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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 Winteney 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 Stificweg KCD 762 for Stificweg BCS 633, Stifigweges BCS 866; Cerdingesford ASC 519F, for Cedricesford ASC 519A, where -ing- is substituted for -ic-. Examples of -ing- for -eg- are more numerous and include such forms as Heallingan BCS 356 for halhagan, etc (from OE healh-haga, cf. Place-Names of Worcestershire 129); Well(ing)um 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, Tcefingstoc 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, 436 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, Criceteton c. 1100, Cherintune 1170-80, etc., from this source.

Further names with an intrusive nasal include several Berringtons (as in Salop, Beritone DB, Byrinton 1236, from OE byrig-tun, 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) Tor(n)tona DB, etc., from the river Torrige (OE toric strēam, op. cit. 14), Metheringham (Lincolnshire), Medric(h)esham DB, Methricham 1185, Mederinge-ham 1193, which may be a personal name or an old stream-name med-ric ‘meadow-stream’ (Ekwall, Dictionary s.n.), Helpingham (Lincs.), Helpericham, -inc-, DB, Helpingham 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 OWScand. Eirikr.

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 (at, to) yaterinsatune, paterings-, paterins(a)tune 1033 Magnum Registrum Album (York), Patrictone 1086 DB, Patrington 1150-3, Patrintona 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 Tauri-, 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 Eirikr, 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 Patrictone 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, 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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Footnote:

7 See Revue Celtique xlv. 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.