

The Replacement of /ə/ and /i/ in the English Pronunciation of Names¹

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IN THE ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION of a number of geographical and personal names, when a weakly stressed syllable containing /ə/ or /i/ comes under greater stress, whether for reasons of rhythmical alternation, recession of primary stress, or whatever, the quality of the vowel often changes in the newly stressed syllable.² It has been known, of course, at least since the time Verner's Law was formulated that shifts in stress cause qualitative changes in the vowels involved, and every student of the history of the language has noticed the vowel gradation in a series like *phótogràph* /ow, ə, æ/, *photógrapher* /ə, ɑ, ə/, *phòtográphic* /ow, ə, æ/. It seems worthwhile to continue the study of this phenomenon, however, in order to gain a better understanding of the extent to which proper names are affected, and in the process to determine further the extent to which by examining the nature of the syllables involved, whether in proper names or not, we can generalize about the quality of the newly stressed vowel.³ Also by noting the extent to which words that are not names are subject to the same sort of vowel gradation, we can have a better idea about how "regular" this particular kind of sound change is in proper names.⁴

¹ It is a privilege for me to be one of those to contribute to this *Festschrift* in honor of my colleague and friend, Professor Margaret Bryant. She has added in substantial ways to our knowledge of the English language through her scholarship and writings, and her work in support of the American Name Society and the American Dialect Society has been and continues to be of inestimable value.

² The designation "newly stressed" syllable is used for convenience, but in some instances is not accurate, strictly speaking, since the pronunciation of the variant with the stressed syllable may be older than the variant with /ə/ or /i/ (cf. Bákewell Bákewèll /ə e/) or may be at least partially accounted for by other factors, such as dialectal differences between British and American English (cf. Ásbury Ásbùry /ə e/) or the Anglicanization of non-native words (cf. Béaumont Béaumònt /ə ɑ/).

³ The subjects of stress change and vowel reduction have been treated by various authors. Particular attention is called to W. Nelson Francis, *The Structure of American English* (New York, 1954), pp. 217–18, and to Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York, 1968), p. 59 ff. ("English Phonology").

⁴ In order to underscore the regularity of the various patterns, care has been taken to give a fair number of nonstandard variants, both of names and non-names.

In the analysis which follows, the examples given for each of the four categories are not meant, of course, to be exhaustive, and the pronunciations given are selective, since some variants would be irrelevant to our present concern. Unless otherwise indicated, the proper names and their pronunciations are taken from the supplementary pages of *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, Second Edition,⁵ subsequently called *W*₂, either from the "Pronouncing Gazetteer" or from the "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary." The other two most frequently cited sources for the pronunciation of proper names are, respectively, John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*⁶ and "A Pronouncing Vocabulary of Common English Given Names" in *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*,⁷ referred to subsequently as *KK* and *W*₆. Unless otherwise indicated, words from the general vocabulary, i. e., words that are not proper names, are taken from Kenyon and Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*. It should be noted that the phonemic symbols used represent the present author's understanding of the various phonetic symbols used in the several sources. The reader should also realize that the different methods of indicating stress have been standardized and that secondary and tertiary stress marks have been silently supplied when they seem called for by the pronunciation evidence in the sources.⁸

I. Let us consider first the type of non-monosyllabic word in which the syllable containing /ə/ or /i/ is closed. The vowel of the newly stressed syllable appears usually to be of the checked variety, i. e., one followed immediately by a consonant in the same syllable. (English checked vowels are /i, e, æ, ə, u/. In most American dialects, /a/ also belongs in this list; in standard British, /ɒ/.)⁹ Examples of checked vowels in newly stressed syllables are as follows:

Ádelbert	Adélibert ¹⁰	/ə e/	Cáthcart	Cáthcàrt	/ə α/
Arbúthnot	Árbuthnòt	/ə α/	Célestine	Celéstine ¹³	/ə e/
Ármstead	Ármstèad	/i e/	Chillon	Chillón ¹⁴	/ə α/
Ásbury ¹¹	Ásbùry (Park)	/ə e/	Cólchester	Cólchèster	/i e/
Áudubon	Áudubòn	/ə α/	Crómwell	Crómwèll	/ə e/
Bákewell	Bákewèll	/ə e/	Délaware	Délawàre	/ə ¹⁵ æ/
Béaumont	Béaumònt	/ə α/	Dórchester	Dórchèster	/i e/
Bláckwell	Bláckwèll	/ə e/	Friesland	Friéslànd	/ə æ/
Bréitmánn	Bréitmánn	/ə α/	Láncáster	Láncàster	/ə æ ¹⁶ /
Búckingham	Búckinghàm	/ə ¹² æ/	Mácbèth	Mácbèth ¹⁷	/ə æ/
Cártersville	Cártersville	/ə i/	Néwark (N.J.)	Néwàrk ¹⁸ (Del.)	/ə α/
			Trafálgár	Trafálgar	/ə ¹⁹ æ/

⁵ Ed. William Allan Neilson, *et al.*, Springfield, Mass., 1957 (orig. pub. 1934).

