4. Ibid., 12.
7. As above, note 5.
10. Ibid., 32–3 and 35.
11. Ibid., 35.
15. Anglo-Norman p is presumably masking OE ‘wynn’.
17. DEPN, 407.
19. J. K. Wallenberg, Kentish Place-Names (Uppsala, 1931), 8t.
22. Ek.W., 37.
23. Ibid., 31–2.

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’ 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’. 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).

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 Maeilor 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/Flint 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.¹ I propose to use the term ‘naturalized place-names’ for this third category.² 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.³

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; Bângor, Carneddau, Aberystwyth, Rhosllannerchrugog.⁴ Inflection may necessitate stress-shift: cânedd ‘cairn’, cárniadau ‘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.⁵

There are historical reasons for the development of penultimate stress and pitch-prominence in Welsh.⁶ 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 > interlîdu). 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, wheelbarrow > whîther, pendulum > pêndil, handkerchief > hânces. 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: interlîdu > interlîtiau, hânces > hâncesi. 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.⁷ 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 Goffyn-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.11

(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 suprasegmentary.

In three instances, the entire final element hâm 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 þ is regularized as a mutation of Welsh gw- to form a new radical.12

Borras: Boreshape, Borasham 1315, Bor(r)as 1530. OE pers.n. Bâr + hâm
Erlas: Erð(e)lesham 1315, Erlisham, Erlys 1561, Erles 1620. OE pers.n. *E(a)rdel + hâm
Esclusam|Esclusa: Escleseham, Escluseham 1547, Esclus 1554. OE pers.n. *Escl + hâm. 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.

Erdått: Euidotic 1315, Eurchigot 1535, Eurthyg, Eruithig 16th c. Probably OE hirda 'herdsman' + cot

Guesbyr: Wesherby DE, Goestpur 1322, Westbury 1378, Wethbury 1420, Gwestbury 1480, Guesbyr 1535, Westbury 1566, 1591–2, Gwespyr 1613. OE cist + 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: Hardingberie DB, Worthenbury 1300, Wrddymbre 1347, Worthymburie 1402, Gurddymbre 1418, Worthebre in Walch Gutothombre 1536, Gwyrithph 1566, Gwyrthph t.Eli. OE crowbhn + burh. Melville Richards however suspected the last two forms might be 'antiquarian' (ibid., 220) certainly they did not survive.

Wallingt: Wal(l)lyntion 1458, 1570, Goaldint 1503, Gwalyntion 1546, Gwallint 1617. The forms 'are too late for interpretation' (NCPN, 215), while Melville Richards suggests the second element may be -igdint ('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.)14 Bachelei DB, Bachegel 1325, Baekkelagh 1361, Baidele 1408, Baclek 1444, Bageill 1306, Bagull 1345, Bagelle 1368, Bagillt 1683, Bagillt15 Bagillt 1699; Baclek alias Bagillt 1777, Baclely or Bagillt 1624. OE pers.n. Bacca + ëlæh. The chronology of sound-changes was probably as follows: Bachelei > *Bacel > *Bageel > *Bagil > 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 Bagillt (which did not survive), the other unvoiced to Bagillt16 before the final t was added.17 Alternatively, but less likely, it would be possible to postulate the later changes as follows: *Bagil > Bagil > Bagillt.18 The form Bagillt could then be explained by the occasional loss of final t after ll.19 (Comparable developments can be seen in Gwesyllt and Coleshill/Cymyllt, below.) It is worth noting that the 'English' pronunciation commonly heard in the area is 'Bagil' for which Bagillt seems to be the antecedent.

(2) the Goltynn-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 syncopation 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 tân > Middle Welsh tyhn 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).

Goltynn: Ulfmîon DB, Wolflnton 1253, Wolfonston 1284, Wolflington 1315, Wolflington 1658; Goltynn 1354, Gwellyfyn, Goltynn 1489, Goltynn 1514, Goltynn 1535, Goltynn 1699; Goltynn alias Wolflfyn 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. Wolfinthe + tân. (This is preferable to the Wulfa + ing suggested by B. G. Charles ibid. and in 'Substitution', 41–2.) The regular initial de-lenition of wâ > w (cf. Gwesyllt, Guesbyr) is compromised here by the rounded vowel following Ge. It is resolved in two ways: by further profection of Welsh g > c (Kleifynn) and by elimination of w (Goltynn) (cf. Golden Grove).
naturalized Welsh form (otherwise we might expect ‘Kelsynt’ cf. Gofyllt, Overtyn). There is no evidence of a Welsh spelling in C- rather than K-.

