

# The Kinship of *Jack*: I, Pet-Forms of Middle English Personal Names with the Suffixes *-kin*, *-ke*, *-man* and *-cot*

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Shortly before 1250 the process was more or less completed by which insular (Old English and Old Norse) personal names were largely displaced by names introduced by Normans and their followers from the near continent, such as Bretons, Flemings and Picards.<sup>1</sup> In origin the new name stock was partly Continental Germanic, of a West Frankish type, partly Romance (including many saints' names) and partly from the Biblical languages, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek (via Latin), not to mention some lesser contributions from Scandinavian and Celtic languages. All the names were expressed in Old French form and they came with ready-made hypocorisms or pet-forms, usually consisting of a short form of the name compounded with a diminutive suffix. The majority of the suffixes were Old French, too, such as *-in*, *-on*, *-un*, *-el*, *-et*, *-ot*, and the double diminutives *-inet*, *-elin*, *-elet*, and (Northern Old French) *-chon*, as we see in names like *Robin*, *Betun*, *Marion*, *Simonel*, *Jonet*, *Annot*, *Adinet*, *Tommelin*, *Perelet* and *Huchon*.<sup>2</sup> The Middle English suffix *-y* in pet-forms like *Addy* may be a variation of *-in*. In addition there is a small

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1For the sources and forms of Middle English baptismal names see C. Clark, 'Onomastics', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, II, 1066-1476, edited by N. Blake (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 542-606.

2For the forms and their interpretations see 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.nn. Robins, Beeton, Marion, Simmonite, Janet, Annatt, Adnet, Tomlin, Parlett, Hutchin.

## NOMINA 26

but significant Germanic component, chiefly but not exclusively Flemish, and it is this group that I want to discuss in this paper.<sup>3</sup> The best known of them is the common suffix *-kin* that we find in pet-forms such as *Wilkin*, and I hope that a comparison with Belgian and Northern French surnames will shed some additional light on the provenance of this suffix and its transmission into Middle English. I shall then set out the Middle English evidence for three other hypocoristic suffixes: *-ke* (of which the prime example is *Jakke*), *-man* and *-cot*, each of which is well documented in Northern France and/or Flanders but whose use in post-Conquest England has not been fully recognised. In Part Two of the paper I shall consider whether two Middle English hypocoristic suffixes of uncertain etymology and provenance, the hitherto unknown *-cus* and the well-known *-cok*, might be similarly attributable to Flemish or Franco-Flemish influence on Anglo-French and Middle English naming practices.

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<sup>3</sup>This is a revised version of two papers given to conferences of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland at Bangor in 2000 and York in 2001. I am indebted to Prof. Peter King, University of Hull, for providing me with English translations of some Dutch publications and to Dr Brian Levy, University of Hull, for advice on Old French and Anglo-French linguistics.

## 1. The suffix *-kin*

This suffix is not found in Old English, so its appearance in post-Conquest England, even when compounded with short forms of Old English personal names, must be owing to its introduction from either Low German or Middle Dutch. It is usual to attribute Middle English use of *-kin* to the influence of the many Flemings who settled in England, especially in the eastern counties. P. H. Reaney observes that some of the earliest examples of *-kin* are names of Flemings, citing *Derechin* 1158 (Essex), *Derekin del Acre* (a Fleming living in Castle Acre, Norfolk) 1197, and *Lambekyn Flandrensis* 1178.<sup>4</sup> He remarks that:

this supports the common view that the suffix was brought from the Netherlands but there seems to be no concentration in the east, whilst *-kin* names were common in Cheshire at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

It may seem surprising that *-kin* names are no commoner in the east than in the west of England, as is another of Reaney's observations, that 'compounds which can be proved to be purely Flemish in origin [such as *Derekin*] are rare'.<sup>6</sup> The pattern of distribution may in part reflect influence from immigrants other than Flemings and Brabanders. Merchants bearing such names from the Baltic Sea coast and North Germany also appear in the English records, and, even more to the point, merchants from north-eastern France, where the adoption of Flemish *-kin* (conventionally re-spelled as *-quin*) produced a large number of pet-forms such as *Hankin*, *Jankin*, *Perkin* and

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<sup>4</sup>Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary of British Surnames*, p. xxxix, and P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), p. 214.

<sup>5</sup>Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, p. xxxix.

<sup>6</sup>Reaney, *Origin*, p. 216.

## NOMINA 26

*Wilkin* that became common in Middle English.<sup>7</sup> As Reaney points out, the most telling fact about Middle English use of *-kin* is that it is almost exclusively compounded with names of Old French form, just the same range of names as are compounded with the Old French suffixes I mentioned in the opening paragraph.<sup>8</sup>

Reaney's explanation for this is that by the time *-kin* was fully absorbed into English personal name practices the Middle English name stock had become almost entirely French in character, and that *-kin* was then freely used to form new compounds. During the early decades of the thirteenth century most English children at all levels of society were being baptised with names of the French type, while evidence for the widespread use of *-kin* pet-forms, especially among the lower classes, is not plentiful until after 1250, its period of greatest frequency being the second half of the fourteenth century. On the other hand the chronological disjunction may be more apparent than real. The recording of vernacular pet-forms was largely dependent on the whim of individual clerks in a period when it was normal to render all personal names in conventional Latin forms. Increasing evidence for *-kin* compounds from the latter half of the thirteenth century and through the fourteenth could be partly due to the expansion in the number and social range of documentary records as well as a growing tendency among scribes to be less assiduous in latinising personal names when used as bynames.

I wonder if there is a further reason for the overwhelmingly French character of *-kin* compounds in medieval England. The Flemings were greatly influenced by French culture, and the Picard form of Northern Old French was the preferred language of discourse both within Flemish courtly society and in social, commercial and military relationships with the French and with the Normans. The onomastic consequence of this can be seen

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<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 215.

## MCCLURE

in the widespread use in Flanders of Northern Old French (Picard) forms of personal names, including wholly French pet-forms with suffixes like *-in*, *-ot* and so forth, as well as pet-forms with Middle Dutch *-kin*.<sup>9</sup> Looking through Frans Debrabandere's *Etymological Dictionary of the Surnames of Belgium and North France* I am struck by the degree of correspondence there is between *-kin* surnames of this Franco-Flemish derivation and those that occur in England. Examples include *Bodkin* (*Boidekin*), *Dankin*, *Filkin*, *Gilkin*, *Hankin*, *Hipkin*, *Jankin* (*Jenkin*, *Jonkin*), *Jeffkin*, *Lambkin*, *Lorkin*, *Marykin*, *Perkin*, *Potkin*, *Rankin*, *Roskin*, *Salkin*, *Silkin*, *Simkin*, *Tomkin*, *Walterkin* and *Wilkin*.<sup>10</sup>

This list covers only those *-kin* pet-forms that happen to survive as modern surnames. It is not unlikely that Flemish or Picard forms once existed for some of the other *-kin* names that occur in England, such as *Adkin* (Adam), *Alkin* (Alexander, Alan or Alice), *Badkin* (Baldwin or Bartholomew), *Batekin* (Bartholomew), *Benskin* (Continental Germanic *Benzo*, Old French, Middle English *Benze*), *Cassekin* (Cassandra), *Elkin* (Ellis or Ellen), *Herbekin* (Herbert), *Hukin* (Hugh), *Idekin* (Continental

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<sup>9</sup>See E. Vroonen, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille de Belgique* (Brussels, n.d.), I, pp. 98-99.

