['bɜ:]); as a final element usually [-bərə]: *Aldeburgh* (Suff.) ['ɔlbərə], *Grundisburgh* (Suff.) ['grʌndzərə], *Southburgh* (Norf.: not in BBC), *Yarburgh* (Lincs.). This spelling and pronunciation of the element, which is cognate with -BOROUGH, are both common in the East of England. Note the irregular pronunciation of *Bawburgh* (Norf.) ['beɪbə], which BBC shows as coexisting with the regular ['bɔ:bərə]. Note also *Winfrith Newburgh* (Dor.) ['wɪnfrɪθ 'nju:bɜ:g]. In the North of England -BURGH appears as [-brʌf] in *Burgh-by-Sands* (Cum.) and *Carrawburgh Fort* (N'hum.) on the Roman Wall; it may be pronounced this way in other places as well. (See also Lists B and D.)
- BURY As a simplex this is ['berɪ]: *Bury* (G. Man.), *Bury St. Edmunds* (Suff.), the first vowel weakens in final elements: *Albury* (Sur.) ['ɔ:lbəri], *Westbury* (Wilts.; not in BBC).
- CAR A North-eastern final element. [-kɑ:] in *Elsecar* (W. Yorks.) ['elsɪkɑ:], *Ravenscar* (N. Yorks.), *Redcar* (Cleve.)
- CASTER A widely-found final element (from Latin *castra*; cf. -CESTER, -CHESTER); usually [-kæstə] as in *Lancaster* (Lancs.), *Muncaster* (Cum., not in BBC), *Ancaster* (Lincs.). BBC gives *Tadcaster* (N. Yorks.) as ['tædkæstə]; I suspect the [æ] represents Northern rather than RP usage and it is certainly common in local pronunciations of Northern places with this element. *Eckwall* indicates that -CASTER is only found in the North and East.
- CASTLE [kɑ:sl] as a simplex and as a final element: note that while *Newcastle-under-Lyme* (Staffs) is stressed ['nju:kɑ:sl], *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Tyne) is locally stressed on the second syllable. BBC gives it as ['nju:kɑ:sl] or [nju:'kæsl], in defe-

rence to the local broad A. *BBC* rather surprisingly gives *Boscastle* (Corn) as either [ˈbɒskɑːsl] or [ˈbɒskæsl]; the latter is unexpected so far south.

- CAWEN *Boscawen* (Corn.) [bəsˈkəʊən].
- CAY *Billericay* (Ess.) [bɪləˈrɪkɪ].
- CESTER Usually [-stə]; *Alcester* (War.) [ˈɔːlstə], *Bicester* (Oxon.) [ˈbɪstə], *Gloucester* (Glos.) [ˈglʊstə], *Worcester* (Here.) [ˈwɔːstə]. *BBC* has *Cirencester* (Glos.) [ˈsaɪərənsɛstə] or [ˈsɪsɪtə] and comments: 'The latter, although no longer commonly heard, has not entirely disappeared from use. For some, it is particularly associated with one of the older spellings, *Ciceter*.' *BL* says that it is locally called [ˈsaɪərən].
- CEUX *Herstmonceux* (E. Sus.) [ˌhɜːstmənˈsjuː] or [ˌhɜːstmənˈsuː].
- CHAMP [-tʃəm] in *Beauchamp Roding* (Ess.) [ˈbiːtʃəmˈrəʊdɪŋ]; [-fəm] in *Belchamp Otton* (Suff.) [ˈbɛlfəmˈɒtən]. Curiously, *BBC* gives the neighbouring village of *Belchamp St. Pauls* as [ˈbɛlfəmp]. It does not list *Belchamp Walter*.
- CHESTER As a simplex, [ˈtʃɛstə]: *Chester* (Ches.), *Chester-le-Street* (Dur.). As a final element, the usual form is [-tʃɪstə]: *Chichester* (W. Sus., not in *BBC*) [ˈtʃɪtʃɪstə], *Porchester* (Hants., not in *BBC*), *Grantchester* (Cams.) [ˈgrɑːntʃɪstə] or [ˈgræntʃɪstə], *Winchester* (Hants.) [ˈwɪntʃɪstə]. Although *BBC* does not state this, in many RP idiolects the realisation is *Chichester* [ˈtʃɪtʃɛstə] etc. *Manchester* (G. Man.) is either [ˈmæntʃɪstə] or [ˈmæntjɛstə], the second form showing the influence of Northern dialect, even though it may be used by RP speakers. *Godmanchester* (Cams.) [ˈɡɒdmənˈtʃɛstə] has the full value to the vowel on account of stress. The Rev. G. Emery tells me that a pronunciation of archaic origin, [ˈɡʌmpstə], may exist or have existed, and this is borne out by an earlier form of the name recorded in *EPNS* (III, p. 256).