Overtyn/Overtyn: Overtyn 1201, Overtyn 1440., Overtyn 1699; Overtyn 1309, Avertyn 14th c., Overtyn 1425., Wirtyn 15th c., Overtyn 1548. Overtyn 1550, Orynt 1566, Oron alias Overtyn 1612. OE æfer ‘bank’ + ūn. On the regular change from ūn to Middle Welsh ūn see above and n. 48.

Bistr: Biscope scenic DB, Bissopested 1093, Bistr 1533, Bistrée Britta (annice) broseigol 1699. A note in the Addenda to NCPN, xlii suggested that Cross Esgob ‘bishop’s cross’ (which has not survived as a place-name) confirms Professor Bruce Dickins’ contention that OE trės was here used in the sense of ‘cross’. (Cf. Osweydis, Welsh Crossoswallt: Crossoswallt 1254, Nosadlles 1272.) B. G. Charles had originally put forward the OE pers.n. Biscep 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, Eltisley or Osneycey, Coventry); the English pronunciation is in fact ‘Bistre’.

Calicot: Caldecotte DB, 1317, 1352, 1594, Caldicote 1635; Calhot 1354, Calcote 1591, Calceot, Calcot 1699. OE c(e)l + cote. The variant Calcoed (influenced by Welsh coed ‘trees’) did not survive, although Ellis Davies has Calcoed, Calcut as head-words in FPN, 29. It should not be thought that Caldecote > Calcut is exclusively the result of the Welsh stress-pattern. In DEPN three examples of early Caldecote become modern Calcut (in Beds., Berks. and Salop) while twelve examples remain as Caldecot(t). Caldecot in Monmouthshire has a few examples of Calcote 1381, Calricote 1437, Calcute 1493, but they did not survive. Similarly Caldecott in Cheshire reveals Caldecot 1208, Calcute 1354 (PN Cheshire IV, 62). The only certainty is that the Welsh stress-pattern ensured the dominance of the two-syllable form.

Coleshill/Counsylt: Coleshul 1093, Colshul 1240, Colshull 1285, Coleshill 1304, Colshull 1523; Coleselt DB, Kelsylt 1475, Kelshylit 1539, Colshyllt 1597, Colesilt 1699; Konshylit 1149, Consell 1353, Konshelt 1543, Co中小型hill 1595, Conshelt 1601, Counsylit 1683; Counsylt alias Co中小型hill 1623, Counsyltit alias Co中小型hill 1671; OE pers.n. Coli (l)yll + hylt. B. G. Charles 24 postulates the later development thus: Co中小型hill > By中小型llt (by dissimilation) > *By中小型ll. On OE hylt > Welsh hylt, see Bagittl and Gwydryllt. There is a possible i-affectation in Kelsylt, while Konshyllt (which Melville Richards cites 22 as having survived as Counsylt) shows the influence of Welsh alti ‘hill’. (Compare the addition of final t in Bagittl, above.)

Gwersyllt: Wershull, Wershul, Wersult 1315, Gversld 1393, 1442, 1561, Gwersyllt 1402, Wersylit 1461, Gversyllt 1561, Wershilt 1564. Melville Richards offered OE wearg ‘felon’ + hylt (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 *Fersigis-hylt. 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 Gofyllt-type depends largely on the supposed etymology of *Wrragen-hyll, since the recorded forms do not actually reveal syncope.) The pitch-prominent syllable shows the same phonological change as Bagillt; see Gweesby, etc., for the initial de-lentition. The English pronunciation commonly heard is ‘Gweersyll’; cf. Bagillt.


Wrexham (Wrecsam) (Gwracsam): Ristolham 1161, Wrethigate 1294, Wrecsthelem 1295, Wryhtilesham 1316; Wrexham 1186, Wrecsam 1291, Wrexam 1314 c., Wrischam 1315, Wreksam c. 1560, Gwrecsam 1590, Grecsam 1590; Wrexham treuly caudlld Wristyletham 1536-9. OE pers.n. *Frychytell + ham or hám. The forms with initial de-lentition 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, Giewpra 1489, Gwepra 1601, 1699. (Hitherto unexplained and not recognised as an English p.n. for inclusion in NCPN.) OE wepr ‘idol’ + hylt ‘hill’ 23. The modern English pronunciation is as in Wepre 1284, while the naturalized Welsh pronunciation shows initial de-lentition (of w > gw), and pitch-prominence which caused the unstressed second syllable to resist reduction, 24 but encouraged metathesis.

