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ANALOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF -ING- AND THE INTERPRETATION OF PATRINGTON.

There are one or two examples of the development of an unetymological *-ing-* in Middle English in occasional spellings like *halingre* (for Old English *haligra*) in the Winteneý version of the Benedictine Rule and the common Middle and Modern English *nightingale* (for OE *nihtegale*);¹ but there is much more evidence for it in the forms of some English place-names, where *-ing-* has no doubt evolved on the pattern of the numerous genuine *-ing-* names. In most cases there is no reasonable doubt of the origin of such place-names, and these provide strong presumptive evidence of a similar change in ambiguous cases. In Old English we have *Stifincweg* KCD 762 for *Stificweg* BCS 633, *Stifigweges* BCS 866; *Ceardingesford* ASC 519F, for *Cerdicesford* ASC 519A, where *-ing-* is substituted for *-ic-*. Examples of *-ing-* for *-eg-* are more numerous and include such forms as *Healligan* BCS 356 for *halhagan*, etc (from OE *healh-haga*, cf. *Place-Names of Worcestershire* 129); *Wel(l)ingum* BCS 812 for *Weligun* (OE *weligum* 'at the willows,' now *Welwyn*, Herts); *Honington* KCD 939 for *Huniton(e)* DB (OE *hunig-tūn* 'honey-farm'; see however *Place-Names of Warwickshire* 281, where the name *Honington* is derived from OE *Hūningtūn* 'Hūna's farm'); *Tefingstoce*, *Tæfingstoc* ASC 997E for *Tauistoce* KCD 629, now *Tavistock* (from the river *Tavy*, cf. *Place-Names of Devon* 217), etc.²

In Middle English there is similar evidence. Many of the early spellings of the various Cheritons, which Ekwall (*Studies on English Place- and Personal Names* 33ff) derives from OE *cirice-tūn* 'church farm,' include not only *Chire-*, *Cheriton*, etc., but also forms like *Chirinton*, *Cherintune*, etc. Wallenberg

¹ Cf. K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, 456 anm. 4.

² S. Karlström, *Old English Compound Place-Names in -Ing* (Uppsala 1927), pp. 13ff, cites other examples, and notes some cases of inverted spellings as *-ic-* for *-ing-* (p. 10).

(*Place-Names of Kent* 442), for example, notes Cheriton, *Ciriceton* c. 1100, *Cherintune* 1170-80, etc., from this source.³

Further names with an intrusive nasal include several Berringtons (as in Salop, *Beritune* DB, *Byrinton* 1236, from OE *byrig-tūn*, see Ekwall, *op. cit.* 37, and *Dictionary of English Place-Names* 37) from an OE *-ig-*, and others from *-ic-*, *-uc-*, as Cannington (Somerset), *Cantuctun* BCS 553, *Caninton* 1178, *Cantinton* 1187 (from OE *Cantuc* 'Quantock Hills,' Ekwall, *op. cit.* 37), Torrington (*Place-Names of Devon* 123) *Tori(n)tona* DB, etc., from the river Torridge (OE *toric strēam*, *op. cit.* 14),⁴ Metherringham (Lincolnshire), *Medric(h)esham* DB, *Methricham* 1185, *Mederinge-ham* 1193, which may be a personal name or an old stream-name *mæd-ric* 'meadow-stream' (Ekwall, *Dictionary* s.n.), Helpringham (Lincs.), *Helpericham*, *-inc-*, DB, *Helpringham* 1212 from a personal name *Helpric* (Ekwall, *Dictionary* s.n.; *English Place-Names in -Ing* 141), Erringden (West Riding), *Ayrykedene*, *Ayrike-*, *Ayric-*, *Ayrik-* 1277-1316 Wakefield Court Rolls, *Erindene* 1414 Yorks. Inquisitions, *-ing-*, *-yng-* 1537 Feet of Fines, 1548 Deed, *Ayringden* 1465 Patent Rolls, from OWSand. *Eiríkr*.⁵

These names would adequately demonstrate the intrusion of *-ing-* where it does not appear to be etymologically correct. This change may well have taken place in an East Yorkshire place-name Patrington, which presents some difficulty of interpretation. Early spellings include (*æt*, *to*) *yaterinsatune*, *paterings-*, *paterins(a)tune* 1033 Magnum Registrum Album (York),⁶ *Patricitone* 1086 DB, *Patrington* 1150-3, *Patrinton* 1190,

³ See also *Place-Names of Warwickshire* 279, s.n. Cherrington.

⁴ In Torrington and Tavistock where the first element is certainly an old river-name we should allow for an original *-inga-* used to denote 'people dwelling on the banks of the river' or as a simple connective suffix; cf. Sinnington (*Place-Names of the North Riding* 76). In this case there has been a closing up of syllables with loss of the original *-ic-* and the *Tawi-*, *Tori-* spellings have the actual river-name re-introduced into the place-names.

⁵ Professor Dickins reminds me that Adam of Bremen (*Gesta* ii, 22) refers to *Eiríkr*, King of Northumbria, as *Hiring*.

⁶ These spellings which stand for *patering(a)tune* are from a fourteenth-century transcript of an Old English document. The other spellings are from *Place-Names of the East Riding* p. 25 (which will appear in 1937 as volume xiv of the Place-Name Society's publications).

Paterington 1194, and, as with Helpringham and Metheringham, the Domesday spelling *Patricitone* offers a clue to its solution. It is probably the Old Irish personal name *Patraicc* (*Patrick*) compounded with *tūn*. There are a good many instances of Irish personal names in Yorkshire place-names,⁷ but here it may well be the name of the Irish Saint: Professor Dickins notes that Patrington church, like that of Patrick Brompton in the North Riding, is dedicated to St. Patrick, but we have no information about the age of this dedication. The medial *-ing-* forms may be analogical substitutions for an original *-ic-*.

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⁷ See *Revue Celtique* xliv. 46ff. The name *Patric* is found independently and twice in names, *Paterik-keld* 'Patrick's spring' and Patrick Pool (in York) 'Patrick's pool' (*ib.* 50); in these two examples it may also be the saint's name.