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

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Some Reasons for Discrepancies between the Spelling and Pronunciation of English Place–Names

It is clear that discrepancies between the way place-names in England are spelt and the way they are pronounced go far beyond the normal vagaries of English orthographic/phonetic latitude, and also that many of these discrepancies can be traced back many hundreds of years. As I pointed out in *Researches* No 19, 1982, p. 4, *Pontefract* (W. Yorks.) has been locally pronounced ['pɒmfrɪt] from time immemorial, while a late 18th century manuscript quoted in A. E. Jones' *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb* shows that the pronunciation [keɪs'hɔ:tən] for *Carshalton* (Lond.), which has only died out in the last sixty years, was in general use 150 years after Blaeu's *Map of Surrey* (1648) was published, although the map already showed the present-day form of the place-name. When we consider how many cases of orthography/pronunciation irregularity have only recently been resolved, usually by the adoption of a spelling pronunciation, we can be confident that in the past there must have been an immense number of such cases and that therefore certain factors must have operated to produce them, perhaps factors which do not operate today. Here I would like to comment on four possible reasons for the discrepancies, and explain why they are unlikely to apply in the future.

1) *The Law of the Least Resistance*—Until the Education Acts of the

nineteenth century began to make an impression, the great majority
of people in England had little or no regular schooling beyond the most
elementary level. and subsequently had little or no need for reading
or writing. In all ages many uneducated people must have pronounced
everyday words according to the traditions of their local dialect and
with no reference to any literary standards. Unfamiliar or long words
must often have been mispronounced in the manner we can see in
Dickens' portrayal of illiterates like Noddy Boffin or Mrs Gamp. But
in the case of everyday language, the language shared more or less
by everyone in England. the existence of a literary standard. however
little regarded, and of educated people, however few, prevented or
reduced the cases where ordinary words would come to be pronounced
in ways which reflected no rule of correspondence to orthography.
Even the extreme cases like the various realisations in speech of *-ough*
can be traced to the rules of their derivation from a limited number
of Old English forms. Why did this system of checks and balances
not apply to Neatishead ['niːtstɪd]. Stiffkey ['st(j)uːkɪ] or Cirencester
['sɪsɪtə] ? Why has Gloucester been pronounced ['glɒstə] since the
Middle Ages? Why is Mildenhall (Suff.) ['mɪldənhɔːl] but Mildenhall
(Wilts.) sometimes ['maɪnɔːl] ? One reason, I believe. is that until
the days of easy travel a locality was only known to its own people and
once a non-standard pronunciation had come to be accepted by the
community there it would impose itself in spite of any official spelling,
so that even educated people would write the name of their town in
one way but pronounce it in another. No doubt Kilvert, the country
parson of the *Diary*, regularly referred to his father's parish as ['haː
nɪʃ] while writing it *Hardenhuish*. To have given it a spelling pron-
unciation when talking with local people would have seemed an
affectation. If a town was large and nationally known, it might in due
course come to have both a local and a national pronunciation, like
Carlisle (Cum.) locally ['kaːlaɪl] but more generally [kaːˈlaɪl] or
Newcastle (Tyne) locally [njuːˈkæsl] but nationally ['njuːkaːsl] or
Heathfield (E. Sus.) locally until recently ['hefl] although ['hiːθfɪəld]

to outsiders.   The local form might become general early in history for such a famous city as *Gloucester* or *Worcester* though now many Americans apparently refer to the famous sauce as [ˌwɔrˈsestəʃaɪər ˈsɔs].

When we come to think about the actual mechanism by which a place-name's local (and perhaps eventually nation-wide) pronunciation came to be different from its orthography, it seems obvious to refer to the 'law of the least resistance', the tendency of most human beings to find the simplest and easiest way of doing something.   In the case of speech, this implies the simplification of consonant-clusters, the elision of whole syllables, vowel changes, metathesis and assimilation of sounds in the interests of ease of pronunciation, the insertion of additional sounds for the same reason.   Here are instances of these tendencies at work in place-names:

Chaddesden (Derby.)   [ˈtʃædzən] - the omission of the [d], which simplifies the consonant-cluster [dzd] dates back to at least the sixteenth century; *EPNS*(XXIX) gives the form *Chadeson* from 1568.

Chaddlehanger (Dev.)   [ˈtʃædlhæŋə] or [ˈtʃælɪŋə] ; *Happisburgh* (Norf.) [ˈheɪzbərə] ; *Cholmondeley* (Ches.) [ˈtʃʌmlɪ].   In these cases complete syllables have been elided.   For the first *EPNS* (VIII) gives a written form *Challinger* from 1708; *EPNS* (XLVII) traces *Cholmondeley* back to the 1086 Domesday Book version *Calmundelei*, deriving ultimately from the Old English 'Ceolmund's *leah*' or clearing.   By 1397 there is a written form *Cholmeley* evidently reflecting a contemporary pronunciation.   By 1420 this is *Chomley*.   That the present written form of this name should still be so close to the original Old English is remarkable given so long a history of a contracted pronunciation.