Whitford/Chwiftord: Wisford DB, Witford 1248, Whitford 1303, 1690, Witteford 1328, Wyntford 1378; Chwiftor, Chwiftor 1284, Chwyrford 1292, Quifordia 1293, Chwiftord 1432, Wythforthe 1433, Chwth ffordd c. 1566. OE huht ‘white’ + ford. OE hec and ME wic were closer to Welsh chw = than to Welsh w. 25 (Otherwise we might have expected the change w > gw in the naturalized variant.) A further mutation of chw > ce is evidenced in Quifordia 26 (where English qu represents Welsh eu). Other Welsh words intruding are chwth ‘left-hand’, and ffordd ‘way, road’. 27
Comparative 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 found Dudleston (Shropshire) in the oddly truncated form Duddhat'. Wiggington (Herefordshire) 'was likewise curtailed and became Wiggyn, now Wuggen on the map side by side with Wiggington'. Both fit into the Borrasi-type, in particular the development of Wallington.

(b) Dr Margaret Gelling 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').

Edgeberd: Edgaldinesham DB, Edgaldenham 1271-2, Egealdaham 1337, Edgeboul 1599. OE pers.n. Eedgebala(a) + hám. Cf. Borrasi-type. The change from -bald > -bold can be compared with the loan-words hæson 'houseman', spectul 'spectacle(s)').

Fits: Witsot DB, Phiteso 1128, Phiass 1138, Fitzs 1255-6, Fitts 1379, Fittsy 1498, Fitts 1535. pers.n. Fitt + hóm. Cf. Borrasi-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.


Ercill: Archel DB, Ercaleose 1203-4, Erkholte 13th c., Erkhol 1335, Arcoll, Ercill 1355, Arcoll 1577. (The modern pronunciation, in High Ercoll and Child's Ercoll, is 'Arkle'). Probably an OE hill-name; eor 'gravel', and a substantive of the adjective calu(e) 'bare'. The place-name occurs in Welsh texts as Ercoal and has been considered 'an old Welsh name of the district'. Professor Melville Richards considered it might be 'the Anglo-Saxon form of an earlier Welsh name'. 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 Borrasi-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. 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) Carlato (Cumbria) rather than 'Carlton'. Probably ON genitive plural karla 'peasants' + OE tún.

(ii) Brogynin (Shropshire) rather than 'Porkington'. Probably OE pers.n. Porca + ing + tán.

(iii) Selattyn (Shropshire) rather than 'Souton'. Probably OE sal 'gully' + āc + tán.
(iv) Prestatyn\textsuperscript{40} Prestetone DB, Prestattune 1257, Prestat 1305, Prestatyn 1325, Prestatun c.1400, Prestatyn 1536. OE genitive plural próista ‘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 Wellington, Goslarin, Overton/Overtyn, Goffyn, Kelston/Keltryn, Duldsto/Dudlust, Wigginton/Wiggin. The question remains: why have Carlaton, Brogyn, 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.\textsuperscript{41} Ironically Melville Richards has this comment: ‘If the name of the place had developed in English it would probably have become ‘Preston’.’\textsuperscript{42} 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 próista-tūn. Tūn must have been the semantic focus of a loose compound. Such final lexical stress is common in English\textsuperscript{43} 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 Garneddwn, 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 Trefyclo (Knighton) from Tref y cladd. 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).\textsuperscript{44} Prestatyn then might have been a well-established loose compound *Presta-Tūn\textsuperscript{45} (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 -tūn.\textsuperscript{46}

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’.

Using a similar argument, Charles acknowledged the intrusion of Welsh bro ‘region, area’ into Brogyn.\textsuperscript{48} 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’.\textsuperscript{49} He was referring to the ‘repossession’ when ‘during the eleventh century two Welsh princes, Gruaffud ap Llywelyn and Gruffudd ap Rhyyderch, regained much territory to the east of the Dyke’\textsuperscript{50}. I have no 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 repossessing 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.

ENVÖI

In 1937 Professor A. H. Smith published an article entitled ‘Stress-shifting in place-names’.\textsuperscript{51} Stress distribution, he maintained, was ‘a problem that needs careful investigation’; there was a need, he argued, ‘for a more comprehensive survey’.