- CHIEF *Beauchief* (Derby.) ['bi:tʃɪf]. (This name, which means 'beautiful hill or headland' in Norman French, is the same as that of *Beachy Head* (E. Sus.) ['bi:tʃɪ].)
- CHILD *Bapchild* (Kent) ['bæptʃɑɪld].
- CLERE *Burghclere* ['bɜ:kliə], *Highclere* ['haɪkliə], *Kingsclere* ['kɪŋzkleə], all in Hants. (only the first is in *BBC*).
- CLES *Eccles* (G. Man.) ['eklz], *Beccles* (Suff.) ['beklz] (neither in *BBC*).
- CLEUGH *Catcleugh Shin* ['kætklɪf] or ['kætklɪf], a hill in N'hum.
- CLIFFE Normally [-klɪf] as in *Highcliffe* (Dor.), but *BBC* lists *Trottiscliffe* (Kent) as ['trɒtɪsklɪf] or ['troslɪ].
- CLOUGH A common element or simplex in the North. Usually [klɪf] as in *Clough* (N. Yorks.), *Hollinsclough* (Staffs, not in *BBC*). *BBC* gives *Oakenclough* (Lancs.) as ['əʊkənklju:], ['əʊkənkləʊ] or ['əʊkənklɪf]. (See also List B.)
- COLN *Lincoln* (Lincs.) ['lɪŋkən].
- COMB(E) ['ku:m] as a simplex, [-kəm] as a final element. *Combe Down*, *Combe Hay*, *Monkton Combe* ['mɒŋktən 'ku:m], all in Avon, *Combe Florey* ['ku:m 'flɔ:rɪ] and *Combe Raleigh* ['ku:m 'rɑ:lɪ, 'ræɪɪ] or ['rɔ:lɪ], both in Devon, and many others exemplify the simplex form. *Chilcomb* (Hants.), *Balcombe* (W. Sus.), *Chettiscombe* (Dev.) ['tʃetɪskəm] or ['tʃeskəm], *Winchcombe* (Glos.) show the pronunciation of the element in final position. Only the last three of these are given in *BBC*.
- COT(T) [-kət] in *Charlcott* (Shrops.), *Didcot* (Oxon.), *Prescot* (Lancs.) (none in *BBC*).
- COTE [-kət] in *Codicote* (Herts.) ['kɒdɪkət] *Condicote* (Oxon.) ['kɒndɪkət], *Wilnecote* (Staffs.) ['wɪlnɪkət] or ['wɪnkət]; but [-kəʊt] in *Charlcote Park* (War.)
- COTES [-kəʊts] in *Bevercotes* (N'hants.) ['bevəkəʊts] and *Somercotes* (Derby.) ['sɒməkəʊts].

- COUGH [-kəʊ] in *Burscough* ['bɜːskəʊ] and *Myerscough* ['maɪəskəʊ], both in Lanes.
- DALE Usually [-deɪl], as in *Langdale* (Cum.) and *Swaledale* (N. Yorks.) (neither of these is in *BBC*). Note, however, *Long-sleddale* (Cumb.), given in *BBC* as [lɒŋ'slɪdl] and in *EPNS* (Vol. VIII) as locally [lɑŋ'sledl]. This is a Northern place-name element of Scandinavian origin, but sometimes appears further south apparently with standard pronunciation, as in *Botesdale* (Suff., not in *BBC*).
- DEL [-dl] in *Adel* (W. Yorks.) ['ædl] and *Arundel* (W. Sus.) ['ærəndl].
- DEN Usually [-dɛn] as in *Bethersden* (Kent) ['beðəzden] and *Morden* (Lond.). In some areas of Kent and E. Sus. there is (or used to be) a tendency to give strong stress and a full value to the vowel of -DEN; *BBC* lists *Benenden* (Kent) as ['benəndɛn] or [benən'dɛn]; 'the latter is rarely heard now.' Also *Cooden* (E. Sus.) ['kuːdɛn] or [ku:'dɛn], *Smarden* (Kent) ['smɑːdɛn] or [smɑ:'dɛn]. A very irregular case is *Chaddesden* (Derby.) ['tʃædzdɛn] or ['tʃædzɛn].
- DESERT A Norman French element. *Beaudesert Park* (Staffs.) ['bəʊdɪzɛə]. *BBC* also gives *Beaudesert* [bəʊ'deɪzət, bəʊdɪ'zɛə] or ['belzə], but this probably refers to a village in War.
- DETH *Bewaldeth* (Cum.) [bjʊ:'ældəθ].
- DOCK [-dək] in *Braddock* and *Ladock* (Corn.) but [-dɒk] in *Haydock* (Mer.)
- DON [dɒn] in the simplex *River Don* (S. Yorks.) but otherwise [-dɛn] *Bladon* (Oxon., Som.) ['bleɪdɛn], *Wimbledon* (Lond.).
- DOR *Dinedor* (Here.) ['daɪn'dɔː].
- DOUGH *Snabdough*, a mountain in Cum. ['snæbdɒf]
- DOUR *Chyandour* (Corn.) ['ʃaɪəndəʊə, 'tʃaɪəndəʊə].

