

The Kinship of *Jack*: II, Pet-Forms of Middle English Personal Names with the Suffixes *-cok* and *-cus*

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For more than a century the origin of *Jack* as a pet-form of *John* has been the subject of unresolved debate among English anthroponymists. In Part One of this paper I discussed Lindemans' evidence that *Jack*, Middle English *Jakke*, was not of English origin but derived from the hypocoristic usage of medieval Picardy and Flanders.¹ I set out evidence to show that the suffix *-ke* can be found in other Middle English personal names and that it is one of a group of Flemish and Franco-Flemish hypocoristic suffixes, including *-kin*, *-man* and *-cot*, that were introduced into England after the Norman Conquest along with numerous Old French personal names and their pet-forms. I also broached the idea that the invention of rhyming forms, like *Hobbe* for *Robert*, and the exceptional frequency of *-kin* names among ordinary English folk, could be attributed to a Norman desire to find ways of belittling those of their social inferiors who used 'Norman' personal names. This could also account for the great popularity of *Jakke*.

In Part Two I want to explore the history of two other Middle English hypocoristic suffixes which appear to have some affinity with *-kin*, the ubiquitous *-cok* and the rarer and hitherto unnoted *-cus*.² I shall deal with the question of their etymologies by considering them together, believing them to have similar morphologies and therefore very possibly a common provenance. The crucial point of doubt is whether they were originally designed for use with native English names or with the French names that came in after the Conquest. If the

¹ P. McClure, 'The kinship of *Jack*: I, pet-forms of Middle English personal names with the suffixes *-kin*, *-ke*, *-man* and *-cot*', *Nomina*, 26 (2003), 93–117; J. Lindemans, 'Haket en andere oude diminutiefvormen van Johannes', *Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde*, 32 (1956), 105–12.

² This second part of the paper has greatly benefited from information, comments and advice from Dr Oliver Padel.

latter, then further questions arise as to who coined them, in which language and why.

1. The suffix *-cok*

Middle English *-cok* first appears in the late-twelfth century, of uncertain parentage and ambiguous morphology. The earliest recorded examples of its use in forenames are of the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries: *Salecoc* the Jew (1193)³ and *Alecoc* or *Alekoc* (1204).⁴ The first is probably a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Salomon*. The second is plausibly explained by Reaney and Wilson as a diminutive of Old French, Middle English *Alan*, *Alexander* or *Alice*, though formally *Ale-* might alternatively represent a late Old English pronunciation of Old English *Æðel*.⁵ Early asyndetic bynames include *Morcoc* (c.1160, 1202, also attested as a forename, *Morecok*, 1327) and *Hellecoc* (1202). The first is probably a pet-form of Old French *Maur*, Middle English *More* (sometimes short for *Maurice*?) and the second is probably either for Old French *Elias*, Middle English *Ellis* or Old French *Helene*, Middle English *Ellen*.⁶ From the middle of the thirteenth century names in *-cok* are increasingly numerous in the records, to the extent that *-cok* becomes comparable only to *-kin* in the variety of its combinations and the frequency of use, and like *-kin* it was probably sometimes used to distinguish a junior member from a senior member of the family bearing the same christian name, particularly the son from the father.⁷

³ Noted by C. L. Ewen, *A History of Surnames of the British Isles* (London, 1931), p. 286.

⁴ P. H. Reaney and R. M. Wilson, *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (London, 1991), the 3rd edition of P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (London, 1958), s.n. Alcock.

⁵ See F. Colman, 'The name-element *ǿel-* and related problems', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 28 (1981), 295–301, and V. Smart, 'Variation between *ǿTHEL-* and *ǿGEL-* as a name-element on coins', *Nomina*, 7 (1983), 91–96.

⁶ For the forms and interpretations see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Moorcock and Elcock, and Ewen, *Surnames*, p. 286.

⁷ See P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), p. 211, and

Before considering the unsettled question of its etymology it will be helpful to get as precise a picture as we can of the name-stock to which *-cok* belongs. A good idea of the range of combinations can be gauged by the following head-forms in Reaney's and Wilson's *Dictionary of English Surnames*: Adcock, Alcock, Badcock (Batcock), Bawcock, Beacock, Dilcock, Elcock, Godcock, Hancock, Haycock, Heacock (Hickox), Hitchcock, Hullcock, Jeffcock, Litcook, Lowcock, Maycock, Moorcock, Mycock, Palcock, Pilcock, Pitcock, Raincock, Silcock, Simcock, Tilcock, Tomcok, Wadcock, Walcock, Watcock, Whitecock and Wilcock.⁸ Other examples cited by Reaney (mostly as Middle English bynames) are *Belecok*, *Budecok*, *Hogecok*, *Mocok*, *Payncok* and *Polecok*.⁹ In addition Ewen records the Middle English forms *Bylcok*, *Gilcok*, *Hamecok*, *Hencok*, *Odecok*, *Rogecok*, *Salecok*, *Sibelicok* and *Swetcok*,¹⁰ and I have found *Lamecok* and *Pircok* as asyndetic bynames in medieval Nottinghamshire.¹¹

Most of these forms are evidenced only as asyndetic bynames, so we have to work with some assumptions that require careful watching. The first is that in each case we have a hypocoristic form of a baptismal or christian name, yet we must also allow for other possible etymologies because the forms are often linguistically ambiguous. A second assumption is that the baptismal names in question were in current usage at the same time as the date of the bynames. This is a potentially misleading assumption because the bynames could be hereditary and we should not exclude the possibility that some

Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Elcock.

⁸ In a personal communication Dr George Redmonds informs me that many of the surnames that Wilson added in his revision of Reaney's *Dictionary of British Surnames* are absent from the 1881 census, including *Godcock*, *Litcock*, *Palcock*, *Walcock* and *Watcock*. The inclusion of these surnames as head-forms in the *Dictionary of English Surnames* is therefore no guarantee that they have survived as modern surnames.

⁹ Reaney, *Origin*, pp. 211–13, and Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Paul.

¹⁰ *Surnames*, p. 286.

¹¹ *Marg'ia Lamecok*' 1280 Assize Roll, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) at the National Archives, Kew, MS Just 1/666; *Rog'o Pircok*' 1335 Nottingham Borough Court Roll, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, MS CA1262.

baptismal names with the suffix *-cok* had gone out of use by the time the inherited bynames were first recorded. In practice it usually boils down to whether the baptismal names are insular (Old English or Old Scandinavian) or continental (the forms being Old French). By 1250 all but a handful of the former were obsolete, while the latter had become the staple name-stock at all levels of English society. It is therefore the thirteenth-century forms whose identities are particularly open to doubt. Many insular and continental names coincidentally share the same short forms, and we are rarely lucky enough to have the prosoponymic evidence for individual name-bearers that would identify the official name to which the hypocoristic form belongs.

Allowing for these uncertainties, it is pretty safe to say that among the *-cok* forms listed above we have diminutives of *Adam*, *Alan* or *Alexander* or *Alice*, *Baldwin*, *Bate* (Bartholomew?), *Beatrice*, *Bil* (Sibyl or Mabily, i.e. Mabel), *Belle* (Isabel or Anabel), *Ellis* or *Elen*, *Geoffrey* or *Genevieve*, *Hamo*, *Johan* (John), *Henry*, *Hicche* (Richard), *Hogge* (Roger), *Hulle* (Hugh), *Lambert*, *Mayhew* (Matthew), *Matilde*, *Mihel* (Michael), *More*, *Odo*, *Payn*, *Per* (Peter), *Pole* (Paul), *Reynald*, *Roger*, *Salomon*, *Sesily* (Cecily) or *Silvester* or *Silvain*, *Sibyl(y)*, *Simon*, *Thomas*, *Wale* (Continental Germanic *Walo*), *Walter* and *William*.

These account for a little over seventy per cent of the forty-eight names in the list, and Reaney is clearly right to conclude that the large majority of *-cok* pet-forms belong to names introduced from the continent.¹² But what of the remaining *-cok* names, thirteen in all? These are *Budecok*, *Dilcock*, *Gilecok*, *Godecok*, *Haycok*, *Hecok*, *Litecok*, *Lovecok*, *Mocok*, *Palecok*, *Pilecok*, *Pitecok* and *Swetecok*. Reaney and Wilson ascribe all of them to insular personal names, including short forms and monothematic forms reconstructed from place-names.¹³ They take a similar view of a number of names in *-kin* such as *Osekin*, *Ludekin* and *Paykin*.¹⁴ The implication is that a wide

¹² *Origin*, p. 211.

¹³ In the following discussion of these names, the forms and etymologies I quote from Reaney (and Wilson) will be found in their *Dictionary* and in the *Origin of English Surnames* under the references already given in the second paragraph of this section of the article.

¹⁴ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Hosken, Ludkin and Paikin. I would

range of Old English names must have survived well into the thirteenth century. One difficulty I have in accepting this view is that Reaney and Wilson do not appear to have considered the possibility of Old French derivations.

It is hardly accidental that the increasing use of *-kin* and *-cok* among the general population coincided with the adoption of the continental name-stock and the almost total abandonment of insular names. By 1250 it is rare to find any adult of any social class with an insular forename. Almost all of the native name stock has disappeared for good, and the few, mostly dithematic, names that occasionally crop up in the records after 1250 mainly survive in a narrowly localised fashion through the idiosyncratic naming traditions of a tiny minority of families. The only Old English feminine name in general currency after 1250 was *Ēadg* ^ð, Middle English *Edith*, whose pet-form *Edkin* is a rare example of an insular name with this suffix.¹⁵

It seems to me unlikely that *-kin* and *-cok* were much used with the native name stock. In fact most of the *-kin* and *-cok* pet-forms that Reaney and Wilson identify as belonging to insular names can be satisfactorily explained in terms of Anglo-French names. A good many of them occur as doublets, like *Batekin* and *Batecok*. Reaney allows that Middle English *Batecok* and its variant, *Badecok*, are usually explained as diminutives of *Bate*, which is generally thought to be a short form of *Bartholomew*, but he also argues that *Badecok* could be the original form and thus derive from Old English *Bada*. This variation of *-t-* and *-d-* forms is also found in the *-kin* version, as in *Ade fil' Batekin*, who is also called *Ade fil' Badekyn* in Nottinghamshire documents dated 1324.¹⁶ On balance these are more likely to be pet-

explain them as diminutives of Old French *Osbern*, *Osmund* or *Osbert* (all found as names of Normans), of Low German *Ludowic* (of which *Ludekin* was a common pet-form), and of Old French *Pasques*, Anglo-French *Pake*, with the Old French suffix *-in*.