\textsuperscript{40} For the coining of Prestatyn see J. W. Mitchell, Local Names, 1926, 240.
\textsuperscript{41} M. Richards, Welsh Place-Names, 1913, 92.
\textsuperscript{44} H. G. Dykes, ‘The problem of stress in Welsh and English place-names’ in Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 1920, 149.
\textsuperscript{45} Note that in the genitive plural próista-tūn the final syllable tūn is stressed.
\textsuperscript{51} A. H. Smith, Stress-shifting in place-names, 1937.
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'


'Archenfield & Oswestry'

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

BCBS

Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies

EEW


FPN

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

NCPN

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

NTCB


'Substitution'


'Welsh Influence'


1. NCPN, xxxix.
2. ibid., 231.
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 'Baglyt' and 'Gwersil'.
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 Corneddau, Gerynfydd and a Rhaiannonerchog.
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, Garaned Wên, Aber-pôrth, Rhos-ddu. 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-Gôr'. 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 'ctw, eto 'again' can become 'to, as T. Arwyn Watkins has pointed out in 'Cyfnewediadu seinogol syn ymysgliadig â'r "acyn Gymraeg"', BBCS 26 (1974–75), 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).

Others have widened the discussion in accordance with the demands of modern linguistics, notably D. M. Jones (op. cit.), T.

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, 689).

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 Kestertton/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 Gresby 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 greas 'waste', gavitio 'wait', gavitio '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. Gresby also shows two strands from early on (demonstrated by Gwespar 1332, Westbury 1378) but the edges are blurred by forms like Gresby 1486 and the possibility of archaic records.

15. In medieval and early modern documents th was frequently used for the Welsh unvoiced lateral ll (heard in Llan, etc.).

16. Cf. loan-words such as macell 'mackerel', rhiddyll 'riddle, sieve', toll 'toll' (cited in EEW, 224).

17. Cf. nearby Hendre Figill with its variant Hendre Figgill. Cf. also brydall 'axe' > brycall in Caernarfonshire dialect (cited EEW, 249). Tomos Roberts draws my attention to a similar development in two river-names, Anglesey’s Arianell > Erianell and Glamorgan’s Budr-angel > Bodringallt.

18. Cf. Owstall > Owstall, and loan-words ffald, ffolt, ffolt 'fold', cerwoll 'cuckold', bollt 'bolt' (cited EEW, 244).

19. See the note by Sir Ifor Williams in Emawr Lleodd (Liverpool, 1946), 6.

20. Cf. the loan-word cwsber(i)n 'gooseberries' (cited in EEW, 220).


22. ‘Welsh Influence’, 217; however, he records only Coleshill in his Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units (Cardiff, 1966), 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. 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).


26. In Welsh, chw can be a mutation of cw as in cymc ‘fall’, ei chwmp ‘her fall’.

27. In the principal Welsh dictionary, Gairiadur Prysgol Gymru (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 of ‘ford’: see O. J. Pedel, Cornish Place-Name Elements (Nottingham, 1983), 99. Cf. two p.m. which show the same naturalization of d > dd: Hereford/Henfordd, Haverforddau/Haforddaidd.

28. Cf. the loan-words llofft ‘loft’, and especially OE loc > Welsh lloc ‘sheepfold’, giving the p.n. Lloc (Clwyd), and OE léah, giving the p.n. Llai and Coedlai (Leeswood) (Clwyd).


30. Cf. OE ollou was retained (as òl) in Welsh loan-words: biling ‘hillbook’, gatess ‘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.m. The selection of forms from her exhaustive documentation is entirely my responsibility.


34. DEPN.


36. See the second paragraph of this article.


39. ibid.
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,1 and in Ireland, e.g. the Moyola in Co. Derry.2 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.3

A perusal of *Aimmeacha Gaeilge na mBailte Fhais* 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,4 e.g. *Áth Dara* ‘the ford of the oak-tree’ (Adare, Co. Limerick), *Áth na Cloiche* ‘the ford of the stone’ (Anacloy, 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 than not by the definite article an. The most common combination of all is the form *béalannátha*. 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’.5

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’ (Balmamore, near Ballymoney, Co. Antrim), and *Béal an Átha Mín* ‘approach to the smooth ford’ (Ballinameen, Co. Roscommon).6 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,