- DULPH *Biddulph* (Staffs.) is given as [ˈbɪdɪɫf] in *BBC* but [ˈbɪdl] in *Eckwall*. *Landulph* (Corn) is [læɪn ˈdɪɫf], with typical Cornish stress-pattern.
- EAT *Bozeat* (N’hants.) [ˈbəʊzɪət] (*BBC*), [ˈbəʊzət] (*EPNS* (X)). *Exceat* (E. Sus.) [ˈɛksɪ:t].
- EL Often with syllabic *l*: *Crichel Down* (Dor.) [ˈkrɪtʃl ˈdaʊn], *Tintagel* (Corn) [tɪn ˈtædʒl]. As [əl] in *Withiel* and *Lostwithiel*, both in Corn., [lɒst ˈwɪθɪəl]. *BBC* does not mention *Withiel Florey* (Som.), but from the derivation given in *Eckwall* one might expect the pronunciation to be like that of the Cornish examples.
- ERGH *Mansergh* [ˈmænzə] and *Sizergh* [ˈsaɪzə], both in Cum. The former can also be pronounced [ˈmænsə] or [ˈmænsɜ:dʒ], according to *BBC*.
- ERNE [-ɜ:n] in *Crewkerne* (Som.) and *Pimperne* (Dor.), but [-ən] in *Iwerne Courtney* (Dor.) [ˈju:wən ˈkə:tɪnɪ].
- ETER These days appears to be regularly [-ɪtə] in *Exeter* (Dev.), *Wroxeter* (Shrops., not in *BBC*) [ˈrɒksɪtə] *Uttoxeter* (Staffs.) [ju:ˈtɒksɪtə]. *BBC* also gives the last as [ʌˈtɒksɪtə] and [ˈʌksɪtə] and says ‘there are other less common variants.’ *Eckwall* gives [ˈʌksɪtə] and [ˈʌtʃɪtə]. The Rev. Graham Emery, a Staffordshire man, tells me that now probably ‘only a few ancients’ use [ˈʌtʃɪtə]. Apparently the use of [ʌˈtɒksɪtə] by a *BBC* announcer during the Second World War caused ‘headshaking in Staffordshire’ but perhaps it has now achieved respectability.
- ETT *Brenzett* (Kent) [ˈbrɛnzɪt].
- EY [-ɪ] in *Binsey* (Oxon.) [ˈbɪnzɪ] and *Surrey*, but [-eɪ] in the London Borough of *Haringey* [ˈhæɪɪŋɡeɪ].
- FANT *Rowfant* (W. Sus., not in *BBC*) [ˈrəʊfənt].
- FIELD Universally [-fiəld]; I have already mentioned the *EPNS*(VII)

