A Study of Consonantal Dissimilation in English.

Ernest Smith Clifton

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A Study of Consonantal Dissimilation in English

by

Ernest Smith Clifton, M. A.

A Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
TO MY MOTHER
In making this study I am particularly indebted to Dr. N. K. Caffee, Assistant Professor of English at Louisiana State University, who has given generously of his time and advice; to Dr. W. A. Head, Professor of English Language and Literature at Louisiana State University, whose ready counsel has been invaluable to me; to Dr. H. B. Woolf, Assistant Professor of English at Louisiana State University, who has given me many helpful suggestions; and to Dr. A. A. Hill, Associate Professor of English at the University of Virginia, who first suggested to me a study of dissimulation.
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CHAPTER I
Introduction

Section I--Previous Work

Because dissimilation accounts for a relatively small number of sound changes in English, it has received only passing attention. It is not at all unusual to find that in an historical grammar of English, dissimilation is dismissed with a footnote or, at best, with a paragraph. The subject, though, has been given more study in other languages, particularly in Hellenic, Romance, and several non-Indo-European families. In 1896 Crammont published *La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes*, in which for the first time a substantial body of words affected by dissimilation was collected and discussed. Crammont attempted the perhaps impossible feat of so ordering dissimilatory tendencies that they might be stated according to prescribed laws. In 1907 his "Notes sur la Dissimilation" appeared.¹ These notes, giving a further treatment of dissimilation by adding words to the list that had already been formulated for the earlier work, were written in answer to H. A.

Thomas's *Essais de Philologie française* (1879), *Mélanges d'Étymologie française* (1902), and *Nouveaux Essais de Philologie française* (1905). Grammont, in his later *Traité de Phonétique* (1933), relists these cases and collects and classifies numerous other examples. In none of these studies is English represented.

Thurneysen gives a discussion of dissimilation in his article "Dissimilation und Analogie," though no mention of English is made. Thurneysen here challenges Brugmann's claim that dissimilation seems irregular in nature and that it cannot be brought into conformity with laws of sound change; he himself claims that dissimilation is a regular sound change and that apparent irregularities can be explained as a result of the force of analogy.

Albert J. Carnoy in "The Real Nature of Dissimilation" discusses at length the various attempts that have been made to explain the process of dissimilation, attempts by linguists and psychologists. None of these, however, does he consider satisfactory. He himself has elaborated a theory which will be discussed in some detail in the next section of this work. No case of dissimilation

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In 1936 Roland G. Kent published his article "Assimilation and Dissimilation." Here he claims that dissimilation is a more or less regular sound change, that its direction is normally regressive, and that exceptions to that normal direction can be accounted for by a consideration of the semantic and etymological value of certain word-elements. Neither does Kent consider dissimilation in English.

There have been some articles, though, devoted entirely to the study of dissimilation in English. The first of these was one in 1905 by Gregor Sarrasin, who made a study of vowel dissimilation by collecting words in which the dissimilatory influence of *w* prevented the development of a ME *u*-sound into the expected *u*-sound of Mod. English. (See Appendix IV).

George Henspl in 1893 presented a list of words taken from his own dialect of southern Michigan in which *r* seems to be lost through dissimilatory elision. His examples are all taken from Modern English, and dissimilation is evident, of course, in pronunciation, not in spelling.

In 1917 A. Goodall published in his article "Distant Dissimilation" a collection of personal- and place-names showing dissimilation. These names are all taken from Yorkshire and are, in comparison with other place- and personal-names showing dissimilation presented in the body of this work, few in number.

The most extensive study of consonantal dissimilation in English was made by Eduard Kokhardt in 1938. Here we have for the first time any sizeable collection of English words showing dissimilatory change or loss. Kokhardt's list, though, is by no means complete, as this treatment will demonstrate.

It is also to Kokhardt that we owe a study of English words showing vowel dissimilation. This collection, published in 1939, may be considered as the companion piece to the article of 1938.

Brief notices of dissimilation are given in many linguistic works. Almost invariably they occur incidentally to discussions of regular sound developments. Practically all linguists include material on dissimilation in works whose subjects are of larger scope. For the shorter articles dealing with dissimilation or some of its

features the bibliography at the end of this treatment may be consulted.
Section 2—Character of Dissimilation

The phenomenon of dissimilation, because of its very nature, presents an interesting and important study to the linguist. Although it appears less frequently than the kindred sound change assimilation, it is characterized by more variety and complexity. The study of dissimilation cannot be limited to the consideration of one isolated change, for it is concerned with many sound changes. It helps to explain or is explained by many linguistic phenomena. All categories of phonemes are in some way subject to dissimilation, often in most diverse positions and under most varied conditions. Dissimilation is, then, a law which is at once quite elusive and definitely instructive.

That which probably renders dissimilation so elusive is the fact that any attempt to define it must take into account certain fundamental facts and relationships which combine to make it as much a matter of psychology as of linguistics. Although psychology probably enters into the causes for any linguistic phenomenon, there is perhaps no sound change, with the possible exception of assimilation, so dependent on psychology for explanation as dissimilation. Because
psychology is still largely a matter of theories, frequently conflicting, it is extremely difficult to use it in explaining more than the rudimentary facts with which it concerns itself; nevertheless, up to a certain point, it offers the most satisfactory mechanism to be used in ascertaining the underlying facts governing dissimilatory tendencies.

Dissimilation may be said to take place when of two like or similar phonemes one is changed or lost as a result of the other. Even in the definition of dissimilation there is disagreement among those who have considered the phenomenon. Grammont would restrict dissimilatory tendencies only to phonemes which occur in the same word or group of words and which are not in juxtaposition, for in his definition he writes that dissimilation "est une action produite par un phonème sur un autre phonème qui figure dans le même mot ou le même groupe de mots, et avec lequel il n'est pas en contact." \(^1\) [Italics are mine.] Graff, though, specifically states\(^2\) that the two sounds may be contiguous: "Dissimilation takes place when of two similar sounds, either contiguous or at a distance [Italics are mine]."

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one is differentiated from the other." Bokhardt avoids the issue completely in defining the phenomenon. In any event, we are safe in saying that one of the two phonemes concerned causes the other to lose one or several of the elements of articulation which the two possess in common and that one thus becomes differentiated in some way from the other. Whether we shall have to take sides on the matter of whether the two phonemes may be contiguous or not will rest with examples only as they may chance to occur in the cases of English concerned in this work.

Dissimilation belongs to the phenotypical type of linguistic phenomena in that it is a change which develops under the influence of surrounding sounds. It is not a matter here, as in the case of most vowel changes, of a development which gradually takes place without the change's being noticed, but a matter of sudden change.

In an attempt to establish reasons for the appearance of dissimilation we can at best point out the chief opinions advanced by linguists, though these may at times be conflicting. Each explanation is in some way dependent on psychology; since, though, psychology often seems to be at variance with itself, the tenets held by

several scholars may differ and yet be sound.

Obviously the chief cause of dissimilation is the difficulty which arises in an attempt to pronounce the same sound several times successively or, in the case of a series of similar sounds or sound-combinations, to distinguish exactly between the individual sounds or sound-combinations. The difficulty one encounters in distinguishing between $p$ and $\delta$ is obvious in the tongue-twister, thirty-thousand thistles thrice thrust through thy throat. A mispronunciation easily takes place here. In a much smaller accumulation of sounds, though, it is possible for a mispronunciation to take place.⁴ (MR lauræ becomes laurel).

Brugmann in his Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen⁵ attributes such a fact to "the discomfort arising from the confusion produced in his (the speaker's) mind when the same sound is repeated twice in a short interval." In other words, this early theory would claim for the speaker a desire to prevent the repetition of similar sounds in the same word or in the same group of words. As a point of fact, though, we do not always object to the repetition of the same sounds; for instance, some old English alliterative lines are

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⁴. Ibid, p. 31.  
⁵. P. 40 (1904).
greatly admired. But we find difficult "Peter Piper the peapicker..." How can Brugmann's theory, then, explain the fact that assimilation is actually more frequent occurrence than dissimilation? Why is there sometimes a tendency to say "Peter Piper..." i.e., toward further assimilation? Sturtevant claims that the tendency toward dissimilation arises only when interfering groups are of such a character as to make assimilation inconvenient. He points out that in German hast Du's gesagt? the s of hast is often lost through dissimilation, giving hat Du's gesagt? The assimilated form, though, of hast Du's gesagt? would be hast gu's gesagt?, but this would introduce an unfamiliar form into the sentence. Here assimilation is not convenient, and dissimilation takes place.

Bloomfield lays more emphasis on phonetic laws in defining dissimilation: "Where the vocal cords are to be placed repeatedly into the same position, it is hard to keep in focus the actual part of the prospective movement complex at which one has arrived: the tendency is to mistake the quicker movement of the attention for the slower one of actual articulation, - to confuse an earlier for a later stage of the series..." It is an

easily demonstrable fact that the attention is usually ahead of actual articulation. The same tendency is to be observed in writing. The following fragment appeared in a recent letter to me: "... and broth brought mother a piece." Here it may be seen that the attention, ahead of the pen, and on mother, served to contaminate the word brought.

Kant sums up quite aptly the matter of the gap between articulation and the attention. He stresses the fact that the speaker's thoughts are inevitably ahead of the utterance unless one is speaking with undue hesitation and slowness. He points out that there is a "gap between the thought and the utterance of the words which express it.... For in the effort of the articulating organs to keep up with the mental activities, there is the possibility of alteration in the sounds uttered, when they leap ahead to some phoneme or syllable which is about to come." Dissimilation, then, according to Kent, would be produced by the replacement of some phonemes or phonemes shortly to be uttered under conditions more or less corresponding.

Grammont throws a little different shade of light on the matter by suggesting that the distinction between the phonemes has been well fixed in the mind, but

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that the attention of the phonetic organs has been
attracted to the stronger of the two phonemes at the
expense of the dissimilation of the weaker: "Les phonèmes
avaient été préparés tous deux intégralement dans le
cerveau; mais l'attention des organes phonateurs a été
attirée par le plus fort des deux; ils se sont
appliqués à l'émettre en son intégrité et à soigner
tout particulièrement les éléments de son articulation
qui le caractérisent. L'attention ainsi concentrée sur un
point est forcément plus ou moins négligée sur un autre,
et les organes omettent, sans s'en apercevoir, les
éléments spécifiques du phonème le plus faible,
pécisément parce qu'ils sont appliqués à les soigner
dans le plus fort."

The linguist's psychological explanation is
more likely to be borne out by actual cases of
dissimilation than is that of the psychologist. When a
phonetic law is explained by pure psychology, there are
likely to be too many unexplained exceptions. Wundt
outlines with an attempt at psychological exactness a
theory which would explain dissimilation as a result of
a residual or subconscious memory of words in which a
series of consonants, similar to those dissimilated,

remain to contaminate the consonants affected by dissimilation. There is perhaps no flaw to be found with this explanation as a psychological theory, but the facts of linguistic science will not bear it out, for as a theory it must apply to all sounds (for all sounds are capable of being contaminated), when actually it is clearly demonstrable that the liquids and nasals are affected more frequently than other sounds. In addition, such a theory would hardly account for dissimilatory elision, which must be reckoned with in any adequate explanation of dissimilation.

Dissimilatory tendencies may be of several sorts. At least four cases are to be distinguished:

1. In the case of dissimilatory elision, the speaker completely avoids the repetition of a sound or group of sounds by suppressing one of the occurrences, e.g., Mod. E. barn from OE bera from bere-eran.

2. In the case of dissimilatory change (either partial or complete), repetition is avoided by altering a sound in one of its two occurrences, e.g., Mod. E. marble from ME marbre (from OF marbre from Lat. marmor).

3. Sometimes a regular sound change is avoided if it would lead to the repetition of a sound. For example, in Latin ū, ě, and ō before single consonants

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in medial syllables became ĭ, as in reficio (but facio). An intermediate stage in the change was ĭ, and this was retained when ĭ preceded, e.g., societas (from socio-tas) beside vicinitas. In Iraqi a k, which normally would have become ĭ, remains k before ĭ, e.g., acil, but akilen. 12

(4) A sort of haplology seems to take place in which a vowel and one of the consonants or consonant groups tend to be lost when a vowel stands between similar consonants or consonant groups. Sturtevant 13 points out Lat. semodius from semimodius; the example of a child's saying "Posties" when he intended to say "Post Toasties"; Chaucer's pronunciation of the adverb from the adjective "humble" in three syllables, "humblely", while we say "humbly".

Any discussion of whether or not dissimilation is a regular sound change must necessarily lead to a consideration of the frequency of its occurrence and the direction it takes when it does occur. Here the matter becomes more complicated, for whether or not dissimilation takes place and which direction it may take depend very often on relationship with other factors and phenomena.

of language—semantics, accent, rhythm, folk etymology, analogy, assimilation, metathesis, rhotacism, haplology, diphthongization. The arguments presented here will be largely those of others who have examined the nature of dissimilation in various languages; to what extent the examples from English presented in the main body of this work are in conformity with the tenets advanced here will be shown in the conclusions drawn from this study.

Opinions vary as to whether dissimilation is to be considered a regular sound change or not. Bruhmann, in his article "Das Wesen der lautlichen Dissimilationen,"\textsuperscript{14} states that dissimilation seems irregular in nature and that it cannot be brought into conformity with the laws of sound change. He writes: "Es ist eine schoene Sache um die Lautgesetze ... Aber wo ein psychischer Faktor von der Art zugrunde liegt, wie er fuer alle dissimilatorischen Vorgange notwendig vorausgesetzt werden muss, da ist man mit dem Formulieren von Gesetzen bald am Ende."\textsuperscript{15}

Thurneysen, though, takes exception to this statement and claims for dissimilation as definite laws as exist for any other sound change.\textsuperscript{16} He mentions the

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 161.
regularity of change in the development (with a
dissimilatory tendency) of change in the neighboring
sounds of diphthongs, e.g., oi from ai, ou from au.
"Ja, ich mochte sagen, von vornherein koennte man
gerade bei Dissimilationen durchgreifende Ausgestaltung,
also lautgesetzlichen Charakter ganz besonders erwarten,
da die Praedisposition die manche- ich freilich nicht-
fuer das Durchdringen lautgesetzlicher Wandlungen fuer
notwendig halten, fuer dissimilatorische Vorgaenge
offenbar bei allen sprechenden Individuen zu allen
Zeiten vorausgesetzt werden darf. Auch scheint mir der
Anstoss zu Dissimilationen- die Schwierigkeit, die man
bei der Aussprache gewisser Lautreihen zu ueberwinden hat
oder voraussehut- nicht wesentlich von dem zu anderem
lautlichen Veranderungen verschieden zu sein, bei denen
die groessere Bequemlichkeit unbestritten oft eine grosse
Rolle spielt."17 Thurneysen then proceeds to advance
his means of accounting for what are apparent
irregularities. (Cf. p. 18 infra on analogy).

Zipf describes18 dissimilation as an effort to
maintain the equilibrium between the magnitude of
complexity of phonemes and the frequency of their
occurrence. According to him, dissimilation, like all

17. Ibid., pp. 110-111.
18. G. K. Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language (Boston,
other phonetic changes, is almost invariably so
incalculable as to appear capricious; yet the change
itself, once begun, is of a high degree of orderliness.

Kent believes in the regularity of phonetic
change. But, according to him, there are "certain
semi-regular modifying influences upon the operation of
sound change. For among the numerous influences which
produce 'exceptions' to regularity of phonetic changes,
some operate with such uniformity themselves that they
may be considered only sub-formulas to the phonetic
formula in question."19 Dissimilation and assimilation,
though, are 'exceptions' which seem sometimes to be
regular and sometimes to be sporadic. "In the domain of
each of these phenomena some formulas, or sub-formulas,
can be set up which operate with regularity, while other
examples are but sporadic manifestations."19

Eckhardt holds that since dissimilation rests
on a mispronunciation, an error in speech, the matter of
formulating a sound-law for it is out of the question.
"Da die Dissimilation eigentlich auf einem sprachlichen
Versehen, auf einem Sprachfehler beruht, liegt es auf
der Hand, dass hier von einem Lautgesetz gar keine Rede
sein kann. Auch wo alle Voraussetzungen fuer eine

Dissimilation vorhanden sind, braucht die keineswegs
einsutreten; es besteht dann nur die Möglichkeit eines
solchen Eintretens."20 As evidence to substantiate his
claim he points out that Lat. *marmer* has become Mod. E.
*marble* (through OF, ME *marbre*) but that dissimilation is
lacking in the native word *murder*.

The force which invades nearly all phonetic
laws and often makes them difficult of explanation is
also to be considered in a discussion of the regularity
or lack of regularity in dissimilation. That force is
analogy. Not only does analogy often determine whether
or not dissimilation takes place at all, but it also
determines in many cases of actual dissimilation which
direction the phenomenon will take. Thurneysen lends
enough importance to tendencies toward analogy as to
use it to explain nearly all apparent exceptions to
regular dissipilatory change. In the case of irregularities,
says Thurneysen, it is to be supposed that analogy has
been at work and has caused a seeming lack of uniformity.
"So scheint es mir die Tatsache, die uns die Häufigkeit
des lautgesetzlichen Wandels erklärt, namentlich die
Fähigkeit der Menschen, im Unleichen das ähnliche
tzuerkennen oder herauszufühlen und dann nach ihrer
Sprache zu richten, zugleich die Seltenheit solcher

20. Schichardt, "Die Konsonantische Dissimilation im
Gesetzmässigkeit bei anderen Sprachänderungen verständlich zu machen, indem jene Fähigkeit, namentlich wo sie nicht mit Anstrengung und Überlegung angewandt wird, oben doch ihre ziemlich enge Grenzen hat.\textsuperscript{21} Er
continues by saying that analogy presses through all sound changes—those which take place without consideration of meaning as well as those which take place as a result of meaning. In explaining the presence of analogy and anomaly in a language he says that "oben zwei analogische Neugestaltungen nebeneinander verlaufen, die eine pro portione sonorum, die andere, die similia similibus auszudrücken strebe, pro portione
significationum, und das sich u.U. da, wo die beiden Kräfte nicht zufällig in der gleichen Richtung wirken, anomales ergeben müsse, je nach dem Standpunkt des Betrachtens, auf der lautlichen oder auf der semantischen Seite."\textsuperscript{22}

The name the direction of dissimilation by beginning with the sound that remains unchanged. Dissimilation is said to be progressive when, for example, out of the sequence $r-r$, $r-l$ results (Lat. marmor to Mod. E.marble), regressive in the change of $r-r$ to $l-r$. Since dissimilation is a product of

\textsuperscript{21} R. Hurneysen, op. cit., p. 112.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, pp. 112-113.
psychological adjustments, and since the attention is clearly ahead of actual utterance, the normal cause of dissimilation would be regressive (e.g., Gr. ἀργαλέος from ἀλγαλέος.)