<sup>10</sup>For the Middle English forms see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, under these name forms, though my interpretation is different for *Bodkin* (a pet-form of *Baldwin*, but which Reaney treats as a nickname), for *Gilkin*, which is a pet-form of *Giles* or *Gilian*, rather than Old Norse *Gilli*, which was surely obsolete by the mid-thirteenth century, and for *Hipkin*, which is a pet-form of *Hildebert* (*Hibbert*) not *Herbert*. For the continental names see F. Debrabandere, *Verklarend Woordenboek van de Familienamen in België en Noord-Frankrijk* (Brussels, 1993), snn. Boutkens, Dannequin, Filkin, Gillekens, Hanniken, Janquin, Jennekens, Jefkenne, Lammekens, Lorquin, Maroquin, Pirkin, Potgens, Renkin (Picard *Ranquin*), Roosjen (Rosquin), Salkin, Silkens, Simkens, Thomkin, Wautrequin and Willekens. The *Woordenboek* does not indicate the full regional distribution of these names, so I cannot be sure that all of these names occurred in medieval Flanders.

## NOMINA 26

Germanic *Ida*), *Lovekin* (Old French *Loup, Louve, Love*), *Ludekin* (Continental Germanic \**Hludowic*, Middle English *Ludewic*), *Malkin* (Middle English *Mald, Maud* from Northern Old French *Mahald*, i.e. Matilda), *Ma(y)kin* (Matthew, Old French *Maheu*), *Pollekin* (either Paul, Middle English *Poul, Polle*, or a rhyming form of Middle English *Molle*, pet-form of *Maud, Moud*), *Sankin* (Samson, Old French, Middle English *Sanson*; cf. the attested Picard surname *Sanquin?*), *Sessekin* (Cecily) and *Watkin* (Walter, Northern Old French *Wauter, Water*, with which compare Middle Dutch *Woitkin*, implying a Picard form \**Watequin*). I don't want to overstate the case. Resemblances in form between names found in Belgian and English dictionaries of surnames may sometimes belie significant differences in etymological or onomastic history. Moreover, any of the names I have listed may have been independently formed or re-formed in England.

There are good reasons for believing that *-kin* was a living suffix in post-Conquest England. Several very common compounds of the type *Dawkin* (also probably *Hawkin*), *Hobkin* and *Hodgekin*, which are diminutives of *Ralph, Robert* and *Roger* respectively, are derived from rhyming forms of Continental Germanic *R-* names, a hypocoristic device for which there is no parallel, it seems, either on the continent or in pre-Conquest England.<sup>11</sup> *Hobbe* first appears in a Pipe Roll of 1176, the forename of a man with an English byname (*Lite!*), while the first known occurrence of *Hobekin* is in a Curia Regis Roll dated 1224.<sup>12</sup> Although this type of pet-name is commonly found among fourteenth-century peasants, it occurs much earlier in town records, and it may well have been the competitive, close-knit urban communities of Norman England, among whom nicknaming certainly

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<sup>11</sup>See Reaney, *Origin*, pp. 154–55, and for *Dawkin* and *Hawkin* see P. McClure, 'The interpretation of hypocoristic forms of Middle English baptismal names', *Nomina* 21 (1998), 101–31 (pp. 124 and 130).

<sup>12</sup>Reaney, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Hob, Hopkin.

## MCCLURE

flourished, that invented this intimate way of playing with personal names. It is probably no coincidence that rhyming verse was introduced to England under Norman and Angevin royal patronage, and it is a remarkable fact that the earliest example in Europe of each of the new rhymed verse genres is Anglo-French.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the rhyming pet-forms were originally coined by Normans to ridicule the way English townsfolk adopted (and pronounced?) Norman names, and thus put these would-be Normans in their place. Similarly, the Normans may have employed the *-kin* pet-forms beloved of the Picards and Flemings as an onomastic put-down for those whose origins, occupation or manners marked them out in Norman eyes as social inferiors. This would help to explain the subsequent widespread occurrence of *-kin* pet-forms among ordinary English people and their relative infrequency at higher levels of society.

One *-kin* compound that is definitely based on an English name is *Edekin*, a pet-form of *Edith*, as is proven by *Etkin* daughter of Adam Sutor, who is also called *Edith* or *Ethkin* in the 1345 Court Roll of Dyffryn Clwyd.<sup>14</sup> Middle English *Edith* can only represent Old English *Ēadgǫð*, one of a handful of Anglo-Saxon personal names that remained in general use throughout the medieval period. Others include *Ēadmund* and *Ēadweard* (Middle English *Edmund*, *Edward*, which could also have been hypocorised as *Edekin*), and *Ōsweald* (Middle English *Oswald*), which may be one source of *Osekin*, first recorded as a forename in 1274,<sup>15</sup> although the more usual source is more likely to

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13I owe this point to Dr Brian Levy of the University of Hull.

14My thanks to Oliver Padel for drawing my attention to this instance from the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Rolls, Public Record Office (PRO), Special Collections (SC) 2/217/6—2/218/3; the reference in the database record prepared as part of the Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Project is 2/5/185.

15See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hosken, where *Osekin* is attributed less convincingly to Old English *Ōsgōd* or *Ōsmr*, which were probably obsolete by the mid-twelve hundreds.

## NOMINA 26

be one of the Norman personal names *Osbern*, *Osbert*, or *Osmund*.<sup>16</sup>

A small but significant number of Middle English *-kin* compounds appear, therefore, to be exclusively Anglo-French or Middle English in composition. A much larger number correspond to that corpus of *-kin* names that was common to both Flanders and north-eastern France. Were they imported from the continent or were they coincidentally re-created in England? There is no way of telling, and the two explanations are not mutually exclusive. Coupled with the fact that distinctively Flemish compounds (of which there were large numbers in Flanders) were rare in England, it does suggest that the culture in which this type of name initially flourished in England was itself predominantly French. Furthermore, if the distribution of *-kin* names in England does not reflect the known patterns of Flemish settlement, then others besides Flemings must have been involved in the suffix's diffusion. I wonder if continental Normans might have picked up the usage from their Picard neighbours, as they did some Picard forms of baptismal names like *William* and *Ricard*. Certainly we can point to the presence of Picards and Artesians in post-Conquest England, some as 'Norman' lords (with their dependants and households), others as merchants dealing in the lucrative cloth and dye trades, and there is no doubt that Anglo-French was influenced by Picard speech.<sup>17</sup> By one means or another, it seems probable that *-kin* was current in some sections of Anglo-French society, especially in business circles, before

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16Cf. K. S. B. Rohan, *Domesday People: a Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166*, I, *Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 314-19, and Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, snn. *Osbert* (where the examples point to Anglo-French, Continental Germanic *Osbert*), *Osborn* and *Osmond*.

17See Rohan, *Domesday People*, I, pp. 40-41 and 60-61; and M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with Special Consideration of Anglo-Norman* (Manchester, 1934), p. 453, §1200.



## MCCLURE

it passed more generally into English, and that it was dispersed by the movements of merchants and craftsmen, of whatever ethnic origin, around the urban network. This is a somewhat speculative interpretation of what happened, but it gets some support from the early compounds with what appear to be Anglo-French rhyming pet-forms and I think that some such explanation is required to account not only for the wide use of *-kin* in Middle English but also for the three Middle English hypocoristic suffixes which I shall consider next, *-ke*, *-man* and *-cot*.

### 2. The suffix *-ke*

Names ending in *-ke* have received little attention, being treated as occasional Middle English contractions of names in *-kin* and *-cok*. There is some justice in this view. Although some, like *Jakke* and *Wilke*, are recorded as forenames as early as the twelfth century, others such as *Danke*, *Gilke* and *Jenke* are so far attested only in fifteenth- or sixteenth-century surnames,<sup>18</sup> while *\*Perke*, which is implied in the modern surname *Perks*, is not yet evidenced in any pre-modern documentation. Nonetheless, the early forms deserve a closer look, particularly as Middle English *Jakke* is exceptionally common and its etymology not immediately obvious.

#### **Jakke**

This is without question a Middle English pet-form of *John*. It is witnessed as such in 1414 by a Canterbury monk, who illustrates the English habit of varying Christian names with the example 'pro Johanne Jankin sive Jacke'.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Danks, Gilkes, Jenks.

<sup>19</sup>Quoted in J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (eds), *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1989), s.v. Jack, and in E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1977), s.n. Jack.

## NOMINA 26

Prosoponymic variants offer earlier proofs. Bardsley cites John or *Jacke le Warner* 1275 (Norfolk) and John or *Jakke de Bondec* 1275 (Buckinghamshire) and Reaney adds *Jake* or John *de Coventre* 1292, 1300 (London).<sup>20</sup> A Nottinghamshire example is *Ad[am] Jac* 1295 Wheatley Court Roll,<sup>21</sup> *Ad[am] Jake* 1296 *ibid.*, who is identical with *Ad[am] fil[ius] Joh[annis]* 1297 *ibid.*<sup>22</sup> There are even earlier instances of *Jack* than these, but because they lack prosoponymic support they run into the objection that they may represent Old French *Jacque(s)*, a contraction of Romance and Latin *Jacobus* and also of Picard *Jakeme(s)* from late Latin *Jacomus* (whence Northern Old French and Middle English *James*). This leads us to the vexed question of the origin of *Jack*, which has long been a source of debate.

Some have believed that the formal similarity of *Jack* to *Jacque(s)* points to its real etymology as an Old French form of *James*, and that the transferred use of *Jacque(s)* or *Jake(s)* as a pet-name for *John* was a peculiarly English semantic change.<sup>23</sup> Others have adopted E. W. B. Nicholson's explanation that *Jack* was a late Middle English shortening of *Jackin*, a dissimilated form of *Jankin*, the common Middle English pet-form of *Jan* 'John'.<sup>24</sup> This is surely nearer the mark but relies on a sound change that is otherwise unknown in English. In 1956 a Belgian

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20C. W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (London, 1901), s.n. Jack (I have corrected the dates from 1273 to 1275); Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Jack.

21Wheatley Court Rolls, PRO, MS SC2/196/96 (December 19, 1295).

22PRO, MS SC2/196/96 (November 26, 1296; January 14, April 22, August 12, 1297).

23For example, M. A. Lower, *Patronymica Britannica* (London, 1860), s.n. Jack, and G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland, Their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York, 1946), s.n. Jack.

24See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Jack, Withycombe, *Dictionary*, s.n. Jack, and Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Jack, citing E. W. B. Nicholson, *The Pedigree of 'Jack' and of Various Allied Trades* (London, 1892), s.n. Jack.

## MCCLURE

scholar, J. Lindemans, published prosoponymic evidence that *Jakke* was a pet-form of Northern Old French *Jan* (< *Jehan* < Latin *Johannes*) in early-fourteenth-century Flanders and early-fifteenth-century Artois.<sup>25</sup> He explains the development by reference to Flemish *Haket*, *Haquinot* and *Hakart*, which also appear to be pet-forms of *Jehan* through denasalisation of the common Picard pet-form *Hanke* to *Hake*, to which Romance suffixes have then been added. *Hanke* is either a contraction of *Hankin* or an extended form of *Han* with the Middle Dutch suffix *-ik* (Continental Germanic *-ico*). Lindemans proposes that *Jakke* arose by a similar denasalisation of *\*Janke*.

I find Lindemans' suggestion that Picard-Flemish *Jakke* is the source of Middle English *Jakke* very persuasive. Like pet-forms in *-kin*, *Jakke* as a pet-name for *Jan* or *John* was widely used throughout medieval England and offers further support to the view that Anglo-French was the disseminating *lingua franca* by which Picard-Flemish naming practices spread generally into Middle English. It follows that we should be able to find evidence for it in the late twelfth century or early thirteenth, when *-kin* names first occur in English records. I think we probably have it in *filius Jake* 1195–97 (Cornwall), *filius Jacce* 1218 (Lincolnshire) and the diminutive forms *Jakin* 1202 (Essex), *Jakelinus* 1219 (Yorkshire), both of them forenames, and *Jagard* 1194 (Wiltshire) and *Jacun* t. Henry III (Essex), which occur as bynames.<sup>26</sup> Formally, however, any of these might alternatively derive from *Jacque(s)*, as may *Jaket*, which is first recorded as a Sussex byname in 1296,<sup>27</sup> but the onomastic context is less favourable to this interpretation. *Jacobus* is found in medieval England from the mid-twelfth century onwards, but the name was

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25J. Lindemans, 'Haket en andere oude diminutiefvormen van Johannes', *Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde*, 32 (1956), 105–112.

26See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Jack, Jacklin, Jaggard, Jakins. They assign all the early forms to *James*.

27See *ibid.*, s.n. Jackett.

## NOMINA 26

never very popular compared to the ubiquitous *Johannes* and its usual Middle English form was *Jame(s)* or *Gemme*, which would not have given rise to *Jakke*. *Jacques* and *Jakeme* definitely appear in the English records in the forenames *Jakes*, *Jakemin* (diminutive with *-in*) and *Jakemina* (feminine), and in one instance each of the pet-names *Jack*, *Jaketta* (feminine) and *Jacolin*, where the prosoponymy indicates either *Jacobus* or *Jakemina*.<sup>28</sup> The examples are few, mostly from London around 1300, and possibly represent names of French immigrants. There is no evidence to suggest that the pattern of usage in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was significantly different from that in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when *Jakke* and its diminutives were occasionally used for 'James' but predominantly for 'John'.

### **Hanke, Luke, Maike, Malke, Moke, Nemke, Samke, Silke, Wilke**

In view of the origin of *Jakke*, we might expect to find evidence for other *-ke* hypocorisms in the early English records. *Maike*, *Samke*, *Silke* and *Wilke* appear in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, while *Hanke*, which according to Lindemans is common in medieval Picardy and West Flanders, is first recorded in the late thirteenth. These may, like *Jakke*, be imported pet-forms, but *Luke*, *Malke*, *Moke* and *Nemke* are more likely to be *ad hoc* Middle English shortenings of names in *-kin* or *-cok*, a practice which may similarly have been introduced from the continent. I have not included Scottish *Jock*, which on the available evidence seems to be a dialect pronunciation of *Jack* rather than directly derived from a parallel Northern Old French *\*Jokke* (< *\*Jonke* < *Johan* + *-ke*), whose existence cannot be inferred with complete certainty either on the continent or in medieval England.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>See *ibid.*, s.nn. Jack, Jackaman, Jackett, Jacklin.

<sup>29</sup>Withycombe, *Dictionary*, s.n. Jack, suggests that Scottish *Jock* relates to Middle English *Jonkin* as *Jack* does to *Jankin*, but Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.nn. Jaeken, Janquin, attributes

## MCCLURE

None of these *-ke* pet-forms was used with anything like the frequency of *Jakke*. The evidence for them is presented below in alphabetical order, followed by a brief etymological discussion.

**Hanke:** *Hank' carpentarius* 1280 Oseney Cartulary (Oxfordshire), cited in Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hanke, cf. *Hankynus* 1285 Oseney Cartulary, *ibid.*; Roger *Hanke* 1275 (Norfolk) *ibid.* Cf. the modern surname *Hanks* and the Flemish prosoponyms *Hancke de Helefaut* 1278 = *Johannis decani de Helfaut* 1268 (West Flanders), cited in Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. Hanck. This is a pet-form of Old French (Picard) *Jan, Jehan*.

**Luke:** *Luke de Nettelton* (of Raistrick, West Riding of Yorkshire) 1308 = *Lovecok de Nettelton* 1309, cited in *Surnames and Genealogy*, p. 48,<sup>30</sup> where Redmonds also associates 'a messuage called *Loweakeshows*' in Hepworth (in Holmfirth), 1550, with *Lovekoc de Wlvedale* (Wooldale in Holmfirth), 1275, John of *Loukes* of *Wlvedale*, 1316, and William *de Loukes* of Holmfirth, 1360. He interprets *de Loukes* as signifying 'of Louke's (house)' and *Luke, Louke* and *Loweke* as short forms of *Lovecok*. This is not a pet-form of Old English *Lufa*, as suggested in Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Lowcock, but of Old French, Middle English *Lou, Leu, Love* (< Latin *Lupus, Lupa*), which has several diminutive forms, including *Lovet, Lovot, Lovel, Lovekin* and *Lovecok*.<sup>31</sup>

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Flemish *Jock* and *Jonquin* to a dialect pronunciation of *Jack* and *Janquin*. Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Jukes and Juggins, interpret occasional examples of the Middle English bynames *Jock* (1279), *Jokke* (1327) and diminutives *Jokin* (1275) and *Joket* (1332) as pet-forms of Middle English *Jukel, Jokel* < Old Breton *Judicael*. Welsh *Yockyn* (also spelled *lokyn*), a pet-form of *John*, might be derivable from a Middle English *\*Jokin*, but T. J. and Prys Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff, 1985), p. 137, think this unlikely because the initial vowel is /j/ not /dz/.

30G. Redmonds, *Surnames and Genealogy: a New Approach* (Boston, Mass., 1997).

31Old French *Lou(p)* was used as both baptismal name and

## NOMINA 26

**Maikē:** *Maicus de Leuerton 1202 Lincolnshire Assize Roll*;<sup>32</sup> *Gilebertus filius Maikē* (Coddington, Nottinghamshire) c.1250 *Newark Docs*, pp. 24 and 29;<sup>33</sup> *Robertus filius Maiki* (Coddington) c.1250 *ibid.*, pp. 27 and 42. It has been suggested that the 1202 *Maicus* might be a form of *Maccus*, a name of uncertain origin used by Irish Vikings and found in pre- and post-Conquest England.<sup>34</sup> The Coddington examples alternatively point to a latinised form of *Maikē*, which is probably a pet-form of Middle English *Maheu*, *Mayheu* < *Mahieu* (an Old French form of *Matthew*), either by addition of *-ke* to *Ma(y)-* or by shortening of Middle English *Maykin* and *Maycok*.<sup>35</sup> Some instances of Middle English *Mak(e)* may belong here, too. Cf. *Moke* below.

**Malke:** *Joh'e fil' Malk'* (Cotham, Nottinghamshire) 1327 Subsidy Roll, m.15.<sup>36</sup> Probably a shortening of Middle English *Malkin*, a common pet-form of *Mald* (Maud).

**Moke:** *Malg[er] fil[ius] Moche* c.1175 *Newark Docs*, p. 2;

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nickname. See M-T. Morlet, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1997), s.n. Loup, and cf. Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Lovat, Love, Lovekin, Lovel, Lovett and Lowcock, where most of the examples more plausibly attest the French personal name rather than Old English *Lufa* or *Lufu*. The variant *Leu*, as in the forename *Leucok* (1246) cited s.n. Lowcock, is a Picard form.

<sup>32</sup>*The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls A.D. 1202-1209*, edited by D. M. Stenton, Lincoln Record Society, 22 (1926), p. 159, item 965.

<sup>33</sup>*Documents relating to the Manor and Soke of Newark-on-Trent*, edited by M. W. Barley, Thoroton Society Record Series, 16 (Nottingham, 1955).

<sup>34</sup>See D. E. Thornton, 'Hey, Mac! The name *Maccus*, tenth to fifteenth centuries', *Nomina* 20 (1997), 67-98 (p. 88). The personal name *Macus* also occurs in Lincolnshire at about the same date as *Maicus*; see Stenton, *Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls*, item 358.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Mayhew, Makin and Maycock.

<sup>36</sup>PRO, Lay Subsidy Rolls, MS E179/159/4.

## MCCLURE

Ralph *Moke* 1243 (Somerset), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Mock; *Will's fil' Moke de Wiuelesthorp'* 1280 Assize Roll (Nottinghamshire);<sup>37</sup> *Moke Hermer* (deceased, of ?Mansfield Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire) 1287 Forest Proceedings;<sup>38</sup> *Henr' fil' Moke* (Mansfield Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire) 1291-92, 1294-95, 1297 Rentals;<sup>39</sup> *Mokke* (Sussex) 1296 Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Mock; *Ric'o Moke* (Cuckney, Nottinghamshire) 1327 Subsidy Roll, m.5; Robert *Mok'* (Yorkshire) 1331 Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Mock; John *Mokeson* (Bradfield, West Riding of Yorkshire) 1379, *Surnames and Genealogy*, p. 236, s.n. Moxon. Redmonds explains Yorkshire examples of *Moke* as short forms of *Mocok*, a name for which he has prosoponymic evidence that it was a pet-form of *Matthew*, Middle English *Ma(y)heu*.<sup>40</sup> We would expect *Ma(y)heu* to produce *Macok* or *Maycok* (cf. *Maik* above). *Macok* does indeed occur side by side with *Mocok* in the Holmfirth area and the variation is repeated in a Staffordshire example of 1323, one man being surnamed *Maycok* and *Moycok*.<sup>41</sup> The change of -a- to -o- is unexplained. It could be a playful variation of the vowel, comparable to the initial consonant substitution in rhyming pet-forms, or it might be by assimilation to the -o- of -cok. Cf. *Moggot* for *Maggot*, a pet-form of *Margery* and *Margaret*. It is not unlikely that some of the Nottinghamshire examples of *Moke* listed above have the same origin. Alternatively *Moke* might be short for *Morecok*, probably a pet-form of *Morice*,<sup>42</sup> while pre-1250 instances could represent Old English *Mocca* or a short form of Old Swedish *Morkar*, a

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37PRO, MS Just 1/666.

38PRO, Justices of the Forest, MS E32/127.

39PRO, Special Collections, MSS SC2/196/8, 10 and SC11/537.

40G. Redmonds, *Holmfirth: Place-Names and Settlement* (Huddersfield, 1994), p. 42; *idem*, *Surnames and Genealogy*, p. 236.

41See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Maycock.

42See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Moorcock.

## NOMINA 26

name used in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Newark.<sup>43</sup>

**Nemke:** tenement sometime of Robert *Nemkesone* (Nottingham), 1314 'Calendar', CA 1255/238,<sup>44</sup> 1316 Borough Court Roll, CA 1256;<sup>45</sup> *Marger'ia Nemk'*, *Nempk'* (Nottingham), 1308, 1311 *ibid.*, CA 1251b, 1253; *Leticia Nempke*, *Nemk'* (Nottingham), 1322, 1323 *ibid.*, CA 1257, 1258d. It looks like a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Emme*, with prosthetic *N-* to make a rhyming form.

**Samke:** William *Samke* (Suffolk) 1221, Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Sank*. This is probably a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Samson*, *Sanson*, a name not uncommon in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century England due to its popularity among continental Normans, Bretons and Flemings.<sup>46</sup> Cf. Middle English *Samkin*.<sup>47</sup> Reaney and Wilson somewhat unconvincingly explain

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43For *Mocca* see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Mock*. For *Morkar* see O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, *Nomina Germanica*, 3 (Uppsala, 1937), pp. 229–30. Earl Morcar held land near Newark in the time of Edward the Confessor. Cf. *Will[elmus] fil[ius] Morch[er] c.1175*, *Documents relating to the Manor and Soke of Newark-on-Trent*, edited by Barley, p. 4, and *Osbertus fil' Morker c.1250* [rather than 1225 × 1231 as suggested in the edition], *ibid.*, p. 17.

44'A Calendar of the Nottingham Borough Court Rolls, 1303–1455', edited by T. Foulds (unpublished), roll 1255, item 238. It forms part of the Nottingham Borough Court Rolls Project, for which see T. Foulds, J. Hughes and M. Jones, 'The Nottingham Borough court rolls: the reign of Henry VI (1422–57)', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 97 (1993), 74–87. I am grateful to Dr Foulds for permission to use material from the Calendar.

45Nottingham Borough Court Rolls, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, CA 1256.

46See Withycombe, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Sam(p)son*, Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Sampson*, Morlet, *Dictionnaire*, s.n. *Samson*, and Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. *Samson* (and cf. *Sanke*, *ibid.*, s.n. *Sancke?*).

47See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Sankin*, which they derive from *Samson*.



## MCCLURE

*Samke* as a hypothetical Anglo-Scandinavian pet-form of an Old Norse \**Sandúlfr* or *Sandi*, apparently compounded with *-kell*.

**Silke:** *Aedwardus Selke* (Somerset) 1170, Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Silk*; Adam *Silke* of *Holkam* c.1277, *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. *silke*;<sup>48</sup> *Johannes Selke* (Somerset) 1327, *ibid.*; William *Silke* (London) 1350, Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Silk*; John *Silk* (Wiltshire) 1353, *ibid.* This may be a pet-form of Middle English *Cecily*, *Cisely*. Cf. *Sely filia Nicholai* (Worcestershire) 1221, Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Sealey, and medieval Flemish *Selie*, *Cylie* for *Cecilia*.<sup>49</sup> Or it might be a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Sil-*, *Selvester* or *Sil-*, *Selvain*.<sup>50</sup> Forssner derives it from Continental Germanic *Salico*, a pet-form of names in *Sal-*,<sup>51</sup> while Reaney and Wilson treat it as an occupational byname for a dealer in silk (Old English *seolc*, Middle English *silk*, *selk*).<sup>52</sup> However, Middle English *Silkin*, *Selekin* and *Silcok*, *Selecok* give some credence to *Silke* and *Selke* as post-Conquest hypocorisms.<sup>53</sup>

**Wilke:** *Wilke Waterman* 1196 Merchant Gild Rolls, *Records of Borough of Leicester*, I, 12, 13;<sup>54</sup> *Wilke Ouernon* (quit of entry and hanse through all England) 1198, *ibid.*, I, 16; *Wilke furnur de Munsorel* [Mountsorrel, Leicestershire] 1225, *ibid.*, I, 27; *Wilke Mile filius Ricardi*

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48 *Middle English Dictionary*, edited by H. Kurath et al (Ann Arbor, 1956-2001).

49 Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. *Celie*. Perhaps also cf. *ibid.*, s.n. *Selke*, though it is given a different etymology.

50 See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n.n. *Silvester* and *Sauvain*.

51 T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (Uppsala, 1916), p. 222, s.n. *Salo*.

52 *Dictionary*, s.n. *Silk*.

53 See *ibid.*, s.n.n. *Silcock* and *Silkin*.

54 *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, edited by M. Bateson, 3 vols (London, 1895-1905).

## NOMINA 26

1226, *ibid.*, I, 29; *Wilke de Pailinton* [Pailton, Warwickshire] 1242–43 *ibid.*, I, 63; *Wylke de Chyrchele* 1246 (Lancashire), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Wilk*; *Wilke* 1286 (Cheshire), *ibid.*; Roger *Wylk* 1279 (Bedfordshire), *ibid.*; John *Wilkys* 1327 (Worcestershire), *ibid.*; Henry *Wylkeson* of Widmerpool (Nottinghamshire) 1391 *Nottinghamshire Inquisitiones Post Mortem, 1350–1436*, p. 117;<sup>55</sup> William *Wilkynsone*, juror for Tuxford (Nottinghamshire) 1352 *ibid.*, p. 1 = William *Willson*, Tuxford juror, 1354 *ibid.*, p. 4 = William *Wilkesone*, Tuxford juror 1354, *ibid.*, p. 11 = William son of William *de Tuxford*, juror, 1360, 1371, *ibid.*, pp. 46 and 65. The Tuxford example is prosoponymically identified as a pet-form of *William*, either by shortening of *Wilkyn* or by extension of *Will* by the suffix *-ke*. Debrabandere similarly explains the modern Belgian surname *Wilk(es)* as a variant of *Willeken(s)*.<sup>56</sup> Reaney and Wilson, however, interpret Middle English *Wilke* as a survival of Old English *Willoc*,<sup>57</sup> while Insley and Cameron suggest that it sometimes represents Old Norse *Vígleikr*.<sup>58</sup> Granted that a year or so either side of 1200 might not be too late for a Leicester inhabitant to bear an insular forename, a case can be made for these alternative etymons. On the other hand, the early instances of *Wilke* in Leicester belong exclusively to merchants, most of whom are likely to have been incomers (indeed *Wilke Overnon*, 1198, may have been a foreigner), and among whom continental names had become the general rule by the beginning of the thirteenth century. In such circumstances the forename of the Leicester merchant, *Wilke Mile filius Ricardi* (1226),

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55Abstracts of the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* relating to Nottinghamshire, 1350–1436, edited by K. Train, Thoroton Society Record Series, 12 (Nottingham, 1952).

56Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. *Willeken(s)*.

57Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Wilk*.

58See K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, II, English Place-Name Society, 64/65 (Nottingham, 1991), 148, s.n. *ad Wilkeflet* (early thirteenth cent.).

## MCCLURE

whose father and (?) grandfather bore continental names, is much more likely to have been a Franco-Flemish pet-form of *William* rather than either of the insular names.

### 3. The suffix *-man*

The following examples of forenames and patronymics point to the use of *-man* as a hypocoristic suffix to make pet-forms of Middle English personal names.

**Bateman:** *Bathemanus de Staunford'* 1222 (Rutland), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Bateman; *Bateman le Keu* 1267, *ibid.*; *Batman d'Appleton* 1313 (York) *ibid.*; *Batemannu[m] Hok' de Newerk'* 1280 Assize Roll (Nottinghamshire);<sup>59</sup> *Bateman Lem[er]yng'* (Nottingham) 1323 Borough Court Roll;<sup>60</sup> *Batemanno le Swynherd* 1336 *ibid.*;<sup>61</sup> *Rog[er]us fil' Bateman de Stretton* (Nottinghamshire) 1287 Forest Eyre Roll;<sup>62</sup> *Nich' fil' Bateman* (Mansfield, Nottinghamshire) 1315 Court Roll;<sup>63</sup> *Freisaunt Batemanson'* (Wilford, Nottinghamshire) 1332 Subsidy Roll.<sup>64</sup>

**Hikeman:** *Hikeman* 1279 (Oxfordshire), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hickman; *Hykemon Smert* 14th cent. (Worcestershire), *ibid.*; *Walt. Hykemons* (Billesley, Warwickshire) 1332 = *Walt. Hyken (ibid.)* 1327, *Middle English Nicknames, Warwicks.*, p. 30.<sup>65</sup>

59PRO, MS Just 1/666.

60Nottingham Borough Court Rolls, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, MS CA 1258d.

61*ibid.*, CA 1262.

62PRO, Justices of the Forest, MS E32/127.

63Mansfield Court Roll, 1315–1316, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives, MS DDP/17/1.

64PRO, Subsidy Rolls, MS E179/159/5, m.6. Freisaunt was probably the widow of *Gilb[er]to Bateman*, assessed in Wilford in the 1327 Subsidy Roll, E179/159/4, m.16.

65I. Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia, 63 (Uppsala, 1987).

## NOMINA 26

**Hugeman, How(e)man, Hueman, Hiweman, Huckeman:** *Hugeman de Assinton* 13th cent. (Suffolk), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Human; *Nicholaus filius Howemanni, filius Huemanni* 1252 (Huntingdonshire), *ibid.*; *Willelmus filius Howman* 1276 (Huntingdonshire), *ibid.*; *Matill' filia Hiweman* c.1248 (Wiltshire), *ibid.*; *Huckeman* 1181 (Yorkshire), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Huckman; *Hukeman de Moricebi* 1194 (Cumberland), *ibid.*; *Hucmon riding* 1259 (Lancashire), *ibid.*

**Pateman:** *Pateman Broin* 1407 (Scotland), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Pateman, cf. Jordan *Pateman* 1219 (York) and Peter *Patemon* 1275 (Worcestershire), *ibid.*

**Poteman:** *Nigellus filius Poteman* 1185 (Kent), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Potman; *Poteman de Rokesakere* 1258 (Kent), *ibid.*

Reaney explains *Bateman, Hikeman, Pateman* and *Poteman* (under the references given) as 'servant of a man named *Bate, Hick, Pate* or *Pott*', which are short forms respectively of *Bartelmew* (probably), *Rikard* (Richard), *Patrick* and *Philipot*, a diminutive of *Philip*. He believes that these occupational expressions came to be used as nicknames and then personal names, 'perhaps on the analogy of such names as [Old English] *Blaecmann, Dēormann*, etc.'<sup>66</sup> I doubt if *-man* in these names is a noun meaning 'servant'. Rather it is a hypocoristic suffix alternating with other Old French or Middle English suffixes such as we see in the comparable forms *Batin, Batun, Batekin* and *Batecok; Hikin, Hikun, Hicky* and *Hicok; Patin* and *Patun; Potin* and *Potekin*.<sup>67</sup> The prosoponymic alternation of the Warwickshire byname *Hykemons* with *Hyken* puts the matter beyond doubt, as *Hyken* is a typical West Midland equivalent of *Hykes*, with

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<sup>66</sup>Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Bateman.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, s.nn. Batten, Batkin, Badcock, Hicken, Hickey, Hickox (but with a different etymology to that given by Reaney), Patten, Potten and Potkin.

## MCCLURE

the weak genitive singular *-en* substituted for *-es*.<sup>68</sup> *Hykemon* is not an occupational byname, 'Hyke's servant', but a hypocoristic extension of *Hyke*. As for *Hugeman*, *Howeman*, *Hueman* and *Hiweman* Reaney and Wilson take them to be evidence for an unrecorded Old English \**Hgemann*. I doubt if *Hiwe-* is a reflex of Old English \**Hge-*, nor would Old English *-y-* give rise to *-u-* spellings in the Middle English dialects of Suffolk and Huntingdonshire, where the *Hu(g)e-* and *How(e)-* forms are documented. What we have is a pet-name for *Hugh* (Continental Germanic *Hugo*), which has a number of Middle English forms including *Huge*, *Howe* (a spelling for *Huwe*), *Hue* and *Hewe* (of which *Hiwe* is an alternative Anglo-French spelling). These *-man* forms belong with other diminutives of *Hugh*, such as *Huget*, *-in*, *-un*, *-elin*, *Howet*, *Hewet* and *Hukin*. *Huckeman* is left unexplained by Reaney and Wilson; I think it, too, is a pet-form of *Hugh*. In Anglo-French and Middle English contexts the forenames *Hugge* and *Hucke* would represent weak forms of *Hugo*,<sup>69</sup> hence the diminutive form *Huckel* and, if we take *-o-* as a spelling for */u/*, also *Hoget*, *Hoket* and *Hokyn*.<sup>70</sup>

The use of *-man* as a hypocoristic suffix has a long history in the West Germanic languages. Förstemann argues that while some Continental Germanic personal names ending in *-man* were probably dithematic, most were pet-forms of other names.<sup>71</sup> Lindemans points out that an interesting example occurs in *Karloman*, 'little Charles', a frequent name in the Carolingian dynasty

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68See Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames*, pp. 30–31.

69In other contexts *Hugge* and *Hucke* might alternatively be pet-forms of Old English *Ūhtrd*, as shown by Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Huck.

70For the forms see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Huckel, Hockett and Hockin, though they are explained there as Old English \**Ucca* and *Hocca* + Old French *-el*, *-et* and *-in*.

71E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch, I, Personennamen*, 2nd edn (Bonn, 1900), 1088–89.