¹⁵ See G. Redmonds, *Christian Names in Local and Family History* (Kew, 2004), pp. 39, 40, 174 and 178, and Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Edkin.

¹⁶ *Ade fil' Batekin*, juror, Miscellaneous Inquisition, 31 August 1324, regarding property of Robert Power of North Tiln, PRO, MS C 134/92 no 35; *Ade fil' Badekyn*, juror, Inquisitio Post Mortem, 16 September 1324, regarding property of

forms of Middle English *Bate*, with voicing of /t/ to /d/, than of Old English *Bada*, which is not recorded as an independent personal name later than Domesday Book according to Reaney's own evidence.¹⁷

Reaney and Wilson interpret *Gilkin* as a pet-form of Old Scandinavian *Gilli*, in spite of the fact that their earliest example is *Gilkinus de Braban* (1296). The name is surely a pet-form of *Giles*, a common name in the Low Countries, and *Gilecok* is clearly a twin form, which may belong to Middle English *Gilian* as well as *Giles*.

Similarly Middle English *Godekin* has a doublet in *Godecok*. While Old English *Goda* is a perfectly possible source, so are Continental Germanic *Godo* (masculine) and *Goda* (feminine) giving Middle English *Gode* as a clipped form of Old French and Anglo-French names like *Godefroi* and *Godhild*. Likewise *Lovekin* and *Lovecok* (alias *Leucok*) are attributed by Reaney and Wilson to Old English *Lufa* (masculine) or *Lufu* (feminine) but a more appropriate source is Old French *Loup*, Anglo-French and Middle English *Love*, *Lou* and *Leu*, a name with several diminutive forms from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.¹⁸

A few *-cok* names appear to have no *-kin* equivalents on record, though it may only be a matter of time before research turns them up. George Redmonds has demonstrated that *Mocok* is a pet-form of *Maheu* (Matthew) not a diminutive of an Old English **Mawa* as supposed by Reaney and Wilson.¹⁹ It is an alternative form of *Macok* or *Maycok* (alias *Moycok*), for which there is a twin form *Ma(y)kin*, though we have no evidence as yet for **Mo(y)kin*. This could be because the shift of *Ma(y)-* to *Mo(y)-* was conditioned by the vowel of *-cok*. Instances such as this, where one can prove the identity of a pet-

Robert Power of Tiln, PRO, MS C 134/89 no 6. Probably the same man as *Adam fil' Batekyn, Ad' batkyn* assessed in Hayton and Tiln in the 1327 and 1332 Lay Subsidies, PRO, MSS E179 159/4 m. 9 and 159/5 m. 1.

¹⁷ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Bade.

¹⁸ See McClure, 'The kinship of *Jack*: I', p. 103, s.n. Luke, and cf. p. 114, s.n. Loveman, and p. 116, s.n. Lovecot(e).

¹⁹ G. Redmonds, *Holmfirth: Place-Names and Settlement* (Huddersfield, 1994), p. 42, and *Surnames and Genealogy: a New Approach* (Boston, Mass., 1997), p. 236.

form through aliases, are unfortunately few and far between, but they provide the one safe guide to the interpretation of other pet-forms whose etymological ambiguities can only be resolved through the application of known patterns of onomastic relationships.

Reaney and Wilson explain both *Haycok* and *Hecok* as diminutives of an Old English **Hēah*. I would derive the first from Old French, Middle English *Haie*,²⁰ and the second from Middle English *Hik* and *Heke*, which, like *Dik* and *Deke*, are rhyming pet-forms of Old French, Middle English *Ricard*, with lowering and lengthening of *-i-* to *-ē-*.²¹ *Hecok* is a variant of *Hicok*, and both show a reduction of /kk/ to /k/. So *Hicok* is to *Ricard* as *Hichecok* is to *Richard*. Such an explanation makes much better sense of the late-fourteenth-century forename of *Hekoc de Par* (1366), which is rather bravely cited by Reaney and Wilson in support of their derivation of the name from Old English **Hēah(a)*. There probably was a *-kin* equivalent in the Middle English forms *Hykin* and *Hekin*, though Reaney and Wilson may be right that some examples derive from *Hik* and *Heke* with the suffix *-in*.²²

The byname *Pal(e)cok* is evidenced in documents dated c.1260 x 1270 (Northamptonshire), 1275 (Worcestershire) and 1379 (West Riding of Yorkshire). Reaney and Wilson assign it to an Old English **Palla*, but it is more appropriately explained by comparison with Middle English *Polekin* and *Polecok*, which are diminutives of Old French, Middle English *Pol(e)*, a regular form of *Paul*.²³ The loss of the second element of the diphthong in *Pal(e)* is perhaps similar to that in Middle English *Abbe*, a short form of *Aubrey*, and *Larkin*, a pet-form of *Laurence*.²⁴

²⁰ Middle English *Hai(e)* is from Continental Germanic *Haio*, a clipped form of *Hagano*, hence Middle English *Hain*. Cf. *Willelmus filius Haie*, 1168, and *Ricardus filius Haie*, 1205, cited in Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hay, but explained there as Old English **Hēah(a)*.

²¹ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Deekes.

²² Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hickin.

²³ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Paul.

²⁴ For the forms see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Pall, and for comparisons with *Abbe* and *Larkin* see P. McClure, 'The interpretation of hypocoristic forms of Middle English baptismal names', *Nomina*, 21 (1998), 101–

Reaney and Wilson record the byname *Wadecok* in Essex (1327), Wiltshire (1349) and the West Riding of Yorkshire (1379). It is said to be a diminutive of Old English *Wada* although from a formal perspective Middle English *Wade* is equally derivable from Continental Germanic *Wado*. More likely, perhaps, *Wadecok* could be a variant of *Watecok*, a pet-form of *Walter*, with the same voicing of /t/ to /d/ that I suggested for *Badecok*.

Names in *-kin* and *-cok* with Old English bases

The proportion of *-cok* names likely to have been compounded with Old French names has now risen to a little short of ninety per cent. The names that remain to be considered are those for which the best case can be made for an Old English source because a suitable Old French alternative is either unavailable or is only rarely found in England. I think caution is required in proposing any rare name as a source, whether continental or insular in origin. The Middle English form itself, if isolated and unconfirmed, may be a mistaken reading, and asyndetic bynames, which provide most of the evidence, may be nicknames rather than names of relationship.

Pitecoc is recorded once as a forename (*Pitecoc filius Simonis*, 1221) in a printed edition of some Warwickshire Assize Rolls and is explained by Reaney and Wilson as a diminutive form of Old English **Pytta*. This is an unlikely source since Old English *y* remained in the Warwickshire dialect of Middle English and was written as *-u*.²⁵ A better Old English etymon would be a short form of a name such as **Pihtrīc*.²⁶ In support of the genuineness of *Pitecoc* as a personal name Reaney and Wilson cite its later occurrence in Warwickshire Lay Subsidy Rolls as an asyndetic byname, (Henry) *Pitecok*' (of Sutton Coldfield, 1327, 1332). This is how it appears in the printed edition of the Subsidy Rolls, but it is read as *Picecok*' by Hjertstedt, who

31 (pp. 110, n. 33, and 115–16).

²⁵ See G. Kristensson, *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290–1350: the West Midland Counties* (Lund, 1987), p. 95.

²⁶ See B. Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names, East Anglia 1100–1399*, 2 vols (Lund, 1972–79), II, 130.

plausibly identifies it with the surname of John *Pikekok* of Sutton Coldfield (1340 Lay Subsidy Roll) and glosses it as a phrasal nickname ‘pick the cock (clean)’.²⁷ On the other hand, it is possible that the 1340 scribe, who would have been copying from another manuscript, mistook a *-t-* for *-c-* and erroneously transliterated it as a *-k-*. *Pitcock* is recorded in the 1881 census as a West Midlands surname, though a rare one.²⁸

The asyndetic bynames *Budekin* (Cambridgeshire, 1279) and *Budecok* (Norfolk, 1279) are recorded in the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, a printed edition from the early-nineteenth century. My own experience of this edition is limited to the Nottinghamshire section, which proved to contain many elementary misreadings when I compared the edition with the original rolls in the Public Record Office. I haven’t had the opportunity to check the Cambridgeshire and Norfolk rolls but I can’t help wondering if *Budekin* and *Budecok* are transcriptional errors for *Badekin* and *Badecok*. They may be reliable forms, nonetheless, in which case we could derive them from Continental Germanic *Budo*, but I have no evidence that this name was used in post-Conquest England apart from the possibility that the asyndetic byname *Budun* (c.1200) might be a diminutive form of it with the Old French suffix *-un*. Reaney and Wilson explain *Budun* as ‘*Budd-en*, a diminutive of Old English *Budda*’, and this personal name is their suggested source for *Budekin* and *Budecok*.²⁹ One difficulty with this explanation is that *Budda* ‘is not recorded in independent use after the Conquest’, to quote Reaney’s own words.³⁰ What appears to be an identical name does occur as an asyndetic byname, however, in pre- and post-Conquest records. The earliest example is *Brihtmeres Budde* (c.1025) whose byname is glossed in the same document *pro densitate sic cognominatus*, ‘so named on account of (his) thickness’. As Tengvik points out in his commentary on this byname, Old English *Bud(d)a* is probably

²⁷ I. Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensa, 63 (Uppsala, 1987), p. 157.

²⁸ *Ex inf.* Dr George Redmonds.

²⁹ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Budden.

³⁰ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Budd.

identical with Old English *budda* ‘beetle’, from the root **bud(d)-* ‘to swell’, and may have been used to nickname people with a thickset or corpulent appearance.³¹ Old English *bud(d)a* is presumably the source of Middle English *boude*, *budd* ‘a beetle, a weevil’. It is used as a term of personal abuse as late as the mid-fifteenth century when a character in *The Castle of Perseverance* is called *Syr bolnyng bowde* ‘Sir bulging beetle’ and *thou bolnyd bowde* ‘thou puffed up weevil’.³² I think that *Budekin* and *Budecok*, if genuine, may be nicknames, too, either for a small, tubby person or for a self-important one. Reaney himself toys with this possibility, remarking that Middle English *-kin* was sometimes used with a noun. Use of *-cok* with nouns is less evident but it seems to me that this line of thought offers a fruitful way of understanding most of the names ending in *-kin* and *-cok* which appear to have Old English bases. They are lexically meaningful nicknames, some of which may have been used as personal names in lieu of a regular christian name.