There are forces, though, which may alter the direction of dissimilation, so that it is progressive rather than regressive. Several attempts have been made to use these forces to explain the apparent irregularities presented by actual cases of dissimilation—attempts to demonstrate that dissimilation not only occurs with regularity but also that its direction is regularly regressive (exceptions being accounted for by extraneous factors). The factors which may alter the normal course of dissimilation are both mechanical and psychological.

A mechanical factor of great importance is the accent or rhythm in a word. Apparent inconsistencies in dissimilatory tendencies are often directly traceable. The sound that is under greater accentual or rhythmical stress usually remains intact, and the accentually handicapped sound is dissimilated.

One sound may become mechanically stronger than another, quite apart from the matter of accent or stress, because of its position in a syllable. An example suggested by Kont²³ will serve as an illustration. In a

cluster of three consonants, the first and third
homorganic stops and the middle sound a sibilant, it is
regularly the prior of the homorganic stops which is lost.
Thus Gr. *ō̂λίκασκό* becomes *ό̂λίκαρκω* (*ksk* becomes *sk*);
Lat. *odi-ck-skō* becomes *discō*.

A third mechanical force is the position of a
sound in a word, regardless of its position in a syllable.
It is demonstrable that in many cases the end of a word
is phonetically weaker than any other part. Kent\(^2\) points
out that dissimilation is progressive rather than
regressive when the Latin suffix -<del>lis</del> stands at the end
of a word in which there is an [l]. The root of the word
is more important to the meaning than the suffix, and a
new suffix is created, e.g., Lat. *familiāris* from
*efamiliālis* (but *annēlis* in which there is only one [l]).

The normal course of dissimilation may be
reversed for psychological reasons. Even if mechanical
forces are favorable to the normal course of dissimilation,
the direction may be progressive, in case a regressive
course would have created for the speaker an element that
would have been unpronounceable or unknown.

A second psychological factor is of great
importance in the study of dissimilation—semantic value.
If the normal course of dissimilation would bring about a

\(^24\) Ibid., p. 250.
change which would obscure the meaning of a word or render more difficult its identification as belonging to others of its etymological or semantic kin, its direction is reversed. The ready understanding of the meaning of a word refuses to be disturbed by phonetic change. This fact accounts not only for exceptions to the normal course of dissimilation, but also for the absence of dissimilation under some circumstances when we might expect it. Eckhardt points out that there is no dissimilation in such a word as rat-trap because both elements of the compound appear frequently as independent words whose semantic value is very familiar to the speaker. Naturally, then, an ignorant person would be more likely to bring about a case of dissimilation than a person who has some acquaintance with etymological and semantic value.

What has been said here in regard to the normal course of dissimilation and the strength of a phoneme because of accent, the morphological character of the entire word formation, and semantic or etymological value is very well summed up by Kent, whose conclusions it may we well to quote in full: "An examination of many examples of assimilation and dissimilation shows that the natural direction of the influence is regressive; I have attributed

this to the fact that the thought of the speaker is ahead of the utterance, which tries to overtake the thought, but only at the expense of confusion in the order or nature of the sounds uttered. To a considerable extent the same is true of vowels as well, though not to quite the same extent. But it seems to me clear that when the direction of assimilation or dissimilation is progressive, there should be made a special study of the examples or set of examples, to determine the special reason for the extension of the influence in the direction contrary to that which is normal to human speaking. In most instances this is found to be in the semantic value which attaches to the sounds, in that the change of the prior of the two sounds will obscure the connection of the word with others of the same etymological or semantic group. This is, as I have said, not an automatic physiological factor, by which one muscular movement in the articulation is omitted or altered, but a distinctively psychological factor.  

A number of linguistic phenomena are in some way related to dissimilation, and a study of dissimilation would be incomplete unless those relationships are to some extent pointed out. Assimilation must be considered with dissimilation, since the same linguistic and psychological

factors govern both. Dissimilation represents an attempt to overcome difficulties which arise out of the piling up of identical or similar consonants; thus it is a response to a kind of need for mental comfort. In this respect dissimilation is closely akin to the phenomenon which is otherwise its antithesis. To a large extent the same conditions must be present for either to operate, since they are both concerned with consonants in close proximity (the sounds concerned in assimilation may be adjacent, e.g., ME on kenbow to Mod. E. akimbo; or the sounds may be separated, e.g., Mod. E. mushroom from Fr. mouseron). Though the sound changes give opposite effects, they both alter, as a rule, the same sound; and in most cases the change is regressive. The psychological reason for either change is obviously a pre-perception of the second sound at the time, or shortly before, the first sound is uttered, resulting in a blurring of the perception of the first sound so that the speaker or the hearer perceives the same sound or a different sound, depending upon the character of the blurring.²⁷

Rhotacism is also connected with dissimilation, and s becomes ρ in the genitive of Lat. generis, honôris,

in òúra, nurus, et al; but s remains in miser and caesariēs because of the retarding influence of the following r. 28

This is another example of the preventive influence of dissimilation. (Cf. p. 13 supra).

Folk etymology also becomes involved with dissimilation. Through folk etymological change the speaker attempts to make a word which sounds unfamiliar to him familiar and easy to pronounce. Eckhardt 29 gives the example mulberry, probably from MHG mülbœr from OHG mûrberi, mûrberi to Lat. mûrum 'mulberry, 'mûrus 'mulberry tree,' in which folk etymology and dissimilation had worked together even in the OHG form.

Metathesis is also to be considered as related to dissimilation in that it, too, arises usually from the discomfort in speaking caused by a particular succession of sounds. The essential difference between dissimilation and metathesis lies in the fact that in the case of metathesis no new sounds are substituted; a change in position of the sounds serves the need for comfort. In the case of Mod. E. palaver from Portuguese palavra beside Ital. parola, Fr. parole from Lat. parabola from Gr. παραβολή, π and l have simply changed their positions.

Grassmann's Law as it applies to Greek and Sanskrit

is one type of genuine dissimilation. One of two phonemes standing in close proximity to each other changes its form by a truncation of its aspiration.

Diphthongisation, too, is really a type of dissimilation. Attention has already been called to the change of the neighboring sounds of the diphthongs ei to ei and ou to au. (Cf. p. 14 supra).

Haplography must be considered in connection with dissimilation, since it is one phase of dissimilatory elision. E.g., Lat. *cinnamomum* to Eng. *cinnamon* shows haplography and dissimilation. Here, naturally, the psychological problem is mainly that of the speaker; the rapidity of articulation is so great that whatever change is made is unconscious and not the result of an actively conscious attempt at differentiation.

The consonants most often affected by dissimilation are the liquids and nasals, though others suffer occasional dissimilatory change or loss. As Carnoy points out, sharpness of contrast between sounds does not lend itself readily to change. If the contrast is sharp, the perception of the image is likely to be sure, and remembrance is easy. Thus it is that dissimilation is very infrequently found among occlusives, whose nature is more sharply defined than that of nasals and liquids. Usually dissimilation

is only partial; that is, the phoneme loses only one or several of its articulatory elements, not all. And usually the dissimilated sound is replaced with the most kindred sound the language possesses, e.g., r with l, l with r, m with n, n with m. Since dissimilation is an error in pronunciation, it naturally occurs most often in sounds most difficult to pronounce. The most difficult of the consonants is r; of the nasals and liquids it is most concerned in dissimilation. (Note that children have the greatest difficulty with r and learn its pronunciation last).

Again, since dissimilation is a matter of an error in pronunciation, it is natural that we find dissimilatory change and loss most often in the case of loan words. (Cf. Appendix on the Anglo-Norman influence). Dissimilation appears, though, not only in loan words, but also in native words. Most cases of dissimilation come out of a period in which the orthography of the word had not been well established and in which the word was used almost exclusively in actual speech.

There is, when dissimilation does operate, always an implied period of transition in which different forms of the word affected exist. The different forms in this period will continue to exist until one, the changed or unchanged form, takes precedence over the other.
reasons for the triumph of a particular form are as illusory as the factors underlying the phenomenon of dissimilation often seem to be.
Section 3--Scope of Work

The purpose of this work is not to make an exhaustive study of dissimilation, but to make a restricted investigation of consonantal dissimilatory tendencies in English. The chapter which follows is divided into two parts, each containing a particular type of study.

In the first part, attention is given to a consideration of dissimilatory influences in English place- and personal-names. Though the collection of names presented here is considerable and certainly representative, it is by no means complete. Here a word of warning may be wise. All place-name scholars are agreed on the inadvisability of placing too much confidence in the early spellings of English place-names, especially those written by clerks during the period of Norman domination. The reasons for this lack of confidence are fairly obvious. First of all, the etymologies of the place-names cannot always be ascertained with a high degree of certainty, and in view of this fact, such doubtful etymologies are indicated here in each case. In the second place, the spellings of the place-names may be in some cases the results of scribal errors or of a too close adherence to a traditional spelling. Another objection which might be raised to placing too much reliance on spellings of place-names is the fact that the
writer frequently depended on aural evidence, a dependence further complicated by the writer's use of French spellings for English sounds. Whatever mistakes resulted in dissimilation may, however, be attributed to the greater dissimilatory tendencies in the French language. (See Appendix V on the Anglo-Norman influence).

The second part contains a number of dissimilatory tendencies which do not fall readily into the other part and which are peculiar only to Old and Middle English, particularly to Middle English. This type is represented, for example, by the change of the ME peass pe bett to peass te bett, in which one of two spirants becomes a dental stop. The reason for such change was hinted at by F. A. Blackburn in 1882, but no real conception of the scope of such a change is presented by him. Such examples as I have given make no claim to being an exhaustive collection; they are, though, in such sufficient number as to be representative. The cases which I have presented are the result of an intensive study of the Ormulum, the Bestiary, some ninety-odd lyrics of the thirteenth century, and several Old English pieces.

In the body of this work I have made no attempt to treat vowel dissimilation in English or consonantal dissimilation in Modern English. An appendix is given for

each of these phases of dissimilation in order to make clear their nature.

While this study was in progress, Eduard Eckhardt published an article which dealt with consonantal dissimilation in English. This article concerns itself largely with words other than place- or personal-names, dissimilation having occurred in most examples before they were borrowed into English. However, an appendix which includes a word list of his article and in addition several words which he did not note is given at the end of this work.

Conclusions drawn from this study are based on purely English changes, so that any observations made as a result of this study may be examined to discover to what extent they are in conformity with or contrast to the observations given in Chapter I on the general nature of dissimilation, regardless of the language in which it occurs.

Chapter II
Words Showing Dissimilatory Loss or Change

Part I
Place- and Personal-Names

The sections in this part include words showing dissimilatory loss or change, and the words are classified according to the consonants affected and the manner of the change. No attempt to draw conclusions is made here.

Section I--Loss of $r$

For the place-names in this section and for their etymologies Ekwall\(^1\) was the chief source of information; some few supplementary and supporting facts were drawn from Zachrisson.\(^2\) The other words were taken from Goodall.\(^3\) The loss of $r$ is the most common type of dissimilation and consequently comprises the largest section of this work. Only words which lose one of two $r$'s originally present are included in this group.

1. **ALFORD, Li. (EK)**

   Variant spellings: Alforde (DB), Aaford 1175 (P) and 1202 (Ass).

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The root of this name is found in OE *air-ford.* The difficulty in pronouncing the unusual consonant group *lrf* is relieved by the loss of *r.* Accent plays an insignificant part in the development of this word, for *r* is lost in a tonic syllable. Dissimilatory elision is, for the most part, a result of the difficulty experienced by the vocal organs in making these three successive consonants and of the consciousness of the following *r.*

The change was complete at some time earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century, as the DB recording bears witness.

2. **ARDLEN, Chs. (EK)**

Variant spellings: *arderne* 1260 (Court) and *ardren* 1268 (Court), *ardene* 1130 (F).

The OE form is perhaps *eardearn,* showing the presence of the two *r*'s. Each of the continuants is a combined consonant, but the *d* of the first syllable is more protective to the first *r* than the *n* of the last syllable is to the second *r.* Loss of *r* occurs in the post-tonic syllable, giving progressive dissimilation. In some of the variant spellings there has been metathesis of the *r* and *e.* Evidence shows that the change was late, thus making the 1130 form difficult of explanation.

Possibly the two forms existed side by side, or the 1130

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form may contain a scribal error.

3. BARBON, We. (EK)

Variant spellings: Berebrune (DB), Berebrumna 1195 (P).

The only two early recordings of this name show the presence of the two r’s. It is quite likely that the second r of the two recordings above had weakened and disappeared before dissimilation took place. Thus a single implosive r would dissimilate a combined explosive r. It is unusual that dissimilation is progressive here, especially since the dissimilated consonant occurs in an element so well established as -brumma. The first element, though, may have been more important to the meaning of the name. A lack of recordings makes it impossible to date the change accurately, but dissimilatory elision must have taken place in the thirteenth century or later.

4. BARDWELL, St. (EK)

Variant spellings: Beordwella and Berdeuwella (DB), Berdewelle 1190 (P).

It is possible that the first element comes from OE breord or breord. The unwonted repetition of r in such close succession would cause the first r to be omitted. Regressive dissimilation arises out of the fact that when there are two consonant groups, each containing an r, in a monosyllabic word, there is a tendency for the explosive, rather than the implosive, r to be dissimilated. The
consonantal loss occurred early, as seen by the first variant spelling noted above.

5. **BEARD, Db. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Berde 1252 (Cl), Berd 1316 (Ipm).

For a discussion of the dissimilatory loss of *r* in this name, see bered or breord under BARDWELL supra.

6. **BITTERING, Nf. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Britringa (DB), Bit(t)ringe 1205 (FF), Biterin 1252 (Ch).

This name originates in OE Brittheringas, a form in which the not unusual loss of aspirates might occur, since each of the explosive *r*’s is in a consonant group and since it is an easier change for the tongue from the dental *t* to the continuant *r* than from the labial *b*, dissimilation is here regressive. Contributing to this tendency is the fact that the first syllable apparently did not bear a very heavy accent. Since there is evidence of dissimilatory loss in the 1252 and 1205 forms and none in the BD form, it is fairly safe to say that the sound change was in progress at some time in the twelfth century.

7. **BORDERLEY, YW. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Borelaie (DB), Bordeleia c 1140 (FC), Bordelay 1162 (YCh).

OE *Bordo*, in which the first element of the name has its root, is very common. Here two consonant groups occur in a single syllable. The explosive *r* is much more
likely to be dissimilated than the implosive r at the end of the syllable. (Cf. BARDWELL supra). The absence of d in the first recorded DB form is probably a result of false etymology. Dissimilatory loss of r probably took place in late Old English.

8. BRODSWORTH, Yw. (EK)

Variant spellings: Brodeswarde (DB), Broddeswrde (YCh 185), Broddesworth 1222 (FF).

The most probable etymological root of the first element is Brord, a form which is very interesting in that dissimilation in this case is different from that in Drorda above. (Cf. BORDLEY). Here it is the implosive r, rather than the explosive, which is lost. The apparent phenomenon is possibly explained by the presence of a third r in worth which would be likely to influence the second r. Then the implosive r, the second one, is omitted, the two r's are left as remote as possible. In Drorda (supra) there was no third r; so the general tendency to omit the explosive r was followed. The loss of r through dissimilation was obviously early.

9. CAMBERWELL, Sr. (EK)

Variant spellings: Cambrewelle (DB), Camerwella 1175 (F), Camerewell 1199 (Cur) and 1212 (Recs), Cambrewell 1208 (Cur).

The etymology of this name is doubtful, but it is possible that the first element finds an origin in...
cranburna. The partial assimilation of n to m before the labial b needs no discussion here. It may logically be assumed that no very heavy accent fell on the first syllable, so that omission of r in the pretonic syllable would be easy. (Cf. WASHBURN for the improbability of a radical consonantal change's affecting the -burna element). The regressive dissimilatory loss probably took place at some very early date, since the earliest DB recording bears evidence that the change was already complete in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

10. CAMBRIDGE, Ca. (EK and Z)

Variant spellings: Grantacaestir c 730 (Bede), Grantacester c 890 (OE Bede), Crontabrioc c 745 (Felix), Rantebrycg 875 (ASC), Crentebrige (DB), Cantebruge c 1125 (Cambr Bor Ch), Cambrugge (Chaucer).

For the change from g to c as a result of Norman influence, see Zachrisson, Introduction to the study of English Place-Names, page 114. The partial assimilation of n to m before the dental t is not unusual. The two r's (as in the 745 form) appear in an explosive position, the first r preceded by a velar stop, and the second by a labial stop. Thought is ahead of the tongue, and the first r seems superfluous. The change from a velar to r is more difficult than the change from a labial to r; so regressive dissimilation occurs, the first r being omitted.

11. CARDEN, Chs. (EK)
Variant spellings: Kawrdin c 1235 (Omorod), Cawardyn 1302 and 1304 (Chamb).

Ekwall says that the second element is derived from OE *wurþgan* and that the first may be from OE *cerr*. In *Carrwurþgan* the difficulty of pronouncing the two *r*'s in such rapid succession causes the *r* (*rr*) to be lost, thus giving the 1235 form as a result of regressive dissimilation. It may be assumed that the initial syllable did not have a very heavy accent. Evidently the change was completed sometime before the thirteenth century.

12. CAYTHORPE, YE (EK)

Variant spellings: Caretorp (DB), Carthorp 1100–15 (YCh 1001), Carethorp c 1130 (YCh 1063).

The etymology of this name is "Keri's thorp." Here a combined implosive *r* dissimilates a single explosive *r*, resulting in regressive dissimilation. The normal tendency of dissimilation is aided by the etymological compactness of the -thorp element. (It is interesting to note that in CAYTHORP, which has the same first element, the *r* is preserved, for there is not a second *r* to dissimilate it). The loss of the first *r* in CAYTHORPE occurred certainly after the middle of the twelfth century.

13. CHARDACRE, cf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Chardoker 1046 (A11s), Chardeker 1275 (AII), Chardacre 1303 (PA).

The first element is OE *court*; the second is a common one in place-names. The second element being a more
established one and more necessary to the meaning of the name, it is natural that the dissimilatory loss should occur in the first element. Too, £ before £ is easily lost in pronunciation. However, that the second £ was influential in causing the first to be dissimilated is evident from the fact that the £ is still present in CARTMEL and CHART, which have OE ceart as a root, but which have no £ in the following syllable. Dissimilation in this name took place at a late date, sometime in or after the fourteenth century.