Happisburgh (Suff.) [ˈheɪzbərə]. In this case the dropping of inter-vocalic [p] from the original name has been accompanied by a change in the vowel from [æ] to [eɪ]. It is worth remarking in this context that Reaney's derivation from 'Hæpping's *burg*' 'fortress of Hæp's people' seems preferable to Eckwall's from 'Hæp's *burg*'. The Old English proper name having become unfamiliar, this would have facili-

tated successive changes, perhaps at first to *[ˈhæpɪzbərə], reflected in the dropping of -ng- from the spelling, and later to [ˈheɪzbərə], a change not accompanied by any orthographic alteration.

Alverdiscott (Dev.). *BBC* says that this is the usual written form of the name and that the pronunciation is [ˌælvəˈdɪskət], but gives another written form *Alscott* pronounced [ˈɔːlskət] as a less usual alternative. *EPNS* VIII gives *Alverdiscott* in Fremington Hundred as being pronounced [ˈɔːlskət] while mentioning another locality in Shebbear Hundred as *Alscott*. Both are derived from 'Ælfred's *cote*' or cottage. Possibly *BBC* has confused the two. The proper name Alfred being common (and pronounced with [v] in West Country English) it is hard to account for the shortened pronunciation except by unwillingness to pronounce the [lv] on the part of uneducated local speakers.

Thurstonfield (Suff.) [ˈθrʌstənfɪəld]. Here there has been metathesis of [ɜː] and an originally pronounced [r], and subsequent change of [ɜː] to [ʌ].

Assimilation of one kind or other is a common feature of irregular pronunciations, examples of which are [ˈæmthɪl] for *Ampthill* (Beds,) and [ˈɔːlzfəd] for *Alresford* (Hants.). In the former case [p] has been assimilated to the preceding [m] and in the latter [r] has combined with the preceding [l].

Kiveton (S. Yorks.) [ˈkɪvɪtən] shows an intrusive [ɪ] where we would not normally expect to find one. A more natural form would be [ˈkaɪvtən], but the origin suggested by *Eckwall*, from OE *cyf*, 'a tub', here=hill. may have preserved its short vowel and the repetition of the same sound after the [v] would have facilitated pronunciation. There is hestation between [ˈwɪvtən] and [ˈwɪvɪtən] for *Wiveton* (Norf.) but in this case the [ɪ] reflects an original pronounced vowel from 'Wifa's *tun*'.

The above examples. it seems to me, can all be adduced, at least in part, to a desire on the part of ordinary uneducated speakers to simplify pronunciations which they found hard and which, in many cases, did not seem worth making the effort for as the meanings were obscure.

2) *French influence*—'The greatest influence of French on our place-names, says P. H. Reaney, 'was its effect on their written form and pronunciation' (*The Origin of English Place-Names*, p. 198). It is now well known, for instance, that the name *Salop* for *Shropshire* developed from the inability of the Normans to pronounce the English *Scrobbesby-rigscir*, which was first modified to *Sciropescire* and then to *Salopescira*. The recent decision to allow the longer form *Shropshire* to stand instead of a bureaucratically determined *Salop* represents a sort of compromise between the Old English and Norman possibilities. Had the Old English name developed without Norman influence, we might have had *Shrewsburyshire. (On the other hand, if *Shrewsbury*, the town, had had its name modified by Norman influence, it might have ended as *Slopsbury.)

Where problems over place-name pronunciation have arisen in connection with French influence, it has generally been the other way about—a French place-name, bestowed by the Norman invaders, has given difficulty to English speakers, who have therefore produced pronunciations which range over the entire spectrum between near–French forms and much-anglicised ones. Here are examples of this range:

Beaudesert Park (Staffs.) ['bəʊdɪzɛə]. Here the near-French pronunciation may be owing to the social standing of the family living there, who might have tried to keep such a pronunciation to emphasise their claims to Norman ancestry.

Beaudesert (War.) is ['bəʊdezət]. Perhaps the application of the name, in this instance, to a village rather than a great house and estate has helped the pronunciation to change in the direction of the vernacular (a less common version is ['belzə]).

Haltemprice (Hum.) ['hɔ:ltəmpraɪs], appreciably altered from the original French *Hautenprise* ('high enterprise'). the name given to the monastery built on this site in 1322.

Jervaulx (N. Yorks.) and *Rievaulx* (N. Yorks.) both have two distinct pronunciations. one fully English ['dʒɑ:vɪs, 'rɪvəz] and the other inclined to French ['dʒɜ:vəʊ, 'ri:vəʊ]. According to *BBC* the form

['dʒɑːvɪs] is still used by local old people, so we may be faced here with a Norman French name (itself a translation of the English *Ure-dale*, 'vale of the Ure', *Jorvalle* c. 1145) which has become anglicised in its pronunciation and is now being re-Frenchified, perhaps because the anglicised form is itself now very removed from the spelling. The same may have happened with *Rievaulx*, which derives from a French translation of the old English name Rye-dale 'vale of the Rye' *Rievalle* 1157.

3) *Popular etymology* – on occasion, discrepancies or other difficulties over the pronunciation of a place-name may arise because either the orthography or the pronunciation (or both) have been modified through a desire to 'make sense' i. e. to make a name whose meaning was no longer remembered appear to have some meaning. Examples:

Beausale (War.) ['bjuːsl] appears to be of French derivation, but in fact *Eckwall* traces it to 'Bēaw's *halh*' or corner. A medieval spelling *Beausala* shows how at an early date a false etymology had been developed since Domesday Book *Beoshelle*.