## NOMINA 26

(seventh to ninth centuries) and which was borne, for instance, by the second son of Pipin II, presumably to distinguish him from the elder son, *Karel*, otherwise known as *Charlemagne*.<sup>72</sup> Similarly some Old English names in *-mann* may be genuinely dithematic and others may be hypocorisms,<sup>73</sup> in which case it is natural to suppose that Middle English use of hypocoristic *-man* could have derived from the Old English practice. There must be some doubt about this, however, since no other Old English hypocoristic suffix seems to have been added to names of post-Conquest introduction. It is more likely that the Middle English usage was adopted from Flanders and the neighbouring counties of the Southern Netherlands (Brabant, Limburg, etc.) where the practice was commonplace. There we see, for example, *Coleman* for *Nicolaus* and *Wauterman* for *Walterus*, both from the second half of the thirteenth century and proven by prosoponymic variation, and many other similar instances of common forenames suffixed with *-man*, such as *Hanneman* for *Jehan* (John) and *Hugeman* for *Huge* (Hugh).<sup>74</sup>

The fact that in England the earliest example of *Poteman* (1185) is more or less contemporary with the earliest example of *Potekin* (1166),<sup>75</sup> serves to emphasise the probable Flemish connection, as do the thirteenth-century instances of *Hu(g)eman* in both Flanders and in southern England. The occurrence of *Pateman* in Lowland

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72J. Lindemans, 'De familienamen op *-man*', *Mededelingen van de Vereniging voor Naamkunde*, 40 (1964), 6-32 (p. 18).

73See, for example, J. Insley, 'The study of Old English personal names and anthroponymic lexika' in *Person und Name. Methodische Probleme bei der Erstellung eines Personennamenbuches des Frühmittelalters*, edited by D. Geuenich, W. Haubrichs and J. Jarnut (Berlin and New York, 2002), pp. 148-76 (p. 165), where he explains Old English *Dudemann* as a hypocoristic form.

74See Lindemans, 'Familienamen op *-man*', pp. 19 and 20.

75William *Potechin*, cited in Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Potkin.

## MCCLURE

Scotland, where *Patrick* and its other pet-forms *Pate*, *Paton* and *Patin* were common, may also owe something to Flemish settlement there.<sup>76</sup> Compared with the other names, *Bateman* is unusually frequent. There are six instances in Nottinghamshire alone and no doubt there are many more to be found in other counties, suggesting that it may have become used independently as a Christian name. Some of these names may have been imported from the continent as ready-made pet-forms, but the combination of *-man* (and its West Midland variant *-mon*) with the rhyming form *Hike*, which was probably an Anglo-French coinage, confirms that it was a live suffix in post-Conquest England. One curious feature of the continental practice (from perhaps the twelfth century onwards) is the use of *-man* to make pet-forms of women's names, such as *Mariman* (Mary) and *Sarreman* (Sarah).<sup>77</sup> I have no definite evidence of a similar use in England, although both *Maryman*, *-mon* and *Saremon* occur as bynames in early-fourteenth-century Warwickshire.<sup>78</sup> They may, however, signify 'Mary's/Sarah's servant'.

To what extent *-man* was employed as a hypocoristic suffix in medieval England is not easy to determine. There are many *-man* names that might be interpreted as pet-forms of post-Conquest personal names but which are capable of alternative interpretations. Are the following forenames and patronymics Middle English hypocorisms or are they Old English personal names in *-mann*?

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<sup>76</sup>See Black, *Surnames of Scotland*, s.nn. *Pate*, *Paton* and *Patrick*. In his citation, s.n. *Paton*, of *Patein* or *Pateman Broin*, Black implies that *Patein* is a spelling of *Patin*, which would provide us with a useful piece of prosoponymic evidence, but the spelling is unusual and I wonder if *Patein* is an editorial misreading of *Patem'*, i.e. *Patem[an]*.

<sup>77</sup>See Lindemans, 'Familienamen op *-man*', pp. 22–23.

<sup>78</sup>See Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames*, pp. 216, 218 and 220.

## NOMINA 26

**Adiman:** *Adiman* 1204 (Yorkshire), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Addyman; it is explained there as 'Addy's servant' but as an independent personal name I think it must be either a pet-form of *Adam* (cf. Middle English *Addy*, *Adekin* and *Adecok*) or a modified form of Old English \**Ēadmann*, cf. *Ed(i)man* below.

**Dayman:** *Dayman Buntyng* 1221 (Cambridgeshire), *ibid.*, s.n. Dayman. Either a diminutive form of Middle English *Day*, which might be a pet-form of *David*, as Reaney suggests, or a rhyming short form of Old French names like *Raymond*, *Rainer*, *Raynold* and *Rainard* (cf. Middle English *Daykin*); or Old English \**Dægmann*.

**Ed(i)man:** *Ediman Cumin* 1295–97 (Northamptonshire), *ibid.*, s.n. Edman; *Edman' Diriuol* 1327 = *Edimannus Drituol* 1332 (Norfolk), Seltén, *Anglo-Saxon Heritage*, II, 69, s.n. *Ēadmann*;<sup>79</sup> *Edman' f. Willemi* 1327 = *Ediman f. Willelmi* 1332 (Norfolk), *ibid.* Either a Middle English pet-form of (originally Old English) *Ed-* names like *Edward*, *Edmund* or *Edith*, or an equivalent Old English \**Ēadmann* as Reaney and Seltén suggest, though the forms are unusually late for an Old English personal name to be still in use as a forename. Perhaps \**Ēadmann* survived into the fourteenth century through association with *Ēadweard* or *Ēadmund*, of which it was perhaps a pet-form. Seltén explains the variation *Edi-* as showing influence from Middle English *edi* (OE *ēadig*) 'wealthy, happy'. Cf. *Adiman* above?

**Litman:** *Litman de Clunton'* 1176 (Devon), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Litleyman, *Rogerus filius Litman* 1204 (Suffolk), *ibid.* Either a diminutive form of Middle English *Lete*, *Lite*, which may be a short form of Old French, Middle English *Letard* (Continental Germanic *Leuthard*) or *Letice* (Latin *Laetitia*), cf. Middle English *Lety*, *Lity* and *Litecock* (Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Litcook); or else Old English \**Lt(el)mann*, as suggested by

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79B. Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names, East Anglia 1100–1399*, II, Acta Regiae Societas Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 73 (Lund, 1979).



## MCCLURE

Reaney and Wilson, *ibid.*, s.n. Lilleyman.

The main problem in assessing the frequency of hypocoristic *-man* arises from the fact that most of our evidence for the vernacular forms of Middle English personal names is preserved in bynames that are asyndetic, that is without linking elements such as *filius* or *-son*. These are then open to different interpretations because of formal convergence between names of other origins. In addition to Old English personal names in *-mann*, Middle English *-man* commonly occurs in occupational compounds and sometimes in locative or other types of nickname. The following examples have all been explained in one or more of these ways in the secondary sources from which I have taken the Middle English forms.<sup>80</sup> Here I gloss them as possible hypocorisms.

**Bademan:** a voiced form of *Bateman* or a pet-form of Old French *Baudwin* or of a Continental Germanic name in *Bad-*, cf. Middle English *Badekin* and *Badecok*.

**Dikeman:** < Middle English *Dike*, a rhyming short form of *Rikard* (Richard). Cf. Middle English *Hikeman*.

**Henman:** < Middle English *Hen*, short for *Henry*, cf. Middle English *Henkin* and Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. Henneman(s).

**Heyman:** < Middle English *Hai*, *Hey* (Continental Germanic *Haio*), short for names like Middle English *Hain* (Continental Germanic *Hagano*), cf. Middle English *Heycok*.