14. CHARD, So. (EK)

Variant spellings: Cerdren 1065 (Wells), Cerdre (DB), Cerda 1166 (RBE), (Sut)cherde 1261 (Wells).

The first element is derived from OE ceart and the second from OE renn. The change of rt to rd is common. In the consonant group rdr there is an implosive £ and an explosive £ separated by a voiced dental stop. In such a group it is usually the explosive £ which is lost, unless some outside force interferes. (Cf. BRODSWORTH supra). Thus the second £ has been lost, giving progressive dissimilation. At some time in the earlier part of the twelfth century this change must have taken place.

15. CHILSWORTH, Sf. (EK and Z)

Variant spellings: Ceorleswyrpe 962 (BCS 1082), -weorp (11 EIR 43), Caeorlesweorp c 995 (BCS 1238), Cerleswrba (DB).
The OE form is georles worp. Of the two implosive p's, each in a consonant group, the one preceding the continuant l is lost. Similarity of the vowels which precede each consonant group may have been a contributing factor to the loss of the first p by making a more exact repetition seem redundant. The loss must not have occurred until after the close of the thirteenth century. Ekwall does not mention dissimilation in his treatment of this name, but Zachrisson ascribed the change to dissimilatory elision.

16. DESBOROUGH, Np. (EK)

Variant spellings: Desburg and lereburg (DD), lereburg 1167 (P) and 1200 (Cur), lereburg 1208 (BM).

The OE form is leresburg, in which p in an intervocalic position between two tonic syllables would be likely to be dissimilated because of the speaker's consciousness of the p which follows in the second element. It is unlikely that so common an element as -burg in place-names would suffer any consonantal change, as seen by the 1208 reading, dissimilatory elision took place at some time in or after the thirteenth century.

17. DESFORD, Le. (EK)

Variant spellings: leresford and leresford (DD), leresford 1209-35 (Ep) and 1297 (Ch), leresford 1235-8 (Ep)

The first element of the name is the same as that of DESBOROUGH supra: cf. DESBOROUGH for reasons for the loss of r and the resulting regressive dissimilation. (Cf. SEIGHFORD infra for the retention of r in the -ford element).

18. DEXTHORPE, Li. (EK)

Variant spellings: Dr(e)listorp (DB), Drextorp c 1180 (Bury) and 1212 (Fees), Drextrop 1206 (Ass) and 1242 (Fees).

The spellings with t for th may be attributed to Norman influence. Each r, one explosive and the other implosive, occurs in a consonant group. The general tendency would be to omit the explosive r because of an implosive r in the same or following syllable. The general familiarity with -thorn as an element of place-names would render the second r difficult of change. From the 1242 recording it is evident that the omission of r was somewhat late.

19. FANTHORPE, Li. (EK)

Variant spellings: Fenthorp 1202 (Ass), Fammettorp 1212 (Fees).

Feolumaeres thorpe is the OE root of the etymology for this name. Through contraction and corruption a short form developed for the first element. The first r, occurring in an intertongic position, would easily be lost. It is interesting to note that this r is preserved in
another name, FELMERSHAM, which has the same root for the first element, but in which there is no r in the last syllable to influence the r which is preserved. On the etymological compactness of -thorp as an element of place-names, cf. DEXTHORPE. The lack of readings earlier than 1212 makes it impossible to set an approximate date for the elision.

20. FOGGATHORPE, YE (EK)

Variant spellings: Fulcwartorp (DB), Folcowrethorp 1157 (YCh 354), Folkerthorp 1240 (FF).

The etymology here is 'Folkvart’s thorp.' A single implosive r in an intertonic position is dissimilated by a combined implosive r. On the etymological compactness of the -thorp element, see DEXTHORPE supra. (Note that in the personal-name FOCKERBY, which has the same first element, the r is retained, because there is no second r to blur the image of the first). A lack of recordings makes it impossible for us to date the loss more definitely than at some time after the middle of the thirteenth century.

21. FREEBRIDGE, Nf. (Z)

This name appears as Fredrobruge in a DB reading. Under a discussion of the French element in the English language, Zachrisson mentions "addition or loss of r finally, especially after stops and dentals." It would

6. Ibid., p. 108.
appear, however, that the omission of \( r \), though it is in an unstressed position, is a dissimilatory loss due to the influence of the other two \( r \)'s in the name.

22. GOVERTON, St. (EK)

Variant spellings: Sopertune 958 (Ych2), Coverton 1303 (Pa).

It is possible that the first element is OE \textit{lor-ford}. The chances for dissimilation in this word are increased by the back vowel \( o \) which precedes each of the continuants; the unusual repetition of an identical sound would tend to make one seem redundant. To destroy the \textit{or} of the first syllable would destroy the syllable; so only the \( r \) is lost. As a result, the \( r \) is left in an intervocalic position and would easily be voiced to \( v \). Cf. SEIGHFORD for a note on the \textit{-ford} element.

Dissimilatory elision evidently took place in Old English.

23. HARPLEY, Mf. (EK)

Variant spellings: HARPELAI (DB) and 1121 (AC), Harpelai (LD), Harpele 1206 (FF) and 1254 (Val).

OE \textit{harpere} is the probable first element. The intervocalic \( r \) in a post-tonic position would tend to be lost after the implosive \( r \) in the first syllable. Since the earliest DB reading shows the absence of the second \( r \), progressive dissimilation must have taken place in Old English.

24. HARPSEWELL, Li. (EK)
Variant spellings: Herpeswelle (DB), Harpeswolla c 1115 (LiS), Harpeswell 1212 (Fees).

The first element is OE hearpere. (Cf. HARPLEY).

25. HARTEST, Sf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Hertest c 1050 (KCD) 907 and (DB), Herterst (DB), Herthyrst c 1095 (Bury), Hertherst 1200 (Cur).

It may be assumed that the heaviest accent fell on the first syllable, and that influence, combined with that of the r in the first syllable, would logically aid the second syllable in falling into the -est pattern.

The 1200 reading indicates that progressive dissimilation occurred at a fairly late date.

26. HORNBLOTTON, So. (EK)

Variant spellings: Horblawetone (DB), Hornblauton 1235 (Feas), Hornblaneton 1276 (RHH), Hornbloutone 1327 (Subs).

Ekwall's etymological development of this name suggests that the OE form is hornblæwerna tun. An intervocalic r in a post-tonic position would easily be lost through the influence of the first r in the element -horn, whose meaning would tend to preserve the original form. The continuant r is difficult to pronounce after the w; and evidence that the loss occurred while the w still remained in the word is given by the DB reading.

It is certain that progressive dissimilation occurred in late Old English.
27. **ISLEWORTH, Mx. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Gislereswyrrth 695 (DCS 07), Gistelswurde (DB), Ysteleswurde 1180 (P), Istelwurde 1221–50 (Pees).

This name has its root in Gisleres worp. In some of the early readings it is seen that an intrusive r developed between s and l. An r between two vowels in an intertonic position would easily be lost through the influence of the r in the -worth element. Since the r is present in the 695 reading and not in evidence in the DB form, we may safely assume that dissimilatory elision took place in late Old English.

28. **KENTHORPE, YE (EK)**

Variant spellings: Cheretorp (DB), Kenerthorp 1265 (PA), 1279 (Subs), 1316 (NV).

This name's probable etymology, 'Cœnroð's thorp,' would help to explain the interchange of r and s in the two recordings given above. In any event, an implosive r in an intertonic position is dissimilated by a combined implosive r in the strong -thorp element (see DEXTORPE supra). Although the first r may have been lost through lack of stress, it is highly probable that its loss was expedited by the presence of a second r in the word. The change was late, certainly after the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

29. **KESGRAVE, Sf. (EK)**
Variant spellings: Grossegrave (DB), Kersgrave 1231 (Cl), Kersgrave and Kessegrave 1254 (Val).

The name ultimately means "witch or grove where cross grow." The change of one of the two voiced velar stops to the corresponding voiceless consonant (K) may be taken as an example of partial dissimilation in itself. After this change, two explosive p's remain in consonant groups. It is interesting to note that dissimilation is regressive and that the loss of r occurred after the voiceless stop rather than after the voiced. In the 1231 and 1254 readings metathesis of p and s is in evidence. It is probable that the elision took place sometime in the thirteenth century.

30. WATERN, Homm. (GOODALL)

According to Goodall, this word appeared formerly as Hartherne.

The present spelling of the name shows regressive dissimilatory elision of the first p. The semantic value of neither element would likely be clear to the speaker, and the normal course of dissimilation is undisturbed.

31. OCATHORPE, YW (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Osceorthorp 1267, Oscearthorp 1574.

Goodall gives the two recordings above, in both of which there are two p's present. It may be that lack

7. A. Goodall, op. cit., pp. 18-23.
8. Ibid., p. 20.
of stress is responsible for the loss of the first $r$, but the influence of the second $r$ is certainly to be taken into account. The normal course of dissimilation is aided here by the position of the second $r$. On the -thorp element, see DEXTORPHE supra.

32. PETERLEY, Bk. (EX)

Variant spellings: Piterleia c 1150 (PNBk), Piterlee 1196 (PF), Piterle 1291 (Tax), Peterleye (Ch).

The etymology of this name is doubtful. Perhaps it is "pear-tree Leah"; Pertpe is found c 1300. In either case, regressive dissimilation must have taken place. In the consonant group $rtr$ an implosive $r$ and an explosive $r$ are separated by a voiceless dental stop. Since regressive dissimilation is in evidence, the stronger assumption would be that PETERLEY is derived from per-træ(w) Leah, in which the accent would fall on the second syllable, thus making it possible for the second syllable to be confused with the -re ending, and so explaining the metathesis of $r$ and $e$ with the consequent relation of the place-name to the proper name Peter.

Because of the lack of early readings it is impossible to date the change more definitely than at some time before the middle of the twelfth century.

33. POTSGROVE, Bd. (EK)
Variant spellings: Potesgrave (IB) and 1213 (Cur),
Potesgrave 1200 (P), Pottesgrave 1247 (Ass),
Portesgrave 1242 (Teos), and 1428 (Fn).

To establish a certain etymology for this name is
difficult. If the OE form is *pottes-græf*, there is no
dissimilation. The 1242 form, however, suggests that the
name had its origin in OE *pottoras-græf*. If so, the
intervocalic r in an unaccented position would easily be
lost through dissimilation. Very likely the chief cause
of dissimilatory elision here is solely mechanical;
 omission of the r in the explosion from the dental stop t
to the voiceless spirant s would be easy. An r as a
combined consonant is seldom lost when it occurs in the
same word with an r in an intervocalic position.

34. ROCHESTER, K. ([X])

Variant spellings: Hrofaescaestre c 730 (Bede),
Hrofaecaster c 700 (Laws), Hrofeseaster 811 (DB3)
Rovecostre (DB).

We need not concern ourselves with the difficult
etymological development of this word except to suggest
that the first element is OE *hræfr*, possibly identified
with the OE *hrōf* meaning "roof." The unwanted repetition
of the two r's in such close proximity causes one to be
lost. The first syllable of this element bore the heavy
stress. Then, largely for physical reasons the dissimilation
is of the progressive type. This case is particularly

interesting since the loss occurred very early in Old English and since no variant spellings exist which show the presence of the two continuants.

35. **SEIONFORD, St. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Ceteforde (DB), Cesterford n.d. (Ronton), Seteford 1200 (Cur).

The apparent obscurity of the etymology in this name is removed when it is realized that the name is a normalized form of Chesterford. Of the two implosive r's, the first is more likely to be dissimilated than the second because of the weakness of the first r in an unstressed position and because of the common occurrence and consequent etymological compactness of the -ford element in place-names. The loss of r was obviously quite early.

36. **SLAIBURN, YW. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Slateborne (DB), Sleiteburne 1145 (YCH) 1475, Slaiteburn 1229 (Ep), Slachtteburne 1294 (CH).

It is very likely that the etymology of this name has its root in OE slāhpornburna, whence Sleiterburna. The change of the voiceless spirant p to the corresponding stop may be regarded as a case of dissimilation in itself. See DARDEN for the loss of m in the -born element. For the improbability of the r's being lost in the -burne element, see WASHBURN. The dissimilatory elision is here regressive because the first
r is in an unaccented position in the word; so the consciousness that a second r is to follow logically makes for its omission in such a position. (But note the presence of both r's in Slaughterton, which also has OE slæmborn ultimately as its first element).

37. TARBOCK, La. (EK)

Variant spellings: Tarboc (DB), Torbok 1257 (Ch), Thorboc 1242 (Feas), Torboke 1311 (La Inq), Thornebrooke 1232-56 (CC).

The OE form born-brook easily changed to Torbok, as seen by the early DB reading. The loss of r after the continuant r is not unusual. (The r is retained in the 1232-56 reading). The Anglo-Norman influence readily accounts for the substitution of Th for T in two of the variant spellings cited above. The consonant group rbr easily lends itself to dissimilation, though this combination is retained in many Modern English words. The explosive r is much more readily dissimilated than the implosive r because of the heavy tonic quality of the first element. It is interesting to note that the dissimilated and non-dissimilated forms of the name appear side by side until well into the fourteenth century. Such a dual occurrence is not at all irregular, since dissimilation implies a transition in which the changed and unchanged forms appear for a long period of time.10

THOLTHORP, YN. (EK)

Variant spellings: Turulfestorp (DB), Thoraldethorpe 1285 (KJ), 1316 (NV).

The first element here is ON þórolfr, so that the name originally contained three ᵠ's. It is most likely that the ᵠ of the -thorp element was most influential in dissimilating the intertonic ᵠ which stood in such close proximity to it. The normal regressive course of dissimilation is here aided by the appearance of the last ᵠ in the -thorp element. (See DEXTHORPE supra).

39. THURGOLAND, YW (EK)

Variant spellings: Turgesland (DB), Turgarland 1202 (FF), Turgarland 1397.

The 1202 and 1397 recordings above show the presence of two ᵠ's, although the DB form had only one. The second ᵠ is lost, resulting in progressive dissimilation. The normal course of dissimilation is here reversed, probably because of lack of stress on the dissimilated intertonic ᵠ. Dissimilation is in this case at most only a contributing factor. The elision occurred late, certainly as late as the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

40. TRING, Hrt. (EK)

Variant spellings: Tredunga and Treunge (DB), Trawinge 1176 (P), Treange 1207 (FF), Trehin 1212 (Wood), Trebenge, (Hy 3), Trebenger 1266 (Misc).

Ekwall's etymological development of TRING
suggests that the form originates in OE *træo-hangra*. Accepting this etymology, one is forced to conclude that the latest spelling he records is most similar to the OE form in that it retains the second r. The presence of the r in the 1265 form may be the result of false etymology since it is not present in any of the other readings. However, the r in the unaccented syllable may have been lost at any early date (c 1050) through dissimilatory elision. If so, the 1265 reading is probably a survival of an earlier form of the original and not generally in use.

**41. WASHBURN, YW. (EK)**

Variant spellings: *Walc(e)s)burn, *a 1173-85, 1203-15 (YCh), Walshburn 1307 (Y Inq).*

WASHBURN possibly has its origin in OE walcere (walcera) burna. The change of k to sh and the loss of l needs no explanation here, for it is evident that the dissimilatory elision antedates those more or less regular sound changes. The heavy accents fell on the first and fourth syllables of the OE form, leaving the antepenult, which originally contained an r, in an unstressed position. The last syllable -burn, since it is a common element of place-names, would not readily lend itself to change. The intervocalic position of the first r would cause that consonant to be easily dissimilated. There is a three-fold reason, then, why dissimilation is evident and of the
regressive type in this word.

42. WENTWORTH, Ca. (EK)

Variant spellings: Wintewerde (DB), Wyntewrth 1234 (Val), Wintewothæ c 1260 (Bodl).

Any one of the above variants gives a clue to the etymology of WENTWORTH; the OE form is probably

Wintres wort. Dissimilatory elision is early in this case, since the first p is already lost in the earliest reading.11 There is a distinct tendency to change or omit a consonant sound in a pretonic syllable if that sound is repeated in the stressed syllable; consequently, the elision here is of the regressive type.

43. WEMBOURNE, Mf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Wabruma and Wabrune (DB), Walbruna 1153 (Fr), Wabrun 1177 (P), Wabrum 1228 (C1).

Very likely the OE form was weartburna. The loss of ρ would leave the first r resting on the labial b. In such a position, it would be more likely to be lost than the second r. The penult of the OE form seems to have borne the accent; so it would be highly improbable that a radical change in consonant would take place in the second element of the word. Recording as early as the DB

11. Wintehrba, a reading which shows the presence of both r's, is found in 1195 (P); but it appears to be in no way general. Any number of things--folk etymology, analogy, a scribal error--might account for the presence of the first r in an isolated form.
and as late as 1223 give evidence of metathesis of r
and u in the OE -burna. The Modern English form, however,
is closer to the original. Loss of the first r through
dissimilation appears to have been early, as seen by the
DB readings. WORGRET and WARTER from OE weargburna
and wearb-træo, both having the wear element as found in
wearb.burna, show no dissimilatory change or loss of r.
It is probable that the accent was about equally heavy
on each syllable of these two words or that each element
was important to the meaning with the result that both
r's were preserved.
44. WOODSFORD, Do. (EX)

Variant spellings: cerdesford (DB), 1194 (P), 1212
(Feas), Wyrdesforde 1291 (Tax), Wirdesford 1318 (Ff).

Kwall gives two readings, one in 975 and the
other in 1312, in which WOODSFORD appears in two words,
Wierdesford. The r in the first syllable was not lost
until late, sometime in the fourteenth century, possibly
because the elements of the name retained their individual
meanings, as shown by the 975 and 1312 recordings.
Because of the vowel shift in the first element of the
word it would not seem illogical to assume that the first
element did not always bear a very heavy accent. If this
supposition is true, the dissimilatory loss of r would
have occurred in a relatively unaccented syllable.
Moreover, the common occurrence of the syllable -ford in place-names would make a change in the second element unlikely.
Section 2—Loss of l

For the etymologies of the place-names listed below Ekwall's *Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names* was depended on almost solely. In numerical importance loss of l logically follows loss of r. All examples have been restricted to those words which once showed the presence of two l's, but in which either the first or second liquid was lost through dissimilatory elision.

1. APEDALE HALL, St. (EK)

Variant spellings: apedal 1277 (Misc), Apedale 1283 (Ipm).