Whitecok or *Witecok*, which is attested only as a byname, can be associated with other names that look like derivatives of Old English *Hwīt-*, such as *Hwīta*, **Hwittuc*, **Hwītmann* and **Hwīting*, for which early Middle English forms exist.³³ *Hwīt-* is from Old English *hwīt* ‘white, fair of hair or complexion’, so these names may have originated as nicknames and have continued as such into early Middle English. With respect to **Hwīting* the final element would be the noun-forming suffix *-ing*, hence ‘fair one’, rather than the patronymic suffix *-ing* ‘son of’. Alternatively, as Reaney acknowledges, *W(h)itecok* could be a nickname containing Middle English *white* ‘white’, and *cok* ‘cock, rooster’, or *cōk* ‘cook’.

Litecok is on record as a forename in the mid-thirteenth century (*Litecok de Salford* 1246) and later on as an asyndetic byname. It is possible to argue for an Old French source. The common Continental

³¹ G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames* (Uppsala, 1938), p. 296.

³² *Middle English Dictionary*, edited by H. Kurath *et al.* (Ann Arbor, 1956–2001), s.v. *boude*. The participial adjectives *bolnyng* and *bolnyd* are from *bolnen* ‘to swell (up)’.

³³ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. *Whittock*, *Whitman* and *Whiting*.

Germanic prototheme *Leut-* or *Liud-* lies behind a number of Old French personal names, some of which appear in post-Conquest England, such as *Letware* (feminine) and *Letard* or *Liard* (masculine).³⁴ But as these names are very rare in England, Reaney and Wilson may be right in thinking that the source of *Litecok* is an Old English personal name such as **Lēohtwine* or *L^h(el)mann*, which are evidenced as independent personal names in the early-thirteenth century.³⁵ Another possibility is Old English **L^h(el)wine*, which Seltén records as an asyndetic byname in late-thirteenth-century Norfolk and Suffolk.³⁶ The onomastic status and function of these names is difficult to judge. They look like classic Anglo-Saxon dithematic personal names, but I wonder if the second elements *-wine* and *-mann* may have been used to form hypocoristic extensions, in which case *Litecok* is not a pet-form of Middle English *Lit(e)win* and *Li(e)tman* but a new variant of existing pet-forms of names in Old English **Lēoht-* and *L^h(el)-*. Interpretation is further complicated by uncertainty about the status of **Lēoht-* and *L^h(el)-* as protothemes. Since they are based on Old English *lēoht*, Middle English *li(gh)t* ‘light, quick, nimble, cheerful’ and Old English *l^h(el)*, Middle English *lit(el)* ‘little’, their combination with *-wine*, *-man(n)* and *-cok* suggests the possibility that these names may have originated as nicknames or terms of endearment, ‘nimble/little friend or (kins)man’, ‘little nimble (one)’ or just ‘little (one)’.³⁷ Finally, as Reaney suggests, asyndetic examples of *Litecok* could be compound nicknames signifying ‘little cock’ or ‘little cook’.

Similarly, according to Reaney, the byname *Pilecok* may be a nick-

³⁴ See M.-T. Morlet, *Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du Vie au XIIe siècle*, I (Paris, 1971), 158–61, and T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (Uppsala, 1916), pp. 177 and 179.

³⁵ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. *Litwin* and *Lilleyman*.

³⁶ B. Seltén, *Anglo-Saxon Heritage*, II, 120.

³⁷ For *L^h(el)mann* as a possible nickname for a small person, see V. Smart, ‘Pitit and Litelman: an onomastic conundrum’, *Nomina*, 25 (2002), 133–38. It is suggested there that a tenth-century moneyer named *Litelman* or *Litman* was identical with the moneyer called *Pitit* (< Old French *petit* ‘small’).

name, ‘pluck-cock’, or a diminutive of Old English *Pīla*, a short form of names in *Pīl-*. Ewen links the name with another byname, *Pillok*,³⁸ which Reaney and Wilson explain as an *-uc* or *-oc* derivative of names in *Pīl-*, via another short form, **Pilla*.³⁹ In fact the Nottinghamshire Coroners Roll for 1357 records a juror named Robert *Pylcok* of Langar,⁴⁰ who is possibly identical with Robert *Pillok*, a juror in an inquisition of 1364 regarding the adjacent village of Granby.⁴¹ If so, it offers some support for these names as alternative diminutives of a personal name in *Pīl-* such as **Pīlmann*, *Pīlheard* and **Pīlwine*, which is attested by the name *Pileuwin* in the Nottinghamshire section of Domesday Book. However, we must also take into account the Middle English word *pil(e)cok*, Modern English *pillcock* (now obsolete) ‘penis’, and its modern variant *pillock*, which the *Middle English Dictionary* supposes to have Middle English antecedents in the several examples it cites of the byname *Pillok*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* explains *pillcock* as a tautologous compound of *pill* (also *pillie*, *pilluck*), a northern dialect term for the penis first recorded in the sixteenth century, and *cock* ‘penis’, a sense first recorded in the eighteenth century.⁴² I suggest instead that Middle English *pilcok* and **pillok* are diminutives, with *-cok* and *-oc* suffixes, of Old English *pīl*, Middle English *pil(e)* ‘a shaft, stake; arrow, dart, javelin’. A further semantic extension to ‘penis’ seems natural enough. The use of *-cok* as a lexical diminutive is rare, however, and it was probably borrowed from hypocoristic personal name usage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *pillcock* was also a term of endearment for a young boy, ‘a darling, a pretty rogue’. Perhaps Middle English *pil(e)cok* had

³⁸ *Surnames*, p. 286.

³⁹ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Pillock, where *Pilluc* is recorded as a personal name in 1086 and *Pilloc* as a byname in 1208.

⁴⁰ PRO, MS Just 2/120.

⁴¹ *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem relating to Nottinghamshire, 1350–1436*, edited by K. S. S. Train and V. W. Walker, Thoroton Society Record Series, 12 (Nottingham, 1949 and 1952), p. 56.

⁴² *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, edited by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford, 1989), s.v. pillcock, and *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. pil-cok, quoting *My pilkoc pisseth on mi schone* (a.1325?).

this secondary sense, too, especially when used as a byname.

Reaney and Wilson record the byname *Dilcok* in Cambridgeshire (1327) and the West Riding of Yorkshire (1379).⁴³ It appears to have a side-form *Dolcok*, which links it to the equivalent *Dolekyn* and *Dulekyn*. Reaney relates these names to an Old English **Dulla*, **Dylli* or **Dylla*, forms which have been inferred from place-names. He further suggests that these may be the source of the Middle English bynames *filius Dulle* (1279), *Dylewine* (1275), *Dilli* (1279), *Dilly* (1359, 1381) and *Dillyng* (1275).⁴⁴ It should be added that there are some Continental Germanic names that give rise to *Dil-* pet-forms on the continent. Forssner lists *Odilard*, *Odelhar* and *Odelina* as occurring in twelfth- or thirteenth-century England but they are very rare here and are recorded only among members of the aristocracy and upper gentry.⁴⁵ At the same time Reaney plausibly suggests that bynames like *Dol(e)*, *Dol(e)man* and *Dullard* are Middle English nicknames based on Old English *dol* ‘dull, foolish’. This must have had a mutated form **dylle* to account for the full Middle English set, *dol*, *dul* and *dil*, so I wonder if some of the other names we have in *Dul-* and *Dil-* are similarly nicknames meaning ‘dull fellow’ or, in the case of those with belittling suffixes like *-oc*, *-cok* and *-kin*, ‘little idiot’. The situation is closely comparable to that in Middle Dutch, where *dol*, *dul*, *dulkin*, *dullard* and *dolman* appear in Flemish bynames with the meaning ‘dullard, fool’.⁴⁶

Swetekin and *Swetecok*, too, show an ambiguity of personal name and nickname usage. Reaney derives the byname *Swetekin* from Old English *Swēta*, a name still in occasional use as a forename in late-thirteenth-century London (*Swet carbonel* 1292).⁴⁷ Other derivatives of

⁴³ Dr Redmonds tells me that an Alexander *Dilcocke* is recorded in Snaith (West Riding) in 1279 and that the same surname was sometimes transmuted into *Dillock* (Robert *Dilock* 1491).

⁴⁴ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Dil, Dilcock, Dilley and Dulcken.

⁴⁵ *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England*, p. 195.

⁴⁶ See F. Debrabandere, *Verklarend Woordenboek van de Familienamen in België en Noord-Frankrijk* (Brussels, 1993), s.nn. Dol(s), Dolleman, Dullaert(s), Dullekens and Dulle.

⁴⁷ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Sweet.

Old English *Swēt* ‘sweet (one)’, include *Swētmann*, a name generally obsolete as a forename by the 1250s yet found once as late as 1327,⁴⁸ and *Swēting*, of which the latest recorded forename usage is 1225,⁴⁹ and which is identical with Middle English *sweting* ‘a dear one, a sweetheart’, sometimes used in direct address as an endearment.⁵⁰

Names of this type can function simultaneously as nicknames and as personal or baptismal names, with overlapping lexical and onomastic applications. We have already noted that Old English *Budda* was also used as a nickname for a thickset or tubby person and this may have been true also of its likely derivatives, Old English *Budding* and Middle English *Budekin* and *Budecok*. Similarly, the presumed proto-themes *Hwīt-*, *Lēoht-*, *L^h(el)-*, *Pīl-*, *Dul-/Dyl-* and *Swēt-*, identical as they are with common words in Old and Middle English, were variously combined not only with Old English suffixes such as *-ing*, *-oc* and *-uc* but also with *-mann* and *-wine*, whose function in some contexts will have been lexical or suffixal rather than thematic. The extension of this suffixal permutation to Middle English *-kin* and *-cok*, combined with the same Old English bases, testifies to the continuing vigour and adaptability of English nicknaming vocabulary in response to the linguistic impact of the Norman Conquest. In this respect English nicknaming is more typical of the lexical than the onomastic history of English, and is in striking contrast to the native baptismal name stock, which capitulated in the face of competition from the new names introduced under Norman rule.

To sum up, the earliest examples of hypocoristic *-cok* occur just before and just after 1200, and are probably from Old French personal names or Middle English versions of them. So too, I believe, are all but a handful of those that are recorded thereafter. It is difficult to be sure how far Old English personal names are involved. There are seven *-cok* forms for which a good case can be made for an Old English base, but it is debatable whether these bases are monothematic personal names

⁴⁸ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Sweatman, and cf. Seltén, *Anglo-Saxon Heritage*, II, 156.

⁴⁹ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Sweeting.

⁵⁰ *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. sweting, n.

(including short forms of dithematic names) or lexical items which would still have been current in English well into the thirteenth century.