Borrowash (Derby.) may be pronounced ['bʌrəuwɒʃ, 'bɒrəuæʃ] or ['bɒrəuwɒʃ] according to *BBC*. The form with ['bʌrəu] would go historically with the form *Burwishasshe* 1275 (see *Eckwall*) but analogy with 'borrow' may have produced the ['bɒrəu] forms.

Sawbridgeworth (Herts.) ['sɔːbrɪdʒwɜːθ]. Here both spelling and pronunciation have followed a false etymology. The old pronunciation ['sæpswəθ] (see *Researches* No 20, 1983, p. 4) may be a final vestige of the original version, which was 'Sæbeorht's *worth*' or homestead. The Saxon name was forgotten and a supposed 'bridge' apparently developed in the popular mind to account for the middle element of the form *Sebricheworthe* which had come into use by 1245 (Charter Rolls, quoted by *Eckwall*).

Neatishead (Norf.), ['niːtstɪd] in the traditional pronunciation, according to *BBC*. The final element of this name derives from OE *hīred* 'household'. It is rare as a place-name element, but a common termination in the same locality is *-stead* from OE *stede* 'place, site for

a building'. Examples within five miles of Neatishead are *Horstead*, *Brumstead* and *Worstead*. It would therefore be very natural for local speakers to analogise and convert the final element *–head* into *–stead*, and this is what appears to have happened.

4) *Pronunciations derived from an earlier form of the place-name*— I have already commented on *Ebrington* (Glos.) [ˈjʌbətən] or [ˈebrɪŋtən], in *Researches* 20, p. 3, where I pointed out that *BBC* derives the former version, still used by older inhabitants, from the pre-1700 form *Ebarton*. A further example is *Pontefract* (W. Yorks.) [ˈpɒntɪfrækt] or [ˈpɒmfrɪt]. The latter, local form appears to refer to the French version of the place-name, *Pontfreit*, which appears in the Pipe Rolls in 1177, probably as a translation of the original Latin which appears in the dative form as *Pontefracto* in the early Yorkshire Charters for 1101-2 (both mentioned by *Eckwall*). Here it is the earlier form that has survived in writing and is now coming to dominate in pronunciation also.

Although other factors may be involved, the above four seem to me to account for the majority of cases of discrepancy between the orthography and pronunciation of English place-names, as well as for many cases where such discrepancies once existed but have now been resolved. The reasons for their being unlikely to apply in the future are easily stated. French influence no longer operates, and with the spread of education and the universal levelling effect of the mass media, especially radio and TV, there is a firm tendency for regularity to impose itself and for spelling pronunciations to predominate. The only area where place-name pronunciation is very likely to change in the future – and here pronunciation and spelling are likely to go side by side – concerns cases where a deliberate decision is made by the local authorities to reinistate an old and lost name for historical reasons. Thus the civil parish of the *Rodings* (Essex) is once again *Roothing*, *Harringay* (Lond.) has reverted to the old spelling *Haringey*, and the area of Suffolk round *Bawbergh* has become the administrative district of *Babergh*, thus encouraging the alternative pronunciation [ˈbeɪbə] for the village, which is also known by the later, spelling pronunciation.

This article will now proceed with *Lists C* and *D*, together with a short *List E* for addenda and names which do not fit into the other categories.

List C
Place-Names Incorporating Family or Personal Names or Titles

This list will also include a few names which, while not conforming to the above description, are of similar form. The list is arranged alphabetically in order of the proper names. French names beginning with the particle DE are listed under D if the name is now written in one with the particle (e. g. *Delamere*) but under the letter heading the main name if the present orthography puts the particle separately or has a contraction with apostrophe. Thus *d'Arcy* and *d'Abitot* come under A and *de la Launde* under L. Under the general terms of these articles, only names presenting a doubt as to pronunciation are included, so *Courtney* and *Peppard*, which educated speakers of English would at once be able to pronounce correctly as ['kɔːtnɪ] and ['pepɑːd] are omitted, while *Keynes*, which might appear to be ['kiːnz] but is actually ['keɪnz], is included.

ABBAS	*Melbury Abbas* (Dor.) ['æbəs].
d'ABERNON	*Stoke d'Abernon* (Sur.) ['dæbənən].
d'ABITOT	*Croome d'Abitot* (Here.) ['dæbɪtəʊ].
ALUPH	*Boughton Aluph* (Kent) is ['bɔːtən'æləf] in *BBC*, but in Séan Jennett's *The Pilgrims' Way* (London, Cassell 1971) a pronunciation ['æləp] is also mentioned, though ['æləf] is said to be 'more usual'. ['æləf] would accord with the derivation from the proper name *Aluf*, one of this name having held the land in 1211 (*Eckwall*).
d'ARCY	*Tolleshunt d'Arcy* (Ess.) ['təʊlzhʌnt 'dɑːsɪ].
ASPAL	*Stonham Aspal* (Suff.) ['stɒnəm 'æspɔːl].
BAGPUIZE	*Kingston Bagpuize* (Oxon.) ['bægpjuːz].
BAMPFYLDE	*Weston Bampfylde* (Som.) ['bæmfɪəld].
BEAUCHAMP	This name, appearing in a number of place-names in-

cluding *Beauchamp Roding* (Ess.) and *Shepton Beau-
champ* (Som.) always appears to be [ˈbiːtʃəm].