Possibly the first element of this name is *Apil*; if so, no dissimilation is present. It is possible, though, that the OE form is *seppeldael*. The two l's are implosive, and the first, being in an intertonic position, would easily be lost because of the speaker's consciousness of the second l. This theory is strengthened by the fact that numerous names exist which have the *seppel* element, but which have retained the l, e.g., APPLEBY, APPLEDORE. Because of the lack of early readings it is impossible to date the change, if one took place, any more definitely than sometime before 1277.

2. BLACON, Chs. (EK)

Variant spellings: Blechehol (D3), Blachenot c 1100 (Chester), Blakene 1260 (Court).
This name originates in OE blæcanhol. Final l is dissimilated by an explosive l appearing in a consonant group with r, according to Ekwall; the remoteness of the two liquids, however, might lead one to suspect that the whole of the last syllable, including the final l, was weakened and finally lost because of lack of stress. If dissimilation occurred, the elision was beginning to be effected at the close of the eleventh century.

3. BRIMFIELD, H. (EK)

Variant spellings: Brumefelde and Bromefelde (LB), Bremelfelda 1123 (PHHe), Bromfeld 1212 (Fees).

OE Brømel-feld is the original form of the name. In this form, two implosive r's are in evidence, the first standing alone at the end of a syllable and the second supported by d. In the element -feld, quite common in place-names, there is small cause for phonetic change; and since lđ in itself is a strong consonant group, l would hardly be dropped from that group. Also, because the first l stands in an unaccented syllable, it would very likely be influenced by the second. The change presumably occurred in Old English, although the 1123 reading appears in an isolated unchanged form.

4. CHADWELL, L. (EK)

Variant spellings: Caldeuuelle (DB), Caldwellia 1177, Chadwell 1179 (P), Caldwell 1276 (RH).
The correct pronunciation of this name is Caldwell, not Chaldwell, oh being a common early spelling for k. The form CHADWELL evinces dissimilatory loss of the first l; although the loss of l before d is unusual (Cf. BRIMFIELD supra), such a familiar element in place-names as -well could hardly be expected to lose its identity. The name is still alternately called Caldwell or Chadwell, the former showing no dissimilatory loss.

5. ELMSALL, YW, (EK)

Variant spellings: Elmshale 1242 (Peas), (North)elmesale 1380 (BN).

All recordings of this name show the presence of two original l's. In the folk pronunciation, however, the name is pronounced Elmsall, without the first l. The loss of the first l may to some extent be attributed to the difficulty of pronouncing l and m successively, but that regressive dissimilation is in evidence in the pronunciation of this name is borne out by the fact that the l is still pronounced in the common Mod. E. word elm.

6. EMLEY, YW, (EK)

Variant spellings: Amelai and Ameheie (DB), Emalaiebros c 1200 (YCh 1680) imeleg and Immosleg 1203 (Cur).

This word is most likely derived from OE elm-leah. The two l's in close proximity cause the first to seem
redundant. The implosive \( \ell \) is dissimilated by the explosive, giving regressive dissimilation, a chance facilitated by the position of the first \( \ell \) before the labial nasal. Obviously the change was effected in Old English.

7. **EMSWELL, YE (EK)**

Variant spellings: Elmes-, Holmeswelle (DB), Holmeswella 1157, Elmeswella c 1175 (YCh 354, 441).

The meaning of this name is either 'Helm's spring or stream' or 'elm spring or stream.' In either case the name originally had an \( \ell \) present in each of its elements. The combined implosive \( \ell \) of the first element is dissimilated by the single implosive \( \ell \) of the second, giving regressive dissimilation. The etymological compactness of the familiar -well element would in any case protect the second element from dissimilation. The elision evidently took place some time after the last quarter of the twelfth century.

8. **HALIFAX, YW (EK)**

Variant spellings: Peslei (DB), Halifax c 1175 (AD), Halifax 1268 (Ep).

The presence of two \( \ell \)'s may be seen in the 1175 recording, but by 1268 the intervocalic \( \ell \) has dissimilated the explosive \( \ell \) standing in a consonant group. A fairly safe conjectural date for the change would be at some time
toward the beginning of the twelfth century.

9. **LEYBOURNE, K. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Lilleburna and Lillianburna 1321 f. (BCS 10), Leleburne (DB), Leiburne 1193 (P).

The first element was originally *Lylla*, a side-form of *Lulla*. The repetition of the sound of *l* in such rapid succession caused the second liquid to be lost. It is obvious that a very heavy accent was not borne by the second syllable. In the DB recording, even the same syllable (*lo*) was repeated, so that the repetition was more noticeable than when the vowels were varied, as in the first spelling recorded above. In the DB recording both *l*’s are present; a century later the second has been dissimililated.

10. **MARGASHALL, Sx. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Lutesgareshale (12 Fr), Lutogareshal(e) 1224 (Fr), Lutle-, Lutegreshele 1261 (as).

In the 1261 form the presence of two *l*’s is to be noted. Ekwall says that "the second *l* was often lost owing to dissimulation." That dissimilation took place is doubtful, since many parallels exist in which *l* was retained.

11. **MARCHALLLY, Sa. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Marchameslei (DB), Marchomesloga 1185 (P), Marchamelee 1206 (FP).

This name is from Marchelmes Lēah. The 1 of Lēah has dissimilated the implosive 1 preceding m, since 1 before the labial nasal m is easily lost (cf. HILLYEY supra), particularly in an unstressed position. From the DB recording it may be seen that the change took place in Old English.

13. PAVLETT, So. (EK)

Variant spellings: Pavelot, Paulet (DB), Poulet 1186 (Buckland), 1194 (P), Poolet 1212 (Feos).

Ekwall's etymology gives the second element as OE flēot and suggests that Pal-flēot would easily become PM-flēot owing to loss of 1 through dissimilation. If this etymology is to be accepted, an implosive 1 standing alone at the end of a syllable is dissimilated by an explosive 1 in the consonant group fl. The DB readings suggest that the change was made in Old English.

13. POPPLEWELL, YW (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Popilwell 1338.

In all recorded forms of this name there is an 1 present in both the first and second element. The name, though, is generally pronounced Poppiwell, without the first 1. The dissimilated 1 occurred in an intertonic position, and its loss may in part be due to lack of stress;
the second 1, though, was most likely influential in facilitating that loss. On the etymological compactness of the -well element, see ENSWELL supra.

14. SNAISCOILL, Yn (EK)

Variant spelling: Snaicoile 1180.

Here the implosive 1 of the first element is dissimilated by the 1 of the familiar -ill element, giving regressive dissimilation. A lack of early recordings prevents us from dating the change definitely.

15. SPOTLAND, La. (EK)

Variant spellings: Spotlond c 1180 (Sh C), Spotland 1205 (Ass).

OE splott has been suggested as the origin of the first element in this name. In Splottland the first 1 might be lost through dissimilation. Because of the unusual consonant group spl, the first 1 would be much more readily dropped than the 1 of such a common element in place-names as -land. In this case, a single explosive 1 dissimilates the explosive 1 of a consonant group, resulting in regressive dissimilation. The change probably occurred in Old English, if the etymology is correct, though the variant readings give no definite evidence for either the etymology or the dissimilation.

16. WINCHEFIELD, Ha. (EK)
Variant spellings: Wyncefeld 1201 (TEx), Wyncefeld 1227 (Ch), Wynchesfeld 1310 (fA).

Wall suggests that the name may be identified with Unincelfeld 998 (KCD); if so, the OE form for the first element is wincel. In wincelfeld, the first l, in an intertonic position, is dissimilated by the second l. On the compactness of the -feld element and the strength of the consonant group ld, see BRIMFIELD supra.

17. WOOLBEDING, ox. (Ex)

Variant spellings: Wolbedlince (ib), Wolbedding 1191 (P), Wulfbeding 1230 (Selborne).

This name means "Wulfbeald's people." From the DB reading, which shows the presence of two l's, the second liquid was omitted because of the influence of the first. It is interesting to note that in this case an implosive l dissimilates an explosive l. It is a reasonably safe conjecture to say that the loss occurred sometime in the twelfth century.

18. YOKEPLEFT, ye (Ex)

Variant spellings: Iucu-, Iugufled (ib), Jukoflot 1165-85 (YCh 988), Yokelof 1169-95 (YCh 907), Yoclesfllet 1189 (P).

The second element is OE flœot, and the first seems to be OE found. Iœckoll, often found in early nLiish sources in such forms as Iœctel. The first l, standing alone at the end of an unstressed syllable, is
dissimilated by the explosive / in the consonant group ££. From the DB readings it may be assumed that elision occurred in Old English, the 1199 reading being unusual.
Section 3—Loss of n

Most of the names and etymologies for this section were supplied by Ekwall; others were furnished by Goodall. The cases of loss of one of two original n's are not many in number, and in nearly every instance the development is the same.

1. ARRINGTON, Cambs. (EK)

Variant spellings: Warrninton c 950 (Mills), Erningtune (DB), Larningatone 1087 (Fr).

Each of the recordings given above shows the presence of two n's in the first element of this name. An implosive n, immediately following the continuant n and in a naturally weak intertonic position, is dissimilated by the implosive n in the -ina suffix, which in itself is usually etymologically compact. A third n in the -ton element would aid in blurring the image of the dissimilated n. The change evidently occurred after the last quarter of the eleventh century.

2. BARNACLE, Va. (EK)

Variant spellings: Bernhanare (DB), Bernanare 1352 (AD).

The first element is OE beren 'barn' or beren

---

'of barley.' The speaker's consciousness of the first *n* and the position of the second *n* in a naturally weak intertonic syllable result in regressive dissimilatory loss. The loss evidently occurred late, in or after the second half of the fourteenth century. (Cf. Arrington supra for the loss of *n* in a similar position).

3. **Barrington, Gl. (EJ)**

Variant spellings: Bernin(m)tone (DB), Bernitun 1156 (P), Manna Berningtone 1221 (Ass), parva Bernynton 1291 (Tax).

The first *n* is lost here under conditions parallel to the loss of *n* in Arrington supra. The change was late, certainly after the beginning of the fourteenth century.

4. **Bengeworth, Wo. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Benning Kuwrp 907 (BCS 616), Bynnynogwrp 980 (KCD 625), Beningeorde (DB).

It is possible that the -in_ element in an unstressed position simply weakened to the extent that only *g* was left. The loss of the *n*, though, could easily have been facilitated by the speaker's consciousness of the first *n*. This progressive loss of *n* cannot be dated with any fair degree of accuracy, for we have no recording later than the LB form.

5. **Benninworth, Lincs. (Goodall)**

Variant spellings: Benyngworth 1303 (KF) and 1316 (NV).
The loss of the second n in this name is parallel to that in BENGEWORTH supra. Again the normal course of dissimilation is reversed, probably because of lack of stress on the -ing element. The loss was late, evidently in or after the fourteenth century.

6. BRIGNALL, YN. (EK)

Variant spellings: Bring(enn)hale (DB), Briganhala 1150-4 (YCh 185), Briggahale 1175 (P), Brogenhales 1218 (FF), Bringenhale 1280 (Ipm).

Perhaps the OE form is Bryningahalh. The unwonted occurrence of the two n's in such rapid succession leads the speaker to the false psychological conception that one of them is intrusive; so the n is dropped. It is probable that regressive dissimilation occurred at some time in the eleventh century; but the 1280 form argues that the changed and unchanged forms existed side by side for some time.

7. CLAYDON, ef. (EK)

Variant spellings: Claimduna (DB), Cleidun 1190 (FF).

The DB recording shows the presence of two n's. It is likely, though, that the first n is an intrusive one, probably due to the Norman influence, and that it is not at all a matter of dissimilation.

8. CONISTON, YE (EK)

Variant spellings: Coningesbi (DB), Cuningeleton 1190 (YCh 1312).
The etymology of this name is no doubt found in a Scandinavised form of *Cyningestūn* 'the king's manor.' The presence of the first *n* and the position of *n* in the naturally weak intertonic -ing element cause the second *n* to be lost, resulting in progressive dissimilation. The development is *inges* to *ies* to *is*. Parallel development and consequent progressive loss of *n* are to be noted in other names with the same first element: *CONISBOROUGH, CONISBY, CONISCLOPE, CONSFORD, CONKYSTHORPE, CONYTHORPE.*

9. **CROYDON, Sr. (EK)**

Variant spellings: *Crogedena 809, (aet) Crogedena c 871, (de) Croindene c 900 (BCS 328, 529, 1133), Croidene (DB), Croidena 1168 (P).*

All recordings above except the first two show the presence of two *n*’s. It may, of course, be that the first is lost through dissimilatory tendency, but the most logical supposition is that the second *n* is an intrusive Norman *n* and that it is not at all a matter of dissimilation here. (Cf. CLAYTON supra).

10. **DARWINGHAM, YE (GOODALL)**

Variant spelling: *Derningham 1286 and 1327.*

It may be that the first *n* is lost through dissimilation in this name because of its presence in an intertonic syllable and because of the speaker's consciousness of the second *n*. It is more probable,
however, that the first $n$ is assimilated to the preceding $g$ and that we are concerned here with assimilation, not dissimilation.

11. DARRINGTON, YW (EK)

Variant spellings: Darni(n)tone (DB), Dardintune 1148 (YCh 179), Dardinton 1193 (P), 1229 (Ep), Dardhinton 1208 (PF), Darthingtone 1208 (FF).

The conditions here are the same as those for DARRINGHAM supra.

12. HODNET, Sa. (EK)

Variant spellings: Hodenet and Odenet (DB), Hodnet and Hodenet 1230 (P).

The early form is identical with Welsh Hodnant (Rees 108). An explosive and an implosive $n$ are present in a single syllable; the implosive $n$ is dissimilated by the explosive to give progressive dissimilatory loss. The first element being the tonic syllable, such a change is easily possible. A parallel development is found in sechenant to Sekanet 1286 (Ass) to give Welsh SYCHNANT. The change occurred probably in late Old English.

13. LAGNESS, Sx. (EK)

Variant spellings: Lagan erec 680 (BCS 50), Langeners 1179 (P), Langeners 1242 (Fees).

Dissimilatory loss is in this case regressive; the implosive nasal is dissimilated by the explosive, though the two $n$s appear in different syllables. (Cf. HODNET). That tendency is strong, particularly since
here the second \( n \) is in a syllable (-en) which was generally weakened. The readings above give evidence that the elision was complete at some time in the early part of the thirteenth century.

14. MENNITHORPE, YE (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Meningtorp 1267, Menigthorp 1300.

Here the explosive first \( n \) dissimilates the combined implosive \( n \) of the -ing element, which is naturally weak in its intertonic position. Lack of stress may be the primary reason for the loss here, but the dissimilatory influence of the first \( n \) would certainly be a contributing factor. The only two early recordings of this name would indicate that the elision took place at some time in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

15. PENISALE, YW (EK)

Variant spellings: Penighishal c 1200, Penineshalg c 1215 (YCH 1203, 1205), Penineshalg 1209, 1252 (Ch).

The last recording above shows the presence of two \( n \)'s, the second in the intertonic -inges element. The development is the same as in CONISTON supra.

16. PENISTONE, YW (EK)

Variant spellings: Peneston(e), Peneston (LB), Peningeston 1199 (P), Peningestona c 1190 (YCH 1677).

The conditions here are the same as those for PENISALE supra.

17. PINCKETHAM, Nr. (EK)
Variant spellings: Pickenham and P1(n)kenham (DB), Pikenham 1198 (FP), Hoptpykenham 1291 (Tax), Sutpikeham 1242 (Feas).

Very likely the original name was Pincen-ham.

The general tendency to drop n from consonant groups and the speaker's consciousness of the first n cause the second n to be omitted. Though both n's were implosive, the second ended a syllable while the first was followed by a velar stop. Evidently, at the time of the DB readings the change was under way, but both forms existed probably into the twelfth century.

18. SPENNYTHORNE, YN (EK)

Variant spellings: Speningethorp (DB), Spinthorn e 1190 (Godro), Spennyngthorne 1317 (Ch).

For development, cf. BENNYTHORPE supra.

19. SPENNYMOOR, Du. (EK)

Variant spellings: Spendingmor c 1336 (Ep), Spennyngmore 1381 (Pat).

For development, cf. BENNYTHORPE supra.

20. WANTAGE, Brk. (EK)

Variant spellings: Wanating c 800, 955 (BCS 553, 912), Uwanating c 894 (Asser), Wanetinz (DB).

The n of the -ing element weakens and disappears, chiefly from lack of stress. The dissimilatory influence of the first n probably facilitated the loss. If dissimilation is in evidence here, its progressive direction is explained by the matter of accent.
Section 4—Loss of Other Consonants (s, w, h, t, k)

Elkall has supplied the etymologies for the following names. In several cases, Jespersen's Modern English Grammar (v. 1), Jordan's Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik and Zachrisson's chapter in the Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names were relied on for supplementary information. Most of the words listed below have no more in common than that they show the dissimilatory loss of consonants, and in several cases that similarity is to be doubted; for the sake of convenience, though, they have been grouped into a section showing the loss of an s, w, h, t, or k because of the influence of a second identical consonant. Words are listed alphabetically for each group in this section.

1. DICESTER, O. (EK, Z, Jor).

The French element is particularly noticeable in a number of words containing -chester from OE ceaster. The early Norman pronunciation [tʃ] for ch would render that element something like [tsɪstər]. A regular French phonetic tendency was to drop s before t and other voiceless consonants, as seen in âtre from estre and hôpital from hospital; hence in [tsɪstər] s would be lost, giving [tʃɪstər]. The sound combination [tʃ] being foreign
to the English, the first \( t \) was dissimilated by the second, thus giving \( [\text{set\, } \text{ar}] \). In an unstressed position the sound \( [\ell] \) would be lost, and the resulting pronunciation would be \( [\text{st\, } \text{ar}] \). Thus, BIGESTER becomes \( [\text{bist\, } \text{ar}] \). The same French phonetic tendency and the English dissimilation of \( t \) operated in some sixteen English place-names containing the -chester element. Among them are CIRENCESTER, EXETER, GLOUCESTER, LEICESTER, and WORCESTER. The changes in pronunciation are evidenced by such alternate spellings as early GLOUCESTEIR and GLOUCESTER followed by frequent twelfth-century spellings of the name as GLOUCESTER. In view of the above phonological development of the name, we may agree partially, at least, with Zachrisson when he says: "To assume loss of \( g \) owing to dissimilation is unnecessary and improbable. The only similar case is OSBULDESON (La) from OE OSBEALD pers-name, pronounced locally as \( [\text{os\, bist\, } \text{n}] \), whence the loss of \( g \) is due to the accumulated consonants." It is only natural that words like GLOUCESTER, with such a wide circulation both as

1. In spoken English consonant clusters appear frequently, though they are not found to a large extent in standardized English orthography. In these consonant groups, assimilation may play a great part, but not necessarily so. From an issue of American Speech examples such as [\text{fe\, im\, ant\, st\, oun}] , [\text{did\, ni\, tra}] , and [\text{end\, li}] can be picked at random where no loss of consonants has occurred, even though as many as six distinct consonants appear successively.
p. n. and pers. names should be subjected to the later French influence. Moreover, $a$ is lost or added in several cases where dissimilation is out of the question, as in Hornsatre and Horncastle (L), Glatinberge (Mouscot) for Glastonburg.\textsuperscript{2} Jordan, however, is inclined to think that one $a$ is lost through dissimilation. He says: "Mit Dissimilation schwand der zweite Spirant in -œster zu -œter (Glostone, Forceter, Exeter)."\textsuperscript{3}

2. NEATISHIED, Nf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Nethershird 1021-4, Noethershirda 1044-7 (Holme), Snetishirda (LB), Neteshirda c 1100 (BM).