- local pronunciation of Heathfield, which may still be in use, though probably not by speakers of RP: ['hefl].
- FOLD [-fəʊld] in *Alfold* ['ɔ:lfeʊld, 'ælfəʊld, 'ɑ:fəʊld], *Chiddingfold*, *Dunsfold*, all in Sur., and *Slinfold* (W. Sus.) (Only the first of these is in *BBC*).
- FOLK [-fək] in the county name *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, but [-fəʊk] in the name of the village of *Freefolk* (Hants., not in *BBC*).
- FONT [-fɒnt] in *Urchfont* (Wilts.) [ːɜ:tʃfɒnt] and in *Mottisfont* (Hants., not in *BBC*), but weakened in *Chalfont St. Giles* (Herts.) ['tʃælfənt] or ['tʃɑ:fənt].
- FORD ['fɔ:d] as a simplex: *Ford* (W. Sus. and many other counties); *Old Ford* (Lond.); also in *Andoversford* (Glos.) ['ændəʊvəz-fɔ:d]. Otherwise [-fəd] as a final element: *Chelmsford* (Ess.) ['tʃəlmzfeɪd] or ['tʃemzfeɪd], *Oxford* (Oxon.), *Stafford* (Staffs.) etc.
- FORTH Appears mostly as [-fɔ:θ]: *Ampleforth* (N. Yorks.), *Seaforth* (Mer., not in *BBC*). However, *EPNS* (XXXIV) gives *Spofforth* (N. Yorks.) ['spɒfəθ].
- FRACT These days, *Pontefract* (N. Yorks.) is pronounced ['pɒntɪfrækt], but *BBC* gives ['pʌmfrɪt] or ['pɒmfrɪt] as 'an old local form, which survives in the name of the liquorice sweets known as Pomfret cakes.' *Eckwall* gives ['pɒntɪfrækt] 'locally ['pʌmfrɪt].'
- FYLDE *The Fylde* ['faɪld], a district of Lancs., appears in a number of local place-names, e.g. *Poulton-le-Fylde* ['pu:ltn læ 'faɪld], *Thornton-le-Fylde*.
- GAN *Wigan* (G. Man.) ['wɪgən].
- GAR *Ongar* (Ess.) is ['ɒŋgɑ:], but I suspect that *Binegar* (Som.) is ['bɪnəgə], though it is not mentioned in *BBC*.
- GATE(S) *Margate* and *Ramsgate*, both in Kent, have [-geɪt], but *Highgate* (Lond.) is ['haɪgɪt] or ['haɪgeɪt]. Whether the same

- alternative existed for the old London prison of *Newgate* I do not know. *Oakengates* (Shrops., not in *BBC*) is [ˈəʊkəŋeɪtɪs].
- GEO *Bengeo* (Herts.) [ˈbendʒəʊ]. This must sound strange to Japanese people.
- GER [-dʒə] in *Abinger* (Sur.) [ˈæbɪndʒə] and *Bovinger* (Ess.) [ˈbʊvɪndʒə]. [-gə] in *Clehonger* (*Here.*) [ˈkleŋgə].
- GEST [-dʒɪst] in *Fingest* (Bucks.) [ˈfɪndʒɪst] and [-gɪst] in *Her-ge-st Ridge* (*Here.*) [ˈhɑːgɪst ˈrɪdʒ].
- GILL Always [-gɪl] as in *Gaisgill* [ˈgeɪzɡɪl] and *Sleagill* [ˈsliːgɪl], (only the first is in *BBC*).
- HALE *Finchale Priory* (Dur.) is [ˈfɪnkl].
- HALGH *Greenhalgh* (Lancs.) [ˈgriːnhælʃ] or [ˈgriːnhɔːlʃ]. (*BBC* also lists a place-name *Fernyhalgh* [ˈfɜːnɪhɒf] or [ˈfɜːnɪhælʃ], but I have not been able to find whether it is in England.)
- HALL This element shows some variety in pronunciation. The H may or may not be pronounced, a preceding S may be pronounced [ʃ] and sometimes the whole element is elided to a syllabic *l*. Here are some of the principal realisations:
- [-hɑːl]: *Chrishall* (Ess.) [ˈkrɪʃhɑːl], *Courteenhall* (N'hants., in *Eckwall*, not *BBC*) [ˈkɔːtnhɑːl], *Mildenhall* (Suff.) [ˈmɪldənhɑːl].
- [-ɔːl]: *Asthall* (Oxon.) [ˈæstɔːl], *Benthall* (Shrops.) [ˈbentɔːl] or [ˈbenθɔːl] *Buxhall* (Suff.) [ˈbʌksɔːl].
- [-l] *Benhall* (Suff.) [ˈbenl], *Broughall* (Shrops.) [ˈbrʌfl], *Great and Little Saughall* (Ches.) [ˈsɔːkl].
- SHALL=[-shɑːl]: *Tivetshall St. Margaret and St. Mary* (Suff.) [ˈtɪvɪtʃhɑːl].
- SHALL=[-ʃl]: *Coggeshall* (Ess.) [ˈkɒɡɪʃl] (or [ˈkɒksl]), *Gomshall* (Sur.) [ˈgɒmʃl] or [ˈgʌmʃl], *Ludgershall* (Wilts.) [ˈlʌdʒəʃl] or [ˈlʌgəʃl]

-SHALL=[-ʃl] or [-ʃɔ:l]: *Eccleshall* (Staffs.) ['eklʃl] or ['eklʃɔ:l]. *Coltishall* (Norf.) is ['kəʊltɪsl, 'kəʊltɪʃl, 'kəʊltɪsɔ:l, 'kəʊlsɪ].