⁶ Springfield, Mass., 1953.

⁷ Springfield, Mass., 1961.

⁸ E. g., *W*₂ includes the pronunciations *Aúdubon* /a/ and *Brisbane* /ey/ without indicating secondary stress, even though the *o* and the *a* would probably have the value of /ə/ if entirely unstressed.

Words of this sort from the general vocabulary include the following:

ábsent	absént	/ə e/	excíse	éxcise	/i e/
accént	áccènt	/ə æ/	expért	éxpèrt	/i e/
eczéma	éczema	/i e/	móral	morále	/ə æ/

On the other hand, the vowel may sometimes be of the free variety, i.e., a vowel (or diphthong) which is free to occur under either of the following conditions: (1) it is succeeded immediately by a consonant in the same syllable, or (2) it concludes its syllable. Vowels (and diphthongs) not of the checked variety are free.²⁰ Examples of free vowels in newly stressed closed syllables are as follows:

Ádeline	Ádelîne ²¹	/i ay,iy/	Brisbane	Brisbàne	/ə ey/
Állegn	Allégn	/i iy/	Cárolíne	Cárolîne ²⁴	/i ay/
Árchibald	Árchibald ²²	/ə ow/	Celéstíne	Célestîne ²⁵	/i ay/
Augústíne	Áugustîne	/i iy/	Élphinstone	Élphinstòne	/ə ²⁶ ow/
Báltimore	Báltimòre	/ə ²³ ow/	Máurice	Mauríce ²⁷	/i iy/
Bláckstone	Bláckstòne	/ə ow/	Nèw Órleans	Nèw Òrléans ²⁸	/ə iy/
			Rósalíne	Rósalîne ²⁹	/i ay,iy/

⁹ Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 3–4, 5–8. Also see Hans Kurath, *A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English* (Ann Arbor, 1964), pp. 17–30.

¹⁰ *W*₆; cf. the pronunciation listed under “III,” below.

¹¹ *W*₂ further gives /ə/ as a variant for the family name. There are many names ending in *-bury*, of course. *W*₂ gives, among others, the following: Átterbury Átterbùry /ə,ə e/; Áylesbury Áylesbùry /ə,ə e/; Cánterbury Cánterbùry /ə,ə e/; Dánbury (Conn.) Dánbùry /ə e/; Énderbury (Phoenix Is.) Énderbùry /ə e/; Fáirbury (Neb.) Fáirbùry (ə e/; Glástonbury Glástonbùry /ə,ə e/; Háwkesbury (river, Australia) Háwkesbùry /ə,ə e/.

¹² *W*₂ marks this pronunciation “Brit.” Other names with *-ham* fit this pattern, so that no additional examples need be given here. Interestingly, *W*₂ gives no secondary stress in the /ə/ variant, although *W*₃ does.

¹³ *W*₆.

¹⁴ *W*₂ marks both pronunciations “Angl.”

¹⁵ Heard by ARD. Native Delawarians often, if not always, prefer /ə/, while others usually say /æ/.

¹⁶ *W*₂ marks this pronunciation “in U.S.”

¹⁷ KK.

¹⁸ Heard by ARD. The city in Delaware is thus distinguished by Delawarians, although usually not by other people, from the city in New Jersey.

¹⁹ Daniel Jones, *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (London, 1946), gives this as an archaic pronunciation. Cf. Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, I, 5.43.

²⁰ Kurath and McDavid (see n. 9, above).

²¹ *W*₆.

²² *W*₆.

²³ *W*₂ marks this pronunciation “locally.”

²⁴ *W*₆.

²⁵ *W*₆.

²⁶ *W*₂ marks this pronunciation “Brit.”

²⁷ *W*₆.

²⁸ *W*₂ calls the first pronunciation local, the second nonlocal.

²⁹ *W*₆.