This name is listed in various places as possibly being an example of dissimilation. The loss of initial $S$ is due to Norman influence. The French either dropped initial $S$ or added a prosthetic or svarabhaktic vowel. It is curious to note that NETTISHAM has retained initial $S$. In NOTTINGHAM initial $S$ was lost when there was no possibility for dissimilation.

3. STUCHEBURY or STUTSBURY, Np. (EK, Z, and Rit).

Variant spellings: Stoteberie (DB), Stotesbiria 1185-0 (Ch), Stotesber c 1230 (BM), Stuttebyri 1228 (Ep).

The correct OE form is **STUTES-bury**. Apart from the French phonetic change to give TUTBURY, the English form often showed a dissimilatory loss of the second s, as STUCKBURY evinces. However, STUSTON exists, in which there was no dissimilatory loss.

4. **TRUSTHORPE, Li. (EK)**

Variant spellings: Dr(e)uistorp (DB), Struttorp 1196 (FP) and 1202 (Ass), Strustorp 1231 (Ep), Trustorp 1212 (Ees).

The etymology of the name has its root in OE **Strutes thorp**. Ekwall ascribed the loss of initial s to dissimilation, but the loss may, on the other hand, be a result of a Norman tendency to drop initial s. (Cf. **HATISHEAD supra**.)

5. **SIBERTSWOLD, K (EK)**

Variant spellings: set Swypbrihteswealde 940, at Sibrighteswealde 922 (OCS 755 and 797), Siberteswold (DB).

The OE form is **Swipbeorhtes wald**. In the 940 reading each implosive w appears with s in a consonant group. Since sw is a strong consonant group, the first w would hardly be lost but for the influence of the second. In the variant spellings above it may be concluded that dissimilatory elision occurred at an early date, at some time in the tenth century.
6. WINCH, EAST and WEST, Nf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Eastwine and Estwinec (DB), Eastwinec 1262 (Fees), Eastwine 1254 (Val). Westwinec (DB), Westwinec and Westwinec 1193 (FF), Westwine 1254 (Val).

The root of the etymology is in OE wynw-wig.

The unwanted repetition of w in a succeeding syllable was certainly influential in causing the loss of the second w. According to Ekwall, its loss may also be partially ascribed to the influence of ge. The variant spellings recorded above give evidence that the change occurred in Old English.

7. AXHOLME, Lf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Haceholm c 1115 (Li3), Maxiholma c 1180 (Fr), Axholm 1179 (P), Maxiholm and Axholm 1253 (Ol).

In this word both h's are explosive. The speaker's consciousness of the second aspirate leads him to feel that the first is superfluous. It is interesting to note that it is the initial h that is lost. In a name such as HANLY the initial aspirate is retained because the second does not follow. The changed and unchanged forms seem to have continued well into the thirteenth century.

8. EARLHAM, Nf. (EK)

Variant spellings: Earlham (DB), 1165 (P), 1196 (Fees), Earlham 1196 (FF) and 1242 (Fees).

The first element may possibly be OE earl; if so, no dissimilation is present. The personal name Herola.
is also a fairly safe conjecture for the root of the first element of the name. If that is true, then the initial $b$ is lost, thus giving regressive dissimilation. (Cf. AXHOLME supra). Here is found as the first element of HARLING, HARLINGTON, HARLTON. In these names, however, the initial aspirate is retained because there is not a second $h$ present to dissimilate it. Forms with and without evidence of dissimilatory loss seem to continue well into the thirteenth century.

9. INKERSALL, Do. (EK)

Variant spellings: Hinkershul 1242 (Rees), Hinkershull 1290 (BL), Hinkershull 1264 (Ipm).

The name originally began with an $H$, which according to Wkwall, was lost by dissimilation (before the loss of the second $n$). The general tendency toward regressive dissimilatory loss is followed in that the initial aspirate is dropped. There is no evidence that the omission occurred earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth century.

10. DIGESTER

For dissimilatory loss of $t$ in this name and in others of its type, see DIGESTER supra.

11. GAYHURST, Bk. (EK)

Variant spellings: Gateherst (DD), Gaherst 1167 (P).

The OE form is *gāta-hyrst*. Wkwall ascribes the
loss of the first \textit{t} to Norman influence, but it is very likely that the \textit{t} of the \textit{-byrst} element had some influence on the first \textit{t}. The intervocalic \textit{t} standing in an intertonic position would easily be dissimilated by a \textit{t} in an element so established as a part of the place-names as \textit{-byrst}. It is interesting to note that the unchanged form also survives in CATHURST. From the readings above it may be seen that the change probably took place at some time in the twelfth century.

12. \textit{WINWICK, La. (EX)}

Variant spellings: Winequic 1170 ff. (P), Winewich 1204 (P), Wynseuic 1212 (Fees).

The 1170 and 1212 forms above each show the presence of two voiceless velar stops in the last element. The unusual repetition of a second \textit{k} sound in such close proximity to the first resulted in the first's being lost. Here a single implosive consonant dissimulates a combined explosive (\textit{kw}), making the direction regressive. The last two recordings above would indicate that there was a period of transition in which both the changed and unchanged forms were heard. The loss evidently took place sometime in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.
Section 5—Change of £-£

This section comprises words taken largely from Ekwall¹ and Zachrisson.² At least one name was supplied by Goodall.³ By far the largest number of words evincing dissimilatory change fall into this class. Though some of the cases of dissimilation are dubious, most of the claims here may be defended with more justification than in several other sections. In most cases £-£ changes to £-l or l-£ or µ-£; the doubtful but curious change of £-£ to k-£ is also found.

1. AMPLEFORD, YN (EX)

Variant spellings: Amprofordo (DB), Amplesford 1167 (P).

The first element originates in OE ampre. The presence of a second £ in the familiar element of place-names -forth and the ineroticic position of the syllable containing the first £ have resulted in the change of £-£ to l-£. Also, not so much energy is needed for the tongue to aid in the formation of £ after the labial stop £ as in the formation of £. That the change probably occurred at some time in the twelfth century is evinced by the two

readings above.

2. **ASHMANSWORTH, Ha. (EK)**

   Variant spellings: Aescorses wicorp 909, Aescomorsewoorp (ESC 624, 706), Eomeresworth 1171 (Dp).

   The OE form of this name is \textit{Aesomæros worth}.

   All of the variant spellings given above show the presence of two \textit{r}'s in the name. The first \textit{r}, explosive and in an intertonic position, is dissimilated by the \textit{r} in -worth, an element so familiar in place-names that it will accept change under only the most unusual conditions. The change of \textit{r}-\textit{r} to \textit{n}-\textit{r} is unusual and is possibly to be accounted for, at least in part, by the assimilatory influence of the \textit{m} which precedes it. The change took place in or after the last quarter of the twelfth century.

3. **BULSTRODE, Bk. (EK)**

   Variant spellings: Burestroda 1105 f., Burestroda 1103 f., Burestrold 1195 ff. (P), Boolestrode 1195 (Cur).

   In the unusual consonant combination \textit{rotr} (some forms having a prosthetic \textit{e} between the \textit{r} and the \textit{e}), it is the first \textit{r} which is changed to \textit{l} because such a change would interfere less with familiar English consonant groups. (In BULPHAN, for which such early forms as Burebhefen 1244 and Burgefen 1247 exist, an \textit{l} is substituted for \textit{r} through Norman influence when dissimilation is out of the question). The probable date
of the change would be at some time in the latter part
of the twelfth century.

4. BULVERHYTHE, Sx. (EK)

Variant spellings: Bulewareheda c 1150 (Fr),
Burewareythe 1229 (Pat).

This name has its origin in OE burnwara hyp. In
the 1229 reading the two r's are to be found, but curiously
enough, an earlier reading gives one of the r's as an l.
This may be taken as evidence of a period of transition in
which a dissimilatory change was becoming set. Fairall
does not mention dissimilation in connection with this
name, but rather attributes the change to Norman influence.
(Cf. BULSTRODE, BULPHAN supra).

5. POLPERRO, Co. (EK)

Variant spellings: Portpira 1303 (Pat), Porpira 1379
(AD III).

The first element of the name is (Co)porth,
meaning "port." In the change of r-r to l-r an implosive
r is changed by an explosive r, giving regressive
dissimilation. (Cf. AMPLEFORTH). From the variant
spellings given above it may be assumed that the change
occurred in the Middle English period.

6. PRESSALL, La. (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Presoura 1168, Pressore 1177.

Dissimilation is progressive here in that the
second \( r \) is changed to an \( l \) as a result of the influence of the first. Such a change, contrary to the normal direction of dissimilation, is perhaps to be accounted for by the strength of the consonant group \( Pr \) and the position of the second \( r \) in a post-tonic syllable. The change evidently took place in or after the last quarter of the twelfth century.

7. RICKMANSWORTH, Hrt. (EK*).

Variant spellings: Prichemarewords (DB), Rikemaresworth 1198 (Ch).

The OS form of this name is 'ricmanes worth.'

The regressive dissimilatory change of \( r-r \) to \( n-r \) is parallel to that in ASHMANSWORTH supra. In RICKMANSWORTH the initial \( r \) may have also been a contributing factor to the dissimilatory tendency. The change evidently occurred in or after the thirteenth century.


Variant spellings: Corbiocumum, Corbiocumum (4 IA), set Searobyrg 552 (ASC), Carisberie (DB), Salesbir' 1205 (Layamon), Nova Carisberia 1227, (Salisbury).

Searobury is an OS remodelling of Romano-British Corbiocumum. The change of the intervocalic \( r \) to \( l \) was due to the influence of \( r \) in the stable -burg element.

The impairing of articulation because of lack of vividness in the verbal image of the first \( r \) resulted in the nearest continuous sound \( l \). It may be assumed that the
change probably occurred at some time in the twelfth century.

9. **SHROPSHIRE** (EK and HOLT)

Variants spellings: Scrobbesbyrigscoir 1006 (ASC), Scrobsaeton 1016 (ASC), Scropsoir (11th), Sclopescoire (DB), Sorobscyr 1007 (ASC), Salopesoira 1094-8 (Pr) and 1156 (P).

Salop or Salopia (showing 1 for r) is from earlier Scropsoire, in which the combination shrop, which did not exist in Anglo-Norman, was altered to sarop; whereupon Saropsoire was turned into Salopsoire. The second r, as well as the consonant group unknown in Anglo-Norman, was influential in bringing about the regressive dissimilation of r-r to l-r. This change dates from the eleventh century.

10. **SKELMANTHORPE, YW (EK)**

Variant spellings: Skelmertorp (DB), 1195 (P), Skelmertorp 1242 (Fees).

Each of the recordings above shows the presence of two r's in this name. The first r, implosive and in an intertonic position, is changed to n by the influence of the second r, which occurs in the etymologically compact -thorp element, but in which the r is retained because there is no second r to dissimilate it. The change was evidently late, in or after the second half of the thirteenth century.
11. SPERNALL, Wa. (EK)

Variant spellings: Spernore (DB), Sporenoura 1176
f. (P), Spernowere 1323 (Ch).

The three recordings above show the presence
of two p's. An implosive p here dissimilates an p in the
final syllable. The direction is in this case progressive,
probably because of lack of stress on the final syllable
and the semantic value of the first element. The change
was quite late, in or after the first half of the
fourteenth century.

12. TIRNIL, We. (EK)

Variant spellings: Tyrerhge c 1169 (GWMS x), Tyrreh
1257 (P), Tyrel 1292 (W).

In the 1169 reading an explosive and an implosive
p stand in one syllable; the second p, being in a post-
tonic position, would easily be dissimilated to the
continuant l. It is evident from the variant spellings
recorded above that progressive dissimilation occurred
at some time in the thirteenth century.
Section 6—Change of 1-1

For the etymological development and phonological changes in most of the words given below, Ekwall¹ and Goodall² were the chief sources; Zachrisson³ was also consulted. In numerical importance change of 1-1 follows logically after change of r-2; too, this change is given a section apart from that of changes in other continuants because of the fact that these examples illustrate a definitely marked tendency of sound in some Modern English speech. The combination 1-1 dissimilates to r-1 and n-1.

1. APPURKNOLLE, Db. (UK)

Variant spellings: Apollkno 1317, Appurknoll 1467 (Derby).

The 1317 reading shows the presence of two 1's, and the 1467 reading indicates that one of the 1's has been changed to r. This change is particularly interesting because it illustrates a well-defined tendency of dissimilation. The OE form is apuldor-cnoll 'appletree

hill,' in which both elements are etymologically compact and semantically important. The 1 in the first element is changed to an x, partly because the normal course of dissimilation is regressive and partly because of the fact that it appears in an intertonic syllable. The change evidently took place at some time in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

2. BARTINDALE, YE (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Berkildale 1286 (KI), Barkendale 1337.

An l in an intertonic syllable is here dissimilated to n by a second l which occurs in -dale, an element common in place-names and hardly likely to suffer change. Regressive dissimilation must have occurred at some time during the fourteenth century.

3. BIRCHOLT, K. (EK and Z)

Variant spellings: Belissolt (DB), Biricholt 11 (DM), Birchsholt 1219 (Fees).

Kewall does not record the DB reading, nor does he mention dissimilation in connection with the etymology of this name. Zachrisson, however, in his discussion of the French element in English, calls attention to the substitution of the r for l. In English words the change of l-l to x-l is much rarer than the change from x-x to l-x or x-l. In this case an implosive l in a consonant
group has dissimilated an explosive \( l \) in an intervocalic position. From the recordings on hand a probable date of c 1100 may be assumed for the change.

4. **GIVENDALE, YE (EK)**

- Variant spellings: Cowedale (EB), Coveldale u 1125 (YCh 449), Covendale, Cividale 1231 (FP).

The regressive dissimilatory change of \( l \)-\( l \) to \( n \)-\( l \) in this word is parallel to that in Bartindale supra. In the Ye form of this name the \( l \) is not dissimilated in a recording as late as 1316 (IV).

5. **HINDERCLAY, SF. (Lk and GOODALL)**

- Variant spellings: Hildercle 1013 (BCS), Hilderclea (EB), Hildercle 1251 (Val), Kyldcrecle c 1095 (Bury).

The first element of this name may be ME hilder (hyldyr, hildertre) 'elder'; or possibly Hildar, the genitive singular of the Scandinavian personal-name Hildr. The second element is OE \( olāa \) 'claw.' The implosive \( l \) of the first syllable is dissimilated to \( n \) by the \( l \) of the etymologically compact -\( olāy \) element, giving regressive dissimilation. (But note HILDETHORPE, which has the same first element, but in which there was no second \( l \) to dissimilate the first).

6. **HINDERSKALPE, YN (EK)**

- Variant spellings: Hilreschelf (EB), Hilderschelf 1170-85 (YCh 633).

The change of \( l \)-\( l \) to \( n \)-\( l \) in this name is parallel
to that in HINDERCLAY supra. The change evidently took place in or after the last quarter of the twelfth century.

7. HINDERWELL, YN (EK)

Variant spellings: Hilderwell (IB), Hilderwelle 1140 (YCh 906), Hilderwell 1204 (Cur), 1226 (Ep).

The development in this name is parallel to that in HINDERCLAY supra. The change took place in or after the thirteenth century.

8. KENSAL GREEN, Mx. (EK)

Variant spellings: Kelsell Crone 1557 (PMX).

The only early recording of this name shows the presence of two l's. An implosive l is dissimilated by a second implosive l, giving regressive dissimilation. This example may be taken as illustrative of the normal direction of dissimilation, for dissimilation is here regressive in spite of the fact that the first syllable, in which the dissimilated continuant occurs, evidently bore the heavier accent. The change was quite late, after 1557, if we may form a conclusion from the only variant spelling we have.

9. KENDALE, YE (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Choldale (BD), Keldale 1202 (FF).

The only two early recordings given above show the presence of two l's. An implosive l in the familiar place-name element -dale dissimilates the preceding.
Implosive 1 to n, giving regressive dissimilation. The fact that the natural course of dissimilation is regressive for psychological reasons, combined with the fact that the second 1 occurs in the syllable which most likely bore the heavier accent, is perhaps responsible for the change of the first 1.

10. KNOGLE, Do. (EK and Z)

Variant spellings: Cholle (DB), Chonolle (DB), Gnolle (DB) and 1285 (FA).

Words in which there is the regressive dissimilatory change of 1-1 to n-1 are very few in English. Many parallels may be found in other languages, e.g., Latin cuntellus from cultellus. In the formation of the first 1, which is weak because of the confusion arising from the presence of the second 1, the lack of energy causes the tongue to assume a position which may readily become that for the nearest continuous sound to 1, an n. The readings above indicate that the change was effected in the eleventh century.

11. UNDERDALE, YE (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Hundolvesdale 1308, Hundoldale 1275.

The reading as late as 1308 still shows the presence of two 1's in this name. Eventually the 1 in an intertonic position is dissimilated to r by the 1 of the strong -dale element, giving regressive dissimilation.
Section 7—Change of Nasals

The chief sources drawn on for the words in this section are Hill's *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* and Zachrisson's chapter on the French influence in the *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*.

Since examples of particular nasal changes are not numerous enough to deserve separate sections, all words exhibiting dissimilatory changes in nasals are grouped into a single category. This classification includes the varying combinations #-n to l-n and n-m to r-n, l-n.

1. **DUINEAM, Du.** (EK and Z)

   Variant spellings: dunholm c 1000 (Sains) and 1056 (ASC), dunhulme 1122 (N Hunt), dunolme 1191 (FF), durnolme c 1170 (Jordan Pantosne), dunam 1297 (Rob 01).