BBC says that *Mildenhall* (Wilts.) is sometimes pronounced ['mɪldənɦɔ:l] and sometimes ['maɪnɔ:l], in which case it is spelt *Minal*.

-HAM This element offers similar complications to those of -HALL. The H is sometimes pronounced, sometimes silent, and preceding elements may be modified. The following analysis is suggested: it is by no means exhaustive.

Simplex: ['hæm]: *Ham* (Dev., Glos., Kent, Lond. near *Richmond*, Som., Wilts.), *East* and *West Ham* (Lond.).

Final: [-əm]: *Aldenham* (Herts.) ['ɔ:ldnəm], *Alkham* (Kent) ['ɔ:lkəm] or ['ɔ:kəm], *Ashburnham* (E. Sus.) ['æʃbɜ:nəm], *Balham* (Lond. not in *BBC*) ['bæləm], *Padiham* (Lancs.) ['pædɪəm], *Westerham* (Kent, not in *BBC*) ['westrəm].

-GHAM=[-fəm]: *Hargham* (Norf.) ['hɑ:fəm], *Ulgham* (N'hum.) ['ʌfəm].

-PHAM=[-fəm]: *Burgham* (Sur., W. Sus., not in *BBC*) ['bɜ:fəm], *Reepham* (Lincs. Norf.) ['ri:fəm].

-PHAM=[-pəm]: *Meopham* (Kent) ['mepəm], *Wepham* (W. Sus., not in *BBC*) ['wepəm].

-PHAM=[-fəm] or [-pəm]: *Deopham* (Norf.) ['di:fəm, 'di:pəm].

-SHAM=[-səm]: *Abbotsham* (Dev.) ['æbət səm], *Bisham* (Bucks.) ['bɪsəm], *Sidlesham* (W. Sus.) ['sɪdlsəm].

-SHAM=[-fəm]: *Amersham* (Bucks.) ['æməʃəm], *Bottisham* (Cambs.) ['bɒtɪʃəm], *Garboldisham* (Norf.) ['gɑ:blʃəm].

- SHAM=[-ʃəm] or [-səm]; *Chesham* (Bucks.) [ˈtʃeʃəm, ˈtʃe.səm], *Blunisham* (Cambs.) [ˈblʌntɪʃəm, ˈblʌntɪ.səm].
- SHAM=[-zəm]: *Bosham* (W. Sus.) [ˈbʊzəm], *Mersham* (Kent, BG only) [ˈmɜːzəm].
- THAM=[-təm]: *Merstham* (Sur.) [ˈmɜːstəm].
- THAM=[θəm]: *Grantham* (Lincs.) [ˈgrænθəm].
- THAM=[təm] or [θəm]: *Altham* (Lancs.) [ˈɔːltəm, ˈɔːlθəm], *Bishops Waltham* (Hants.) [ˈbɪʃəps ˈwɔːltəm, ˈwɔːlθəm], *Whelnetham* (Suff.) [welˈniːθəm, ˈwelnetəm].
- Other irregulars: *Altrincham* (G. Man.) [ˈɔːltrɪŋəm], *Averham* (Notts.) [ˈɛərəm], *Babraham* (Cambs.) [ˈbæɪbrəm], *Boultham* (Lincs.) [ˈbuːtəm] or [ˈbuːðəm], *Brougham* (Cum.) [ˈbruːm], *Offham* (E. Sus.) [ˈɒfəm].

A further special category deserves attention: that of place-names ending in -INGHAM. There are very many of these and there are three ways of pronouncing them:

- [-ɪŋəm]: *Birmingham* (W. Mid.) [ˈbɜːmɪŋəm], *Buckingham* (Bucks.) and most other places with this ending, including *Chillingham* (N'hum.).
- [-ɪndʒəm]: Other localities in N'hum., including *Bellingham*, *Edlingham*, *Eglingham* [ˈegɪndʒəm], *Ellingham*, *Eltringham*, *Whittingham*.
- Special case: *Whittingham* (Lancs.) [ˈwɪtɪŋhəm].

The alternative popular name for *Birmingham*, *Brummagem*, is still occasionally heard and is pronounced [ˈbrʌmɪdʒəm]. It is related to *Bromwich* [ˈbrʊmɪtʃ], and the north-west area of the city is still officially called *West Bromwich*.