BECHER   *Becher's Brook*, the famous obstacle in the Grand National
racecourse at *Aintree* (Mer.) is [ˈbiːtʃəz].

BEDON   *Stow Bedon* (Norf.) [ˈbiːdən].

BEGGEARN   Beggearn Huish (Som.) [ˈbəgɜːn ˈhjuːɪʃ]. The name
derives from the genitive plural of ME *beggere*, a
beggar, and presumably alludes to mendicant friars
(*Eckwall*).

BELLINGER   *Shipton Bellinger* (Hants.) [ˈbelɪndʒə].

BELOTH   *Vogue Beloth* (Corn.) [ˈvəʊg bɪˈlɒθ].

BLOUNT   *Kingston Blount* (Oxon.) [ˈblʌnt].

BOWELLS   *Shellow Bowells* (Ess., not in BBC) is [ˈbəʊəlz]

BRUERN   *Stoke Bruern* (N'hants.) [ˈbruːən].

BUCI   The village of *Kingston Buci* (W. Sus.) is more com-
monly known nowadays by the corrupt version *King-
ston-By-Sea*. The original name derives from the name
of *Robert de Busci* (Probably *Boucé* in Normandy)
who held it in 1199 (*Eckwall*).   The pronunciation is
[ˈbjuːsɪ].

BUSCEL   *Hutton Buscel* (N. Yorks.) is spelt thus in *Geographia.
Bushell in Eckwall*, both in *BBC* and *Bushel* in *John-
ston.*   The pronunciation is [ˈbuːʃl].

BREUX/   *Wickham Bre(a)ux* (Kent), these days usually spelt
   BREAUX   *Wickhambreux* is [ˈwɪkəmbruː].

CAIUS   *Gonville and Caius College*, Cambridge, is usually known
as 'Caius' pronounced [ˈkiːz].

CANONI-   *Whitchurch Canonicorum* (Dor.) is [ˈwɪtʃɜːtʃ kənɒnɪ
   CORUM   ˈkɔːrəm]. Reaney, in *The Origin of English Place-Names*
derives this from the canons of Salisbury Cathedral;
Kenneth Cameron, in *English Place-Names*, claims that
it refers to the ownership of the village by the abbey
of St Wandrille in Normandy.

CAREW   *Seaton Carew* (Cleve.) [ˈsiːtən ˈkəruː].

CHAMBER-   *Compton Chamberlayne* (Wilts.) [ˈkɒmptən ˈtʃeɪmbəlɪn].
  LAYNE

CHENEY   *Litton Cheney* (Dor.) [ˈtʃeɪnɪ]. I can find no reference
               in BBC for the pronunciation of *Sutton Cheney* (Leics.),
               but *Eckwall* gives the same derivation, from the family
               name *Cheyne*, so the pronunciation may also be the
               same.

CHEVIN   *Otley Chevin* (W. Yorks.) is [ˈɒtlɪ ˈʃevɪn] or [ˈʃɪvɪn]

COLVILLE   *Carlton Colville* (Suff.) [ˈkɒlvɪl].

CONSTABLE   *Melton Constable* (Norf.) and *Constable Burton* (N.
               Yorks.) are both [ˈkʌnstəbl]. They used to belong to
               medieval officers of that title.

CONYERS   *Hutton Conyers* (N. Yorks., not in *BBC*) and *Yealand
               Conyers* (Lancs.) are both [ˈkʌnjəz].

COURTENAY   *Newnham Courtenay* (Oxon.) and *Sampford Courtenay*
               (Dev.) are [ˈkɔːtnɪ].

CRUCIS   *Ampney Crucis* (Glos.), said to be named from a cross
               in the churchyard (*Eckwall*) is [ˈkruːsɪs].

CRUWYS   *Cruwys Morchard* (Dev.) [ˈkruːz ˈmɔːtʃəd], takes its
               name from one Alexander de Crues.

DAMAREL/   *Stoke Damarel* (Dev.) is thus spelt in *EPNS* VIII but
  DAMEREL   it is *Damerel* in *BBC*. The pronunciation is [ˈdæmərəl].

DINUS   *Treryn Dinus* (Corn.) [trəˈrɪn] or [ˈtriːn ˈdaɪnəs].

DUCIS   *Collingbourne Ducis* (Wilts.) [ˈdjuːsɪs]. The name
               refers to the Earls (later Dukes) of Lancaster.

ELEIGH   *Brent Eleigh* (Suff.) [ˈiːlɪ]

ENGAINE   *Colne Engaine* (Ess.) [ˈkəʊn ənˈgeɪn].

ENSOR   *Baddesley Ensor* (War.) [ˈbæd(ɪ)zlɪ ˈenzə].

FALCON   *Thorne Falcon* (Som., not in *BBC*) [ˈθɔːn ˈfɔːlkən].

FAVELL   *Weston Favell* (N'hants.) [ˈfeɪvl].

FOLIAT   *Chilton Foliat* (Wilts.) [ˈfəʊlɪət].

FOLIOT   *Tamerton Foliot* (Dev.) [ˈfəʊlɪət]. *BBC* has *Foliott*.

FOLVILLE   *Ashby Folville* (Leics., not in *BBC*) [ˈfɒlvɪl].

FRIERN   *Friern Barnet* (Lond.) [ˈfraɪən].   The reference is to
                the Friars of St John of Jerusalem.