   In the Norman change of OE *dunholm*, a weakened form of OE *dunholm* to *durnolm*, *durnolme*, *durnolme*, *durnam* (in an English spelling, *durnam*), an *n* is dissimilated to an *r* by an *n* in the following syllable. Because of the second nasal, *n* lost its nasality and became retroflex, with the result that an *r* was formed. A parallel is found in the French pronunciation of *Zaandam* in Holland as *saarndam*. This change dates from the twelfth century.

2. **HACKLESTONE or ILKINGTON, W.** (EK)
Variant spellings: Hakenestan 1175 (P), Hakenston 1239 (Ch), Hakelston 1277 (Mso), Hakenston 1318 (Ad), Acleston 1287 (C1).

The presence of two n's is to be noticed in the 1175 reading. The vividness of image is weakened in the first n by the repetition of the identical sound in the last element; it loses its nasality, and an l is produced, which, like n, is voiced. The changed and unchanged forms seem to have continued in existence from the last quarter of the thirteenth century until well into the fourteenth century, when the form with l completely supplanted the unchanged form.

3. KILMERSDON, Sm. (Ek)

Variant spellings: Runemersdon 951 (Bcs) 809, Chrenemersdon (Ek), Kinemersdon 1176 (P).

The first element is OE Cynemær. Because of the presence of the second nasal n, n loses its nasality to become l, thus giving regressive dissimilation. The lack of readings prohibits dating the change any more definitely than at some time after the twelfth century.

4. TARLETON, G1. (Ek)

Variant spellings: Torrenteone and Torentune (Db), Toleton 1291 (Tax).

The regressive dissimilatory change of n-n to l-n results probably from the presence of the n in the familiar place-name element -tun. TARLETON is a variant of T ORTON, in which the Norman t is not substituted.
for Th and which shows the retention of the two n's. From the DB readings it may be assumed that the last quarter of the eleventh century was a period of transition in which both forms were heard.

5. WALHAM GREEN, Mx. (EK and Z)

Variant spellings: Wenden 1274, Wanden 1276, Wanden Grene 1545 (FF).

After the dissimilatory change from Wenden, Wanden to Wanden, the n was dissimilated to an l by the m in the following syllable. In several cases in English, apart from the Norman influence, n-m changed to l-m or r-m. In this particular word, regressive dissimilation occurred at a late date, certainly in or after the last quarter of the sixteenth century.
Section 8—Change of Dentals

The words in this list were chosen from Ekwall, who does not ascribe all the changes in the dentals to dissimilation. These seven words, all of whose etymologies are by no means certain, furnish a comparatively small portion of the examples of dissimilation that have been collected. However, the few words showing dissimilatory change in dentals definitely form a well-marked category. A variety of changes is in evidence: t-t becomes d-t, t-c, t-n, t-f; d-d becomes n-d.

1. BEDHAMPTON, Ha. (EK)

Variant spellings: Betametona (DD), Bothametona 1167 (P), Bedhampton 1249 (Ass).

Ekwall derives the first element of this word from OE bæte 'beet-root,' an etymology that is strengthened by the early DD reading showing t in the first part of the word. If the etymology is correct, obviously the change from t to d could be explained by dissimilation, which here is only partial, since one of the voiceless consonants is given voice without a change in the place of articulation. Since the first t was

followed immediately by the voiceless spirant h, the change could not be conclusively shown to have been the result of voicing through partial dissimilation.

2. CARDESTON, Sa. (EK)

Variant spellings: Cartistune (DB), Cardistone 1275, Cardestone 1277 (Ep).

The change of the first a to t, although fairly regular when preceded by r, in this case was undoubtedly aided by the dissimilatory influence of the following t. Regressive dissimilation was probably in progress at the time of the DB reading, as can be told by a DB reading Carditune for CARDINGTON. However, Lkwall suggests an etymology dependent on OE Carda, *Cradda, *Cræddi, "or the like."

3. DUNSTALL, Li. (EK)

Variant spellings: Tonostale (DB), Tunstal, Dunstal, e 1115 (LIS).

DUNSTALL, St. (EK)

Variant spellings: Tunstall (15 BM), Tonestal 1272 (Ass).

In these two words t-t has dissimilated to d-t by voicing of the first stop. The reason for the change rests in the prominence given the first syllable through length and stress; the sound t, being in the sound combination st, would hardly have changed because of the familiarity of the combination and because of the voiceless
sporant in the combination. The change was taking place in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

4. LONNEWDEN, Sf. (EX)

Variant spellings: Minegada, Mungadone (DB), Minegeden 1194 (P), Lonnewedone 1254 (Val).

The etymology of this name, according to Mawall, is found in the OE *mundinga-denu*. The *nd* combination of the OE form is changed in such a way that the *d* may have become an *n* or been lost through dissimilation with the *d* of *-denu*. This change was certainly hastened by assimilation, since most of the consonants contained in the word are nasals. This name is one of many cases in which it is extremely difficult to assign a change to assimilation or dissimilation. It is perhaps best to say that the two forces worked in conjunction.

5. TACOLNESTON, Nf. (EX)

Variant spellings: Tacoluestuma (DB), Tacolueston 1185 (P), Tacolneston 1203 (Sur).

The first element of this name is derived from the OE personal-name *Tætwulf*. The change of the second *t* to *t* is an unusual dissimilation, being the only example found in the words investigated. Assuming that the etymology is correct, one can only say that the change seems to have no very acceptable explanation, though the intervocalic position of the consonant between the two back vowels might have influenced the change.
6. TANNINGTON, cf. (EX)

Variant spellings: Tatintuna (DB), Tatingetona 1168 (P), -ton, 1190 (FF), Tatingtone 1264 (Val).

The change of the second t to n does not appear in any of these readings. Undoubtedly the t was changed by the dissimilatory influence of the initial and last t's and by the assimilatory influence of the velar nasal in the second syllable. (Cf. HONI DERN supra).

7. TRAFFORD, La. (EX)

Variant spellings: Stratford 1206 (P), Straforde 1212 (RBE), Traffodt c 1200 (LaCh), 1312 (Teos).

Under Norman influence the initial s was lost from OE strētford. The change of the t before the f to f is partly due to assimilation and partly to dissimilation. The three forms Stratford, Straforde, and Trafford existed contemporaneously in the thirteenth century. (Cf. HONI DERN supra).
Section 9—Change of Miscellaneous Consonants

The words in this section are taken from Skwall and Goodall. Because these examples of dissimilation are so few (and in some cases doubtful) and because they do not fall readily into any of the larger categories, they have been included under a section of miscellaneous changes. The changes given here include k-k to k-t, k-th, k-g (?); b-b to v (through y)-b; th-th to s-th; s-s to th-s. The names are grouped alphabetically according to the types of changes listed above.

1. ESCRICK, YB (EK)

Variant spellings: Ascric 1157 (YCh 354); Ascric 1169 (P), 1230 (Cl), Eserick 1227 (PR).

All the recordings of this name, as well as the present form, show the presence of two k sounds. In folk pronunciation, though, the name is recritt; that is, the second k has been changed to a t sound. It may be that analogy is responsible for such a change, but dissimilation, as unusual as it would be in this case, is not out of the question.

2. LATLEX, La. (GOODALL)

According to Goodall, this name formerly appeared as Hacleakes, Hakoleakes. Both of these recordings show the presence of two k's; in the present form of the name one of the k's has been changed to a t. Dissimilation is in this case regressive, an implosive k of the final syllable having dissimilated an identical velar stop in the first syllable. (For another example in which k is evidently dissimilated to t, see ESCHICK supra).

3. MONKWTH, YE (GOODALL)

Variant spellings: Moncuuic (DB), Monkewyk 1363.

A recording as late as 1363 shows the presence of two k's. The second, a single implosive velar stop, is dissimilated to th by the first, a combined implosive velar stop. The progressive dissimilatory change is unusual, particularly since each element was well known in place-names. Dissimilation was evidently late, in or after the fourteenth century.

4. SCACHELETHORP, YE (UK)

Variant spellings: Scachetorp (DB), Scakelethorp 1297 (Subs).

That dissimilation accounts for the change here from k-k to k-g is dubious, for k is often voiced to the corresponding velar stop. It may be, though, that dissimilation was a contributing factor.
5. SKIPWITH, YE (EK)

Variant spellings: Schipwic (DB), Scipewiz 1166 (P), Scippewic 1200 (FR), Skipwith 1291 (ix).

The DB and 1200 readings above would indicate that this name originally contained two k sounds. The k is dissimilated to th by an explosive combined k of the first syllable, resulting in progressive dissimilation. (See MONKWITH supra). The change evidently took place at some time in the thirteenth century.

6. SHREWSBURY, Sa. (EK and HOLT)

Variant spellings: Scrobbensis 901 (BCS) 587, (at) Scropesbyri 1006 (ASC), Scrobbesbyri, 1016 and 1102 (ASC), Sqiropesberie (DB), Salopesberia 1094-8 (Fr).

The OE form is Scrobbesburg. A very unusual dissimilatory change results in the change of b-b to v-b, giving Shrovesbury, whence Shrowsbury. The spelling Shrewsbury arose on the analogy of words like shrew and shrewd. The unusual repetition of the voiced bilabial b caused the first to be weakened and changed to the corresponding voiced labio-dental sound v. The change is merely one of place of articulation.

7. SOUTHWAIT, Cu. (EK)

Variant spellings: Thoughthuayth 1300, Touchwaite 1461 (CWHS xxiii).

The first element of the name may be OE pēh 'clay,' perhaps later associated with south. A
dissimilatory change of th-th to s-th would be quite unusual; it is likely that analogy or folk etymology accounts for the change, but a dissimilatory tendency may have been a contributing factor.

8. TTHXENDALE, YE (EK)

Variant spellings: Sixte(n)dale, Xistendale (DB), Sixtendedale 1157 (YCh 354), Sixendale 1297 (Cubs).

This name must be interpreted as originally 'sindstein's dale,' in which s is the initial letter in the first two syllables. The change of s-s is most unusual, and it is quite likely that some force other than dissimilation accounts for it. Dissimilation, though, may have been a contributing factor.
Part II
A Peculiar Change of Spirants

This second part is concerned with a dissimilatory change which often took place, particularly in Middle English, when two spirants were placed in juxtaposition. One of the spirants, when there is a change, invariably becomes a dental stop. This peculiar change is given treatment apart from other cases of dissimilation considered in this work, for it represents only a temporary change—a tendency toward dissimilation—which left no permanent effects on the language.

Three works served chiefly as sources of examples of this dissimilatory change among spirants. The first of these is *A Bestiary*,¹ which comes from Arundel MS 292, in the British Museum, of about the middle of the thirteenth century. It is a translation of the Latin Physiologus of Theobaldus, and represents the language of the Southeast Midlands. The second is the *Ormulum*,² composed at some time in the first half of the thirteenth century in the dialect of East Anglia. This work was chosen largely because of the

author's reliability, particularly in regard to the meticulous care he takes in his spelling. The third source is Carleton Brown's collection of thirteenth-century lyrics. Brown has faithfully followed his manuscripts, making as few emendations as possible; the original forms of those few changes are in each case recorded. Another reason for the selection of this group of lyrics is that the various pieces represent dates covering the whole range of the thirteenth century as well as nearly every dialect of England.

It must be remembered that in the thirteenth century a strict orthography had not been established and spelling was largely phonetic. For that reason the word as it appears in the manuscript represents as nearly as possible the spoken word of the thirteenth century. With the coming of the press, spelling was more or less standardized, and dissimilatory tendencies evident in early manuscripts disappear.

No attempt has been made to assemble an exhaustive collection of words illustrating dissimilatory tendencies in these various works. Examples are given, though, in sufficient quantity to be illustrative.

The behavior of spirants in the Middle English period could well be made a subject of further investigation.

In the *Bestiary* a *p* often becomes *t* after *s*.

For instance, in the line

```
elle hcg is tat hil
```

the *p* of *pat* has become a voiceless dental stop. Evidently we have here a case of simple progressive dissimilation—an attempt to avoid the difficulty of uttering two spirants in such close succession. That *tat* is not simply the author's peculiar way of writing *pat* is demonstrated by the fact that the demonstrative adjective occurs often in the same poem in an unchanged form, e.g.,

```
in pat defte meiden.
```

Here, however, no spirant precedes *pat* to dissimilate the *p*. In the line

```
buten a litel; wat is tat?
```

*Pat* as a demonstrative pronoun has been dissimilated to *t*. The change here, as well as that pointed out above, may be described as only partial dissimilation, since only the manner—and not the place—of articulation is altered.

The change, however, does not regularly occur, even in the

---

same author’s work, as may be seen in

bis fis bat is unride,7

in which the \( p \) of bat has been retained after \( s \).

A change parallel to that described above may be seen in the line

Al is man so is tis ern,8

in which the \( p \) of the demonstrative adjective bis has been dissimilated to \( t \). Again, it might be pointed out that bis occurs often when there is no immediately preceding spirant to dissimilate it, e. g.,

and tus be newep him bis man.9

Of rather common occurrence is the dissimilated form is to for is be, as in

ure louerd is te leun.10

Numerous examples of the undissimilated form be occur in the Bestiary; in no such cases though, does the spirant \( s \) precede the undissimilated \( p \).

These examples have been chosen at random from our poem. A thorough study reveals that initial \( p \) preceded by \( s \) is changed to \( t \) twelve times; in seven instances it remains unchanged. Even though the changed forms outweigh considerably the unaltered forms, the tendency

7. Ibid., I. 505.
8. Ibid., I. 88.
9. Ibid., I. 92.
10. Ibid., I. 29. See also II. 106, 122, 131, 523.
toward dissimilation can at best be called sporadic.

It should be noted that our author does not seem disturbed by the appearance of two successive words beginning with $p$, e.g., *be bridde*, *be pri$1^1$ le*, *be be*, *pu pan*. Nor does he ever seem disturbed by final $p$ followed in the next word by initial $p$, e.g., *huyp be*, *wip ple*, *nepo be*, *livep pe*, *cump pe*. Obviously it is only the sequence $s-p$ which troubles him, and that not always. It is to be observed that dissimilation is in every case of the progressive type, a fact which is difficult of explanation, since the normal course of dissimilation is regressive.

In the *Ormulum* such phrases as *pess te bett*, *pess te bettre*, and *pess te mare*, e.g., in *tatt te folc all pess te bett*.

or

*All pess te bettre sippenn*

or

*All pess te mare blissenn*

occur twenty-five times. In the entire _Ormulum_ there is not a single occurrence of *boss be bett, boss be bettre,* or *boss be mare.* Evidently we are dealing here with a simple case of progressive dissimilation, in which the second of two s-parants is changed to the corresponding voiceless dental stop. It is also obvious that it is the _s_ of _boss_, and not the _p_, which effects the change, for _be_ occurs often in an undissimilated form after words which have initial _p_ but do not have a final _s_. It is also equally demonstrable that the use of _te_ is not an orthographic peculiarity of our author associated with the words _bett, bettre, _ and _mare_, for the _be_ is retained before those words in such lines as

acc patt hcmn bepe geo bett

or

a follshenn hrmn pe bettre

or

a haldebb warrm pe mare.

It is true that _te_ _bett_ and _te_ _mare_ do occur in the _Ormulum_ when they are not preceded by _s_, as may be seen in

24. This fact was pointed out as early as 1882 by F. A. Blackburn, "The Change of _p_ to _t_ in the _Ormulum_," _American Journal of Philology_, vol. 3 (1882), p. 49.

25. _Ibid.,_ p. 49.


27. _Ibid.,_ p. 353, l. 10146.
neh the wisste nohht te bett

or

Ne nohht te mare off Criste.

This would seem at first to be a refutation of what we have established above in regard to dissimilatory tendencies and their regularity. It will be noted, though, that te occurs in each instance after the word nohht, and that the p of be is assimilated to the preceding t of nohht.

A few illustrative examples of dissimilatory tendencies in the thirteenth-century lyrics will suffice. In MS Rawlinson G. 18 of the lyric "This world's Bliss Will Not Last" the following line appears:

pu shalt haven as tu havel wrokt.

It will be observed that pu has been dissimilated to tu after us. This change is parallel to those pointed out above in examples from the Bestiary and the Orvalum, in which the second of two spirants is changed to a dental stop because of the influence of the first. Evidence that it is the g which has caused the change is furnished by the same manuscript, in which the second person singular pronoun occurs fifteen times as pu (not as tu): three

29. Ibid., II, p. 53, l. 11734.
30. Brown, op. cit., p. 82, l. 64.
times in initial position, four times after a vowel or diphthong, twice after $n$, twice after $t$, once after $l$, once after $r$, once after $f$, and once after $s$. The single appearance of $pu$ after $a$ (elles $pu^{31}$) is difficult of explanation, though such an isolated appearance does not disturb the theory of dissimilation in as $tu$, for we have already seen that dissimilation sometimes operates with irregularity, even under a given set of circumstances. In MS Arundel 248 of the same poem the same use of as $tu$ is to be noted, and here, as in MS Rawlinson G. 18, this is the only instance of the pronoun with $t$, all others having $p$.

In "Our Lady Sorrows for Her Son" (Arundel MS 248) as $te$ appears instead of as $be$:

As te bihichte simeon.$^{32}$

This one instance is the only occurrence of $te$, although $be$ is found thirteen times in the same lyric (but in no case after $s$): three times in initial position, twice after vowels, twice after $a$, twice after $n$, twice after $f$, and twice after $r$.

In the same lyric $be$ tridde is found for $be$ pridde:

aros hup-on $be$ tridde day.$^{33}$

31. Ibid., p. 82, l. 50.
32. Ibid., p. 83, l. 18.
33. Ibid., p. 84, l. 48.
It may possibly be that the change of b to t in *tridde* is accounted for by dissimilation, though such a supposition is open to serious question. This instance of the occurrence of *tridde* is the only one in the lyric in which it occurs; nor have I found another occurrence in any of the other thirteenth-century lyrics I have examined. On the other hand, *bridde* occurs very often (though not in this particular lyric), and *be bridde* is not at all infrequent. Further doubt that dissimilation is present here lies in the fact that no other instance has been found in which the initial sound of the word dissimilated the initial sound of a following word. Or the t for b may be a scribal error. It is always possible, though, that our poet consciously reflected a tendency toward differentiation between the two spirants.
CHAPTER III
Conclusion

In the main body of words given in the previous chapter certain tendencies are to be observed in regard to the behavior of dissimilation. Doubtful cases are for the most part ignored; nor is any value as substantiating evidence attached to instances in which dissimilation was effected by a foreign influence, such observations as are made being predicated on purely English changes. Conclusions which are drawn are set forth here in sections corresponding to those in Chapter II. At the end of this chapter a general conclusion is given by way of summary.