-HAMPSTEAD *BBC* gives the simplex as [ˈhæmpstɪd] or [ˈhæmpsted]:

Hampstead (Lond.). *Sulhampstead Abbots* and *Bannister* (Berks.) are given as [sʌl 'hæmpstɪd]. The same applies to *Moretonhampstead* (Dev., not in *BBC*) ['mɔ:tən 'hæmpstɪd]. Back in Berks., note that *Hampstead Norris* (not in *BBC*) is neighboured by *Ashampstead* ['æʃəmsted].

-HAMPTON There is free variation between [nɔ:'θæmptən] and ['nɔ:θ'hæmptən] *Northampton* (N'hants.); similarly for *Southampton* (Hants.). In other names the H is usually pronounced: *Roehampton* (Lond.) [rəʊ'hæmptən], *Minchinhampton* (Glos. not in *BBC*) ['mɪntʃɪn, hæmptən].

The H is also kept when the name occurs as a simplex as in *Hampton Court* (Lond.), *Hampton-in-Arden* (W. Mid.).

-HANGER *Betteshanger* (Kent) ['betʃhæŋə], *Moggerhanger* (Beds.) ['mɔʊəhæŋə], *Westenhanger* (Kent, not in *BBC*). *Chaddlehanger* (Dev.) is traditionally ['tʃæliŋə] (*BBC*, *EPNS* (VIII)) or the modern spelling-pronunciation ['tʃædlhæŋə].

-HAUGH Both as a simplex and as a final element, this offers diversities of pronunciation:

[hʊf]: *Blaydon Haughs* (Tyne) ['hʊfs]. The Rev. Graham Emery, who now lives in the area, tells me that *Humshaugh*, and perhaps other places in N'hum., can have the same pronunciation. *BBC* gives *Hums-haugh* ['hʌmzɦɑ:f] and *Pauperhaugh* ['pɔ:pəɦɑ:f] and makes no mention of other N'hum. names of this type, such as *Broomhaugh*, *Rotherhaugh*. Perhaps [-hʊf] and [-ɦɑ:f] are both possible.

[hɔ:f]: *Nether and Upper Haugh* (S. Yorks.)

[hɔ:]: *Haugh* (Lincs.), *Thornhaugh* (Cambs.)

A totally irregular pronunciation is that of *Ashmanhaugh* (Norf.) ['æʃ'mænə]. (See also List B.)

- HAVEN *Newhaven* (E. Sus.) ['nju:heɪvən].
- HAVERN *Goonhavern* (Corn.) [gə'nævən, gu:n'hævən].
- HAY H is sometimes pronounced, sometimes not. *Cotmanhay* (Notts.) is ['kɒtmənheɪ], *Fotheringhay* (Cambs.) is ['fʊðərɪŋheɪ], but *BBC* points out that the Castle, where Mary Queen of Scots was executed, is usually referred to as ['fʊðərɪŋgeɪ]. *Idridgehay* (Derby.) is ['aɪdrɪdʒheɪ] or ['ɪðɪseɪ]. *Brathay* (Lancs., Cumb., not in *BBC*) is ['breɪθeɪ], according to *Eckwall*. The Cumb. river *Rothay* is ['rʊθeɪ].
- HAY(E) S *Avishays* (Dev.) ['ævɪsheɪz]. *BBC* says that while the historic house is spelt and pronounced in this way, the modern housing estate is usually spelt *Avishayes* ['ævɪsheɪz] or ['ævɪʃeɪz].
- HEAD The H is apparently always pronounced: *Birkenhead* (Mer.) [ˌbɜ:kən'hed], *Cadishead* (G. Man.) ['kædɪzhed], *Portishead* (Avon) ['pɔ:tɪshed]. *Neatishead* (Norf.) is ['ni:tɪshed] to the personnel at the RAF Station and ['ni:tstɪd] to the villagers (*BBC*).
- HED The derivation of *Shepshed* (Lancs., Leics.) from 'sheep's head' ought to give a pronunciation ['ʃepshed] or ['ʃepsed], but I can find no evidence on the subject.
- HEIM Only found to my knowledge in *Blenheim Palace* (Oxon.) ['blenəm].
- HELE *Hele* (Dev.) ['hi:l]; *Cotehele House* (Corn.) [kə'ti:l, kət'hi:l].
- HEY *Oxhey* (Herts.) ['ɒksheɪ].
- HIDE *Piddletrenthide* (Dor.) [ˌpɪdl 'trentaɪd].
- HILL The H is sometimes pronounced, sometimes not. As with -HALL and -HAM, a preceding S may be assimilated to give [ʃ] in pronunciation. [hɪl]: all simplexes: *Mill Hill* (Lond.) etc. Also *Redhill*

(Sur.), which was written *Red Hill* until early this century ['redhɪl] (not in *BBC*).