Words from the general vocabulary include *dómicile* *dómicìle*³⁰ /i ay/; *húman* *húmáne* /ə ey/; *séparate* *séparâte* /i ey/. In other words, either checked or free vowels may be expected to appear in newly stressed closed syllables.

II A. Let us now move to the other end of the scale and consider the non-monosyllabic type of word whose final unstressed syllable is the vowel which may come under stress. Here the newly stressed vowel is necessarily of the free variety, of course, since no consonant follows. All of the words of this type listed here have /ə/,³¹ and the variant usually has /ey/, although sometimes /a/, /o/, or /ow/. Examples are as follows:

<i>África</i>	<i>Áfricà</i> ³²	/ə ey/	<i>Kíowa</i>	<i>Kíowà</i> ³⁷	/ə ey/
<i>Arkánsas</i>	<i>Árkansàs</i>	/ə ɔ ³³ /	<i>Mántua</i> (Ohio)	<i>Mántuà</i>	/ə (w)ey ³⁸
<i>Chicágo</i>	<i>Chicágò</i>	/ə ³⁴ ow/	<i>Náshua</i>	<i>Náshuà</i> ³⁹	/ə (w)ey/
<i>Chíppewa</i>	<i>Chíppewà</i> ³⁵	/ə a, ey/	<i>Ohío</i>	<i>Ohíò</i>	/ə ⁴⁰ ow/
<i>Íowa</i>	<i>Íowà</i>	/ə ey ³⁶ /	<i>*Skamókawa</i>	<i>Skamókawà</i> ⁴¹	/ə ey/

II B. A comparable set of words has /i/⁴² – not in final position – but standing immediately before another vowel. Here the change is usually to /ay/.

<i>Ária</i>	<i>Aría</i>	/i ay/	<i>Càlifornia</i>	<i>Càlifornià</i>	/i+ə ay+ey ⁴³ /
<i>Árius</i>	<i>Arius</i>	/i ay/	<i>Láfayétte</i>	<i>Lafáyette</i> ⁴⁴	/i ey/

³⁰ Jespersen, I, 5.74; cf. Jones. (See n. 19, above.)

³¹ Not listed are words like *álkalì* *álkalè* /i(y) ay/ and *próphecy* *próphecè* /i(y) ay/ with a final vowel sound which some scholars treat as /i/ but which may also be treated as /iy/.

³² *Africa* rimes with *away* in Robert Browning's "Home Thoughts, from the Sea"; cf. the riming of *America* with *stay* in a song in Chapter 2 of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and with *decay* in a song in *Brendan Behan's Island* (New York, 1962), p. 12.

³³ Mute final -s through French influence; cf. Jespersen, I, 14.72 (see n. 19, above).

³⁴ Heard by ARD. Also in KK.

³⁵ KK. Also spelled *Chippawa*, *Chippeway*.

³⁶ Also /a/; cf. F. L. Mott, "Pronunciation of 'Iowa,'" *Palimpsest*, 38 (1957), 100–05.

³⁷ Also spelled *Kioway*.

³⁸ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

³⁹ KK.

⁴⁰ Heard by ARD. Ohioans often say /ə/; others often say /ow/.

⁴¹ H. A. Rundell, *Washington Names: A Pronunciation Guide* (Pullman, Wash., n.d.), 2nd ed., p. 64. The first pronunciation is assumed.

⁴² The sound in the following examples tends towards /iy/ in the speech of many speakers. (Cf. n. 31, above.) Doubtful examples, not listed, are *Sóphia* *Sophía* /i(?) ay/; *Viénna* *Viénna* /i(?) ay, iy/ (see F. G. Cassidy, *Place-names of Dane County, Wisconsin* [Greensboro, N.C., 1947], p. 236; cf. D. E. Brown and F. E. Schooley, *Pronunciation Guide for Illinois Place Names* [Urbana, 1957], p. 9); *Vióla* *Vióla* /i(?) ay/ (the second pronunciation given in *KK*, the first heard by ARD).

⁴³ Heard by ARD. Nonstandard; humorous. Likewise, *Pennsylvania*. These words are also examples of II A.

⁴⁴ Cf. the pronunciations listed under "III" and "IV," below.