FURNEAUX   *Furneaux Pelham* (Herts.) [ˈfɜːnɪks, ˈfɜːnəʊ]. A good
                example of a place-name where an original French ele-
                ment has had its pronunciation anglicised, and then a
                restored French pronunciation has been developed to
                co-exist with it. cf. *Jervaulx*, *Rievaulx*.

GIFFORD   *Ashton Gifford* (Wilts.), *Aveton Gifford* (Dev.) and
                Bowers Gifford (Ess.) are all [ˈdʒɪfəd]. (The main ele-
                ment in the Devon place-name is [ˈɔːtən] or [ˈeɪvtən].)

GILBERT   *Witton Gilbert* (Dur.) is more often [ˈdʒɪlbət] than
                [ˈgɪlbət].   The original French pronunciation of the
                name has thus survived longer here than in the per-
                sonal name *Gilbert*, which is always pronounced [ˈgɪlbət].

GOBION   *Higham Gobion* (Beds.) [ˈhæɪəm ˈgəʊbɪən].

GUISE   *Aspley Guise* (Beds.) [ˈgaɪz]

HADRIAN   *Hadrian's Wall* across the North of England is of
                course [ˈheɪdrɪənz].

de la HAYE   *Layer de la Haye* (Ess.) [ˈleɪə də lə ˈheɪ].

HUCKNALL   *Ault Hucknall* (Derby.) [ˈɔːlt ˈhʌknəl].

INGHAM   *Aston Ingham* (Here.) [ˈɪŋəm].

KEYNES   *Ashton Keynes* (Wilts.) and *Horsted Keynes* (E. Sus.)
                are both [ˈkeɪnz].

KEYNELL   *Yatton Keynell* (Wilts.) [ˈkenl].

KEYNSTON   *Tarrant Keynston* (Dor.) [ˈkeɪnstən].

KERRIAL   *Croxton Kerrial* (Leics.) [ˈkrəʊsən ˈkerɪəl].

KYME   *Newton Kyme* (N. Yorks.) [ˈkaɪm].

de la LAUNDE   *Ashby-de-la-Launde* (Lincs.) [ˈæʃbɪdələ ˈlɔːnd].

LAZARS   *Burton Lazars* (Leics.) [ˈlæzəz].

LISLE   *Kingston Lisle* (Oxon., not in BBC) [ˈlaɪl].

LONGUEVILLE   *Orton Longueville* (Cambs.) [ˈlɒŋvɪl]

LOVELL   *Minster Lovell* (Oxon.) [ˈlʌvl].

MALHERBE   *Boughton Malherbe* (Kent) ['bɔ:tən 'mæləbɪ].   A
              curious development of the pronunciation from French
              malherbe 'bad grass', which had come to be a Norman
              family name.

MALHERBIE   *Cricket Malherbie* (Som.) ['mæləbɪ].   Here the Norman-
              French family name *Malherbe* has had its spelling
              altered to fit the same strange pronunciation noted for
              Boughton Malherbe above.

MALZEARD   *Kirkby Malzeard* (N. Yorks.) ['kɜ:bɪ 'mælzəd].
              This is not a family name, in spite of its appearance;
              it comes from OFr. *mal assart*, signifying 'a poor clear-
              ing' (*Eckwall*).

MARIES   *Stow Maries* (Ess.) ['mɑ:rɪz].

MATRAVERS   *Langton* and *Lytchett Matravers* (Dor.) [mə'trævəz].

MAUDIT(T)/   *Hartley Mauditt* (Hants., not in *BBC*) and *Easton
  MAUDUIT   Mauduit* (N'hants.), spelt *Maudit* in *Geographia*) are
              both ['mɔ:dɪt].

MAULEVERER   *Allerton Mauleverer* (N. Yorks.) is [mɔ:'levərə].

MESNES   *Worsley Mesnes* (G. Man.) ['wɜ:zlɪ 'meɪnz]. This again
              is not a family name despite its appearance. It means
              'domains'.

MINNIS   *Stelling Minnis* (Kent) ['mɪnɪz]

MONA-   *Zeal Monachorum* (Dev.) ['zi:l mɒnə'kɔ:rəm].   The
  CHORUM   name comes from the monks of Buckfast.

MONCHELSEA   *Boughton Monchelsea* (Kent) ['bɔ:tən 'mʌntʃlsɪ].

MORIEUX   *Thorpe Morieux* (Suff.) [mə'ru:].

MOWBRAY   *Melton Mowbray* (Leics.) ['məʊbreɪ].

NOVERS   *Swanton Novers* (Norf.) ['nəʊvəz].

OVERY   *Burton Overy* (Leics., not in *BBC*) ['əʊvərɪ].

PAGNELL   *Newport Pagnell* (Bucks.) is ['pægnəl], while *Hooton
              Pagnell* (W. Yorks.) can be either ['hu:tən 'pægnəl]
              or ['hʌtən 'pænl] according to *BBC*.

PAUNCEFOOT   *Compton Pauncefoot* (Wilts.) ['kɒmptən 'pɔ:nsfʊt].

PEDWARDINE *Burton Pedwardine* (Lincs.) [ˈpedwədaɪn].

PERO *Stoke Pero* (Som.) [ˈpɪərəʊ].