[-ɪl]: *Ashill* (Dev., Norf., Som.) ['æʃɪl], *Haverhill* (Suff.) ['heɪvrɪl], *Poughill* (Corn.) ['pʊfɪl] or ['pʌfɪl], *Poughill* (Dev.) ['pəʊɪl].

[-hɪl] or [ɪl]: *Sedgehill* (Wilts.) ['sedʒhɪl] or ['sedʒɪl].

-HITHE

Rotherhithe (Lond., not in *BBC*) ['rʊðəhaɪð].

-HO(E)

Again, H may or may not be pronounced. In addition, the vowel may be realised as [əʊ] or [u:].

[-həʊ]: *Aynho* (N'hants.) ['eɪnhəʊ], *Fingringhoe* (Ess.) ['fɪŋrɪŋhəʊ], *Ivinghoe* (Bucks. not in *BBC*) ['aɪvɪŋhəʊ], *Wivenhoe* (Ess.) ['wɪvənəʊ].

[-əʊ]: *Stanhoe* (Norf.) ['stænəʊ].

[-həʊ] or [-əʊ]: *Cogenhoe* (N'hants.) ['kʊkənəʊ] or ['kəʊgənəʊ], *Prudhoe* (N'hum.) ['prʌdəʊ] or ['prʌdhəʊ].

[-hu:]: *Piddinghoe* (E. Sus.) [ɪpɪdɪŋ'hu:] (note typical E. Sus. final stress).

-HOLE

Mousehole (Corn.) ['maʊzl].

-HOLM(E)

This element behaves in a similar fashion to -HALL and -HAM and -HILL:

[-həʊm]: *Axholme* (Lincs.), *Bromholm* (Norf.) ['brʊmhəʊm] *Carholme* (Lincs.), *Denholme* (W. Yorks.)

[-əm]: *Barholm* (Lincs.) ['bærəm], *Dunholm* (Lincs.), *Marholm* (Cams.) ['mærəm].

Conisholme (Lincs.) is given by *BBC* as ['kɒnɪʃəʊm], 'kɒnɪʒhəʊm] or ['kɒnɪʃəʊm].

-HOLT

['həʊlt] as a simplex: *Lion's Holt* (Dev., not in *BBC*). The same in *Chittlehamholt* (Dev.) ['tʃɪtl̩mhəʊlt]. -SHOLT = [-ʃəʊlt] in *Sparsholt* (Hants.) and [-ʃɒlt] in *Eversholt* (Beds.), according to *BBC*. *EPNS* (Vol. III) gives this

- last as ['evəsɔ:l].
- HOPE Usually [-əp]: *Ryhope* (Tyne) ['raɪəp] and *Stanhope* (Dur.) ['stænəp].
BBC gives ['kɒnəp] and ['kəʊvənəp] as alternatives for *Covenhope* (Here.)
- HORNE *Ashorne* (Warw.) ['æʃhɔ:n].
- HOW *Carlinghow* (W. Yorks.) ['kɑ:lɪŋhəʊ], but *Torpenhow* (Cum.) ['trɪpənə] or ['tɔ:pənəʊ].
- HUISH ['hju:ɪʃ] as a simplex: *Huish* (Dev., Wilts.), *Huish Champflower* (Som., not in *BBC*) ['hju:ɪʃ 'tʃæmpflaʊə].
Hardenhuish (Wilts.) ['hɑ:nɪʃ] and *Melhuish* (Dev., not in *BBC* as a place-name) ['melɪʃ] (*EPNS*(IX)).
- HULL ['hʌl] as a simplex: *Hull* (Hum.), the full name of the city being *Kingston-upon-Hull*. The same in *Solithull* (W. Mid.) [ˌsəʊlɪ 'hʌl]. However, *Minshull Vernon* (Ches.) is ['mɪnʃl 'vɜ:nən].
- HULME *Hulme End* (Staffs.) ['hju:m, 'hu:m], *Hulme* (G. Man., Mer) ['hju:m], *Levenshulme* (G. Man.) ['levənʒhju:m].
- HUNT H pronounced in *Tolleshunt Major*, *Knights* and *Darcy*, three villages in Ess.: ['təʊlʒhʌnt]; optional in *Boarhunt* (Hants.) ['bɔ:hʌnt] or ['bɔ:rənt], *Chadshunt* (Warw.) ['tʃædzhʌnt] or ['tʃædzʌnt]. H not pronounced in *Cheshunt* (Herts.) ['tʃesənt].
- HURST H normally pronounced, as in *Crowhurst* (Sur., E. Sus.) ['krəʊhɜ:st] and *Staplehurst* (Kent) (neither of these can be found in *BBC*). In spite of misleading spelling, it is pronounced in *Ashurst* (Kent) ['æʃhɜ:st]. Preceding orthographic T sometimes gives [θ] (? a spelling pronunciation) as in *Gathurst* (Lancs.) ['gæθəst] and *Goathurst* (Som.) ['gəʊθɜ:st].
- INGE [-ɪndʒ] in *Lyminge* ['lɪmɪndʒ] *Ruckinge* ['rʌkɪndʒ] and