Words from the general vocabulary include the following:

elégiac	èlegiac	/i ay/	píanist	píanist	/i iy/
gladióla	gladióla	/i ay/	píano	píano	/i ay ⁴⁶ , iy/
peóny	peóny ⁴⁵	/i ay, iy/	píazza	píazza	/i ay ⁴⁷ , iy/

Somewhere between the extreme ends of the scale falls a set of non-monosyllabic words in which /ə/ or /i/ is followed by a consonant (or consonant cluster) and a vowel. Here, with shift of stress, we have two possibilities. First, the consonant (or the first element of a consonant cluster) which was part of the originally stressed syllable may be treated as part of the newly stressed syllable, in which case the new vowel will be of the checked variety. Secondly, the consonant (or consonant cluster) which was part of the originally stressed syllable may remain as part of that syllable, in which case the new vowel will be of the free variety.

III. The following names belong to the first category – i.e., with consonant as part of the newly stressed syllable with checked vowel:

Adéibert	Ádelbert ⁴⁸	/ə æ/	(Mount) Desért	Désert ⁵⁶	/i e/
Aline	Áline ⁴⁹	/ə æ/	Fatíma	Fátima	/ə ⁵¹ æ/
Aria	Ária	/ə æ/	Gerárd	Gérard	/ə e ⁵⁸ /
Árius	Árius	/ə æ/	Janét	Jánét ⁵⁹	/ə æ/
Barúch	Bárucl	/ə a ⁵⁰ /	Lafáyette	Láfayette ⁶⁰	/ə æ/
Caréw	Cárew ⁵¹	/ə e/	Madrid	Mádríd ⁶¹	/ə æ/
Càribbéan	Caríibbean ⁵²	/ə i/	Maurice	Máurice ⁶²	/ə a/
Chagrín (Falls)	Chágrin	/ə æ ⁵³ /	Methúen	Méthuen ⁶³	/ə e/
Chilón	Chíllon ⁵⁴	/ə i/	Móntagüe	Montágué ⁶⁴	/ə æ/
Colléen	Cólléen ⁵⁵	/ə a/	Paméla	Pámela ⁶⁵	/ə æ/

⁴⁵ Harold Wentworth, *American Dialect Dictionary* (New York, 1944), p. 449. Hereafter, *ADD*.

⁴⁶ Nonstandard; humorous. Cf. *ADD*, p. 452.

⁴⁷ Nonstandard; humorous. Cf. *ADD*, pp. 600–01, under *stoop*.

⁴⁸ *W*₆; cf. the pronunciation listed under “I,” above.

⁴⁹ *W*₆.

⁵⁰ *W*₂ marks this variant “his own pron.”

⁵¹ *KK*; cf. the pronunciation listed under “IV,” below.

⁵² *KK*.

⁵³ *KK* calls this pronunciation local (?) and also gives a /u/ variant(?) as a local pronunciation.

⁵⁴ *KK*.

⁵⁵ *W*₆.

⁵⁶ *KK*.

⁵⁷ *W*₂ marks this pronunciation “U.S.”

⁵⁸ *W*₆ marks this pronunciation “esp. Brit.”

⁵⁹ *W*₆.

⁶⁰ Cf. the pronunciation listed under “II B,” above, and “IV,” below.

⁶¹ *KK*.

⁶² *W*₆.

⁶³ *KK*.

⁶⁴ D. G. Picinich, *A Pronunciation Guide to Missouri Place Names* (Columbia, Missouri, 1951), p. 23.

⁶⁵ *W*₆.

A very large number of other words suggest themselves, including the following:

<i>abyss</i>	<i>ábyss</i>	/ə æ ⁶⁶ /	<i>èmpyréal</i>	<i>empýreal</i>	/ə i/
<i>address</i>	<i>ádress</i>	/ə æ/	<i>enéma</i>	<i>énema</i>	/i ⁷⁰ e/
<i>adult</i>	<i>ádtlt</i>	/ə æ/	<i>garáge</i>	<i>gáràge</i>	/ə æ/
<i>ally</i>	<i>állÿ</i>	/ə æ/	<i>hegira</i>	<i>hégira</i>	/i e/
<i>astúte</i>	<i>ástùte</i>	/ə æ ⁶⁷ /	<i>helló</i>	<i>hèllò</i>	/ə e ⁷¹ /
<i>berét</i>	<i>béret</i>	/ə e/	<i>preságe</i>	<i>présage</i>	/i e/
<i>cemént</i>	<i>cémènt</i>	/ə e ⁶⁸ /	<i>recoóndite</i>	<i>récondite</i>	/i e/
<i>debácle</i>	<i>débacle</i>	/i e ⁶⁹ /	<i>recrúit</i>	<i>récrùit</i>	/i e ⁷² /
<i>decádent</i>	<i>décadent</i>	/i e/	<i>reféritable</i>	<i>référable</i>	/i e/
			<i>shellác</i>	<i>shèllàc</i>	/ə e ⁷³ /

