Some Common English Surnames, Especially those Derived from Personal Names

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One of the books in my possession is Family Names and Family History by David Hey (London, Hambledon & London, 2000). Some of the names he treats in this book are patronymics like my own (which also happens to be his wife's maiden name), but his emphasis is more on the distribution of names rather than their etymology, which is my own particular interest. So I turned to the English Department's library in the university to see what other books I could find, and was rewarded by discovering what must surely be one of the most exhaustive and comprehensive recent books on the subject: A Dictionary of Surnames, by Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges (Oxford University Press, 1988; hereinafter referred to as H&H). There were also two other less copious works: The Penguin Dictionary of Surnames, by Basil Cottle (London, 1978), and an old, dilapidated copy of Surnames of the United Kingdom, Vol. I (A-L), by Henry Harrison (London, Eaton Press, 1912). In addition, there are two other sources quoted by Hey: P.H. Reaney, The Origin of English Surnames (London, 1967), and, with Peter McClure, "Nicknames and Petnames: Linguistic Forms and Social Contexts", and "The Interpretation of Hypocoristic Forms of Middle English Baptismal Names", in Nomina 5 (1981) and 21 (1998). (Before launching out I should add that by "English surnames" I mean those names, wherever found, that are based on English words or, in the case of patronymics, on the English forms of personal names. This means that I am not taking in Celtic names.)

As in Japan, it was originally only the aristocracy that had hereditary surnames, in this case the Norman barons who first came over to Britain with William the Conqueror in 1066. All those in the lower classes only had personal names, though a person might be given an additional "byname", known as "an ekename" (which became transformed to "a nickname"), to distinguish him from others of the same name (I say "him" because virtually all the names we know of were those given to men). These bynames were basically of four kinds: the name of his trade or occupation; the name of a place or some topographical feature with which he was associated; a term that we would now call a nickname, denoting some personal trait; and finally a patronymic identifying a man as the son of his father (or occasionally of his mother, a metronymic). This type of name goes right back to classical times, and can be found in various parts of Europe; in areas speaking a Germanic language, names ending in the local word for 'son' can often be found. In lceland today patronymics take the place of hereditary surnames, for both men and women, names like *Stefansson* or *Gunnarsdóttir*, as the case may be. The patronymic is a particular feature in Russia, where everyone has a patronymic as a middle name. In the case of the Norman gentry

in Britain, we find names using the French *fils* 'son (of)' in the form *Fitz*-, so *Fitzalan*, *Fitzgerald*, *Fitzpatrick*, *Fitzwilliam* (often, but not exclusively, used for bastards).

The barons generally took as their surnames (the use of which was valuable in clarifying rights of ownership) the name of the family's place of residence in Normandy; thus we find names like *Beecham* (Beauchamp), *Bewlay* (Beaulieu), *Richmond* (Richemont) and *Neville* (Neuville). The use of surnames gradually spread to the lower orders of the nobility, the knights, beginning in the south of England in the twelfth century, so that by 1250 the great majority of such families had hereditary surnames; in the north of England the process took longer, but at least by the fourteenth century there were very few noble families without them. Interestingly, these names can often be traced in place names which consist of the local name followed by the name of the great landowner; such names are *Herstmonceux* and *Hurstpierpoint*, *Stokesay*, *Stoke Paget* and *Stoke Dabernon*, *Hooton Pagnell*, *Worth Matravers* and *Hatch Beauchamp*. It is not, however, until the late Middle Ages, from the fourteenth century onwards, under the pressure of ordinances such as the Statute of Additions of 1413 decreeing the use of a title after one's personal name, and the poll taxes of 1377-81, that we find the use of hereditary surnames spreading to the common people and employing the means I have just described, that is, the addition of bynames.