Part I -- Place- and Personal Nouns
Section I -- Loss of $r$

No definite rules can be established for the conditions under which $r$ will be lost through dissimilation; however, certain tendencies may be noted in such a loss. There seems to be a strong tendency toward regressive dissimilation, i.e., toward the loss of the first $r$ because of the influence of the second, especially when the first $r$ occurs in an unstressed syllable. In the few instances in which dissimilation is progressive, some factor other than dissimilation is usually discoverable.
The second *r* may, for instance, occur in a syllable which is particularly strong because of its position in an element very familiar in place-names or in an element etymologically compact because its semantic value is recognized by the speaker or hearer. All other factors being equal, dissimilation is likely to be regressive. Whether the continuant occurs in a consonant group or singly seems to be of decisive importance in only a very few instances. Whether the consonant is explosive or implosive appears to be a relatively unimportant factor.

Dissimilation seems to have been influential up to the thirteenth century, only two or three examples of dissimilatory loss of *r* being found as late as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. In some cases dissimilatory elision took place during the Old English period. That the tendency is not dead, however, can be seen very readily in the common pronunciations of such words as library and February.

Section 2 — Loss of *l*

Though *l* is one of the consonants most often affected by dissimilation, its loss occurs in only about half as many cases as that of *r* does. The factors governing the loss of *l* seem to be more clearly defined
than those governing the loss of \( \mathcal{P} \) as in the case with \( \mathcal{P} \), the first of the two consonants is generally lost, and the loss of \( \mathfrak{L} \) is usually not in a stressed syllable. Instances of progressive dissimilation can usually be accounted for by such factors as analogy or etymological compactness. The single \( \mathfrak{L} \) (i.e., an \( \mathfrak{L} \) beginning or ending a syllable) is in most cases the consonant dissimilated, though chance may have accounted for such a fact. The position of \( \mathfrak{L} \) in the syllable seems to be of importance; in fact, it is in almost all instances the implosive \( \mathfrak{L} \) which is lost.

The dissimilatory loss of \( \mathfrak{L} \) seems generally to have occurred before that of \( \mathcal{P} \), since most of the examples show loss of \( \mathfrak{L} \) in Old English, and in every case before the Middle English diphthongisation of \( \mathfrak{a} \) followed by \( \mathfrak{L} \) plus another consonant or final \( \mathfrak{L} \).

Section 3 — Loss of \( \mathfrak{a} \)

Dissimilatory loss of \( \mathfrak{a} \) ranks numerically in about the same class with loss of \( \mathfrak{L} \). Here, however, there are about as many cases of progressive loss as regressive loss. This unusual result is probably to be explained by the fact that the dissimilated \( \mathfrak{a} \) occurs in about half the examples in a naturally weak inter-tonic -\( \mathfrak{ae} \) element. The loss occurs in every instance in an unstressed syllable
in nearly every instance in a consonant group. It is an implosive * which is usually lost.

The dates of the losses range from late Old English to the middle of the fourteenth century.

Section 4 — Loss of Other Consonants ($w$, $h$, $t$, $k$)

In all cases dissimilatory loss of * is doubtful, though all the words have had the change ascribed to dissimilation. Since Ekwall, Jordan, and Zachrisson never unanimously favor dissimilation and since the loss in every instance may be attributed to a more regular sound change, it seems unnecessary to resort to dissimilation as an explanation of the change.

It is highly problematical that the loss of * is ever due completely to dissimilation, since the two cases in which dissimilation might have been at work display contradictory factors.

If an * is lost by dissimilation, it is an initial * and in a stressed syllable. The three cases showing dissimilatory elision had lost the * by the latter part of the thirteenth century.

In the words investigated it is always true that the * which is lost is in an implosive position in an unstressed syllable and is the first of the two consonants. The change was probably complete in the
thirteenth of fourteenth century.

In the single instance of loss of k the dissimilated consonant occurs in a consonant group and in an implosive position. The loss is regressive, having occurred in the thirteenth century.

Section 5 -- Change of r-r

The sequence r-r is affected by dissimilation more often than any other combination, and the change is usually of the regressive type. The sequence r-r becomes most often l-r, but sometimes r-l or n-r. The change occurs usually in an unstressed syllable, and in nearly every case it is a single consonant which is dissimilated. The position of the consonant in the syllable, explosive or implosive, is not materially important in effecting the particular type of dissimilation.

The time in which this change occurred in the words studied extends from the eleventh century through the fourteenth; however, the latter part of this period was one in which the two forms existed side by side in many cases.

Section 6 -- Change of l-l

The sequence l-l dissimilates to n-l or r-l, more often to n-l. The change is in every case regressive, in spite of the fact that the changed consonant occurs as often as not in a stressed syllable. The continuant
dissimilated is usually implosive and single.

The changes range in date generally from the eleventh century to the fourteenth, one being found as late as the sixteenth century.

Section 7 -- Change of Nasals

This classification includes the varying combinations n-n to l-m, and n-m to r-m, l-m. The direction of dissimilation is in every case regressive, and in each instance it is the single dental nasal which is dissimilated under the influence of either n or m. It is to be noted that the nasal is always changed to another continuant. Dissimilation takes place usually in an unstressed syllable.

The change took place almost entirely in the Middle English period.

Section 8 -- Change of Dentals

The behavior of dissimilation in regard to dentals is not as clearly defined as it is with most other classifications. A variety of changes is in evidence; t-t becomes d-t, t-s, t-p, t-f; d-d becomes n-d. The absence of a regularly regressive or progressive tendency might lead one to suspect that some force other than dissimilation accounts for the change, or that, if dissimilation did operate, there were certainly modifying factors at work at the same time. Whenever dissimilation
takes place with dentals, the voiceless t becomes voiced in a stressed syllable. Assimilation seems to have aided the dissimilatory change in some cases. In the single case of t-t to t-o, the most plausible explanation would seem to be the second t's position between two back vowels, a kind of lingual assimilation influencing the dissimilatory tendency.

The change was probably complete at the end of the thirteenth century.

Section 9 -- Change of Miscellaneous Consonants

The words in this section in which the sequence k-k is concerned are at best but dubious examples of dissimilation. It may well be suspected that in each case some factor other than dissimilation—analogy, folk etymology, voicing—has brought about the change. If dissimilation is present, its nature is quite capricious. The sequence k-k results in k-t, k-p, k-th, t-k, and the direction of the change is not definitely regressive or progressive.

Of the single change of b-b to b-w (through y), see Ch. II, Sec. 9, no. 6.

Since the only two words in which the sequence s-s is concerned display contradictory tendencies, it may be assumed that analogy or some other force accounted for the change, or, at least, aided dissimilation. That is,
dissimilation, if present at all, was probably only a contributory factor to a change which most likely would have taken place anyway.

Part II — A Peculiar Change of Spirants

From a study of several manuscripts from the thirteenth century it was found that initial \( p \) is often dissimilated by a final \( s \) in the word immediately preceding. The \( p \) is always changed to the corresponding dental stop, and the change is always progressive. In some cases, \( p \) remains after \( s \); and though the dissimilated forms outnumber the unchanged forms, dissimilation as it concerns the spirants \( s - p \) must be termed sporadic.

From the foregoing conclusions drawn specifically from particular sections certain rather broad tendencies can be stated with some degree of certainty. Dissimilation operates more freely in English when the liquids \( r \) and \( l \) are concerned, resulting either in the loss or change of one of them. In words showing nasals, dentals, and spirants, dissimilation is also found at work, though with much greater rarity.

In occurrence dissimilation is somewhat sporadic. Its nature seems almost capricious at times, for very often it does not operate under circumstances apparently identical with those under which it has operated in other
words. In such cases it may reasonably be assumed that some other tendency stronger than that toward dissimilation is involved.

The direction of dissimilation is predominantly regressive; that is, it is the first rather than the second consonant changed or lost. This fact would tend to support the psychological theory that the perception of the second consonant so weakens the perception of the first that it is more susceptible to change.

When dissimilation is progressive in its direction, some force which accounts for the reversal of the normal course of dissimilation is often discoverable, though not in every case. The first consonant may be stronger than the second for psychological or physical reasons and thus less subject to change. Elements familiar in place- and personal-names and elements whose semantic value is known are usually less subject to change than elements of less common occurrence or elements whose etymology is not readily recognizable. Other factors which may reverse the normal course of dissimilation are stress, assimilation, and folk etymology.

The role played by stress in governing the dissimilation of two consonants has never been adequately recognized. It is easily demonstrable that the consonant changed or lost through dissimilation is usually in an
unstressed syllable. Stress is certainly the strongest of the mechanical forces which determine the course of dissimilation—sometimes strong enough to overcome the psychological features of dissimilation and reverse the natural course of the phenomenon.

Assimilation is indubitably closely associated with dissimilation. The same psychological and physical factors seem to determine its operation. Often it works in conjunction with dissimilation, making the tendency toward a particular change doubly strong; sometimes it operates instead of dissimilation. Assimilation often explains apparent exceptions to rules which seem to govern dissimilation.

Whether a consonant occurs singly or in a consonant group is relatively insignificant in determining whether the direction of dissimilation will be progressive or regressive. Nor does the position of a consonant at the beginning or end of the syllable seem to be of great importance.

In the words listed in the body of this work dissimilation operated from the Old English period through the Middle English period, the larger number of words having become set by the end of the thirteenth century. In some cases both forms existed into the seventeenth century. Dissimilation today is active in
the spoken language, but the standardized spelling of written English prevents radical changes.

Dissimilation, in its occurrence, must at best be called sporadic, lacking regularity; but when it is present, it is governed by clearly defined factors.
Appendix I
Eckhardt on Dissimilation

Since the inception of my study of dissimilation, Eduard Eckhardt has published an article "Die konsontantische Dissimilation im Englischen," which appeared in Anglia in 1938. In his treatment he has collected and classified numerous examples of dissimilation in English. Even though some of the words which he lists are of doubtful value in a study of consonantal dissimilation in English, I give here the complete word list which is found at the end of his article. For comment on these words Eckhardt's article may be consulted.

The symbol // is used to indicate that a word is not naturalised in English; the symbol #, to indicate that a word is obsolete.

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#confalon
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hussar
iron
kilderkin
label
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larboard
larbolins
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marten
masturbate
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nemuphar
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prow
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purple
quinsy
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smother
sojourn
starbolins
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surplice
taper
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#timbre, timbrer
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travertine
treasure
trestle
turtle
umblos
veneer
venom

DIALECTAL
Bu(r)ber
Bobbi(n)ton
Birmi(n)ham
cont(ra)ry
co(r)ner
In spite of his at times apparently strained attempt at completeness, Eckhardt fails to include in his list several rather obvious words. These words are briefly commented on here.

1. Loss of Consonants. In early English the word best appears as betste , bettest , best , showing the presence of two t’s. W. A. Read has given me the most likely solution by pointing out that, when one consonant is lost from a group containing three consonants, it is generally the middle consonant which disappears (castle, handsome) and that the loss is not of the same nature as in betste. Thus best is achieved by dissimilatory loss of t and the loss of the final vowel through lack of stress. A parallel change is seen in latosta to last. The variant forms existed at the same time in the thirteenth century and are to be found in manuscripts from different parts of England.

The word penny also shows the loss of a consonant, for through the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find such forms as penning, peninc, peninnge, pen15. After the twelfth
century the second *n* was lost, obviously because of
dissimilation.

2. Change of Consonants. The Mod. E. word
*brimstone* appears as *brenstone*, *bremstoon*, *brimston*.
The first element of the word is related to ME *brennen*,
so that the form with *m* is obviously later. The modern
word would then be the result of a regressive
dissimilatory change in the nasals. It is possible that
the dissimilatory change was aided by the assimilatory
influence of the initial labial. In any event, the
change was completed late in the Middle English period.

OE recordings show a word *papolstan*, which
becomes Mod. E. *pebblestone*. As early as 1290 a form
*puble-* is to be found. From that time on the form with
*b* is increasingly common. This progressive change of
*p-* to *p-* is unusual.

The OE form of *nostrils* is *nosebirles*, showing
the presence of two voiceless spirants, *s* and *b*. Through
progressive dissimilation the *b* becomes *t*, giving
*nostrile* (with metathesis of *r* and *i*). A number of
parallel dissimilatory changes exist in *loste* from OE *by
lēgas* *be*, *bēfte* from *OH *pērpe* (*WS *birpī*), *sihte* from
OE *gešihb*, *hehte* from *OH *hehepū* (*WS *hehepī*), and *slehte*
from *OE *slehp*.

Frequently in Old English *a*, *u*, or *a* preceded
by a voiced consonant, especially **p**, becomes voiceless. Thus, **sind** became **sint**. The change was not regular, but occurred sporadically. Such forms as **orinëan** or **orinëan**, **toélondé** or **teélondé** occur side by side. The loss of voice in **n** is indicated in such a spelling as **cyninæ**. Though this change is found in Old English, it did not leave any permanent effects upon the language.

One word of somewhat doubtful value in which dissimilation may have occurred is **huckleberry**. If the word is derived from **hurtleberry** or **whortleberry**, dissimilation of a regressive type.

3. Dialectal Changes. Several dissimilatory tendencies are to be noted in various British dialects, such as **synnale**, **sinable**, **sinnable** for syllable; **olmy**, **elmye**, **elomè** for enemy; **romelant** for remenant. All of these dialectal variations can be found as early as the Middle English period.
Appendix II
A Note on Dissimilation in Modern English

Although this work has not been concerned with dissimilation in Modern English, a note on the subject will not be out of order if it makes clear the relationship of cases of dissimilation in Modern English to those treated in Chapter II. The fact that all examples which have been investigated in this work show dissimilatory changes which had become set in Old English or Middle English by no means claims that those same tendencies are not active in Modern English. Examples, however, drawn from Modern English must be taken from the spoken language because the press has so standardized orthography that there is little chance for dissimilation to make its results manifest in the written language.

When the vocal cords are to be placed repeatedly in the same position, the tendency is often to mistake the more rapid movement of attention for the slower one of articulation. As a result, such sounds as evening or evening for evening and particularly for particularly are often heard. In the pronunciation of library many speakers are likely to omit an r, although both r's are always present in spelling. There is evidence for
both progressive and regressive dissimilatory tendencies in the various pronunciations of \textit{library} [lərˈbriː] and [lərˈbriː]. In other words, such as \textit{February}, \textit{reservoir}, \textit{secretary} and \textit{veterinary}, there is a tendency to omit the first \textit{r} in pronunciation. Only the meticulous speaker pronounces the first \textit{r} in \textit{surprise}, whose \textit{general pronunciation seems to be} [səprərI]. Kennedy\textsuperscript{2} attributes this phonological change to assimilation of the first \textit{r} to the \textit{r} which follows it, but Otto Ritter\textsuperscript{3} holds that there is a dissimilatory loss of the first \textit{r} from the consonant group \textit{rr}. There is evidence of dissimilation when \textit{negotiation} is pronounced with \textit{−siəshən}, not \textit{shiəshən}.

For used to use such an expression as \textit{loosta use} has been heard. The tendency to differentiate between sounds on the part of children often gives \textit{mema} for \textit{mama} and \textit{papa} for \textit{papa}. In such a tongue-twister as Peter Piper picked a peck of pickle peppers, one might say: Peter \textit{Picked...} for Peter Pi(per pi)cked\textsuperscript{4}, giving evidence that the thought is ahead of the tongue.

Hempl\textsuperscript{5} has pointed out instances of loss of \textit{r}

\begin{itemize}
\item[2.] Ibid., p. 218.
\end{itemize}
through dissimilation in his own dialect of southern Michigan. According to him, there is evidence of dissimilation in the various pronunciations of there are [θɛr], [θeɾ], [θər], [θər], or [θr]; in the pronunciations of where are [hweɾ], [hweɾ], [hweɾ], [həɾ]; in the pronunciations of far are [fær], [fær]; for her [fɔr], [fɔr].

The following words usually show dissimilatory tendencies (Hempl): enter prise, o(rg)aphy, (the)rmoneter, comfo(rg)ter, pa(r)ticular, (but participate); less generally in afte(r)wards, pe(r)fumery (always perfume), pe(r)formance (but perfection), and the proper names Purmort and Purmont for Furmort.

Other words listed by Hempl are more doubtful and need not be given here.

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1. The symbols used here are those used by Hempl, who has adopted the system of the American Dialect Society. [ɛ] is used for vowel in "fair."
Appendix III
Vowel Dissimilation in English

This study has been strictly concerned with consonantal dissimilation, and no attempt has been made to consider vowel dissimilation, which lies beyond the aims of this present work. It would perhaps be not amiss, though, to present in this section a brief view of the chief features of vowel dissimilation in English, so that at least its general nature may be clear. The examples given below are drawn, for the most part, from Sarrasin¹, and they do not by any means form a complete list of the cases of vowel dissimilation. They may, however, be taken as representative.

It is well known that OE initial þ and to a less extent[3] exercise an assimilatory influence. These sounds also exercise a dissimilatory influence, but in Middle English, and particularly in the southern dialect.

A consideration of this vowel dissimilation in Middle English helps to explain certain peculiarities

of orthography in Modern English. The sound group \( \text{wu} \) becomes regularly ME \( \text{wo} \), and therefore the group \( \text{wu} \) (whu in spelling) is unusual in Modern English, which is derived, in pronunciation particularly, essentially from late Middle English. The participle of \( \text{win} \) is OE \( \text{gewunen} \), ME \( \text{wonne} \), Mod. E. \( \text{won} \) (but be\_un, run, spun). OE \( \text{wunder} \) becomes ME and Mod. E. \( \text{wonder} \) (but under, sunder, hundred). OE \( \text{wulle} \) becomes ME \( \text{wolle} \), Mod. E. \( \text{wool} \) (but felt, bull, pull). OE \( \text{wulf} \) becomes ME, Mod. E. \( \text{wolf} \).

OE \( \text{wund} \) becomes through the usual vowel lengthening before liquids ME \( \text{wound, wound, Mod. E. wound} \) (wound. The exceptional monophthongal pronunciation of \( \text{ou} \) in Modern English is explained by the ME secondary form \( \text{wound, with long o instead of long u.} \)

Then, though, the past participle of \( \text{wind} \) has diphthongal pronunciation (though written the same way), it is a matter of analogy with bind\_bound, find\_found, etc. For the same reason the \( y \) after \( w \) in the preterites of \( \text{swim, swim} \) has been regained.