POMEROY *Stockleigh Pomeroy* (Dev.) [ˈstɒklɪ ˈpɒmərɔɪ].

PUERORUM *Ashby Puerorum* (Lincs.), not in *BBC* [ˈpjʊəˈrɔːrəm].
This comes from the choristers of Lincoln Cathedral,
who were supported by this parish in the Middle Ages
(Reaney).

PUNCHARDON *Heanton Punchardon* (Dev.) [ˈhe(ɪ)ntən ˈpʌntʃədən].

PURCELL *Newton Purcell* (Oxon.) [ˈpɜːsl].

PURLIEU *Dibden Purlieu* (Hants.) [ˈpɜːljuː].

PYCHARD *Ocle Pychard* (Here.) [ˈəʊkl ˈpɪtʃəd].

PYPARD *Clyffe Pypard* (Wilts.) [ˈklɪf ˈpaɪpɑːd].

RALEIGH *Combe, Colaton* and *Withycombe Raleigh* (Dev.) are all
connected with the family of the Elizabethan explorer.
BBC does not give the first. Although only [ˈrɔːlɪ] is
given by *BBC* and *Eckwall*, other forms which I have
heard are [ˈrælɪ] and [ˈrɑːlɪ].

RALPH *Brompton Ralph* (Som.) [ˈrælf].

REGIS This addition, signifying 'royal', is to be found after a
great many English place-names, of which a few are
Bognor (W. Sus.), *Lyme* and *Melcome* (Dor.), *Milton*
(Kent) and *Rowley* (Here.). The pronunciation is
always [ˈriːdʒɪs].

REIGNY *Newton Reigny* (Cum.) [ˈreɪnɪ].

REYNES *Clifton Reynes* (Bucks.) [ˈreɪnz].

RIVEL *Curry Rivel* (Som.) [ˈraɪvl].

ROGUS *Holcombe Rogus* (Dev.) [ˈhəʊkəm ˈrəʊgəs].

ROUS *Rous Lench* (Here.) [ˈraʊs ˈlentʃ]. The name derives
from the OFr. *Ranulf.*

ROUSE *Duntisbourne Rouse* (Glos.) [ˈdʌntɪsbɔːn ˈraʊs]. In
this case, the derivation is from the nickname *roux* or
red-haired.

ROWANT *Aston Rowant* (Oxon.) [ˈrəʊənt].

ROWLAND   *Nymet Rowland* (Dev.) ['nɪmɪt 'rəʊlənd].

SALOME   *Berrick and Britwell Salome* (Oxon.) ['sæləm]. Both
              Geographia and Johnston mark the latter village as
              simply *Britwell*.

SALTERTON   *Budleigh Salterton* (Dev.) ['bʌdlɪ 'sɔːltətən]. This
              also is not a family name, but means 'saltworks'.

SEMELE   *Radford Somele* (War.) ['semɪlɪ].

SEYMOUR   *Kingston Seymour* (Avon). This name is not in *BBC*,
              but the fairly common family name is usually ['siːmɔː]
              or ['siːmə].

SIBLE   *Sible Hedingham* (Ess.) is usually ['sɪbl 'hedɪŋəm],
              though *Eckwall* gives ['henɪŋgəm].

SOCON   *Eaton Socon* (Cambs.) ['iːtən 'səʊkən].

SPINEY   *Sampford Spiney* (Dev.) ['sæmfəd 'spaɪnɪ].

SUGWAS   *Stretton Sugwas* (Here.) ['sʌgəs].

TYAS   *Middleton Tyas* (N. Yorks.) is ['taɪəs]. So presumably
              is *Farnley Tyas* (W. Yorks.) though this is not in *BBC*.

VAUCHURCH   *Frome Vauchurch* (Dor.) ['fruːm 'vəʊtʃɜːtʃ].

VEN(E)Y   *Sutton Veny* (Wilts.) is spelt thus in *Geographia, Johnston*
              and *Eckwall*, but *Veney* in *BBC*. The pronunciation
              is given as ['viːnɪ] in *BBC*, but *EPNS* XVI has ['venɪ],
              which seems more likely from the origin 'fenny'. Per-
              haps ['viːnɪ] is a modern development brought about
              by the single N in the spelling.

WAWEN   *Wootton Wawen* (War.) ['wɔːn].

WESPALL   *Hartley Wespall* (Hants.) ['wespɔːl].

de la ZOUCH   *Ashby-de-la-Zouch* (Leics.) ['æʃbɪ də lə 'zuːʃ].

List D

Place–Names Incorporating the Names of Saints

Many places in England incorporate the names of Christian saints.
usually those used in the dedication of the local church. The great
majority are the names of apostles or other saints from the Bible or are

common English names. Their pronunciation is therefore familiar and they will not be listed here. Most of the others are in Cornwall, where local saints so often furnished the dedications of churches. These names are frequently of Celtic origin and their pronunciation is therefore a problem even for English people unless they come from Cornwall. In other parts of England a few Saxon saints' names are to be found and in a few instances these are also hard to pronounce. All the important cases of these various names are listed below in alphabetical order.

ALBAN	*St Albans* (Herts.) [snt ˈɔ:lbənz]. The Roman name of the town, still used in connection with its historical sites, was *Verulamium*.
ALDATE	*St Aldate's* (Oxon.) a church and area of the City of Oxford, is [snt ˈɔ:ldeɪts], or [snt ˈəʊldz].
ALDWYN	*Coln St Aldwyns* (Glos.) [ˈkəʊn snt ˈɔ:ldwɪnz]. It is given as *Coln St Aldwyn* in *BBC*.
AUSTELL	*St Austell* (Corn.) [snt ˈɒstl] or [snt ˈɔ:sl].
BREAGE	*Breage* (Corn.) [ˈbreɪg, ˈbri:g] is apparently named after a Cornish saint *(Eckwall)*.
BREOCK	*St Breock* (Corn.) [snt ˈbrɪək].
BREWARD	*St Breward* (Corn.) [snt ˈbru:əd].
BRIAVEL	*St Briavels* (Glos.) [snt ˈbrevlz]. A name of Celtic origin hence its Cornish appearance.
BUDEAUX	*St Budeaux* (Dev.) [snt ˈbju:dəʊ]. in *BBC*. I have also heard [snt ˈbʌdəks].
BURYAN	*St Buryan* (Corn.) [snt ˈbʌrɪən], or [snt ˈberɪən]. Mr. Costigan believes the former is more often used by 'foreigners' (English people from outside Cornwall).
CLETHER	*St Clether* (Corn.) [snt ˈkleðə].
COLUMB	*St Columb Major, St Columb Minor, St Columb Porth, St Columb Road*, all in Cornwall, are all [snt ˈkʌləm] or [snt ˈkɒləm].
CYRES	*Newton St Cyres* (Dev.) is [snt ˈsaɪəz]. It is doubtful whether the name is in the subject or possessive form,

as it derives from St Cyresius.

DECUMAN   *St Decumans* (Som., not in *BBC*) [snt ˈdekjəmənz] named after a Welsh saint who died there.

DEVEREUX   *St Devereux* (Here., not in *BBC*) [snt ˈdevərʊks] named after the Welsh St Dyfrig.

ENDELLION   *St Endellion* (Corn.) [snt enˈdeliən].

ENODER   *St Enoder* (Corn.) [snt ˈenədə].

ENODOC   *St Enodoc* (Corn.) [snt ˈenədɒk].

EVAL   *St Eval* (Corn.) [snt ˈevl].

EWE   *St Ewe* (Corn.) [snt ˈjuː].

FRIDESWIDE   *St Frideswide*, formerly the dedication of Oxford Cathedral, is [snt ˈfraɪdzwaɪd].

GILES   *St Giles in the Heath* and *St Giles in the Wood* (Dev.) are both [ˈdʒaɪlz].

GLUVIAS   *St Gluvias* (Corn.) [snt ˈgluːviəs].

IVE(S)   *St Ive* (Corn.) is [snt ˈiːv], and is derived from the name of St Ivo. Both *St Ives* (Corn.) and (Cambs.) are [snt ˈaɪvz], but the derivation of the former is from a saint called Ia (*Eckwall*), while the latter is derived from St Ivo. *St Ives* (W. Yorks. not in *BBC*) is said by *EPNS* XXXIII to be probably a transfer from the *St Ives* in Huntingdonshire (now Cambridgeshire) so the pronunciation, though not specified, is likely to be [snt ˈaɪvz]. *St Ives* (Hants.) is not really a saint's name having come from OE *ifig* 'ivy' (Eckwall). I cannot find the pronunciation in *BBC* or anywhere else, but suspect it to be [snt ˈaɪvz].

JULIOT   *St Juliot* (Corn.) [snt ˈdʒuːliət] or [snt ˈdʒɪlt].

KEYNE   *St Keyne* (Corn.) [snt ˈkeɪn] or [snt ˈkiːn].

MARY AXE   *St Mary Axe* (Lond.), a well-known street and church, traditionally has the pronunciation [ˈsɪmərɪ ˈæks], though the pronunciation [snt ˈmɛərɪ ˈæks] is now more common says *BBC*.

MARYLEBONE *St Marylebone* (Lond.) see *Marylebone* (List B)

MEWAN   *St Mewan* (Corn.) [snt ˈmjuːən].

NEOT   *St Neot* (Corn.) [snt ˈniːət] and *St Neots* (Cambs.)
            [snt ˈniːəts].

OSYTH   St Osyth (Ess.) [snt ˈəʊzɪθ] or [snt ˈəʊsɪθ].

PANCRAS   *St Pancras* (Lond.) [snt ˈpænkrəs].

TEATH   *St Teath* (Corn.) [snt ˈteθ].

TOUT SAINTS *Buckland-Tout-Saints* (Dev.) is [ˈtuːˈseɪnts].
            This is really a family name in spite of its derivation
            from the French for 'all saints'. The village was held
            in 1242 by William de Tuz Seynts apparently a native
            of *Toussaint* in France (*Eckwall*).

TUDY   *St Tudy* (Corn.) [snt ˈtjuːdɪ].

WEONARD   *St Weonards* (Here.) [snt ˈwenədz].

WERBURGH   *Hoo St Werburgh* (Kent) [snt ˈwɜːbɜːg].

List E
Addenda and Names Which Do Not Fit into Other Categories

Items in this list appear in alphabetical order of the problematic element.

AVE MARIA   *Ave Maria Lane* (Lond.) [ˈɑːvɪ məˈrɪə ˈleɪn].