Surnames from trade names

Before proceeding to the subject of patronymics, on which I would specially like to focus, let me first give examples of the other kinds of surnames, beginning with names taken from a trade or occupation; this identifying of a man by the name of his trade is still prevalent in Wales, so we are told, where a man may be known as "Mr. Jones the post", to distinguish him from all the other Mr. Joneses in the village. The list of such names is endless, and includes the commonest English surname Smith (with variants like Smyth(e), derivatives like Smithers, Smithson, and compounds like Goldsmith, as well as the corresponding French Ferrier/Farr(i)er/Farrar and latinized Faber); so we have Archer, Baker and the feminine form Baxter, which could also be applied to a man (similarly, Brewer/Brewster, Deemer/Dempster (a judge), Dyer/Dexter, and Webb(er)/Webster, for a Weaver), Barker (a tanner), Blower (of bellows or a horn), Bo(u)lt(er) (a bolter of flour), Bowyer (a bow-maker), Butcher, Carpenter, Carter, Chandler (a candle-maker), Chapman (a merchant), Chaucer (corresponding to the French chaussier, for a maker of chaussure 'footwear'), Coffin/Caffin/-yn (a basket-maker), Collier (a charcoal-burner), Cook(e), Cooper (with the old form *Cowper*, pronounced in the same way, for a barrel-maker), *Cord(i)ner* (a cordwainer), Coward (a cowherd; cf. Yeoward/Ewart/Youatt for a ewe-herd), Cutler, Draper, Farmer (originally a rent-collector, like the Frech fermier), Faulkner/Fawkener/Falconer (a breeder of falcons), Fisher,

Fletcher (an arrow-maker), Fowler (a bird-catcher), Frobisher (a furbisher of armour), Fuller, Garnett (a seller of pomegranates), Glover, Harper (a harp-player), Hawker (a keeper of hawks), Heard/Hurd (a herdsman), Holder (an animal keeper), Hook(er) (a hook-maker), Hooper (a maker of barrel hoops), Horn(e)(r) (a maker of horn goods, a hornblower), Hunt(er), Jagger (a packhorse-driver), Jenner (an engineer), Kemp (a champion fighter; also Campion/Champion from French), Leach (a doctor; the word became associated with the word for a bloodsucking insect, *leech*, because of the old practice of blood-letting), Le(a)dbetter/-bitter (a beater of lead), Mason, Merchant/ Marchant/-and, Mather(s) (a mower of hay, cf. aftermath), Miller/-ar, with the variants Milner, Mil(l)ward/Millard, Palmer (a pilgrim carrying a palm branch), Picken(s) (a worker with a pick), Plowman (a ploughman), Plummer (a plumber), Potter, Roper (a ropemaker), Sad(d)ler, Salter (a provider of salt), Sawyer, Seaman, Sellar(s) (a seller, saddler or cellarer), Shepherd/Sheppard, Skinner, Spencer/Spenser (a dispenser of medicines), Spicer (a grocer), Spooner (a maker of spoons, that is, roofing shingles), Stringer (of bows), Tanner, Taylor (a tailor, like the Japanese Hattori), Thatcher, Tucker (a fuller), Turner (a lathe operator), Tyler/-or (a tiler), Walker (the native English word, used in the north, for a fuller, which comes from French, as do quite a number of these names), Wheeler, Whistler, Whittier (= white tawyer, who taws skins to make white leather), Wright (a workman who makes things, so also Arkwright (a maker of chests), Cartwright, Plowright (a maker of ploughs), Wainwright (a wagon maker), Wheelwright).

Then there are words which denote people in positions of service, especially on large estates, so *Butler* (the keeper of the bottles of wine), *Chamberlain, Chaplain/-lin, Day*, which seems to be a blend of the old *deye*, a household servant who eventually became limited to the dayery, the dairy, and a pet name of David (not a few names may have a multiple origin), with the derivatives *Dayman/Dimond/Diamond/Dymond*, who could be either a dairyman or a servant of David, *Forester/Fo(r)ster* (the keeper of a forest), *Gardener/Gard(i)ner*, *Gra(i)nger* (the keeper of a grange, a granary), *Parker* (a park keeper), *Porter* (a doorkeeper), *Steward(son)* (Scottish *Stewart*; the royal stewards in Scotland eventually became the royal family Stuart), together with *Hall* for a general employee in a baronial hall, or *Newall* (in a new hall), *Ward(s)*, *Wardman*, together with *Hayward*, *Woodward*, for types of keeper. Besides these we have words denoting a public office: *Bailey* (a bailiff), *Beadle/Bedell/Biddle/Beddall*, *Constable*, *Crozier* (the man who carried the bishop's cross), *Judge(s)*, *Marshall*, *Mayor/Mair/Mayer* (and in part *Meyer(s)*, *Myers*), *Reeve(s)* (a high local official; the reeve of a shire was the "shirereeve", the *Sheriff*), *Scriven* (a scrivener, a writer of official documents), *Serge(a)nt/Sargent*, *Sumner* (a summoner), *Us(s)her*.