- other place-names in south-east Kent.
- ISLAND *Barkisland* (W. Yorks.) ['bɑ:kɪslənd, 'bɑ:slənd] and *Eardisland* (Her.) ['ɜ:dzələnd] both contain an Old English genitive - they are nothing to do with islands.
- KEARD [-'kɑ:d] in *Liskeard* (Corn.)
- KNOWLE ['nəʊl] as a simplex, e.g. *Knowle Hill* (Dor.), but otherwise in *Honiknowle* (Dev.) ['hɒnɪknəʊl] and *Puncknowle* (Dor.) ['pʌnl],
- LACH ['lætʃ] in the simplex *Lach Dennis* (Ches.) ['lætʃ 'denɪs], but *Shocklach* (Shrops.) ['ʃɒklɪtʃ].
- LAGH An Irish element, but found in Lond. in *Ranelagh Gardens* ['rænlə].
- LAM Weak vowel, as in *Bedlam* (the old *Bethlem Hospital*, Lond.) ['bedləm] and *Wylam* (N'hum.) ['waɪləm].
- LAND [-lənd] as a final element: *Litherland* (Mer., not in BBC) ['lɪðələnd], *Sunderland* (Tyne) ['sʌndələnd] and former *Westmorland* (now part of Cum.) ['westmələnd].
- LAS *Crowlas* (Corn.) ['kraʊləs].
- LE *Acle* (Norf.) ['eɪkl].
- LEIGH As a simplex, *Eckwall* correctly says that 'the pronunciation varies between ['li:] and ['laɪ].'
 ['laɪ]: *Leigh* (Dor., Kent, Sur.), *Leigh Sinton* (Worcs.)
 ['li:]: *Leigh* (G. Man.), *Church Leigh* (Staffs.), *Leigh Green* (Kent), *Leigh-on-Sea* (Ess.), *Bessels Leigh* (Oxon.)
 ['laɪl or 'li:]: *Leigh-on-Mendip* (Som.).
Great and *Little Leighs* (Ess.) are ['leɪz].
 As a final element, -LEIGH is usually [-lɪ]: *Stockleigh English* and *Pomeroy* (Dev.), *Tyldesley* (G. Man.) ['tɪldzɪlɪ] or ['tɪlzɪlɪ], *Umberleigh* (Dev.) ['ʌmbəlɪ]. However, stress and a full vowel are found in *Buckfastleigh* (Dev.)

- [¹bʌkfa:st¹li:] and *Eastleigh* (Hants.) [¹i:st¹li:].
- LEM [-ləm] in *Audlem* (Ches.) [¹ɔ:dləm] and *Burslem* (Staffs.) [¹bɜ:zləm].
- LET *Hunslet* (W. Yorks.) [¹hʌnslɪt].
- LIEU *Beaulieu* (Hants.) [¹bju:lɪ].
- LISLE *Carlisle* (Cum.) [kɑ:'laɪl] or [¹kɑ:laɪl]. *BBC* says 'The first is national usage; the second is preferred locally.'
- LY In E. Sus. (and some parts of W. Sus. recently transferred from E. Sus.) -LY is stressed and pronounced [-¹laɪ]. Instances are *Ardingly* (W. Sus.) [ˌɑ:dɪŋ¹laɪ], *Chiddingly* [ˌtʃɪdɪŋ¹laɪ], *Hellingly* [ˌhelɪŋ¹laɪ], *East* and *West Hoathly* [həθθ¹laɪ], all in E. Sus. (For last-syllable stress in the region, see -DEN.)
- LYE *Wylye* (Wilts.) [¹waɪlɪ].
- (to be continued)