IV. The following names belong to the second category, i.e., with consonant remaining as part of the originally stressed syllable and with a free vowel in the newly stressed syllable:

<i>Azóres</i>	<i>Ázòres</i>	/ə ey/	<i>Hiróshima</i>	<i>Hiroshíma</i> ⁸³	/i iy/
<i>Bedél</i>	<i>Bédél</i> ⁷⁴	/ə iy/	<i>Ímnaha</i>	<i>Imnáha</i>	/ə ow/
<i>Berówne</i>	<i>Bíron</i> ⁷⁵	/i ay/	<i>Japán</i>	<i>Jápan</i> ⁸⁴	/ə ey/
<i>Bethúne</i>	<i>Béthùne</i> ⁷⁶	/ə iy/	<i>Lafáyette</i>	<i>Láfayétte</i> ⁸⁵	/ə ey/
<i>Byzántium</i>	<i>Bÿzántium</i>	/i ay/	<i>Latróbe</i>	<i>Látròbe</i> ⁸⁶	/ə ey/
<i>Caréw</i>	<i>Cárèw</i>	/ə ey ⁷⁷ /	<i>Lemáy</i>	<i>Lémày</i> ⁸⁷	/i iy/
<i>Críméa</i>	<i>Críméa</i>	/i ay/	<i>Leróy</i>	<i>Léròy</i> ⁸⁸	/ə iy/
<i>Detróit</i>	<i>Détròit</i> ⁷⁸	/i iy/	<i>Maláy</i>	<i>Málày</i> ⁸⁹	/ə ey/
<i>Eníwetok</i>	<i>Èniwétok</i>	/ə iy/	<i>(Grand) Manán</i>	<i>Mánan</i>	/ə ey ⁹⁰ /
<i>Èniwétok</i>	<i>Eníwetok</i>	/i ⁷⁹ iy/	<i>Mauríce</i>	<i>Máurice</i> ⁹¹	/ə ow/
<i>enóugh</i>	<i>Ènòugh</i> ⁸⁰	/i iy/	<i>Mércedès</i>	<i>Mercédes</i> ⁹²	/ə iy, ey/
<i>Frémónt</i>	<i>Frémònt</i> ⁸¹	/i iy/	<i>Mílán</i>	<i>Mílan</i> ⁹³ (U.S.A.)	/i ay/
<i>Frenéau (N.J.)</i>	<i>Frénèau</i>	/i iy ⁸² /	<i>Quebéc</i>	<i>Québèc</i> ⁹⁴	/i iy/
			<i>Thoréau</i>	<i>Thórèau</i> ⁹⁵	/ə ow/

⁶⁶ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

⁶⁷ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

⁶⁸ *W*₂, p. lxii; cf. the pronunciation listed under "IV," below.

⁶⁹ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

⁷⁰ Jones (see n. 19, above); cf. *W*₂, p. lxxv.

⁷¹ Cf. *ADD*, p. 286; and note that other checked vowels are also likely to appear in this word with shift of stress.

⁷² Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

⁷³ Jones (see n. 19, above); cf. *W*₂, p. lxxv.

⁷⁴ KK.

⁷⁵ KK.

⁷⁶ KK.

⁷⁷ KK; cf. the pronunciation listed under "III," above.

⁷⁸ *ADD*, p. 160.

⁷⁹ *W*₂ indicates that this is the popular pronunciation.

⁸⁰ Picinich (see n. 64, above), p. 16.

⁸¹ KK.

⁸² Heard by T. M. Pearce, but not, one would judge, from the lips of a dweller in this New Jersey community or its environs; see *Western Folklore*, X, 73. In the same place, the pronunciation /iyməs/ is recorded by Professor Pearce for *Emmaus*, Pa.