The etymology of -cok

There are two principal accounts of this suffix, one by Reaney, who derives it from Old English *cocc* ‘cock, rooster, male bird’, and the other by Ewen, who explains it as an extension of the Old English suffix *-oc*. Reaney’s views are expressed most succinctly in his *Dictionary of English Surnames* under the surname Cock:

OE *cocc* ‘cock’, a nickname for one who strutted like a cock. This became a common term for a pert boy and was used of scullions, apprentices, servants, etc., and came to be attached to christian names as a pet diminutive (*Simcock, Wilcock, etc.*)

This is an interesting explanation but Reaney’s claim that Old English *cocc* ‘became a common term for a pert boy and was used of scullions, apprentices, servants, etc.’ has no basis in fact, so far as I can discover. Neither the *Middle English Dictionary* nor the *Oxford English Dictionary* testifies to *co(c)k* with this sense, and in his expanded account of the suffix in *The Origin of English Surnames* (pp. 211–13) Reaney’s only evidence consists of the following prosoponymic alias (p. 213):

William *Williamescok Hood* = William *le Keu Williamesservant Hod*,
1336

It is easy to see why Reaney thought *cok* meant ‘servant’ here, but he didn’t realise that it actually represents Middle English *cōk* ‘cook’. The correct translations are ‘William, William Hood’s cook’ = ‘William the cook (Old French *keu*), William Hood’s servant’. Similar corrections are required to two other quotations cited by Reaney in support of his definition of *cok* as ‘servant’: Richard *le Personescok* of Long Stanton (1312) means ‘Richard the parson’s cook’ and John *Jonescok Herun* (1302) means ‘John, John Herun’s cook’.

Reaney’s erroneous conclusions about *-cok* in compound bynames were reinforced by two uses of *Cok* as a personal name for serving

boys:

Cok mon garcon, a groom of John de Langeford, 1293–97

Cocke, our boy (a fictional character in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, 1553)⁵¹

He explains his thinking in a sub-section of the *Dictionary* entry for the surname *Cock*:

Cock, a common personal name still in use about 1500, may partly be from OE *Cocc* or *Cocca*, found in place-names, although not on independent record. But as *cock* became a common term for a boy, it may also have been used affectionately as a personal name.

Let us be clear that there is no evidence that *cock* was ever a term for a boy. At the back of Reaney's mind may have been the modern use of *cock* 'man, fellow', first recorded in the eighteenth century.⁵² Its earlier history and etymology are unknown.

As for the personal name *Cok*, it is found in various parts of England from the late-twelfth century through to the seventeenth, but the numbers are quite small.⁵³ It is a rare name, not a common one as Reaney maintains, which makes the two occurrences of serving boys with the name rather surprising, especially the example from a sixteenth-century comedy, where one would expect the naming of a servant to be stereotypical. There is something odd about this name

⁵¹ Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, p. 213.

⁵² E. Partridge, *The Penguin Dictionary of Historical Slang*, abridged by J. Simpson (Harmondsworth, 1972), s.v. old cock (cf. *idem*, s.v. cock, sense 9), and *A Dictionary of the Underworld, British and American*, 3rd edn (London, 1968), s.v. cock.

⁵³ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Cock, record examples from thirteenth-century London, Sussex and Cambridgeshire. Ewen, *Surnames*, p. 284, lists further medieval forms from Kent, Shropshire and Yorkshire. Cf. the forename of the eponymous hero of the satirical *Cocke Lorrelles Bote*, published c.1510. (My thanks to Dr Anthony Esposito of the *Oxford English Dictionary* for this reference.) Redmonds, *Surnames and Genealogy*, p. 20, cites a seventeenth-century example.

and it gets odder still, for prosoponymic evidence has come to light that it was used as a substitute for other forenames:

Cok gardinarius = Ralph *le Gardiner*, 1341 Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls⁵⁴

Cok de Hencoit = Henry *de Hencoit*, 1342 *ibid.*⁵⁵

Michael Haworth otherwayes cocke Haworthe, 1639 Wakefield Court Rolls⁵⁶

Its use as an alternative forename may account for its rarity in official records. It is presumably a nickname, though what sense it has can only be guessed at. Middle English *cok* ‘rooster, male bird’, has many specialised applications and meanings, including perhaps ‘chief (one), head (person)’, though it is not recorded until the sixteenth century.⁵⁷ Was it used as a nickname for the head of the family? This wouldn’t help to explain the naming of the servant boys. Was it a contraction of a hypocoristic form of a christian name with the suffix *-cok*? It is an interesting thought but I don’t know of any evidence in Middle English usage for the abbreviation of a pet-name to its suffix.

The relationship between the hypocoristic suffix *-cok* and the

⁵⁴ Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls, PRO, Special Collections (SC) 2/215/69–2/220/12. The precise references in the database record, prepared as part of the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project, are roll 2, record no. 1138 and roll 2, no. 1180. I am grateful to Dr Oliver Padel for giving me access to the database and for his permission to publish material from it. See A. D. M. Barrell, R. R. Davies, O. J. Padel and Ll. B. Smith, ‘The Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project, 1340–1352 and 1389–1399: a methodology and some preliminary findings’, in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, edited by Z. Razi and R. Smith (Oxford, 1996), pp. 260–97.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, roll 2, nos 1378 and 1390, and cf. Henry *de Hencoyd* 1344, *ibid.*, roll 4, no. 195.

⁵⁶ Redmonds, *Surnames and Genealogy*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. cock, sb 1, sense 7. The earliest quotation there is dated 1542 but it is antedated by the place-name *Cokfosters* (1524), the second element being *forester*. See J. Field, *Place-Names of Greater London* (London, 1980), s.n. Cockfosters, where Field also notes the term *cockparker* (undated) and the field-name *Cock Shepherdes* (1556).

personal name *Cok* is at best an uncertain one, if indeed there is any etymological connection at all. However that may be, I doubt that Middle English *Cok* is from a hypothetical Old English **Cocc(a)*. The patronymic in the earliest of Reaney's examples, *Koc filius Pertuin* (1230) is Old French (Continental Germanic) *Bertwin*, while the surname of *Koc de mari* (1296) indicates a family origin in one of several places in northern France (especially Normandy) called *Mairy*, *Mary*, *Méré(y)* or *Merri*.⁵⁸ On the other hand I cannot find any evidence of such a personal name in Old French, apart from the use of *coq* as a nickname. The Old French double suffix in *Kokelinus*, found as a forename in Cambridgeshire in 1295, similarly hints at an Old French name rather than an Old English one, but this is not something one can be definite about.⁵⁹

Ewen's explanation of *-cok* as a double suffix, *-c-oc*, has much to commend it.⁶⁰ Most Old English hypocoristic suffixes, like those in other West Germanic languages, are based on /k/ and /l/, and *-oc* is well exemplified in the personal names of Anglo-Saxon England and in the Low Countries. Double suffixes based on /k/ are also found on both sides of the Channel, as in Old English *-cil* and *-col*, Middle Dutch *-kard* and Old Picard *-quet*, *-cot* and *-coul*. It is surprising that there is no evidence for *-cok* in any of these languages, apart from those few Middle English bynames that might contain an Old English personal name. Perhaps there was some inhibition about repeating the same suffixal element.

Supposing, nonetheless, that *-cok* is a wholly English formation, one would think that it would probably have been coined for use with native personal names, and it would make sense to see forms like *Pitecok*, *Whitecok*, *Dilcok*, *Pilcok* and *Swetecok* as evidence for this. Its transfer to continental names presents a difficulty, though, for none of the known Old English hypocoristic suffixes appears to have been

⁵⁸ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Cock; A. Dauzat and C. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris, 1963), s.n. Mairé.

⁵⁹ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Cocklin, record *Kokelinus carectarius* 1295 (Cambridgeshire), Ralph *Cokelin* 1279 (Cambridgeshire) and Reginald *Kokelin* 1284 (Huntingdonshire).

⁶⁰ *Surnames*, pp. 285–88.

similarly transferred. Moreover, as we have seen, it is French names that are found in the earliest instances of *-cok* and which overwhelmingly dominate the whole corpus. Admittedly, the personal names of the majority of the population, and especially their hypocoristic forms, are very poorly documented before 1200, so it remains a serious possibility that *-cok* arose within the Anglo-Saxon naming tradition and that the evidence to demonstrate this just hasn't survived. However, on the evidence that we have it looks as though the suffix belongs with continental rather than insular names, in which case we need to find a way of explaining how a suffix of apparently Germanic or Anglo-Saxon composition came to be invented for use with an essentially Norman name-stock.

In Old French, hypocoristic suffixes were used freely of either gender. So it is worth noting that whereas Old English *-oc* was used exclusively with men's names, Middle English *-cok* was used in the continental manner with names of women as well as men, although predominantly the latter. It is this continental aspect of *-cok* that makes me wonder if it was modelled on *-kin*, a suffix which, in terms of its English onomastic history, is almost the twin of *-cok*. I imagine that *-kin* was perceived as a double suffix, *-k-in*, on which a new suffix, *-k-oc*, could be calqued by substituting *-oc* for *-in*. Whether this is Low German or Old English *-oc* depends on who we think coined the new suffix (English, Flemings or Normans) and why. These are questions that I shall leave until we have looked at the suffix *-cus*, which in many respects is strikingly similar to *-cok* in its onomastic and etymological profiles.

2. The suffix *-cus*

The existence of *-cus* as a Middle English hypocoristic suffix has not been recognised before. The clearest proof comes from some women's names in the court rolls of Dyffryn Clwyd in north Wales that Dr Oliver Padel has kindly drawn to my attention. I am grateful to him for providing this information and for permission to make use of his comments on it.

Among a list of bakers brought before Ruthin Great Court (Dyffryn

Clwyd) in 1306 is *Edecusa* daughter of Jordan. Such lists occur for bakers and for brewers every six months in the rolls. The people named there tend to recur in successive lists in much the same groupings, so it is possible to be fairly sure in most cases that slight variations in naming refer to the same individual. The daughter of Jordan, for example, is named again in 1307 as *Edekyn*, which is a pet-form of Middle English *Edith*,⁶¹ as is *Edecus(a)* so it appears. The same or another woman is called *Edecusa* wife of *Jonkin messor* ('hayward') in a list of brewers fined by Ruthin Great Court in 1313, and she is probably identical with the landholder named in the following year as Edith wife of John *le Haiward*. Finally, among lists of brewers brought before Ruthin Town Court in the 1340s, *Edcus de Wendlok* (1342) is named in 1344 and 1345 as Edith *de Wenlok*.⁶² It is impossible to tell if we have one woman with three different bynames over a span of forty years or two or three different women who share the same forename. The forename is Middle English (*Edith*) and each of the bynames has a Middle English derivation—the personal names *Jordan* and *Jonkin*, the occupational term *haiward* and the place-name *Wenlock* (in Shropshire).⁶³ The woman or women named *Edecus* therefore probably belonged to the English community of early-fourteenth-century Ruthin. There is also mention in these rolls of Ieuan ap *Etkus* (1345). If, as seems likely, he was the son of Edith *de Wenloc*, he was presumably an Englishman who was so called among the Welsh speakers of Ruthin.

One other name in *-cus* occurs in these early-fourteenth-century

⁶¹ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Edkins.

⁶² For the full set of forms and documentary references see under **Edecus** in the Appendix.

⁶³ The implications of surnames like *de Wenloc* in the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls are discussed by O. J. Padel, 'Locational surnames in fourteenth-century Denbighshire' in *Names, Places and People. An Onomastic Miscellany for John McNeal Dodgson*, edited by A. R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford, 1997), pp. 279–300. Dr Padel informs me that theoretically *Wen(d)loc* could be a form of Welsh *Wentloog*, the name of an administrative unit in south-east Wales, but he thinks this is an unlikely derivation since names of administrative units do not usually give rise to toponymic surnames.

rolls from Dyffryn Clwyd. A woman called *Amecus* (*Amecusa*, *Amecos*, *Amecous*, *Amekous*) or *Emecus* (*Emcous*, *Emecous*) is recorded nine times as a brewer between 1306 and 1316. Occasionally she is given the byname 'wife of Richard' and twice she is bynamed *braciatrix*. She may or may not be identical with *Emecusa de Lanmurrok*, who is involved in a dispute about a breach of agreement in the Llanerch Court in 1313.⁶⁴ Unfortunately there are no aliases that help to identify the actual christian name of which *Amecus* and *Emecus* are the pet-forms, but the variation between *Ame-* and *Eme-* points to Old French and Middle English *Ameline*, which has *Emeline* as a common variant.⁶⁵

Although geographically they are evidenced in a northern Welsh context, it is clear that *Edecus* and *Amecus* are pet-forms of Middle English christian names. I am equally convinced that *-cus* is a Middle English hypocoristic suffix, for I have evidence of other personal names in *-cus* from the English midlands, particularly the more northern areas, though I have no examples as yet from Shropshire and Cheshire, from where English influence was coming into north Wales from the last decades of the thirteenth century onwards.

In the Nottinghamshire records, for example, there occur *filius Aykus* 1275, *filius Ricus* 1271 and seven instances of *filia Wilcus* 1296 and 1297 (two different women), while five similar looking formations occur as asyndetic bynames: *Adcus* 1327 and 1332, *Alcus* 1280, 1285, 1305–6, 1308 and 1327 (two different men), *Ankus* 1289, *Malcus* 1323, 1327 and 1332 and *Wycus* 1295. Nottinghamshire is the only county I have researched extensively, but a sampling of the printed editions of Yorkshire lay subsidies and poll taxes has yielded *filius Emchus* 1297 (subsequently an inherited surname *Emcus* and possibly etymologically identical with *Emecus* in Dyffryn Clwyd), the asyndetic bynames *Maycus* 1297, *Malcus* 1301, *Palcus* 1297 and one instance of *Wilcus* standing on its own (so it might be a forename or a byname).⁶⁶ I

⁶⁴ For the documentary references see under **Amecus** in the Appendix.

⁶⁵ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Emblem.

⁶⁶ I am indebted to Dr George Redmonds and the late Mr Peter Wilkinson for alerting me to these examples.

have also come across additional instances of *Maicus* 1202 (a Lincolnshire forename), *filius Malcus* 1194 (Norfolk), *filius Aichus* mid-twelfth-century (Yorkshire), *Aycus* 1275 (a Huntingdonshire byname) and *Ancus* 1327 and 1332 (spelled *Anecos*, a Warwickshire byname).⁶⁷

There are many uncertainties of interpretation to be resolved, not least the question of whether the stock these names belong to is mainly insular (Old English and Old Scandinavian) or mainly continental (Old French and Middle English). What we need are instances of prosoponymic variation, in which the same person or members of the same family are alternatively named with a known baptismal name that corresponds to the *-cus* name. Adam *Alcus* is mentioned in documents of the 1280s as a former villein in Cossall (Nottinghamshire), so he could be identical with Adam son of Alice, who in similar documents of the early-to-mid-thirteenth century is also referred to as a former tenant in Cossall. However, the tenancy references are too vague to offer any proof.

The only certain instances are of *Edith* alias *Edecus*. *Edith* (Old English *Ēadg* /ð) happens to be the one woman's name of Old English origin that continued in general currency well beyond the early 1200s. It was still quite popular in the late-fourteenth century.⁶⁸ It therefore doesn't tell us which name-stock the other names in *-cus* are most likely to belong to. Most of them are bynames, which might be hereditary, and the definite forename examples are all dated around 1200, so the dates when they are recorded don't help us in pointing to one name-stock rather than the other.

For a majority of examples a good case can be made for the Anglo-Saxon name-stock. Besides *Edecus* the following names could be explained in terms of known Old English protothemes: *Adcus* (Ēad-), *Alcus* (Ealh-), *Ancus* (Ēan-), the Yorkshire *Emcus* (HΣm-), *Maicus* (MΣg-), *Ricus* (Rīc-) and *Wilcus* (Wil-). In addition we could derive *Palcus* from the same base that appears in Old English *Pælli*. That leaves only *Aicus* and *Malcus* unaccounted for, as well as the Dyffryn

⁶⁷ For the full range of forms and documentary references for the names cited in this paragraph see under each name in the Appendix.

⁶⁸ See note 14 above.

Clwyd *Amecus/Emecus*, which, as a current forename in the early 1300s, is much more likely to be from Old French *Ameline/Emeline* than from an unrecorded Old English feminine name in *HΣm-*. The situation for the Yorkshire surname, (*filius*) *Emc(h)us*, is somewhat different. Since Medieval Latin *filius* can sometimes signify ‘grandson’ or even ‘great-grandson’ in administrative translations of surnames, this surname might recall an eponymous ancestor who was alive in 1200 or even earlier, which means that an Old English personal name becomes a more realistic possibility.

The alternatives to Old English etyma are names from the continental stock. All except *Edcus* can be explained in terms of Old French name forms (including those from the Scriptures) and their Middle English variants: *Adam*, *Aie* (a short form of names like *Aymer*), *Alice* (or *Alan* or *Alexander*), *Ameline*, *Aneis* (Agnes) or *Anabel* (a variant of *Amabel*), *Emme* (Emma) or *Emeline* (a variant of *Ameline*) or the masculine name *Emery* (a variant of *Amery*), *Ma(y)heu* (Matthew), *Mall* (Maud), *Paul* (with *au* > *a*, giving *Pal-* as in *Palecok*), *Ricard*, *William* and *Wy*, a Northern Old French form, more familiar to us in the Central French (i.e. francien) form, *Guy*. The mix of masculine and feminine names hypocorised with the same suffix is characteristic of continental practice.

It is unlikely that every example in my list contains the suffix *-cus*, since there are other ways of analysing the forms in some instances. *Malcus*, for example, could represent the New Testament name *Malchus* (John 18:10). A more general point of doubt arises from the formal ambiguity of final *-us*. One source of this is the early Middle English hypocoristic suffix *-us*, normally affixed to women’s names of Old English or Old Scandinavian origin. I think *Ricus* is probably better explained in this way, as a pet-form of an Old English feminine name in *Rīc-*, such as *Rīcmæge*.⁶⁹ Possibly *Alcus* could be similarly explained in terms of a woman’s name in *Ealh-*. By far the commonest source of *-us* in the medieval recording of male names is the Latin nominative ending. The Lincolnshire forename, *Maicus*, and one possible forename, the Yorkshire example of *Wilcus* (standing on its own,

⁶⁹ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, snn. Rickmay and Richmay.

but it could be a byname), occur in subject position and could be latinisations of Middle English *Maike* and *Wilke*. For the rest, however, a Latin masculine nominative ending would be grammatically incorrect. Scribes make mistakes, but an erroneous ending is very unlikely when (as is the case with most of these names) the same person or members of the same family are so named on different occasions by one or more scribes.

The etymology of *-cus*

Morphologically the suffix looks like a double diminutive, *-k-us*. I have already mentioned early Middle English *-us* in connection with *Ricus*. Other examples recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries include *Aldus*, *Edus* and *Godus*, which appear to have been standard pet-forms of Old English dithematic women's names beginning in *Eald-*, *Ēad-* and *Gōd-*. In Yorkshire similar names like *Ingus* and *Langus* probably derive from Old Scandinavian feminine names such as *Ingiríðr* and *Langlífr*. In his discussion of this name formation Smith remarks that 'the origin of the suffix is obscure, but in all probability it is a spontaneous hypocoristic formation current chiefly in the north-east midlands'.⁷⁰ As his own material illustrates there were also many women's names in *-us* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Yorkshire, while Reaney and Dodgson provide a few additional examples from Cheshire, Worcestershire, Buckinghamshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.⁷¹ In Old English terms the distribution is Anglian and it could be that this is an unrecorded Old English suffix related, perhaps, to /s/ suffixes in Continental Germanic names.

On the present evidence the distributions of *-us* and *-cus* names are remarkably similar, chiefly north-east midlands and Yorkshire but with some outliers in the rest of the midlands, to the west, south and east. That perception might change when the personal names of other

⁷⁰ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Part V, English Place-Name Society, 34 (Cambridge, 1961), 45.

⁷¹ Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Aldiss and Edis; J. McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, Part V (I: ii), English Place-Name Society, 54 (Cambridge, 1981), 416, s.n. Edus.

counties have been explored as extensively as those of medieval Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, but as things are at the moment the case for linking *-cus* with *-us* looks persuasive. It follows that if *-cus* names were fully modelled on *-us* names then they, too, would have been pet-forms of women's names. It means that *Edecus* would have been interchangeable with *Edus*, and corresponding forms in *-us* would probably have existed for names beginning *Ad-*, *Em-*, *Wil-* and so on. Seen in this light, *-cus* belongs with other Old English double diminutives that have /k/ as their first element.

I like the simplicity and coherence of this explanation and it may be the right one, even though the earliest example, mid-twelfth-century *Aichus*, looks like a pet-form of an Old French name such as *Aimer*, and one of the latest, early-fourteenth-century *Amecus/Emecus*, probably belongs to an Old French name like *Ameline*. To explain these apparent anomalies we could suppose that during the course of the twelfth century *-cus* was sometimes transferred from Old English feminine names to Anglo-French names, both feminine and masculine. The suffix was thereafter given a further lease of life in Middle English names generally.

On the other hand, the transfer of an English hypocoristic suffix to names of the Anglo-French stock is exceptional, and in view of the apparent morphological similarity between *-cus* and *-cok* we would probably need to argue the same exception for both suffixes. Moreover, all the *-cus* forms are explicable as hypocorisms of Middle English names derived from the Anglo-French name-stock, supplemented only by *Edith*, which was a rare survivor of the mostly obsolete Old English stock. The alternative is therefore to suppose that *-cus*, like *-cok*, was originally coined for use with Anglo-French rather than native English names. Its currency as a live suffix in fourteenth-century north Wales also requires an explanation in terms of Middle English onomastic practice after 1250. Indeed, on the evidence of *Amecus/Emecus* we should expect to find examples of *-cus* belonging to some of the commoner Middle English feminine names, such as *Alice*, *A(g)nes*, *Emma* and *Maud*, all of which are possibly represented here. Women's names are poorly evidenced in medieval records compared with men's names so, although the corpus of names in *-cus* is too small

to bear much statistical weight, it is surprising that around half the names appear to be women's. Perhaps *-cus* forms were generally commoner among women's names just as *-cok* forms seem to have been commoner among men's, a legacy of the presumed origins of these suffixes in earlier English *-oc* and *-us*.

Which of these alternative interpretations of *-cus* gets nearer the historical truth is a question that will not be settled without more evidence, especially in the form of prosoponymic variants, where the same person is identified by different versions of the same name. The first alternative, that *-cus* (and probably *-cok*, too) were English inventions for native English names, deserves more attention than I have given it but, given the scope of the present paper, I want to focus on the implications of the second alternative, which assumes that both *-cus* and *-cok* originated as suffixes for hypocorising the new names that were introduced from the continent after the Norman Conquest.

In spite of Flemish and Picard liking for double diminutives based on /k/ and the presence of /s/ suffixes in the pet-names of Flanders and north-eastern France, there is no evidence for *-cus* in the onomastic literature of the near continent. Like *-cok* it must have been coined in England. Considered together, *-cok* and *-cus* look like twin forms, the former incorporating an Old English masculine suffix, the latter a corresponding feminine suffix. If their primary function was to hypocorise Anglo-French names, then they were probably fashioned in imitation of Middle Dutch *-kin*. The differences between them are that *-cok* was in widespread use, particularly (but not exclusively) with men's names, and it was extremely popular to the end of the medieval period, whereas *-cus* was more limited in its geographical distribution, was possibly commoner with women's names, and seems to have been much less popular. Oliver Padel suggests to me that one factor in the contrasting frequencies of *-cok* and *-cus* could have been the under-representation of women's names in medieval records.

I have no definite examples of a *-cus* forename in fourteenth-century England. In north Wales, however, forenames in *-cus*, like those in *-kin*, appear to have been used in the English communities of early-fourteenth-century Dyffryn Clwyd, as we have seen in the women's names *Amecus* and *Edecus*. From the late 1380s men's

names in *-cus* also appear in northern Welsh documents but they probably belong in the main to Welsh speakers, to judge by the onomastic contexts in which they occur. The commonest examples are *Jencus* and *Jonkus* (both pet-forms of *John* or *Ieuan*) and *Deicus* (a common pet-form of *Dafydd*), and they continue to be well-evidenced throughout the fifteenth century and beyond.⁷² These pet-forms are comparable to *Edkin*, *Jenkin*, *Jonkin* and *Da(i)kin*, which are similarly recorded both in medieval England and in medieval north Wales,⁷³ so it looks as though the source of Welsh *-cws*, like *-cyn*, was English.

An alternative view is offered by T. J. and Prys Morgan, who think that Welsh *-cws* had a native derivation modelled on Welsh *-cyn*. As I understand it, their argument presupposes that Welsh *-cyn* could have been an indigenous suffix which coexisted with English *-kin* but was not derived from it. Welsh *-cws* was then created out of *-cyn* by substituting Welsh *-ws* for Welsh *-yn*. The Morgans accept that *Jenkin* and *Jonkin* (but not *Deicyn*) were probably borrowed from Middle English but argue that ‘having become part of the Welsh system, they produce *Iencws*, *Ioncws*’.⁷⁴ However, they were not aware of the evidence for Middle English *-cus*, which suggests that Welsh *-cws* was probably a borrowed suffix. So too does the phonology. Oliver Padel points out to me that a Welsh suffix would be expected to begin with a lenited consonant, which initial /k/ in *-cyn* and *-cws* is not. He concludes that the phonology of the two suffixes ‘seems foreign to native Welsh patterns, and this makes it seem likely (to me) that they were suffixes that had been borrowed into Welsh’.⁷⁵

We have already noted that in the 1307 lists of bakers in the Dyffryn

⁷² For examples see under these names in the Appendix and also in T. J. and P. Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 84 and 137–38.

⁷³ See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. *Edkin*, *Jenkin*, *Jonkin* and *Daykin*, and for *Edkin*, *Jenkin*, *Jonkin* and *Deicyn* in Wales see under **Edecus**, **Jencus**, **Joncus** and **Deicus** in the Appendix. See also O. J. Padel, ‘Names in *-kin* in medieval Wales’, in *Names, Time and Place. Essays in Memory of Richard McKinley*, edited by D. Hooke and D. Postles (Oxford, 2003), pp. 117–26.

⁷⁴ *Welsh Surnames*, p. 93.

⁷⁵ From a personal communication which Dr Padel has generously allowed me to paraphrase and quote from.

Clwyd Court Rolls *Edecusa* daughter of Jordan is also called *Edekyn*. These paired forms from north Wales—*Edkin* and *Edcus*, *Jenkin* and *Jencus*, *Jonkin* and *Joncus*, *Deicyn* and *Deicus*—offer a paradigm for similar sets in medieval England. *Adcus* can be paired with *Adkin* (a pet-form of *Adam*), *Alcus* with *Alkin* (for *Alice*, *Alan* or *Alexander*), *Maicus* with *Maikin* (for *Maiheu*, i.e. *Matthew*), *Wilcus* with *Wilkin* (for *William*) and so on. These names and their pet-forms point back to the Anglo-French culture of Norman and Angevin England that formed the basis for Middle English naming practices after 1250. Although I can't be sure that the corpus of *-cus* names I have assembled is entirely homogeneous, it looks as though it achieves a more comprehensive fit with the continental model than with the insular. In other words the group of people who remodelled *-us* into *-cus* were practitioners of an Anglo-French anthroponymy.

3. The social origins of *-cok*, *-cus* and the 'kinship of *Jack*'

I am assuming that the apparently similar morphology of *-cok* and *-cus* is not accidental and that they were coined in similar circumstances by much the same kinds of people. From a linguistic point of view *-cok* and *-cus* could be wholly English in composition, invented initially for use with Old English masculine and feminine names respectively but, by the mid-twelfth century, beginning to be transferred to Anglo-French names of either gender. That being so, we would need to ask why *-cok* and *-cus* were transferred (the former with exceptional frequency) whereas *-oc* and *-us* were not. The answer could be that the English associated *-cok* and *-cus* with Anglo-French *-kin*, because of the similarity in shape and sound, and so they came to use these particular native suffixes as alternatives to *-kin*. If this is what happened then it appears to have been an exception to the general rule. None of the attested Old English hypocoristic suffixes seem ever to have been used to make pet-forms of Anglo-French names. There are, however, occasional examples of the reverse process, where an Old French diminutive suffix has been added to an Old English personal

name.⁷⁶ The reason for this is probably a social one. In Norman and Angevin England the Old French names and their French pet-forms were borne by those associated with social influence and prestige under the new régime, while the Old English names, and not least their hypocoristic forms, were eschewed by the Normans and their followers, and may have come to be seen among normanised English as tokens of subjugation and social exclusion.

An alternative view is to think of *-cok* and *-cus* as supplementary to the continental suffixes. Modelled on *-kin* they will have been invented for use with the continental name-stock and, like continental suffixes, they will occasionally have been transferred to Old English names. As such they would be more accurately described as hybrid formations, combining Middle Dutch *-k-* with the native English *-oc* and *-us*. The problem with this interpretation is to account for the motivation. If the English were disinclined to use existing English hypocoristic suffixes with French names, why would they invent two new ones, double diminutives at that, which unmistakably advertised their Anglo-Saxon origin? For a twelfth-century Englishman the social advantages of bearing a 'Norman' christian name would be embarrassingly compromised by the addition of an English hypocoristic suffix, old or new. For similar reasons it is unlikely that Flemings in England, whose social aspirations were francophile, would have coined either of these suffixes for use among themselves. To Norman ears, the Englishness of *-cok* and *-cus*, together with their resemblance to Flemish *-kin*, can only have signified that the bearers of such names were not 'one of us'. The uncomplimentary resonances of *-cok* and *-cus*, when used with French personal names, lead me to wonder if they were invented by Normans, not for use towards their own kind, but to mock and belittle those English who, in increasing numbers during the twelfth century,

⁷⁶ Some examples in Domesday Book are noted by O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), pp. 125–26. A possible later instance occurs in the byname of William *Pymmot* 1308, *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem relating to Nottinghamshire*, Thoroton Society Record Series, 4, edited by J. Standish (Nottingham, 1914), p. 230, where *Pymmot* looks like a diminutive of Old English *Pymma* with Old French suffix *-ot*.

bore 'Norman' names.⁷⁷

It is difficult to be sure when the evidence is so sparse and lacking in social context but, if I am right in treating *-cok* and *-cus* as an etymological pair, they seem to me to belong to a pattern of new hypocoristic usage in twelfth-century England which also involves the invention of rhyming pet-forms, such as *Hikke* and *Hicche* for *Ricard* and *Richard*, and the transfer of *-kin* names to the English. I argued in Part I of this paper (pages 97–98) that the rhyming pet-forms may have been coined by Normans to ridicule the way English townsfolk adopted (and pronounced?) Norman names. Similarly twelfth-century Normans may have employed the *-kin* pet-forms so beloved of the Picard and Flemish bourgeoisie as an onomastic put-down for those whose origins, speech or manners marked them out in Norman eyes as social inferiors.

The principal theme of this paper has been the influence of Flemish and Picard hypocoristics on Middle English pet-forms. It is a curiously uneven picture. The huge success of *-kin* in England was unmatched by any of the Old French suffixes, and I have suggested that it provided a model for the coining of *-cok* and *-cus*. *Jakke* became the commonest pet-form of *John*, a christian name so exceedingly popular that it was borne by forty per cent of the male population in some parts of late-fourteenth-century England.⁷⁸ By contrast other Middle English names in *-ke* (such as *Wilke*, a pet-form of the second most frequent name after *John*) are recorded only sporadically, while definite instances of names in *-man* and *-cot* are rare and some suffixes well evidenced in Flanders and Picardy, such as *-card*, *-quet* and *-coul*, have not so far been found in England at all. The extreme disparity here between the exceptionally popular and the pretty rare, with nothing in between, is puzzling. It is the high frequency of *Jakke* and the *-kin* names, especially among ordinary folk, that is so unexpected, for it is out of all proportion to the numbers and social influence of the Flemings and

⁷⁷ See C. Clark, 'Onomastics', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, II, 1066–1476, edited by N. Blake (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 542–606 (pp. 558–59).

⁷⁸ See Redmonds, *Christian Names in Local and Family History*, pp. 30–31.

Picards who settled or traded in post-Conquest England.

Of course, the social group that had most impact on Middle English personal names was that of the Normans, and the answer to our puzzle may lie with them. It is their possible role in the creation and promotion of particular hypocorisms that forms the second theme of my argument. I am suggesting that their liking for ridicule and onomastic put-down led them to select certain elements of Flemish, Picard and English onomastic practice for this purpose, and specifically for informally addressing urban non-Normans who sported 'Norman' christian names, whether they were burgesses, artisans, servants or apprentices. During the late-twelfth century such pet-forms would then have become increasingly current amongst the townsfolk themselves in the way that nicknames so often become accepted by their recipients. Following the adoption of Anglo-French names among the peasantry, the usage probably spread to the rural communities during the course of the thirteenth century. The English peasantry made these hypocorisms their own, and together with their wholesale assimilation of Norman christian names it marks the culmination of Anglo-French influence on English naming practices.

Appendix

A repertoire of personal names in *-cus* in English and Welsh medieval records

Adcus: *Will'o adcus*, *Adcus* (Wollaton, Nottinghamshire) 1327, 1332 Subsidy Roll.⁷⁹ Either a pet-form of *Adam* (cf. Middle English *Adkin* and *Adcok*) or a derivative of an Old English feminine name in *Ēad-*.

Aicus: *Ricardo fil' Aichus* [c.1145 x 1166] 14th–15th c. *Yorkshire Charters*;⁸⁰ *Ada fil' Aykus de Lund* (Lound, Nottinghamshire) 1275 *Rotuli Hundredorum*;⁸¹ *Thom' Aycus*, cottar of Sawtry, Huntingdon-

⁷⁹ PRO, MSS E179 159/4, m.1 and 159/5, m.4.

⁸⁰ Cited in G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968), p. 77, s.n. Eykr.

⁸¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 2 vols (London, 1812, 1818), II, 307, col. 1. The printed

shire, 1279 *ibid.*⁸² It looks like a pet-form of Old French *Aie* (masc. or fem. < Continental Germanic *Ago*, *Aga*), a short form of names like *Aymer*.⁸³ Cf. *Matheo fil' Aye* (St Ives, Cambridgeshire) 1291.⁸⁴ Fellows Jensen suggests that *fil' Aichus* represents Old Norse *Eykr* and that 'the -us must be the nom. ending in error',⁸⁵ but this seems unlikely in the light of the new evidence presented here.

Alcus: Adam *Alcus* or *Alkus* (former villein in Cossall, Nottinghamshire) [1280, 1285 (dat. case), 1305–06, 1308] 1344 Newstead Cartulary;⁸⁶ *de Rob' Alcus* (Barton in Fabis, Nottinghamshire) 1327 Subsidy Roll;⁸⁷ *Ric'm et Will'm Aukus* (Stanford, Nottinghamshire) 1289 Assize Roll.⁸⁸ On the pattern of Middle English *Alkin* and *Alcok* this would be a pet-form of a name in *Al-* such as *Alice*, *Alexander* or *Alan*. Perhaps, therefore, Adam *Alcus* of Cossall could be identical with Adam son of Alice, former tenant in Cossall occurring in undated charters probably from the early- to mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁹ Alternatively *Al-* reflects an Old English prototheme such as *Æðel-* or *Ealh-*. Another possibility is that *Alcus* derives from an early Middle English **Alhus*, which would be a pet-form of a woman's name in *Ealh-* extended by the hypocoristic suffix *-us*. *Aukus* is a vocalised form of *Alcus*, but it may alternatively be read as *Ankus*, for which see **Anecus** below.

Amecus (also **Emecus**): *Amecusa*, a brewer, Great Court of Ruthin,

form is a correct transcription from the MS.

⁸² *Ibid.*, II, 661, col. 1.

⁸³ See Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England*, pp. 15–16, s.n. Aia, and Morlet, *Noms de personne*, I, 22, s.nn. Aga and Aggus. For *Aymer* see Forssner, *op. cit.*, p. 16, and Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Aymer.

⁸⁴ Publications of the Selden Society, 23 (London, 1908), p. 45.

⁸⁵ *Scandinavian Personal Names*, p. 77.

⁸⁶ *Newstead Priory Cartulary, 1344, and Other Archives*, edited by D. Gray, Thoroton Society Record Series, 8 (1940), pp. 61 (item 42), 73 (item 65), 49 (item 21) and 52 (item 26) in order of dating.

⁸⁷ PRO, MS E179 159/4, m.15.

⁸⁸ PRO, MS Just 1/671.

⁸⁹ *Newstead Cartulary*, p. 60 (item 41) and p. 63 (item 46).

1306, Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls GC1/96,⁹⁰ *Emecus*, a brewer, same court, 1307, GC1/219, *Amecusa braciatrix*, same court, 1311, GC1/249, *Amecos* (wife of Richard), a brewer, same court, 1312, GC1/437, Richard *Amecus*, a brewer, same court, 1313 GC1/502 (perhaps intended as a reference to *Amecus* wife of Richard), *Amecous*, a brewer, same court, 1314 GC1/799, *Amekous braciatrix*, a brewer, same court, 1314 GC1/1008, *Emcous* (wife of Richard), a brewer, same court, 1316 GC1/1093, *Emecous* (wife of Richard), brewer, same court, 1316 GC1/1108; *Emecusa de Lanmurrok* (claims breach of covenant), Llanerch Court, 1313 Llan 1/417–18. From the variation in *Am-* and *Em-* spellings, it looks like a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Ameline* or *Emeline*, diminutive forms of Continental Germanic names in *Amal-*. See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Emblem, and Morlet, *Les noms de personne*, I, 34b. For further discussion see **Emcus** below.

Anecus: *Ric'm et Will'm Ankus* (Stanford, Nottinghamshire) 1289 Assize Roll;⁹¹ [*de*] *Ric. Anecosen* 1327 (Clifford, Warwickshire), *Middle English Nicknames, Warwickshire*; [*de*] *Ric. Anecos* 1332, *ibid.*⁹² *An(e)-* may represent the Old English prototheme *Ēan-* or a short form of Old French, Middle English *Ane(i)s* (Agnes) or Middle English *Anabel*, a variant of Old French *Amabel*. *Anecos(en)* is probably an Anglo-French spelling of *Anecus(en)*, the final *-en* being the weak genitive singular that typically replaces *-es* in the West Midlands.⁹³ *Ankus* can alternatively be read as *Aukus*, for which see **Alcus** above.

Deicus (or **Dicus**): *Dicus Bagh*, Ruthin town, 1389 Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls, B/264; *Dicus ap Mewric*, Ruthin town, 1389 *ibid.* B/324–25; *Dicus ap Einion Pannour*, Colion commote, 1389 *ibid.* B/1614; *Deykus* son of John *Colynson*, Ruthin town, 1390 *ibid.* B/682, D/50;

⁹⁰ For referencing of the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls see n. 52.

⁹¹ PRO, MS Just 1/671.

⁹² I. Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire*, *Studia Anglistica Upsaliensis*, 63 (Uppsala, 1987), p. 226.

⁹³ See *ibid.*, Appendix III, pp. 226–29, for numerous instances of possessive forms of baptismal names ending in *-en*, including prosoponymic variants such as *Mogge/Moggen* and *fil. Thome/Tommen* (p. 228).

Dafydd ap Madog *Loyt*, otherwise called *Deykus Hyr*, Llannerch commote, 1390, *ibid.* B/1457; *Deykus Gogh*, Llannerch commote, 1390, *ibid.* B/1574; *Deykus Bagh*, Colion commote, 1390, *ibid.* G/20; Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Dafydd *vocatus Dykus Duy*, juror in court of whole lordship, 1396, *ibid.* C/432; *Dykus Hunte*, Ruthin town, 1396, *ibid.* D/3767; *Gruffudd ap Dafydd = Gruffudd ap Dakin = Gruffudd ap Deicws*, e15th c., *Welsh Surnames*, p. 82.⁹⁴ Welsh *Deicws* is a pet-form of Welsh *Dafydd* (David), with Middle English *-cus* added to the Welsh short form *Dei*. Theoretically the whole name could be a borrowing or adaptation of a Middle English **Daycus*. Cf. Welsh *Deicyn* and Middle English *Daykin*.⁹⁵ *David*, though pretty infrequent in most parts of medieval England, was quite popular in late-fourteenth-century Shropshire, for example, and perhaps also in other counties bordering Wales.⁹⁶

Edecus: *Edecusa* (daughter of Jordan), baker, Ruthin Great Court, 1306, Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls GC1/95, *Edecusa*, baker, Ruthin Great Court, 1307, *ibid.* GC1/217 = *Edekyn* (daughter of Jordan), baker, Ruthin Great Court, 1307, *ibid.* GC1/119; *Edecusa* (fined for absconding from harvest duty), Ruthin Great Court, 1313, *ibid.* GC1/742; *Edecusa* (wife of *Ionkin messor*), brewer, Ruthin Great Court, 1313, *ibid.* GC1/502 and 738 = Edith (wife of John *le Haiward*), landholder, Ruthin Great Court, 1314, *ibid.* GC1/930; *Edcus de Wendlok* [Wenlock, Shropshire] brewer, Ruthin Court, 1342, *ibid.* 2/137,⁹⁷ *Etkus de Wenloc*, commote of Colion, 1342, *ibid.* 2/69, *Etkus*

⁹⁴ For numerous other examples of *Daicws*, *Deicws* and *Dacws* see T. J. and P. Morgan, *Welsh Surnames*, p. 84.

⁹⁵ For Welsh *Dai*, *Dei*, *Deicyn* and *Deicws* see *Welsh Surnames*, s.n. Dafydd (pp. 82–84). For Middle English *Day* (also *Dey*) and *Daykin* see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Day and Daykin, where they interpret *Daykenus judaeus* 1275 (Rutland) and *Daykin de Wich* 1290 (Cheshire), as diminutives of *David*. This is likely enough at these dates. Late-fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Middle English *Dakin* may also be a variant of *Daukin*, a pet-form of *Ralph*, but this is self-evidently not the case with *Gruffudd ap Dakin*.

⁹⁶ See Redmonds, *Christian Names*, pp. 31, 34, 174 and 176.

⁹⁷ Roll 2, record no. 137, in the database record prepared as part of the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project.

le Hooster, Ruthin Court, 1344, *ibid.* 4/856, *Etkus* [surname missing], brewer, Ruthin Court, 1345, *ibid.* 5/1570 = Edith *de Wenlok*, brewer, Ruthin Court, 1344, 1345, *ibid.* 5/1542 and (involved in breach of the peace) 487–90; Ieuan ap *Etkus* 1345, *ibid.* 5/270. A pet-form of Middle English *Edith* (Old English *Ēadg*^h*ð*). For *Edekyn* as a pet-form of *Edith* see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Edkins, and cf. Edith, also called *Ethkin*, daughter of Adam *Sutor*, Ruthin Court, 1345, Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls, 5/185.

Emcus: *Adam filius Emchus* (Dalton, West Riding, Yorkshire) 1297 *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy 25 E1*, p. 59;⁹⁸ *Johannes Emcus, Robertus Emcus* (Dalton, West Riding, Yorkshire) 1379 *Poll Tax Returns*;⁹⁹ *Thomas Emcus* (Whiston, West Riding, Yorkshire, 1379 *ibid.* (p. 31). If it is a man's name, *Emcus* could be a pet-form of Old French *Emaurri*, Middle English *Emery*. If it is a woman's name, it might be derived either from the common *Emma*, Old French, Middle English *Emme* or *Em*, or else from Old French, Middle English *Emeline* (a diminutive of Continental Germanic names in *Amal-*). This last name accounts for the variation between *Emecus* and *Amecus* in the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls; see **Amecus** above. Only for the Yorkshire *Emc(h)us* can we realistically consider the possibility of an Old English (feminine?) name in *HΣm-* (cf. the Old English masculine names *HΣmgils* and *Hemma*, though neither is evidenced after the Conquest). In surname formulae Medieval Latin *filius* can signify 'grandson' or indeed any male descendant, which allows the eponymous *Emcus* to have been living around 1200, just before the Old English name-stock largely disappeared.

Jencus: *Hol' ap Jenkos, Hoel ap Iencous* 1429 *Welsh Surnames*, p. 138; *Iencus Goch*, no date *ibid.*; *Jenkws ap Gronwy ap Iorwerth* 1350 x 1415 *ibid.* Middle English *Jen* < Old French, Middle English *Jehan* (John), with Middle English *-cus*. Cf. Middle English *Jenkin*, which

⁹⁸ *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy, Being a Ninth Collected in 25 Edward I*, edited by W. Brown, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 16 (Leeds, 1894).

⁹⁹ 'Rolls of the Collectors in the West-Riding of the Lay Subsidy (Poll Tax) 2 Richard II, Wapentake of Strafforth', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 5 (1879), 1–51 (p. 8).

was also popularly used among the Welsh, as in *Gruf ap Ievkyn* (for *Jenkyn*), cited *ibid.*, p. 138.

Joncus: *Ionkus* ap Ieuan Duy, Colion commote, 1390, Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls G/14, 27 and 35, *Ionkus* (also *Ionkys*) ap Ieuan Duy, Ruthin town, 1392, *ibid.* C/150, *Iockus* (also *Ionkus*) ap Ieuan Duy, Colion commote, 1390, *ibid.* B/1801, 1823 and 1833; *Gruffydd ap Jonckws*, *Hywel Jonckws*, no date, *Welsh Surnames*, p. 138; *Yockus ap Meurig* 1406 *ibid.*, p. 137. Old French, Middle English *Johan*, *Jon* (John), with Middle English *-cus*. Cf. Middle English *Jonkin* (Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Jenkin), which also appears in Welsh patronymic sequences (*Welsh Surnames*, pp. 137–38). The denasalised form *Iokus*, like *Iokin* for *Ionkin*, may be a specifically Welsh adaptation (see *ibid.*, p. 137 and McClure, ‘The kinship of *Jack*: I’, 102–03 and n. 29), but its origin is not known for sure.

Maicus: *Maicus de Leuerton* 1202 *Lincolnshire Assize Roll*;¹⁰⁰ *Alanus Maycus* (Stainforth, West Riding, Yorkshire) 1297 *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy 25 E1*, p. 59. Perhaps a pet-form of *Matthew*, Old French *Maheu*, Middle English *Mayheu*; cf. Middle English *Maykin*. However, the 1202 example might be a latinisation of Middle English *Maike*, for which see McClure, ‘The kinship of *Jack*: I’, 104. Alternatively *Maicus* could be a pet-form of an Old English feminine name in *MΣg-*.

Malcus: *Petrus filius Malcus* 1194 (Norfolk) *Rotuli Curia Regis*;¹⁰¹ (oath sworn by) Richard *Malcus* of *Welhagh* (Wellow, Nottinghamshire) 1323 *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*¹⁰² = *Ric’o Malcus* (Wellow) 1327, 1332 *Subsidy Rolls*;¹⁰³ *Bartholomeo Malcus* (Coulton and Cawton North Riding, Yorkshire) 1301 *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy 30 E1*, p. 47.¹⁰⁴ It could be a pet-form of Old French *Mahald*, Middle English

¹⁰⁰ *Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls*, edited by D. M. Stenton, Lincolnshire Record Society, 22, p. 61.

¹⁰¹ *Rotuli Curia Regis*, 2 vols (London, 1835).

¹⁰² *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem relating to Nottinghamshire, 1321–1350*, edited by T. M. Blagg, Thoroton Society Record Series, 6 (Nottingham, 1939), p. 58.

¹⁰³ PRO, MS E179 159/4, m.7 and 159/5 m.3.

¹⁰⁴ *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy, Being a Fifteenth, Collected 30 Edward I*, edited by W. Brown, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record series, 21 (Leeds, 1897).

Mald, Maud; cf. Middle English *Malkin* and the discussion of Middle English *Malke* in ‘The kinship of *Jack*: I’, 104. The New Testament name *Malchus* (John 18:10) is another serious possibility.

Palcus: *Waltero Palcus* (Weaverthorpe, West Riding, Yorkshire) 1297 *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy 25 E1*, p. 146. Perhaps a pet-form of *Paul*; cf. Middle English *Palcok* and the discussion of that name above (p. 11). Otherwise it could be a rhyming pet-form of *Mall* (see **Malcus** above) or, since there is an Old English monothematic name *Pælli* on record,¹⁰⁵ a pet-form of an Old English feminine name with the same base.

Ricus: Robert son of *Ricus* (Bishop Cropwell, Nottinghamshire) [1271, mid/late 13th c.] e14th c. *Thurgarton Cartulary*¹⁰⁶ = *Roberto Ricus* (Cropwell) 1298 *Lenton Priory*,¹⁰⁷ *Rob'to Rycus* (Cropwell Bishop) 1332 Subsidy Roll;¹⁰⁸ (oath sworn by) Ralph *Rykus* 1279–80 *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*¹⁰⁹ = (oath sworn by) Ralph *Rycous* of *Crophill* (Cropwell) 1297 *ibid.*, p. 143. Perhaps a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Ric(h)ard* or some other Continental Germanic name in *Ric-* used by the Normans such as *Richere* (masc.) and *Richild* (fem.). But it is more likely to be an *-us* extension of an Old English feminine name in *Rīc-*.

Wilcus: (nom. case) *Wilcus* (Gt Studley) 1297 *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy 25 E1*, p. 21; *Emma filia Wilc[us]* (Gringley on the Hill, Nottinghamshire) 1296 Court Roll;¹¹⁰ *Orand Wilcus* 1296 *ibid.*, *Orand Wylcus* 1296, (x 3) 1297 *ibid.*, *oranda filia Wilcus* (Gringley) 1297 x 1307

¹⁰⁵ See M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), p. 136.

¹⁰⁶ *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, edited by T. Foulds (Stamford, 1994), pp. 127–28, item nos. 208, 209, 210.

¹⁰⁷ *Lenton Priory Estate Accounts 1296–1298*, edited by F. B. Stitt, Thoroton Society Record Series, 19 (Nottingham, 1958), p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ PRO, MS E179 159/5, m.10.

¹⁰⁹ *Inquisitiones Post Mortem, 1279–1321*, Thoroton Society Record Series, 4, p. 8.

¹¹⁰ PRO, MS SC 196/4. The MS form is *Wilc9*, where 9 is the usual abbreviation mark for *-us* (though usually as a Latin ending).

Rental,¹¹¹ *Horanda filia Wilkus* (Gringley) 1297 Extent;¹¹² Roger Wyleconsesone (misreading of *Wylecousesone*?) 1332 (Sussex), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Wilkinson. A pet-form either of *William* (cf. Middle English *Willet*, *Willin*, *Wilkin*, *Wilcok*, etc.) or of an Old English feminine name in *Wil-*, such as *Wilburh*. Middle English *William* is usually masculine but is occasionally found as a woman's name; see Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England*, p. 257, s.n. Willelma.

Wycus: *Henr' Wycus* (Mansfield, Nottinghamshire) 1295 Court Roll.¹¹³ Perhaps a pet-form of Middle English *Wy* (Old French *Wy* and *Guy* < Continental Germanic *Wido*). According to Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Wyatt, *Wy* and *Guy* had Middle English diminutive forms *Wiet*, *Wiot* and *Giot*. They also give prosoponymic evidence for *Wiot* as a pet-form of *William*, so *Wycus* might be for *William*, too, in which case *Henr' Wycus* could be linked with *Henr' fil' Will'i* of Sutton (Mansfield) 1291–92, 1294–95 and 1297 Rentals.¹¹⁴ Alternatively the base could be Old English *Wīg-*.

¹¹¹ PRO, MS SC 12/13/72.

¹¹² PRO, MS SC 11/534, m.2.

¹¹³ PRO, MS SC 2/196/10.

¹¹⁴ PRO, MSS SC 2/196/8, SC 11/537 and SC 2/196/10.