Then we have words indicating social rank: *Lord*/Scottish *Laird*, *Knight*, with his attendant *Squire* (originally his "shieldbearer") and *Ba(t)chelor/-ller* (a young knight), *Franklin* (a big

landowner who was not a noble), *Freeman* (a man who was not a serf), *Yeoman* (a small freeholder below the rank of a gentleman). There were also words denoting a church office; *Monk*, *Abbot(t)*, *Prior*, *Fryer* (a friar), *Priest*, *Dean(e)*, *Deakin* (a deacon), *Parson*. As these men were celibate (or supposed to be), persons who had inherited these names were probably descendants of men employed by such churchmen, and in fact we have the names *Parsons*, *Vickers* meaning a parson's, vicar's man (but there is a more specific *Denson* meaning a dean's son!). We also have the name *Clark(e)*, which comes from *clerk*, a low-ranking cleric who also served as a professional writer of documents; such a man was permitted to marry, and so we also have the name *Clarkson*. Names like *Bishop*, *King* (and *Ray*, partly from the equivalent French *rei > roi*), *Pope* perhaps started as nicknames given to people who played those parts in a pageant. We also similarly have *Nunn*, from a nun!

It is interesting to note that the occupations of almost all of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims have become the surnames listed above. Here we have the following assortment: Knight, Squire (who was also a Bachelor), Miller, Cook, Reeve, Monk, Priest, Friar, Summmoner, Clerk, Merchant, Sergeant, Franklin, Nun, Yeoman, Parson, Carpenter, Webb, Dyer, Ploughman. The only ones that don't appear are the Shipman (but we have the name *Seaman*), Prioress (but she was a *Nun(n)*), Physician (but we have *Leach*), Pardoner, Manciple, Wife of Bath (but she might be classed as a *Draper*), Haberdasher and Tapicer (connected with the word tapestry).

Surnames from places or landmarks

Next let us take names connected with geography, beginning with those taken from the name of a place where a person lived. Such names often end in *-ton* (town), *-borough*, *-bury* (the old dative case of *borough*), *-ham* (home), or occasionally *-stead* (a place, like the German *-stadt*). So we have *Hilton*, *Milton* (mill or middle town, which also appears as *Middleton*), *Norton*, *Sutton*, *Aston/Easton*, *Weston* (north, south, east, west town), *Mor(e)ton/Murton*, *Newton*, *Washington*, *Gainsborough*, *Cadbury*, *Newbury*, *Bentham*, *Cunningham*, *Graham* (from *Grantham*), *Oldham*, *Hempstead*. Other place names are *Carlyle* (= *Carlisle*), *Lancaster*, *Lincoln*, *Worcester* (in the form *Wooster*), *York*, and even *London*. *Darwin* may come from the name of the river Derwent, and *Foss(e)* from the Fosse Way. But we are more likely to find names taken from a local feature or landmark with which a person was associated. First, these can be simple words, sometimes in the plural form or with an extra *-e*, such as *Ash(e)*, *Barnes*, *Beech*, *Birch*, *Bourne* (in Scottish, *Burns*), *Bridge(s)/Briggs*, *Brook(e)(s)*, *Bush*, *Church/Kirk*, *Dale*, *Dean* (partly; = a dene), *Field*, *Ford*, *Forrest*, *Gates*, *Hay(es)/Hey(es)* and the forms *Hague/Haig* taken from Norman French, all meaning '(land enclosed by) a hedge', *Hawthorne*, *Heath*, *Hill*, *Holm(es)* and Scottish *Hu(l)me* ('island'),

Lea/Lee/Leigh/Lease/Lees(e) (a clearing, grassland, a meadow), Malthus (a malthouse), Marsh, Meadow(e)s/Mead(e), Mear/Meers (a mere, lake), Mill(s)/Milne, Mo(o)re/Scottish Muir/Moir, Sands, Shaw (a copse), Well(e)s, Wood(s), Yates/Yeats (= Gates). Often there are compound words: Ashley (ash + lea), Berkeley/Barclay (birch), Beverley (beaver), Stanley (stone), Halliwell (holy), Greenwood, Wedgwood, Woodhouse/Wode-, Caulfield (said to be from "cold field", but "cole field" (from OE cāwel, cāul, cāl) seems to me more likely), Garfield (a field shaped like a gore or gar(fish)), Radcliffe/Ratcliff (red), the Scottish forms Hepburn, Milburn, Raeburn, Swinburne, then Blackmore/Blakemore, Crabtree (bearing crab apples), Rowntree (= Rowan), Newell (new well), Wynyard (vineyard), Hyatt/Hiatt (high yate = gate), Alford, Stanford, Woodbridge, Lindsay/-ey (with the -ey that is the same word as the first syllable of island, which acquired an s by association with isle), Livesey, Pusey, Ramsay/-ey. We also have compound forms employing a combination of a preposition, notably at, and the Middle English case forms of the, which come out as -at(ten)-, -atter-, so Attlee, Attwell, Attenbrooke, Attenborough, and also Atterbury, with the more correct feminine dative form; sometimes the unaccented syllables are cut off, and so we get Nash from Attenash (ash), Noakes from Attenoakes (oaks), and Nye or Rye with the same -ey as before, which can also appear as a name *Eve*, while a parallel formation is seen in *Byatt* (= by the yate). Japanese is also noted for similar compound formations, and we might say that Churchill is comparable to Teraoka, Higginbottom or Underhill to Okamoto, Underwood to Morishita or Kinoshita, Whittaker (white acre) and Whitfield to Shirota, and Henley ('on the high lea') to Takahara!

Surnames from nicknames

The next category we come to are surnames taken from nicknames, generally referring to some personal characteristic, as nicknames often do. The first examples that come to mind are colours, which may relate to a person's complexion, hair, clothes and such: *Black/Blake* (with the *-e* of the adjective ending), *Brown(e)* (and *Browning*, *Bronson*), *Dunn/Donne* (and *Down(e)s*, *Downing*, *Dunnett*), *Gray/Grey*, *Green(e)*, *Reade/Reid* (red), *White/Whyte*; *Gould/Gold* and *Silver* may also perhaps refer to hair colour, as well as to a worker in gold or silver. Other adjectives similarly used are *Bigg(s)*, *Bright*, *Fair* (beautiful), *Keen(e)*, *Little*, *Hard* (with derivatives *Hardin(g)/-den*, *Harkin(s)/-kiss*), *Joll(e)y/-llie*, *Long/Scottish La(i)ng*, *Moody/Scottish Moodie/Mudie*, *Sharp*, *Short*, *Small/Smale*, *Smart*, *Strong/Strang* and *Strange* (also *Armstrong*), *Sweet*, *Swift*, *Wild(e)/Wyld*, *Wise*, *Young/Yonge*. We also have *Grant* and *Pettitt* from French *grand* and *petit*, with French *Parfit(t)* (perfect) and *Hardy* (bold), and then *Fairfax* meaning 'fair (beautiful) hair', *Crookshank/Scottish Crui(c)kshank* meaning 'having crooked legs'. Other names are *Summer(s)/Sommer/Somers* and *Winter(s)*, suggesting people whose moods reflect the seasons. Then there are names suggesting

that the person has the characteristics of an animal or bird: Bird/Byrd, Bull, Crane, Crow(e), Deer(e), Doe, Farrow (young pig), Finch, Fish/Fisk, Fox, Hare, Hart(e)/Hurt, Hawke (but cf. Ralph below), Heron/Hearn, Herring (a trifling person, or one who sells herrings), Hind (but this might equally refer to a farm servant, also spelt *Hine*, the meaning the word still has in poetry), *Hogg* (but this might also mean that the person kept hogs), Lamb, Nightingale, Oliphant (elephant), Peacock/Pocock, Raven, Roe(buck), Sparrow, Spratt (a small person), Steel(e) (hard as steel or perhaps a worker in steel), Swan(n), Todd (the northern word for a 'fox', with the derivative Todhunter), Wolf(e), Wren. There are also names denoting a person's country of origin, so England/English/Scottish Inglis, Scott, Ireland, Wales/Walsh/Welsh/Welch; another word for 'Welsh' is Wallace/Wallis from Norman French (cognate with Walloon), which comes from the common Germanic term for a non-German (Wales means 'foreigners', and Cornwall also contains the same element). In this case the word was used for all the British Celts (and Bretons), and particularly by the Normanized Anglo-Saxons in Scotland for the inhabitants of Strathclyde, who were British (not Irish, Gaelic) Celts at that time; one of them must have been an ancestor of the Scottish hero William Wallace. Turning to those coming from other countries, we find French/Frank(s), Norman, Pickard (from Picardy), Brett(on)/Britton/-en/-a(i)n (most likely a Breton), Flanders/Fleming, Holland, Dane, Dench (Danish), Almond (French allemand 'German'); there is also the name Paine/Payne, which comes from the French païen 'pagan', 'heathen' (cf. paynim). Others coming from further away were generally just designated by the name Newman 'newcomer'.

Personal names in the Middle Ages

We are now ready to tackle our main theme, which is to trace the formation of surnames from personal names and the pet ('hypocoristic') names or other derivatives formed from them. The number of Old English (and Old Norse) names was infinite, but following the Conquest they by and large died out; a few have survived as surnames, among then *Go(o)dwin, Irwin, Baldwin* (which became internationalized, as there was a Baldwin among the Crusaders; it was especially popular among the Normans in Flanders, where it became the name of a King of the Belgians, Baudouin), names beginning with *Os*-, such as *Oswald*, *Osbo(u)rn(e)*, *Osmond*, *Osgood*, and short names like *Bobb, Dodd, Hudd.* Hey's analysis reveals that they were replaced by the very few Germanic names favoured in northern and central France, which were introduced into England by the Normans. In some cases we can see the Norman pronunciation with a *W*-, as in *Walter* as against Central French *Gautier*, and also in the popularized Norse name of the Conqueror, *William*, from Old Norse *Vilhjalmr* (pronounced with a [w]), which is *Guillaume* in Central French. (We shall also see that *Richard* became popular in the Norman form *Ricard*.) One other Old English name that did survive was *Edward*, the name of two kings who were made saints, Edward the

Martyr and Edward the Confessor. The latter had a Norman mother with the Norman pet name of *Emma*, and when Edward was exiled to Normandy for a time his name became adopted in French as *Édouard*, and later became the name of other English kings (of Norman origin). The name of another canonized Old English king, *Edmund*, also became popular, and so did *Harold*, combined from continental, Old English and Old Norse sources; it was the name of two English kings, one the son of the Danish King Canute, and the other the king who died at the battle of Hastings in 1066.

Hey quotes a poll tax return for 1379 from the Sheffield area, with a list of 715 men who share only twenty names between them; these are, in order of frequency, John (33%), William (19%), Thomas, Richard, Robert, Adam, Henry, Roger, Peter, Hugh, Nicholas, Laurence, Ralph, Gilbert, Stephen, Simon, Albray (= Aubrey), Alexander, Raynald (= Reynold), and Watte (= Walter). In another connection he also quotes Geoffrey. A large proportion of these are the Germanic names brought in from France: William, Robert, Richard, Roger, Walter, Henry, