

4. Ibid., 12.
5. N. Wrande, *English Place-Names in the Dative Plural*, Lund Studies in English LXV (Lund, 1983), 80.
6. Ek. *W.*, 11.
7. As above, note 5.
8. J. McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, Part IV, EPNS XLVII (Cambridge, 1972), 53.
9. Ek. *W.*, *passim*.
10. Ibid., 32-3 and 35.
11. Ibid., 35.
12. J. McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, Part II, EPNS XLV (Cambridge, 1970), 86.
13. J. McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, Part III, EPNS XLVI (Cambridge, 1971), 317.
14. M. Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969), 197.
15. Anglo-Norman *p* is presumably masking OE 'wynn'.
16. A. Rumble, 'Hamton alias Hamwic (Saxon Southampton): the place-name traditions and their significance' in P. Holdsworth, *Excavations at Melbourne Street, Southampton 1971-76* (London, 1980), 7-20.
17. *DEPN*, 407.
18. N. Brooks, M. Gelling, D. Johnson, 'A new charter of King Edgar', *Anglo-Saxon England* XIII (1984), 137-55.
19. J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1931), 81.
20. P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, EPNS XII (Cambridge, 1935), 358.
21. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, Part I, EPNS VIII (Cambridge, 1931), 197.
22. Ek. *W.*, 37.
23. Ibid., 31-2.
24. A. J. Kettle, 'Salt', *Victoria County History of Stafford*, Volume II (Oxford, 1967), 246-51.
25. K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, Part II, EPNS XXVIII (Cambridge, 1959), 495.

## English Place-Names and Welsh Stress-Patterns

Hywel Wyn Owen

This article examines English place-names in Clwyd which were subject to stress-patterns of Welsh speakers. This phenomenon in the relationship between Welsh and English has already been observed in loan-words, but this is the first serious attempt at applying prosodic analysis to hitherto perplexing place-names in North-East Wales.

Discussion of English place-names in Wales has to date concentrated almost exclusively on phonology. In B. G. Charles's pioneering *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales*, five lines of the section 'Welsh Influence on the Development of English Place-Names'<sup>1</sup> merely list seven place-names subject to 'the system of Welsh accentuation'; five lines within his discussion of *Prestatyn* declare the 'name to be taken over by the Welsh and the accent shifted to the penultimate in accordance with the normal Welsh system of accentuation'.<sup>2</sup> Professor Melville Richards's later discussion of a dozen place-names incorporating forms not available to B. G. Charles adds to the documentary evidence and to the phonological data, but draws no attention to stress-patterns (with the exception of simply citing *Prestatyn* as 'the outstanding example' of Welsh influence).<sup>3</sup>

Illustrating well-established phonological features seems less pressing than examining certain prosodic features which could prove valuable in detecting similar phenomena elsewhere in Wales (and England). This article concentrates on the area selected by Melville Richards, and, in the light of stress-patterns, reinterprets some of his evidence, that of B. G. Charles, and some of my own pronouncements. Significantly these stress-patterns now make certain phonological developments less problematic. There seems to be a wider context which transcends morphological considerations. That over-riding principle is the beat, the rhythm of the word.

### NATURALIZED PLACE-NAMES

My material has been drawn from that area of Clwyd in North-East Wales where distinctive place-names still mark the Mercian advance. This took place (in the seventh and eighth centuries), westwards along the coastal strip of the the Dee from

Chester and Hawarden to Prestatyn (formerly in Flintshire), and northwards from the Maelor district (Flintshire 'detached') through Wrexham (Denbighshire) and along the River Alun to Mold and Northop (Flintshire). The Dee coast marks one line of entry quite clearly, while, inland, Wat's Dyke and Offa's Dyke were originally intended to indicate territorial limits. In these two linked corridors are many place-names which can only be described as 'bilingual'.

In Clwyd, as in other parts of Wales, there are several types of bilingual place-names. Some have official spelling variants such as Flint/Fflint and Wrexham/Wrecsam. Other places have had dual place-names from time immemorial, such as Mold/Yr Wyddgrug, Hawarden/Penarlâg and Northop/Llaneurgain, revealing two naming-systems distinct from each other, each belonging to separate cultural and linguistic communities. A third category comprises English place-names which have become so thoroughly exposed to the Welsh language spoken around the Mercian pockets that those English place-names behave as if they were Welsh place-names, obeying Welsh phonological rules and subject to Welsh stress.<sup>4</sup> I propose to use the term 'naturalized place-names' for this third category.<sup>5</sup> Scrutiny of these naturalized place-names has been prompted by these singularly curious observations: (i) practically every naturalized place-name has two syllables; (ii) originally many had three or more syllables in OE or ME. There is evidence of an over-riding instinct to reduce to two syllables; put at its most literary, a preference for the trochee rather than the dactyl. This is the natural rhythm of the word, determined by the stress-pattern of the speaker's first language.<sup>6</sup>

### WELSH STRESS

There are dangers in straying into a definition of 'the Welsh accent'. Intonation is more properly the domain of linguistics. However, stress within single words is more easily assessed.

Put at its simplest, the Welsh stress-pattern can be said to comprise two elements:

- (i) a preference for penultimate rhythmic stress regardless of the length of the word; *Bångor*, *Carnéddau*, *Aberýstwyth*, *Rhosllannerchrúgog*.<sup>7</sup> Inflexion may necessitate stress-shift: *cárnedd* 'cairn', *carnéddau* 'cairns'.
- (ii) pitch-prominence on the final syllable. The impression on the ear is not quite secondary stress; it is certainly not the evenly distributed stress of the spondee. It is partly pitch, partly a matter of clear enunciation, of giving each consonant and vowel its full value.<sup>8</sup>

There are historical reasons for the development of penultimate stress and pitch-prominence in Welsh.<sup>9</sup> The question posed in this article is what happens when there is a conflict between the stress-pattern of the English place-name and the Welsh speaker's rhythmic instinct, especially when the stress in English falls upon the initial syllable.

In loan-words the conflict is resolved in this way. The English stress on the initial syllable is preserved (as in *interlude* > *ánterliwt*). But frequently this initial stress acts as if it were the penultimate stress, causing modification of the following syllable(s) principally through the heightening effect of pitch-prominence and the truncation of any remaining syllables. Hence *liberty* > *libart*, *whéelbarrow* > *whílber*, *péndulum* > *péndil*, *handkerchief* > *hánces*. These loan-words rapidly become naturalized, as can be seen in the way the stress moves to the penultimate to keep in step with the additional syllable of an inflexional plural: *ánterliwt* > *anterlíwtiau*, *hánces* > *hancési*. Such is the strength of the penultimate stress; such is the degree of naturalization.

### PLACE-NAME TYPES

Let us now apply to naturalized place-names the truncation observed in loan-words. A clear pattern emerges: in polysyllabic English place-names where it is reasonable to assume English stress on the initial syllable, Welsh speakers preserved the initial stress and then reduced the polysyllable to two syllables. The Welsh ear treats the English initial stress as Welsh penultimate stress and modifies the place-name accordingly. The rhythm of Welsh accentuation turns the initial syllable into a penultimate syllable by ensuring that only one syllable follows. This is achieved by reducing or truncating the remaining syllables. The new final syllable is then subject to pitch-prominence which causes phonological changes.

It seems almost inevitable that, whatever the number of syllables in the original English place-name, the naturalized form has two syllables. Such is the variety of consequent modifications that each place-name must be considered separately.<sup>10</sup> However, it is possible to identify four distinct types as follows:

- (1) the *Borras*-type: (originally 3 or more syllables, reduced by apocope)
- (2) the *Golftyn*-type: (originally 3 or more syllables, reduced by syncope)
- (3) the *Wepre*-type: (originally 2 syllables)

(4) the *Prestatyn*-type (an exceptional development, retaining 3 syllables, but with stress-shift instead of reduction of syllables)

The first three types will now be discussed; the fourth type will feature at the end of the article. For each place-name, forms and dates have been selected purely to illustrate the significant divergent developments; relative frequency of the forms has also been disregarded.<sup>11</sup>

(1) the *Borras*-type: apocope

OE (or ME) initial stress is taken as Welsh penultimate stress, the second syllable is reinforced by pitch-prominence and the final syllable becomes supernumerary.

In three instances, the entire final element *hām* is lost after the genitive of a personal name; in the other six, vestiges of the final element are retained. In four of the latter, thorough naturalization also causes initial de-lenition where the OE consonant *w-* is regularized as a mutation of Welsh *gw-* to form a new radical.<sup>12</sup>

*Borras*: *Boresham*, *Borasham* 1315, *Bor(r)as* 1550. OE pers.n. *Bār* + *hām*  
*Erlas*: *Erd(e)lesham* 1315, *Erlisham*, *Erllys* 1561, *Erls* 1620. OE pers.n. *\*E(a)rdel* + *hām*

*Esclusham*|*Esclus*: *Esclesham*, *Esclusham* 1315, *Esclewesham* 1547, *Esclus* 1554. OE pers.n. *\*Æscel* + *hām*. Interestingly enough, modern *Esclusham* has medial stress, having survived in its three-syllable form but having undergone further stress-shift (type 4) under the influence of the Welsh stress-pattern.

*Erddig*<sup>13</sup>: *Eurdicote* 1315, *Eurthigot* 1535, *Eurthyg*, *Erthigge* 16th c. Probably OE *hierde* 'herdsman' + *cot*

*Gwesbyr*: *Wesberie* DB, *Gwespur* 1332, *Westburi* 1378, *Westbury* 1429, *Gwestbury* 1480, *Gwesbyr* 1535, *Westbury* 1566, 1591-2, *Gwespyr* 1613. OE *west* + *burh*. Melville Richards considered that the very late survival of *Westbury* 'may be due to the traditional conservation of official records' ('Welsh Influence', 218).

*Worthenbury*: *Hurdingberie* DB, *Worthenbury* 1300, *Wrddymbre* 1347, *Worhymbury* 1402, *Gwrddymbre* 1418, *Worhembre in Walch Guothumbre* 1536, *Gwrthimp* 1566, *Gwrthimp* t.Eliz. OE *wordign* + *burh*. Melville Richards however suspected the last two forms might be 'antiquarian' (*ibid.*, 220); certainly they did not survive.

*Wallington*: *Wal(l)ynton* 1468, 1570, *Gwalinton* 1503, *Gwalynton* 1546, *Gwalint* 1617. The forms 'are too late for interpretation' (NCPN, 215), while Melville Richards suggests the second element may be *-ingtun* ('Welsh Influence', 219). The Welsh forms did not survive.

*Bagillt* (The forms are presented here as separate English and naturalized

Welsh developments because of the clear evidence of recognised alternatives until fairly late.)<sup>14</sup> *Bachelei* DB, *Backelegh* 1325, *Bakkeleigh* 1361, *Bakele* 1408, *Backley* 1444; *Bagyllt* 1306, *Bagillt* 1345, *Bagild* 1368, *Baggillt* 1653, *Bagill* 1682, *Bagilh*,<sup>15</sup> *Bagilht* 1699; *Backley* alias *Bagillt* 1577, *Backley* or *Bagillt* 1624. OE pers.n. *Bacca* + *lēah*. The chronology of sound-changes was probably as follows: *Backelei* > *\*Bacel* > *\*Bagel* > *\*Bagil* > *Bagill* > *Bagillt*. Pitch-prominence on the second syllable plays a significant role here. The clear articulation gave rise to the change from *-el* to *-il*, a change reinforced by the topographically appropriate association with *hill*. *\*Bagil* then showed two developments, one voiced to *Bagild* (which did not survive), the other unvoiced to *Bagill*,<sup>16</sup> before the final *t* was added.<sup>17</sup> Alternatively, but less likely, it would be possible to postulate the later changes as follows: *\*Bagil* > *Bagild* > *Baggilt* > *Bagillt*.<sup>18</sup> The form *Bagillt* could then be explained by the occasional loss of final *t* after *ll*.<sup>19</sup> (Comparable developments can be seen in *Gwersyllt* and *Coleshill*|*Cwnsyllt*, below.) It is worth noting that the 'English' pronunciation commonly heard in the area is 'Baglt' for which *Baggilt* seems to be the antecedent.

(2) the *Golftyn*-type: syncope

As in the *Borras*-type, initial OE (or ME) stress is retained as a Welsh penultimate stress. Thereafter the modification to two syllables (from three or more) is achieved by syncope accompanied by pitch-prominence on the new second syllable. Occasionally changes are prompted by assimilation to an existing Welsh word, or can be observed in other place-names in the area (when OE *tūn* > Middle Welsh *tyn* as a final element, discussed by me in 'English and Welsh Place-names in Three Lordships of Flintshire', *Nomina* V (1981), 50, by B. G. Charles in 'Substitution', 41-5, and by T. H. Parry-Williams in *EEW*, 31).

*Golftyn*: *Ulfmiltone* DB, *Wolfynton* 1283, *Wolfinston* 1284, *Volfington* 1315, *Wolffington* 1658; *Golfton* 1354, *Kwlfftwyn*, *Kwlfftyyn* 1489, *Golffton* 1514, *Golftyn* 1535, *Golfdyn* 1699; *Golfton* alias *Woolffington* 1588. (The DB form either 'does not belong here or it is corrupt' in the opinion of B. G. Charles, NCPN, 223.) OE pers.n. *Wulfwine* + *tūn*. (This is preferable to the *Wulfa* + *ing* suggested by B. G. Charles *ibid.* and in 'Substitution', 41-2.) The regular initial de-lenition of *w* > *gw* (cf. *Gwersyllt*, *Gwesbyr*) is compromised here by the rounded vowel following *Gw*. It is resolved in two ways: by further provection of Welsh *g* > *c* (*Kwlfftyyn*),<sup>20</sup> and by elimination of *w* (*Golftyn*) (cf. *Golden Grove*).

*Kelsterton*|*Kelstryn*: *Keldreston* 1284, 1332, *Kelstertyyn* 1535; *Kelstryn* 1475, 1506, *Kelstrin* 1610; *Kelsterton* alias *Keldreston* 1622, *Kelstron* Angl. *Kelstraton* 1699. OE pers.n. *\*Cweldhere* + *tūn*. The earlier unmetathesized variants (*Keldreston*, *Kelstraton*), which may be considered closer to *\*Cweldhere*, did not survive but probably contributed to the

naturalized Welsh form (otherwise we might expect 'Kelstyn' cf. *Golftyn*, *Owrtyn*). There is no evidence of a Welsh spelling in *C-* rather than *K-*.

*Overton/Owrtyn*: *Overtone* 1201, *Overtune* 14th c., *Overton* 1699; *Oureton* 1309, *Awrtun* 14th c., *Owrtun* 1425, *Wrtun* 15th c., *Orton* 1548, *Owrtyn* 1550, *Ortyn* 1566, *Orton* alias *Overton* 1612. OE *ofer* 'bank' + *tūn*. On the regular change from OE *tūn* to Middle Welsh *tyn* see above and n. 48.

*Bistre*: *Biscopestreu* DB, *Bissopestred* 1093, *Bistre* 1533, *Bistree* Brit[anice] *kroesesgob* 1699. A note in the Addenda to *NCPN*, xlvii suggested that *Croes Esgob* 'bishop's cross' (which has not survived as a place-name) confirms Professor Bruce Dickins's contention that OE *trēo* was here used in the sense of 'cross'. (Cf. Oswestry, Welsh Croesoswallt: *Croesoswald* 1254, *Oswaldestre* 1272.) B. G. Charles had originally put forward the OE pers.n. *Bisceop* since he could not trace any episcopal association (ibid., 220). Welsh *tre* 'settlement' may influence the Welsh pronunciation and the spelling (which might otherwise be like *Braintree*, *Elstree* or *Oswestry*, *Coventry*); the English pronunciation is in fact 'Bistree'.

*Calcot*: *Caldecote* DB, 1317, 1352, 1594, *Caldicote* 1635; *Calkot* 1354, *Calcode* 1591, *Calcoed*, *Calcot* 1699. OE *cald* + *cot*. The variant *Calcoed* (influenced by Welsh *coed* 'trees') did not survive, although Ellis Davies has *Calcoed*, *Calcot* as head-words in *FPN*, 29. It should not be thought that *Caldecote* > *Calcot* is exclusively the result of the Welsh stress-pattern. In *DEPN* three examples of early *Caldecote* become modern *Calcott* (in Beds., Berks. and Salop) while twelve examples remain as *Caldecot(t)*. *Caldicot* in Monmouthshire has a few examples of *Calecote* 1381, *Calicote* 1437, *Calkote* 1493, but they did not survive. Similarly, *Caldecott* in Cheshire reveals *Calecot* 1208, *Calkote* 1354 (*PN Cheshire* IV, 62). The only certainty is that the Welsh stress-pattern ensured the dominance of the two-syllable form.

*Coleshill/Cwmsyllt*: *Coeshul* 1093, *Colsul* 1240, *Colshull* 1285, *Coleshill* 1304, *Colshull* 1523; *Coleselt* DB, *Kelsyllt* 1475, *Colshyllt* 1539, *Collshillt* 1597, *Colesilt* 1699; *Konshyllt* 1149, *Conseill* 1353, *Kwmsallt* 1543, *Counshillt* 1595, *Conshilt* 1601, *Counslyllt* 1683; *Counsillt* alias *Coleshillt* 1623, *Countsilt* alias *Coleshilt* 1671. OE pers.n. *Col(l)* + *hyll*. B. G. Charles<sup>21</sup> postulates the later development thus: *Coleshill* > \**Coneshill* (by dissimilation) > \**Coneshillt*. On OE *hyll* > Welsh *-illt*, see *Bagillt* and *Gwersyllt*. There is a possible *i*-affection in *Kelsyllt*, while *Kwmsallt* (which Melville Richards cites<sup>22</sup> as having survived as *Cwmsallt*) shows the influence of Welsh *allt* 'hill'. (Compare the addition of final *t* in *Bagillt*, above.)

*Gwersyllt*: *Wershull*, *Wershuld*, *Wersult* 1315, *Gwersild* 1393, 1442, 1561, *Gwersyllt* 1402, *Wersyllt* 1461, *Gwershull* 1561, *Wershulte* 1564. Melville Richards offered OE *wearg* 'felon' + *hyll* (discussed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* CXIII (1964) 161 and in 'Welsh Influence', 217). However, Dr John Insley suggests to me (in a personal note) that the first element may be the genitive of an OE pers.n. to give \**Wersiges-hyll*. I prefer the latter explanation, partly because no *wearg* compounds in *DEPN* or

*EPNE* contain a genitive or plural *s*. Melville Richards did concede that there was no actual evidence of a gallows here, but that the Welsh word *gwersyll* 'camp' probably reinforced the naturalization (ibid.). (Its inclusion as an example of the *Golftyn*-type depends largely on the supposed etymology of \**Wersiges-hyll*, since the recorded forms do not actually reveal syncope.) The pitch-prominent syllable shows the same phonological change as *Bagillt*; see *Gwesbyr*, etc., for the initial de-lenition. The English pronunciation commonly heard is 'Gwerslt'; cf. *Bagillt*.

*Golden Grove/Gwylgre*: *Ulvesgrave* DB, *Gulgrave* 1340, *Gwlgre* 1550, *Golgrove* 1575, *Golgref*, *Gowldgreve* t.Eliz, *Goldengrove* 1620, *Gwylcre*, *Gwlgre* 1699. OE pers.n. *Wulf* + *grāf*. The Welsh forms also reveal partial apocope and initial de-lenition (cf. *Golftyn*). The Modern English form is the result of popular etymology.

*Wrexham (Wrecsam) (Gwrecsam)*: *Wristlesham* 1161, *Wrightesham*, *Wrechtessham* 1294, *Wrectesham* 1295, *Wryghtlesham* 1316; *Wrexham* 1186, *Gwreksam* 1291, *Wrexam* 13th c., *Wrixham* 1315, *Gwreksam* c.1566, *Gwrexam* 1560-90, *Greexam* 1590; *Wrexham* *treuly caullid* *Wrightesham* 1536-9. OE pers.n. \**Wryhtel* + *hamm* or *hām*. The forms with initial de-lenition are largely archaic, *Wrecsam* being the accepted Welsh spelling.

### (3) the *Wepre*-type

In this group of two-syllable place-names (in English and in Welsh), the changes are less drastic because the Welsh penultimate stress falls in with existing initial English stress. However, the following pitch-prominence does produce some phonological features which are not characteristic of English place-names.

*Wepre/Gwepra*: *Wepre* DB, *Wapir* 1281, 1351, *Weper* 1284, *Wepre* 1335; *Weppra* 1452, 1612, *Gweppra* 1489, *Gwepra* 1601, 1699. (Hitherto unexplained and not recognised as an English p.n. for inclusion in *NCPN*.) OE *wēoh* 'idol' + *beorg* 'hill'.<sup>23</sup> The modern English pronunciation is as in *Weper* 1284, while the naturalized Welsh pronunciation shows initial de-lenition (of *w* > *gw*), and pitch-prominence which caused the unstressed second syllable to resist reduction,<sup>24</sup> but encouraged metathesis.

*Whitford/Chwitffordd*: *Widford* DB, *Witford* 1248, *Whitford* 1303, 1699, *Wittefford* 1328, *Wytford* 1378; *Chwitforth*, *Chwitforth* 1284, *Chwytford* 1292, *Quitfordia* 1293, *Chwitffordd* 1432, *Wythforthe* 1433, *Chwithffordd* c.1566. OE *hwit* 'white' + *ford*. OE *hw* and ME *wh* were closer to Welsh *chw* than to Welsh *w*.<sup>25</sup> (Otherwise we might have expected the change *w* > *gw* in the naturalized variant.) A further mutation of *chw* > *cw* is evidenced in *Quitfordia*<sup>26</sup> (where English *qu* represents Welsh *cw*). Other Welsh words intruding are *chwith* 'left-(hand)', and *ffordd* 'way, road'.<sup>27</sup>

*Leadbrook*|*Lleprog*: *Latbroc* DB, *Ledebrok* 1284, *Ledbrooke* 1578; *Thled-brok* 1332, *Llebprok* 1484, *leprok* 1526, *Llepprok* 1563, *Lleprog* 1699. OE *lēad* 'lead' + *brōc* (associated with the lead-mining industry). Initial *l* > *ll* is another regular Welsh development,<sup>28</sup> while voicing of final *c* > *g* is found in *Erddig*, above, and in loan-words.<sup>29</sup> The development to *Lleprog* rather than *Lleprwg*<sup>30</sup> can be explained by two facts:

(i) The assimilation of medial *db* > *p* may have camouflaged the significance of 'brook' in the Welsh variant (which certainly cannot be said for the form *Leade Brooke* 1602).

(ii) The place-name was frequently part of a longer name-phrase (the Welsh variant of *Ledebrok Major* and *Minor* 1284): *Ladbrokvaur* 1295, *Leadbrokvaghan* 1361, *Thledbrok Vawr* and *Vaughan* 1332. The stress is likely to have fallen on the qualifying 'Fawr' or 'Fechan'. Hence 'brook' probably became an unstressed medial syllable, causing shortening of *oo* to *o* in the loose compound; this short *o* was then transferred to the original compound *Lleprog*.

*Gwacco*: *Walke* 1536, 1540, *Wake* 1582; *Wacco* 1538, *Gwacko* 1621, *Gwacco* 1743. ME *walke* 'tract of land used for the pasture of animals esp. sheep' e.g. 'walke for a hundred sheepe' 1541 (*NED* s.v. *walk* II 12). The late documentation makes for an unsatisfactory explanation of the phonology. The loss of medial *l* in English is reflected in the naturalized Welsh variant, while pitch-prominence turns the final unstressed ME *e* into *o* in Welsh. It is however a difficult development to parallel in loan-words, where unstressed final *e* tends to remain as Welsh *e* (e.g. *swper* 'supper' (cited in *EEW*, 112), or become the dialectal variant *a* (*swpar*); cf. *Wepre*, above).

#### COMPARABLE PLACE-NAMES IN ENGLAND

I have so far attempted to trace the impression made by a particular Welsh stress pattern on English place-names in Clwyd. Some problematic place-names in what is now England can also be explained by resorting to the same rhythmic matrix.

(a) B. G. Charles<sup>31</sup> found *Dudleston* (Shropshire) in 'the oddly truncated form *Dudlust*'. *Wiggington* (Herefordshire) 'was likewise curtailed and became *Wigynt*, now *Wiggin* on the map side by side with *Wiggington*'. Both fit into the *Borras*-type, in particular the development of *Wallington*.

(b) Dr Margaret Gelling<sup>32</sup> considers that the naturalization as expounded in this article will explain the following place-names which have hitherto defied satisfactory explanation. (Dr Gelling had already identified them as showing the loss of a final syllable which, examined in isolation from Clwyd, seemed to suggest 'a development specially characteristic of Shropshire'.)

*Edgebold*: *Edbaldinesham* DB, *Egbaldenham* 1271-2, *Egebaldham* 1337, *Edgebould* 1599. OE pers.n. *Ecgbald(a)* + *hām*. cf. *Borras*-type. The change from *-bald* > *-bold* can be compared with the loan-words *hwsmon* 'houseman', *spectol* 'spectacle(s)'.<sup>33</sup>

*Fits*: *Witesot* DB, *Phitesoth* 1128, *Phitesso* 1138, *Fittes* 1255-6, *Fittus* 1379, *Fyttys* 1498, *Fitts* 1535. pers.n. *Fitt* + *hōh*. Cf. *Borras*-type, with further apocope to a monosyllable. Dr Gelling points out that the loss of final element appears to have occurred earlier than in the other place-names.

*Edgmond*: *Edmendune* DB, *Egmundon* 1227, *Egmonde* 1535, *Edgmond alias Edgmonden* 1601. OE pers.n. *Ecgmund* + *dūn*. Cf. *Borras*-type.

*Ercall*: *Archelou* DB, *Ercalewe* 1203-4, *Erkalwe* 13th c., *Erkall* 1394, *Arcoll*, *Ercall* 1535, *Arcall* 1577. (The modern pronunciation, in *High Ercall* and *Child's Ercall*, is 'Arkle'.) Probably an OE hill-name; *ēar* 'gravel', and a substantive of the adjective *calu(w)* 'bare'. The place-name occurs in Welsh texts as *Ercal* and has been considered 'an old Welsh name of the district'.<sup>34</sup> Professor Melville Richards considered it might be 'the Anglo-Saxon form of an earlier Welsh name'.<sup>35</sup> However, no satisfactory Welsh explanation has been offered for the name, and Dr Gelling is quite right in assuming from her extensive evidence that it is 'more likely to be a Welsh version of an English name'. It clearly corresponds to the *Borras*-type.

#### EXCEPTIONS

The evidence of many place-names in Clwyd and the border territories reveals a well-established process of toponymic naturalization. It is all the more surprising that the exceptions to this process are those very place-names which have hitherto been proposed as outstanding examples of the Welsh system of accentuation.<sup>36</sup> I propose establishing the term 'Prestatyn-type' for this group, since *Prestatyn* is in Clwyd and the forms are well documented.

(4) the *Prestatyn*-type

The place-names retain the same number of syllables as the English original, but the stress is shifted to the medial syllable in their naturalized form.

(i) *Carlatton* (Cumbria) rather than 'Carlton'.<sup>37</sup> Probably ON genitive plural *karla* 'peasants' + OE *tūn*.

(ii) *Brogynlyn* (Shropshire) rather than 'Porkington'.<sup>38</sup> Probably OE pers.n. *Porca* + *ing* + *tūn*.

(iii) *Selattyn* (Shropshire) rather than 'Soulton'.<sup>39</sup> Probably OE *sulh* 'gully' + *āc* + *tūn*.

(iv) *Prestatyn*:<sup>40</sup> *Prestetone* DB, *Prestattune* 1257, *Prestaton* 1305, *Prystatun* 1325, *Prestatun* c.1400, *Prestatyn* 1536. OE genitive plural *prēosta* 'priests' + *tūn*.

It is a striking coincidence that *tūn* is the final element in all four place-names. Yet any temptation to see any semantic significance in this is tempered by the evidence to the contrary supplied above by the naturalized place-names *Wallington*/*Gwalint*, *Overton*/*Owrtyn*, *Golftyn*, *Kelsterton*/*Kelstryn*, *Dudleston*/*Dudlust*, *Wiggington*/*Wiggin*. The question remains: why have *Carlatton*, *Brogyntyn*, *Selattyn* and *Prestatyn* resisted the rhythmic pattern of initial stress, pitch-prominence and truncation?

The discussions by Melville Richards, B. G. Charles and Kenneth Jackson quite rightly recognised the Welsh stress-pattern of penultimate stress. However, none of them makes the point that it runs contrary to the pattern of naturalization revealed in the rest of North-East Wales, and none takes pitch-prominence into account.<sup>41</sup> Ironically Melville Richards has this comment: 'If the name of the place had developed in English it would probably have become *'Preston'*.<sup>42</sup> We could add: 'and if it had followed the regular naturalization it would also, perversely, have become *'Preston'*, or more likely *'Prestyn'*, or even *'Prestat'*'.

My proposition is that in *Prestatyn* the stress pattern of the original English place-name may have been different, that the OE stress did not lie on the initial syllable but on the final syllable of *prēosta-tūn*. *Tūn* must have been the semantic focus of a loose compound. Such final lexical stress is common in English<sup>43</sup> and Welsh toponyms. Welsh name-phrases are particularly revealing here. *Garnedd-Wen* 'the white cairn' is stressed on the final descriptive qualifier; settling down into an established improper compound it is *Garnéddwen*, with medial stress, i.e. the Welsh penultimate stress. Similarly, *pen y berth* 'the end of the hedge' is stressed finally; the place-name *Penyberth*, however, reveals quite extraordinary stress on the semantically insignificant definite article, the medial *y*. Compare also Trefýclo (Knighton) from *Tref y clawdd*. Such stress-shift is the result of the forceful attraction of penultimate stress, the attraction which caused the stress-shift from the final syllable (which in native Welsh was complete by the eleventh century).<sup>44</sup> *Prestatyn* then might have been a well-established loose compound *\*Presta-Tūn*<sup>45</sup> (as opposed to other property held by the priests). This also preserved a convenient medial syllable which was later to take penultimate stress, while the final ME *u* fell in with Middle Welsh *u* to become the pitch-prominent *-tyn*.<sup>46</sup>

It should be noted that the above explanation is offered only for *Prestatyn*. The other three place-names may or may not have comparable developments. Professor Jackson for example believed that the Anglo-Norse hybrid *Carlatun* would have been 'stressed naturally on the first syllable. The late immigrant Cumbrians would then have borrowed it and stressed it on the second syllable, doubtless believing it to be one of their own *Car*-names. In this way it was preserved from the subsequent English syncope that would normally have turned it into *'Carlton'*'.<sup>47</sup> Using a similar argument, Charles acknowledged the intrusion of Welsh *bro* 'region, area' into *Brogyntyn*.<sup>48</sup> In these instances, however, Welsh *caer* and *bro* would normally have secondary stress. Regrettably, no redeeming Welsh element can as yet be offered for *Selattyn* and *Prestatyn*.

#### CONCLUSION

I believe this survey substantiates my long-held contention that the 'English' areas of Clwyd were far less English than we have thought. B. G. Charles argued that what I have called naturalized place-names 'probably date from the Mercian conquests of the eighth century and [these place-names] during the gradual process of reconquest were taken over by the incoming Welsh'.<sup>49</sup> He was referring to the 'repossession' when 'during the eleventh century two Welsh princes, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Gruffudd ap Rhydderch, regained much territory to the east of the Dyke'.<sup>50</sup>

I have my suspicions about the expression and concept of 'the incoming Welsh'. The reconquest was military, not linguistic; there had never been a linguistic capitulation. The establishing of Mercian nuclei in the eighth century and their repossession in the eleventh century were shifts in military allegiance; they were not language-shifts. Many of the major centres might well have been 'English' towns with a non-Welsh speaking administration, but it does not mean they were exclusively monoglot English communities. I doubt if military and administrative possession made much difference to day-to-day communication within the community at large where Welsh would have always been the first, and in most cases the only, language spoken.

#### ENVOI

In 1937 Professor A. H. Smith published an article entitled 'Stress-shifting in place-names'.<sup>51</sup> Stress distribution, he maintained, was 'a problem that needs careful investigation'; there was a need, he argued, 'for a more comprehensive survey'.

Half a century later this article has drawn attention to the possible interpretation of the phonology of naturalized place-names in the light of stress-patterns and intonation.

Y Coleg Normal, BANGOR

### NOTES

This article is a revised version of the paper read on 28 March 1987 at the XIXth Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland held at Nottingham University. That paper was entitled 'Some mixed settlements in Clwyd'. For reasons explained in the second paragraph I have included only that part dealing with stress-patterns, but have amplified the discussion of each place-name and supplemented the illustrative forms.

#### Additional abbreviations

##### 'Angles & Britons'

Kenneth Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria' in J. R. R. Tolkien and others, *Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures*, edited by Henry Lewis (Cardiff, 1963), 60-84.

##### 'Archenfield & Oswestry'

B. G. Charles, 'The Welsh, their language and place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry' in *Angles and Britons*, 85-110.

*BBCS* Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies

*EEW* T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (London, 1923).

*FPN* Ellis Davies, *Flintshire Place-Names* (Cardiff, 1959).

*NCPN* B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales* (London, 1938).

*NTCB* W. F. Nicolaisen, Margaret Gelling and Melville Richards, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* (London, 1970).

'Substitution' B. G. Charles, 'The substitution of Welsh sounds in place-names of English origin in the Border Counties of Wales', *London Mediaeval Studies* 1 (London, 1937), 40-7.

##### 'Welsh Influence'

Melville Richards, 'Welsh Influence on some English place-names in North-East Wales' in *Otium et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, edited by Folke Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), 216-20.

1. *NPCN*, xxxix.
  2. *ibid.*, 231.
  3. 'Welsh Influence', 216-20.
  4. So 'Welsh' have these English place-names become that, ironically, modern monoglot English speakers in the area have considerable difficulty in pronouncing them: for example, *Bagillt* and *Gwersyllt* become 'Baglt' and 'Gwerslt'.
  5. In the original paper read at Nottingham, I used the term 'adopted place-names'; upon further reflection I feel 'naturalized' conveys more clearly the thorough absorption into the new language. T. H. Parry-Williams used the term 'enfranchisement' (in *EEW*, 3).
  6. Two-syllable place-names are not of course the inevitable norm of the Welsh landscape. For every *Bangor* there will be the *Carneddau*, an *Aberystwyth* and a *Rhosllannerchrugog*.
  7. The exceptions are usually, though not exclusively, the result of lexical stress in name-phrases, where the qualifier is felt to be significant, e.g., *Bangor Is-Côed*, *Garnedd Wén*, *Aber-póorth*, *Rhos-ddú*. Kenneth Jackson asked whether perhaps the Welsh language was 'committed by its Sprachgefühl to a penultimate accent' (*LHEB*, 682).
  8. Hence the Englishman's pronunciation of *Bangor* is closer to 'banger', instinctively reducing the unstressed final syllable, whereas the Welshman will give it pitch-prominence as if it were 'Bang-Gor'. In some cases this clearly articulated pitch-prominent syllable may even be 'perceptually the stronger of the two' (Alan R. Thomas, 'A lowering rule for vowels and its ramification in a dialect of North Welsh' in M. J. Ball and Glyn E. Jones, eds, *Welsh Phonology* (Cardiff, 1984), 121), which explains the strange phenomenon of stressed syllables occasionally suffering vowel reduction, e.g., in Modern Welsh *acw* 'yonder' can become '*cw*, *eto* 'again' can become '*to*, as T. Arwyn Watkins has pointed out in 'Cyfnewidiadau seinegol sy'n gysylltiedig â'r "acen Gymraeg"', *BBCS* 26 (1974-76), 400, in taking up a point made earlier by D. M. Jones in 'The accent in Modern Welsh', *BBCS* 13 (1948-50), 63). It was D. M. Jones who maintained that 'clarity of the final syllable is a feature of the language' (*ibid.*). Terms other than 'pitch-prominence' have been 'pitch' (Alan R. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 121), 'pitch peak' (Martin Rhys, 'Intonation and the discourse' in *Welsh Phonology*, 142), and 'tone' (T. Arwyn Watkins, *op. cit.*, 402).
  9. Several eminent philologists have dealt extensively with the relationship between stress and pitch-prominence, notably Sir John Morris-Jones (*A Welsh Grammar Historical and Comparative* (Oxford, 1913), 47-65), Sir T. H. Parry-Williams (*EEW passim*), Professor Henry Lewis (*Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1946), 104-5), Professor Kenneth Jackson (*LHEB*, 265-71, 664-89).
- Others have widened the discussion in accordance with the demands of modern linguistics, notably D. M. Jones (*op. cit.*), T.

Arwyn Watkins (*Leithyddiaeth* (Cardiff, 1961), 26–31, ‘The accent in Old Welsh — its quality and development’ in *BBCS* 25 (1972–74), 1–11, and in ‘Cyfnewidiadau, etc.’ *op. cit.*), T. D. Griffen (‘On phonological stress in Welsh’ in *BBCS* 28 (1978–80), 206–13), Gwenllian M. Awbery (‘Phonotactic constraints in Welsh’ in *Welsh Phonology*, 65–104), Professor Alan R. Thomas (‘A lowering rule, etc.’, 105–124), and Martin Rhys (*op. cit.*, 125–55).

The facts are basically these: in Brittonic the stress appears to have been on the penultimate syllable, but the loss of the final syllable in Brittonic left the penultimate as the final syllable. The instinct for penultimate stress then caused the stress to move back one syllable. This left the final syllable with some vestige of stress which manifested itself, not as stress, but as pitch-prominence. The precise timing of the stress-shift is in some doubt, but the general belief, following Professor Jackson, is that the stress-shift was complete by the 11th century. Professor Jackson maintained that the Anglo-Saxon settlement occurred when the stress was still on the final syllable; see his discussion of *Colne* (*LHEB*, 687).

10. It should be noted that the very nature of a bilingual area means the existence occasionally of dual forms reflecting the linguistic development and preference within a community. For example, with *Kelsterton/Kelstryn* the latter is the naturalized Welsh form, and it is this which manifests the prosodic features which are the concern of the article. With *Gwesbyr* the original *Westbury* has long since disappeared. Thus each place-name necessitates separate treatment. Attention, however, will be drawn to the currency of the variants.
11. Further documentation has been taken from the work of the following: B. G. Charles *NCPN* and ‘Substitution’, Melville Richards *NTCB* and ‘Welsh influence’, Ellis Davies *FPN*, and K. Lloyd Gruffydd (personal notes).
12. Cf. loan-words like *gwast* ‘waste’, *gweitio* ‘wait’, *gwatio* ‘watch’. For a fuller discussion of such back-formation, see *EEW*, 227–8, and ‘Substitution’, 46–7.
13. It should be remembered that Welsh *dd* is pronounced as the voiced English *th* [ð], while Welsh *th* is pronounced as the unvoiced English *th* [θ].
14. *Gwesbyr* also shows two strands from early on (demonstrated by *Gwespur* 1332, *Westburi* 1378) but the edges are blurred by forms like *Gwestbury* 1480 and the possibility of archaic records.
15. In medieval and early modern documents *lh* was frequently used for the Welsh unvoiced lateral *ll* (heard in *Llan*, etc.).
16. Cf. loan-words such as *macrell* ‘mackerel’, *rhidyll* ‘riddle, sieve’, *toll* ‘toll’ (cited in *EEW*, 224).
17. Cf. nearby *Hendre Figill* with its variant *Hendre Figillt*. Cf. also *bwyall* ‘axe’ > *bwyallt* in Caernarfonshire dialect (cited *EEW*, 249). Tomos Roberts draws my attention to a similar development in two

- river-names, Anglesey’s *Arianell* > *Eirianellt* and Glamorgan’s *Budr-angell* > *Bodringallt*.
18. Cf. *Oswald* > *Oswallt*, and loan-words *ffald*, *ffolt*, *ffollt* ‘fold’, *cwcwallt* ‘cuckold’, *boltt* ‘bolt’ (cited *EEW*, 244).
  19. See the note by Sir Ifor Williams in *Enwau Lleoedd* (Liverpool, 1945), 6.
  20. Cf. the loan-word *cwsberi(n)s* ‘gooseberries’ (cited in *EEW*, 220).
  21. ‘Substitution’, 46.
  22. ‘Welsh Influence’, 217; however, he records only *Coleshill* in his *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969), 47.
  23. Cf. *Wooperton* (Northumberland): *Wepradune* 1179, *Weperden* 1242, *Weperdon* 1256 (*DEPN*). The reference in Clwyd’s *Wepre* is to the hill on which Ewloe Castle was to be built in the 13th cent. On the significance of a pagan religious site, see Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London, 1978), 158–9.
  24. Cf. ME *coppe* > Welsh *copa* ‘summit’ (cited in *EEW*, 94).
  25. Cf. loan-words *chwip* ‘whip’, *chwislo* ‘whistle’ (cited in *EEW*, 228–9).
  26. In Welsh, *chw* can be a mutation of *cw* as in *cwmp* ‘fall’, *ei chwymp* ‘her fall’.
  27. In the principal Welsh dictionary, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (1950–), there is no record of *ffordd* (from English *ford*) meaning anything other than ‘way’. However, there is at least one instance in the early period where it has the meaning ‘ford’: see O. J. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (Nottingham, 1985), 99. Cf. two p.nn. which show the same naturalization of *d* > *dd*: *Hereford/Henffordd*, *Haverford(west)/Hwllffordd*.
  28. Cf. the loan-words *llofft* ‘loft’, and especially OE *loc* > Welsh *lloc* ‘sheepfold’, giving the p.n. *Lloc* (Clwyd), and OE *lēah*, giving the p.nn. *Llai* and *Coedllai* (*Leeswood*) (Clwyd).
  29. Cf. *clog* ‘cloak’, *garlleg* ‘garlic’ (cited in *EEW*, 241).
  30. ME *oo/ou* was retained (as *w*) in Welsh loan-words: *bilwg* ‘billhook’, *gatws* ‘gatehouse’ (cited *EEW*, 138, 154, 168).
  31. ‘Archenfield & Oswestry’, 107. He does not cite forms in that article, however.
  32. I am grateful to Dr Gelling for responding to the original paper by sending me copies of her drafts on the Shropshire p.nn. The selection of forms from her exhaustive documentation is entirely my responsibility.
  33. Cited in *EEW*, 51–2.
  34. *DEPN*.
  35. *National Library of Wales Journal* XVIII, i (1973), 142.
  36. See the second paragraph of this article.
  37. Discussed by Professor Kenneth Jackson in ‘Angles & Britons’, 83.
  38. Discussed by B. G. Charles in ‘Archenfield & Oswestry’, 107.
  39. *ibid.*



40. The place-name has been discussed by Professor Melville Richards in *NTCB*, 154, and in 'Welsh Influence', 216, and by B. G. Charles in *NCPN*, 230-1, and in 'Substitution', 42-3. Professor Jackson also refers to it in 'Angles & Britons', 83.
41. Pitch-prominence does not appear in their discussions of any of the other naturalized p.nn. either.
42. *NTCB*, 154.
43. Cf. Camden Tówn.
44. See note 9.
45. B. G. Charles (*NCPN*, 230) points out that some p.nn. in Devon also retain the genitive plural: *Prestacott*, *Priestacott*, *Priestaford* (*PNDevon*, 129, 131, 465).
46. This vowel-change is a well-known phonological feature in Clwyd, revealed in *Mostyn*, *Mertyn*, *Estyn*, *Sychdyn*, *Brychtyn*, *Axtyn*, *Golftyn*, *Kelstryn*, *Owrtyrn* and in Shropshire's *Selattyn* and *Brogtyntyn*; see the comment under type (2) above.
47. 'Angles & Britons', 83.
48. 'Archenfield & Oswestry', 107.
49. 'Substitution', 41.
50. Melville Richards, 'Welsh Influence', 218.
51. *London Mediaeval Studies* I (1937), 48-55. He concerned himself with the difficulty of distinguishing in English place-names between final *lēah*, *hyll*, and a noun-forming suffix *el*, each of which could appear indistinguishable from the others as an unstressed final *-le*, *-el* or *-la*.

## The Element *Ath*/*Ford* in Irish Place-Names

Breandán S. Mac Aodha

In times gone by, rivers formed serious obstacles to movement by land. Well into the present century stilts were employed as an aid to dry passage across many rivers, both in mainland Europe, e.g. the Taro,<sup>1</sup> and in Ireland, e.g. the Moyola in Co. Derry.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising, then, that shallow stretches which facilitated crossing acquired great significance, and it was natural, too, that settlements would tend to develop at such crossing points, and to acquire their names from those features. Most surviving 'ford' names in Ireland are settlement-names, but in former times many crossing points remote from settlements were clearly identified by name.<sup>3</sup>

A perusal of *Ainmneacha Gaeilge na mBailte Poist*<sup>4</sup> reveals that the term *áth* (a ford) occurs in a number of different contexts in the names of Irish postal towns. Surprisingly, the simple nominative form is only the second most common of these. It is found in forty instances,<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Áth Dara* 'the ford of the oak-tree' (Adare, Co. Limerick), *Áth na Cloiche* 'the ford of the stone' (Annacloy, near Downpatrick) and *Áth an Chláir* 'the ford of the plain', (Aclare, near Ballymote, Co. Sligo). Much more commonly, however, the word is found in the genitive case *átha* in a variety of combinations with other elements, and accompanied more often than not by the definite article *an*. The most common combination of all is the form *béal(an)átha*. The late distinguished editor of *The Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* showed that this form, which lies concealed in the name of Belfast itself, occurs in the annals as far back as the twelfth century and became common from the fifteenth century onwards. It signifies 'approach to a ford'.<sup>6</sup>

There are fifty-one instances of names employing this particular formula, e.g. *Béal an Átha Fada* 'approach to the long ford' (Ballinafad, Co. Galway), *Béal an Átha Móir* 'approach to the great ford' (Balnamore, near Ballymoney, Co. Antrim), and *Béal an Átha Mí* 'approach to the smooth ford' (Ballinameen, Co. Roscommon).<sup>7</sup> Examples without the definite article preceding *átha* include *Béal Átha an Tuair* 'approach to ford of the bleaching green' (Ballytore, near Athy, Co. Kildare), *Béal Átha na Leac* 'approach to ford of the flagstones' (Ballinalack, near Mullingar,