The explanation of \( o \) in Mod. E. \( \text{wood} \) (from ME \( \text{wode} \) from OE \( \text{wudu} \) is not dependent on dissimilatory influence. Its explanation probably lies in the modification of a stressed vowel lengthening, e.g., ME \( \text{dore} \) from OE \( \text{duru} \), ME \( \text{sone} \) from OE \( \text{sunu} \), ME \( \text{love} \) from
OE hæfu, ME come from OE suman, ME some from same.

Original \( \text{w} \) is itself sometimes modified by reason of dissimilation. For instance, OE \( \text{wōdnes daeg} \) becomes ME, Mod. E. \text{Wednesday}; OE \( \text{wolcan} \) becomes ME \text{walken} (Mod. E. \text{walkin}). The \( \text{w} \) preterite of \text{wasche} is regularly \text{wasch} (from OE \( \text{wōdsc} \)); the \text{w} preterite of ME \text{swore} is sometimes \text{swor} (beside regular \text{swor}).

The Mod. E. form \text{swore} instead of the to-be-expected \text{swor} is probably a result of analogy with such forms as \text{hore}, \text{tore}. In the preterite \text{woke} from wake with its regular ablaut (cf. \text{take-took}, \text{slake-shock}, \text{forsake-forsook}) dissimilation has probably been at play again and has prevented the development of the \( \text{w} \)-sound after \( \text{y} \).

Even out of the OE \( \text{w} \) after \( \text{y} \) there is sometimes developed an \( \text{w} \)-sound instead of the expected \( \text{g} \): OE \text{wēc}, ME \text{wōk}, \text{walk} (cf. OH \text{volkr}), Mod. E. \text{weak}; OE \text{swēt}, ME \text{swot}, \text{swet}, Mod. E. \text{sweat}; OE \text{swēpan}, ME \text{swore}, Mod. E. \text{sweep}; OE \text{waswand}, ME \text{wasand}, Mod. E. \text{weasand}.

A backward-working dissimilation is in evidence when long \( \text{u} \) becomes \( \text{o} \) before medial \( \text{y} \): OE \text{dīfe}, ME \text{dowe}, dowe, Mod. E. \text{dove}; OE \text{āblfan}, ME, Mod. E. \text{above}; OE \text{sōlfan}, ME \text{schowe}, schowe, Mod. E. \text{above}.

Dissimilation seems to account for the vowel variations in ME \text{grove}, \text{grave} (from OE \text{grōf}) and in
ME behøf, behøve (from OE behøf).

In the case of Mod. E. ow (from OE ọw), the following ọ has prevented the development of the usual ọ-sound out of ọ: OE, ME flowe becomes Mod. E. flow; OE, ME growe becomes Mod. E. grow.

It is likely that analogy accounts for the development of such strong preterites as OE alōg, ME slow, alev, Mod. E. alev; OE drog, ME drow, drow, Mod. E. drow; OE flugon, ME flowe, flowe, Mod. E. flue.

It may be, though, that dissimilation is a co-factor here.

The corresponding dissimilation of palatal vowels in the proximity of palatal spirants is to be observed, though not so regularly as in the case of the ọ. There is a clearly recognizable effort, especially in the Southern dialect, to avoid the sound combination ọl (ọ is here used as a symbol for [ɔ]). For instance, ọing, ọnyg is retained in the Northern dialect, whereas ọnyg regularly appears in the Southern dialect. Other examples are OE ọis to ME yis (yis); OE ọif to ME yef (yef); OE ọift to ME yeft (yift); OE ọiddian to ME ọiddian.

But sometimes initial ọ is dropped before ọ: OE ọical to Mod. E. (il)ọ; OE ọicnan to ME ọichen, Mod. E. itch; OE ọif to ME yf, Mod. E. yf; OE ọift to ME yift;
OE *Sipsewica* to Mod. E. *Ipswich*. As a result of this inconstancy of the palatal spirant ʒ before ɪ ɪ's substitution by the velar stop ɣ is very easily explained. It may be that ɣ was taken over from other forms of the same words, as in the case of *begin*, *give*, *set*; or it may be that the sound came in by way of the Northern dialect, as in the case of *guest* (OE *giest*, *giest*).
Appendix IV
Grammont on Dissimilation

The most inclusive treatment of dissimilation that has ever been published is that given by Maurice Grammont in his *Traité de Phonétique*. Here Grammont has collected and classified astonishingly numerous cases of dissimilation, regardless of the language in which those cases occur.

Grammont has not concerned himself with dissimilation in English, since there is little dissimilation in English as compared with that in most other languages. The reader may, of course, refer to Grammont's work. For the convenience, though, of the reader who is primarily concerned with dissimilation in English, Grammont's conclusions are briefly summarized here, so that those observations may be compared or contrasted with the results arrived at in Chapter III of this work. For that reason the formulas which Grammont has drawn up are given here in the most succinct manner possible.

CATEGORY I
INFLUENCE OF ACCENT OR STRESS

**Formula I**: An accented or stressed vowel dissimilates

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an unaccented or unstressed vowel. Examples: fr. guerono from corone; Prov. al soror from sorore; Spanish redondo from redondo; Port. terno and terno from formoso; Vulc. Lat. s.Delay from réinu (fr. devin).

Formula II: an accented or stressed implosive consonant dissimilates an unaccented or unstressed implosive consonant. Examples: Vulc. Lat. alberga from Barbera; OLD murmel from murmer; MNG martel from marter; OLD forcel from folcel; Old Italian vornullo from vornullo.

Formula III: the second consonant of an accented or stressed combined group dissimilates the second consonant of an unaccented or unstressed combined group. Examples: Vulc. Lat. albltraro from albltraro; Port. frule from flule; Ital. dretto and dretto from derolet; Gr. phatria from phatria.

Formula IV: an accented or stressed consonant dissimilates 1) an intervocalic consonant, 2) an unaccented or unstressed implosive consonant. Examples: 1) Vulc. Lat. prudire from prudire; Vulc. Lat. pole, rinu from pere, rinum; OLD conteile from contrapare; LG sprahali from sprahari; Hebrew pulhecrIn from Gr. p!rodol; 2) Ital. albitraro, albitraro, albitrario from arbitrari; Port. acepresa from arcipreste; Arabic jtriful from Gr. trupheron.
Formula V: An unaccented implosive consonant dissimilates
1) a combined consonant, 2) a consonant which is separated from the preceding vowel by another consonant. Examples:
1) Vulg. Lat. criptellae from elittellae, frangellum from flagellum; OF flober.e from frober.e; Celtic krouadum from krouadum; Lithuanian linda from ninda; 2) Fr. saint-orien from saturninus; Breton tabarlan from stabarnano; Hebrew limlôm from nirnâm.

Category II
Influence of the position of the phonemes in the syllables

Formula VI: The second element of a diphthong, (an element weak by nature) is dissimilated by a vowel or semi-vowel of the same nature. Examples: Italian Ascoli from uscoli; Vulg. Lat. parochia from Gr. paroikía.

Formula VII: Consonant (combined or not) separated from the preceding vowel by another consonant dissimilates an intervocalic consonant (combined or not). Examples: Vulg. Lat. cinque from quinque; OF contralier from contrarier; OF nomble from slomble from lumbulu; Spanish mentira from mentida; Italian londra from arondra; Gr. kolíandron from koríandron.

Formula VIII: A consonant separated from the preceding
vowel by another consonant dissimilates an unaccented implosive consonant. Examples: Fr. paternostre from OF paternostre; OF bougerastre from bourgerastre; MG reigel from reiler, roudel from roudier.

Formula IX: Of two consonants of the same nature separated by a consonant of a different nature the explosive dissimilates the implosive. Examples: Vulg. Lat. veltragus from Callic vertra_gos; OF maubre (equals malbre) from marbre; Spanish sastre from sart(o)re; Portugese petrechos from Spanish pertrechos; Gr. bethron from stherthon.

Formula X: An implosive consonant dissimilates an intervocalic consonant. Examples: Vulg. Lat. peleger from pere_ger; Fr. ensoeroler from ensoerorer; Fr. sommelier from OF sommerier; Skt. alarti from aar-ar-ti; MG morsali from morsari.

Formula XI: An implosive consonant (unaccented) dissimilates a combined consonant (unaccented). Examples: Fr. Verdouble from Vernodubrum; Portugese faternidade from fraternidade; Polish Jaemin from Jamin.

Formula XII: An intervocalic consonant dissimilates an unaccented combined consonant. Examples: Vulg. Lat. satione from stations; OF laufersais from anyaufersais; Provençal Sabaresse from Sabaresse; Spanish plegeria
from precaria; Attic Gr. marathônon from marathônon.

**CATEGORY III**

**INFLUENCE OF THE POSITION OF THE PHONEMES IN THE WORD**

Formula XIII: Of two phonemes placed in the same manner in the syllable and both outside of the accent, it is the first which is dissimilated. Examples: Provençal alaire from eraire from araître; Spanish costudora from costurera; Gr. aiēlouros from eaiērouros; Latin Parilia from Paflilia; OHG onolende from OHG eililendi.
Appendix V
The French Influence

Certain phonetic changes which are characteristic of the French language are reflected in English because of the Norman invasion. Many of the cases of dissimilation treated in the body of this work are the results of mistakes made in English words by Norman tongues or in Norman words by English tongues. For that reason a brief summary of the more important French influences is given here.¹

(1) The English sound combinations represented by *cho, cht* were not to be found in initial position in the early Norman dialect. Instead, a pronunciation corresponding to the Modern German pronunciation of *g* was substituted. Later the first sound in the combination, a voiceless dental stop, was lost, leaving a sibilant in initial position. Then the sound combinations mentioned above could be interchanged in Norman-French, the interchange was carried over to English words of a similar structure. Thus we find the spellings *Porchmouth* and *Portsmouth* indicating differences of pronunciation which still survive.

(2) An initial \( s \) before a consonant was changed in three ways. The \( s \) might be dropped, as in *stockfish* from *stockfish*. A prosthetic \( s \) might be prefixed to the \( s \), as in *Estretone* from *Estratone*. A svarabhaktic vowel might be inserted between the \( s \) and a consonant, as in *Snitretone* from *Snitterton*.

(3) The consonants \( l, n, \) and \( r \) were frequently interchanged in two syllables of the same word, though the dissimilation of \( r-r \) to \( l-r \) was more common than the assimilation of \( r-l \) to \( r-r \). An \( n \) was frequently dissimilated to \( r \) or \( l \) by an \( n \) in the following syllable.

(4) Dissimilatory elision of \( r \) was common in Old French, but it may occur in English. Occasionally, under Old French influence, \( r \) may be lost in a stressed syllable when dissimilation is out of the question; or it may be added or lost finally.

(5) The voiced and voiceless varieties of \( p \) were replaced by \( d \) and \( t \) respectively in many cases.
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Definition of Terms

This section is devoted, for the most part, to the explanation of terms which are not in general use in linguistic phraseology and which otherwise might cause some confusion.

Dissimilation is the change or loss of one of two identical or similar sounds which appear in the same word or same group of words. (marble from marbre, ladner from lardner, remelant from remenant).

Dissimilatory elision refers to the loss of a sound through dissimilation. (smother from smotherer).

Complete dissimilation is the loss of a sound or the change of both manner and place of producing a sound by reason of dissimilation. (Axholme from Hateholm, Shrewsbury from Schrebbesbury).

Partial dissimilation is the change of either place or manner of producing a sound by reason of dissimilation. (brimstone from brinstone).

Progressive dissimilation. We name the direction of dissimilation by beginning with that sound which remains unchanged. The direction is said to be progressive, then, when the second of two dissimilating sounds is changed or lost.
*Regressive dissimilation* refers to the change or loss of the first of two dissimilating sounds.

*Explosive* refers to any consonant standing in the first part of a syllable (close or close).

*Implosive* refers to any consonant standing in the latter part of a syllable (land or land).

*Single* is used in reference to a consonant which stands alone at the beginning or end of a syllable (impair or impair).

*Consonant group* applies to any combination of consonants occurring within a syllable (friendly).

*Combined consonant* indicates any consonant which stands in a consonant group (bird or bird).

*Pretonic* refers to the position of a consonant in a syllable which precedes the first syllable bearing the accent (ignite).

*Intertonic* refers to the position of a consonant in a syllable which occurs between two syllables bearing accent (infidel).

*Post-tonic* refers to the position of a consonant in a syllable which follows a syllable bearing accent (music).
## Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>Bk</td>
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Chs  Cheshire
Cl  Close Rolls
Co  Cornwall, Cornish
Court  County Court, City Court and Lyre Rolls of Chester, Chatham Soc. NS, 34.
Cu  Cumberland
Cur  Curia Regis Rolls
Db  Derbyshire
DM  Doomsday Manuscripts. VHI I1.1
Do  Dorset
Dr  Durham
EHR  The English Historical Review.
EK  Erwell (Place-Name Dictionary)
Eng.  English
Ep  Episcopal Registers
PA  Feudal Aids. Rolls Ser. 1399 ff.
FF  Feet of Fines
Fr  Documents preserved in France. Rolls Ser. 1889. Also, French.
Gloucestershire

**Vita S. Godrici.** Surt. Soc. 20.


Greek

Hampshire

Herefordshire

Henry of Huntington, Historia Anclorum. Chr. & Sec. 41.

Register of Holy Cultres. Kendal, 1929.

Holthausen

Hertfordshire

Huntingdon

Register of Holy Cultres. Kendal, 1929.

Holthausen

Hertfordshire


Inquisitiones post mortem.

Italian

Jordan (Handbuch der ne. Grammatik)

Kant


Knights' Fees

Kirby's Inquest

Lancashire

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Placita de quo Hancundo. Record Com. 1313.
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Rotuli hundredorum. Record Com. 1313-18.
Bitter, Otto
The Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester. Chr. and Dec. 66.
The Rounton Chartulary. Salt Soc. 03. iv.
Shropshire
Salisbury
Salisbury Charters. Chr. and Dec. 97.
Suffolk
| Skt | Sanskrit |
| So | Somerset |
| Sr | Surrey |
| St | Staffordshire |
| Subs | Subsidy Rolls |
| Sz | Sussex |
| Tax | Taxatio eclesiastica. Record Com. 1802. |
| Vulg. Lat. | Vulgar Latin |
| W | Wiltshire |
| Wa | Warwickshire |
| We | Westmorland |
| Wills | Wills HSS. HMC 1907, 1914. |
| Wmc | The Conqueror Book of Whalley Abbey. Chetham Soc. 38, 10 ff. |
| Wo | Worcestershire |
| WS | West-Saxon |
| YE | The East Riding of Yorkshire |
| YInq | Yorkshire Inquisitions. Yas 12 ff. |
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Vita

Ernest Smith Clifton was born in Darlington, South Carolina, on July 31, 1914. He received his public school education in Darlington and Florence, South Carolina. In 1931 he entered the University of Virginia, from which he was graduated in 1935 with a B. A. degree. After teaching for a year in the public school system of South Carolina he entered Louisiana State University as a teaching-fellow. There he took his M. A. degree in 1937 and continued his work toward the doctorate during the following year. The year 1938-1939 he spent as an exchange student in Germany at the University of Cologne and at the University of Heidelberg. He is at present an instructor in English at North Texas State Teachers College.
Abstract

The purpose of this work has not been to make an exhaustive study of dissimilation, but to make a restricted investigation of consonantal dissimilation in English. Because most of the common words showing dissimilation in English have been treated in other works, place- and personal-names constitute the greater bulk of the examples treated; some few examples other than place- or personal-names were taken from manuscripts of the thirteenth century.

In the main part of the dissertation each word is given particular attention with especial reference to those changes which show dissimilation or dissimilatory tendencies. The place- and personal-names fall very readily into two general classes—those showing dissimilatory elision and those showing dissimilatory change. This study treats the loss of r, l, n, s, w, b, t, and k, of which r and l are the ones most often lost through dissimilation; it also treats the change of r-r, l-l, nasals, dentals, spirants, and miscellaneous stops, of which r-r and l-l are the consonants chiefly affected. Group of thirteenth-century words not readily classifiable reveals the tendency of the voiceless
spirants s-h to dissimilate to s-t.

In occurrence dissimilation is somewhat sporadic. Its nature seems almost capricious at times, for very often it does not operate under circumstances apparently identical with those under which it has operated in other words. In such cases it may reasonably be assumed that some other tendency stronger than that toward dissimilation is involved.

The direction of dissimilation is predominantly regressive; that is, it is the first rather than the second consonant which is most often changed or lost. This fact would tend to support the psychological theory that the perception of the second consonant so weakened the perception of the first that it is more susceptible to change.

When dissimilation is progressive in its direction, some other force which accounts for the reversal of the normal course of dissimilation is often discoverable, though not in every case. The first consonant may be stronger than the second for psychological or physical reasons and thus less subject to change. Elements familiar in place- and personal-names or elements whose semantic value is known are usually less subject to change than elements of less common occurrence or elements whose etymology is not
recognizable. Other factors which may reverse the normal course of dissimilation are stress, assimilation, and folk etymology.

The role played by stress in governing the dissimilation of two consonants has never been adequately recognized. It is easily demonstrable that the consonant changed or lost through dissimilation is usually in an unstressed syllable. Stress is certainly the strongest of the mechanical forces which determine the course of dissimilation—sometimes strong enough to overcome the psychological features of dissimilation and reverse the normal course of the phenomenon.

Assimilation is indubitably closely associated with dissimilation. The same psychological and physical factors seem to determine its operation. Often it works in conjunction with dissimilation, making the tendency toward a particular change doubly strong; sometimes it operates instead of dissimilation. Assimilation often explains apparent exceptions to rules which seem to govern dissimilation.

Whether a consonant occurs singly or in a consonant group is relatively insignificant in determining whether the direction of dissimilation will be progressive or regressive. Nor does the position of
a consonant at the beginning or end of the syllable seem to be of great importance.

In the words listed in the body of this work dissimilation operated from the Old English period through the Middle English period, the larger number of words having become set by the end of the thirteenth century. In some cases both forms existed into the seventeenth century. Dissimilation today is active in the spoken language, but the standardized spelling of written English prevents radical changes.

Dissimilation, in its occurrence, must at best be called sporadic, lacking regularity; but when it is present, it is governed by clearly defined factors.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate:  Ernest Smith Clifton

Major Field:  English

Title of Thesis:  A Study of Consonantal Dissimilation in English

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:  March 26, 1940