**Loveman:** < Northern Old French, Middle English *Love* (Latin *Lupus*, *-a*), cf. Middle English *Lovekin*, *Lovecok*,

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<sup>80</sup>For the forms quoted below, their dates and alternative explanations see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Badman, Bodkin, Badcock, Dickman, Hickman, Henman, Henkin, Hayman, Haycock, Loveman, Lovekin, Lowcock, Lovett, Lovel, Palcock, Pearman and Perkin; also J. Jönsjö, *Studies on Middle English Nicknames, I, Compounds*, Lund Studies in English, 55 (Lund, 1979), p. 137, s.n. Palman.

## NOMINA 26

*Lovet, -ot, -el.*

**Palman:** < Middle English *Palle*, a pet-form of *Paul* or possibly a rhyming form of *Malle*, a pet-form of *Maud*, cf. Middle English *Palecok* and *Palcus*.

**Perman:** < Middle English *Per* (Peter), cf. Middle English *Perkin* and Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. Peerman.

Above all it is impossible on formal grounds to distinguish Middle English pet-forms in *-man* from bynames composed of a personal name and Middle English *man* 'servant'. Some Middle English bynames, such as **Gasman** (< Old French *Gace*, Continental Germanic *Watso*) and **Waleman** (cf. Middle English *Walecok*, < Northern Old French *Wale*, Continental Germanic *Walo*) are based on names that fell out of use during the medieval period,<sup>81</sup> but most of them are commonplace and require no comment, as for example **Matthewman, Stevenmon, Thomeman, Walterman** and **Willeman**.<sup>82</sup> Many names of this type are first recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which makes these more likely to be occupational surnames denoting someone's servant. All the definite evidence so far for Middle English *-man* as a hypocoristic suffix is from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

### 4. The suffix *-cot*

Some years ago, while looking through some editions of

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81See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Gassman, Wallman and Walcock.

82See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.nn. Matthewman, Tumman, Waterman and Willman; also Hjertstedt, *Middle English Nicknames*, p. 220, s.n. Steuenmon; and cf. the medieval Flemish personal names *Wauterman* and *Willeman* in Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.nn. Wouterman(s) and Willeman(s). It is possible that *Rog'o Wilman* (Gringley on the Hill, Nottinghamshire) 1327 Subsidy Roll (P. R. O., MS E179/159/4, m.5) is identical with *Rog'o fil' Willm'i* 1297 Gringley Extent (P. R. O., MS SC 11/534).

## MCCLURE

thirteenth- and fourteenth-century London records, I came across a woman called *Sarrecote*, presumably a pet-form of Middle English *Sarre* (Sarah). The reference was unfortunately lost during an office move, but I then happened on a similar forename, *Salcote*, in the Nottingham Borough court rolls, which seemed to confirm the existence of a Middle English hypocoristic suffix, *-cot(e)*. It is of Picard origin and belongs to a group of hybrid double suffixes, including *-quet* and *-coul*, in which Germanic *-ik-* has been extended by the addition of a French diminutive. The suffix was used in Picardy and Flanders to form pet-names like *Hanecot* (for Old French *Jehan*) and *Wilecot* (for Northern Old French *William*).<sup>83</sup>

It would be surprising if no other examples of Middle English *-cot(e)* were to occur, but although there are plenty of candidates it is difficult to establish unambiguous instances. Examples appearing as forenames and having the (probably less common) spelling *-cote* provide the only real certainty. Asyndetic bynames, like *Lovecote*, are often open to alternative etymologies, while forenames and bynames that have the more expected spelling *-cot* fall foul of a palaeographical ambiguity that makes *-cot* and *-kot* impossible to distinguish from *-coc* and *-koc*, which are variant spellings of the common hypocoristic suffix *-cok*. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards scribes so often write a *-c-* like a *-t-* and vice versa that there is no way of telling if what appears in printed editions as *-cot* or *-kot* are genuine examples of the suffix. For illustrative purposes I have opted for examples that happen to be printed, rightly or wrongly, as *-cot* or *-kot*. On the other hand some names printed with *-coc* or *-koc* may have been originally intended to represent *-cot*.

**Alcot:** John *Alkot* 1290 (Cheshire), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. *Alcott*, where it is suggested that it 'may

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<sup>83</sup>See Lindemans, 'Haket', pp. 108-10, and Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.nn. *Hancotte* and *Wilcot*.

## NOMINA 26

be a misreading of *Alkoc'*. Either way it is a pet-form of names like *Alice*, *Alexander* and *Alan*.

**Hanecot:** Henry *Havekot* (printed *sic*) 1275 (Norfolk), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hawkett. The -v- will be an editorial interpretation of a double minim in the manuscript and may be read as -n- instead of -u-.

*Hanecot* was a common pet-form of Old French *Jehan* in Picardy.<sup>84</sup> Reaney and Wilson explain the rare *Havekot* as a diminutive form of Old English *Hafoc* (with Old French -ot). Alternatively the intended form could have been *Hanecoc*, a fairly usual Middle English pet-name for either *Johan* or *Harry* (Henry).<sup>85</sup>

**Lovecot(e):** Richard *Lovecot* 1275 (Worcestershire). Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Lovecot; John *Lovecote* 1327 (Debden, Essex), *Place-Names of Essex*, s.n. Lovecott Fm;<sup>86</sup> John *Louecote* 1378 (Debden, Essex), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Lovecote. Perhaps a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Love* (cf. *Lovekin*, *Lovecok*, *Lovel*, etc.). Since it occurs as an asyndetic byname a topographical origin is another possibility, from an Old English *\*lufu-cot* 'love-house', as attested in the byname of John *ate Lovecot* 1300 (Surrey), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Lovecot. This compound might be the source of *Lovecott Farm* in Debden, Essex, with which Reaney and Wilson associate the family of John *Lovecote*. On the other hand, the farm name is not recorded earlier than the six-inch Ordnance Survey map and may have been named after the family rather than the other way round. The Worcestershire *Lovecot* of 1275 is less likely to have any connection with the Debden farm name. It may, however, be in error for *Lovecoc*.

**Salcote:** *Salcote le Taverner* 1359 × 1360 (Nottingham), 'Calendar', CA 1269/266. The comparable pet-name

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84Cf. *Johannes dictus Hanecote de Fiez* 1317 (Wallonia), cited in Debrabandere, *Woordenboek*, s.n. Hancotte.

85See Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Hancock.

86P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, English Place-Name Society, 12 (Cambridge, 1935), 524–25.

## MCCLURE

*Salekin* is assumed by Reaney and Wilson to be a man's name,<sup>87</sup> probably a diminutive of Old French, Middle English *Salomon*, but the context of the Nottingham court roll indicates that *Salcote* is the name of a woman. *Sal(le)* for *Sarah* is not known before the seventeenth century and may be a post-medieval form,<sup>88</sup> so it is perhaps a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Isald*.<sup>89</sup>

**Simcot:** Robert *Symcot* 1275 (Cambridgeshire), Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Simcock, where it is interpreted as an error for *Symcoc*. In either event it is a pet-form of Old French, Middle English *Simon*.

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<sup>87</sup>*Dictionary*, s.n. Salkin.

<sup>88</sup>See McClure, 'The interpretation of hypocoristic forms of Middle English baptismal names', p. 104, n. 14.

<sup>89</sup>For *Isald* see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary*, s.n. Issard, and for the loss of final *-d* cf. ME *Mal(le)* for *Mald* (Maud).