BERGH   *Bergh Apton* (Norf.) [bɜː ˈæptən].

CHAPEL   *Chapel-en-le-Frith* (Derby.) [ˈtʃæpl en lə ˈfrɪθ].

CLAUGHTON   *Claughton* (Mer.) is [ˈklɔːtən] but *Claughton* (Lancs.)
            is [ˈklæftən] and *Claughton-on-Brock* (Lancs.) is
            [ˈklaɪtən ɒn ˈbrɒk].

CLEARWELL   *Clearwell* (Glos.) can be [ˈklɪə ˈwel, klɪəˈwel] or
            [ˈklɪəwel] according to *BBC*.

CONYER   *Conyer* (Kent) [ˈkʌnjə] or [ˈkɒnjə].

CWM   *Cwm* (Shrops.) [ˈkuːm]. From the Welsh word for a
            deep valley, cognate with OE *cumba*.

DENT-DE-   *Dent-de-Lion* (Kent) [ˈdændɪlaɪən].
  LION

DYMOCK   *Dymock* (Here.) [ˈdɪmək].

ERCALL   *Child's Ercall* (Shrops.) [ˈtʃaɪldz ˈɑːkl].

FABIS   *Barton-in-Fabis* (Notts.) [ˈbɑːtən ɪn ˈfeɪbɪs]. The mean-
             ing of the Latin element is identical with the nearby
             Leicestershire place-name *Barton-in-the-Beans.*

FOWNHOPE   *Fownhope* (Here.) [ˈfaʊnhəʊp].

FROME   *Canon Frome* (Here.) [ˈkænən ˈfruːm].

GUITING   *Temple Guiting* (Glos.) [ˈɡaɪtɪŋ].

HALL I'TH'   *Hall i'th' Wood* (G. Man.) on the outskirts of Bolton,
   WOOD   is [ˈhɔːlɪt ˈwʊd]. It is also spelt *Hall-in-the-Wood.*

HEDGEHOPE   *Hedgehope* (N'hum.) [ˈhedʒəp].

HOLCOT   *Holcot* (Beds. not in *BBC*) is [ˈhʊkət] in *Eckwall.*

HULME   *Cheadle Hulme* (G. Man.) [ˈtʃiːdl ˈh(j)uːm].

INTRINSICA   *Ryme Intrinsica* (Dor.) [ˈraɪm ɪnˈtrɪnzɪkə].

LEADEN   *Leaden Roding* (Ess., not in *BBC*) is [ˈliːdən] in
             Eckwall.

LEIGH   *Asthall Leigh* (Oxon.) is [ˈæstɔːl ˈliː] or [ˈleɪ].

MAKERFIELD   *Ashton-in-Makerfield* (G. Man.) [ˈæʃtən ɪn ˈmeɪkəfiəld].

MENEAGE   The Cornish district of *Meneage,* near Helston, is [mɪˈniːɡ]
             or [mɪˈneɪɡ].

NYMET   *Nymet Rowland* (Dev.) [ˈnɪmɪt ˈrəʊlənd].

PYON   *Canon Pyon* (Here.) [ˈkænən ˈpaɪən].

SOKEN   *Thorpe-le-Soken* (Ess.) [ˈθɔːp lə ˈsəʊkən].

SOUGH   *Calver Sough* (Derby.) [ˈkɑːvə ˈsʌf].

TOUT   *Belle Tout* (E. Sus.) [ˈbel ˈtuːt]. This was the old
             Beachy Head lighthouse.

WEAR   *Countess Wear* (Dev.) [ˈkaʊntɪs ˈwɪə].

WICKHAM-   *Wickhambreux* (Kent) [ˈwɪkəmbruː]. (see also List C
             under BREUX).

Conclusion

This concludes the final instalment of this examination of the
pronunciation of English place-names, in which I have listed a great
many cases of anomalous or irregular pronunciation according to their

elements and discussed them with references to various authorities on the subject, chiefly the *BBC Pronouncing Dictionary of British Place-Names* and Eilert Eckwall's *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names.* I do not pretend to have covered all cases, but hope these notes will enable the interested student of English place-names to find out how a great many place-names are actually pronounced, as well as to see how the authorities frequently disagree on the subject. In the end, any survey of this type has to be faulty and incomplete because unlike the Greek philosophers arguing about the number of teeth in the mouth of a horse it is not possible for us to verify the information just by going and having a look. Even if one spent a lifetime visiting every place in England asking people how they pronounced its name there would be bound to be cases where information was partial or variable depending on the age, education and idiolect of one's informants. Still, these lists which I have tried to make more readable than lists usually are by adding interesting points of etymological and other information, may serve as a guide. My notes on how some place-names have changed, on especially unusual cases of anomalous pronunciation and on some reasons for spelling/pronunciation discrepancy may also be of some interest. I have pointed out that although there has for a long time been a tendency, fostered by education and the uniformity imposed by mass communications, for spelling-pronunciations to be adopted, this solution has by no means triumphed in every case, nor is it likely to do so in the future. Given the persistence of tradition, the vagaries of English spelling and the dislike of human beings, especially the English, for uniformity, it seems to me quite likely that pronunciations like [ˈwʊstə] for *Worcester* and [ˈheɪzbərə] for *Happisburgh* will always be with us. Perhaps too that is rather a good thing.

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