Similarly, many ordinary words belong to this category, including the following:

ácúmen	ácumen	/ə ey ⁹⁶ /	evént	évènt ¹⁰⁴	/i iy/
cadét	cádet ⁹⁷	/ə ey/	giráffe	gíràffe	/ə ay ¹⁰⁵ /
cemént	cément ⁹⁸	/ə iy/	guitár	guitàr ¹⁰⁶	/i iy/
cigár	cígàr ⁹⁹	/i iy/	harángue	háràngue	/ə ey ¹⁰⁷ /
cretónne	crétonne	/i iy/	migráne	mígràne	/i ay/
debáte	débàte ¹⁰⁰	/i iy/	paráde	pàràde	/ə iy ¹⁰⁸ /
declíne	décline	/i iy ¹⁰¹ /	pecán	pécàn	/i iy/
defíle	défile	/i iy/	recáll	récàll	/i iy/
depéndent	dépendent ¹⁰²	/i iy/	recéss	récèss	/i iy/
detáil	détàil	/i iy/	reséarçh	résèarçh	/i iy/
detóur	détòur	/i iy/	resóurce	résòurce	/i iy/
díván	dívàn	/i ay/	tabóo	tábòo	/ə ey ¹⁰⁹ /
dívèrse	dívèrse	/ə ay/	trachéa	tráchea	/ə ey/
equátor	équàtor ¹⁰³	/i iy/	tradúce	trádùce	/ə ey ¹¹⁰ /
			vagáry	vágàry ¹¹¹	/ə ey/

Occasionally, a word is accorded both of the immediately preceding treatments: its newly stressed syllable may claim the consonant after the

⁸³ *W*₂ marks both pronunciations "Angl."

⁸⁴ Picinich (see n. 64, above), p. 19.

⁸⁵ Cf. the pronunciations listed under "II B" and "III," above.

⁸⁶ *ADD*, p. 497.

⁸⁷ Picinich (see n. 64, above), p. 21.

⁸⁸ *W*₆.

⁸⁹ *KK*.

⁹⁰ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

⁹¹ *W*₆.

⁹² *W*₆.

⁹³ *KK*.

⁹⁴ *ADD*, p. 497.

⁹⁵ *KK*.

⁹⁶ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

⁹⁷ *ADD*, p. 89.

⁹⁸ *ADD*, p. 103; cf. Jespersen (see n. 19, above), I, 5.73. Cf. the pronunciation listed under "III," above.

⁹⁹ *ADD*, p. 541.

¹⁰⁰ *ADD*, p. 497.

¹⁰¹ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

¹⁰² *ADD*, p. 497.

¹⁰³ *ADD*, p. 497.

¹⁰⁴ G. W. Gray and C. M. Wise, *The Bases of Speech* (New York, 1959), p. 292.

¹⁰⁵ Nonstandard; humorous.

¹⁰⁶ *ADD*, p. 269.

¹⁰⁷ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

¹⁰⁸ Nonstandard; humorous.

¹⁰⁹ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

¹¹⁰ Nonstandard; heard by ARD.

¹¹¹ Jones (see n. 19, above).

vowel and thus have a checked vowel, and the newly stressed syllable of a variant pronunciation may not claim the consonant and thus have a free vowel. Examples are *banál bánal* /ə æ/ or /ə ey/; *depót dépòt* /i¹¹² e/ or /i iy/.

In sum, the evidence assembled suggests that at least within the limits of consideration defined in this paper the English pronunciation of geographical and personal names conforms to general patterns to be observed in more common words and that these patterns can to some extent be defined. It is difficult to know whether we should conclude that the nature of the newly stressed vowel depends on the presence or absence of a checking consonant or that the existence of a checking consonant depends on the nature of the stressed vowel, but the two matters do seem related. More specifically, when /ə/ and /i/ in closed syllables come under stress, the newly stressed vowel will be from anywhere in the spectrum of checked and free vowels (I). In open syllables, on the other hand, /ə/ and /i/ are replaced by free vowels when the vowel in question ends a word (II A) or is prevocalic (II B). Finally, when /ə/ and /i/ are followed by a consonant (or consonant cluster) and then a vowel, a checked vowel will appear in the newly stressed syllable if the consonant (or the first element of a consonant cluster) is treated as part of that syllable (III), but a free vowel will appear if the consonant in question maintains its position as part of the originally stressed syllable (IV).

It has not been our concern here so much to account for the variations as to present and describe them. The reasons for the variations, however, are doubtless multiple and should continue to be investigated. Some dual pronunciations probably result from the retention in current speech of older pronunciations with the stress unmoved beside the new forms with shifted stress. Other variations seem to result from idiolectal differences when individual speakers syllabize words differently, some using a pronunciation with a checked vowel, some with a free. It may well be that still other variations are to be accounted for by dialectal differences. Additional evidence might profitably be sought by both social and regional dialectologists.¹¹³

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¹¹² Jespersen (see n. 19, above), I, 14.22; cf. *W*₂, p. lxiv.

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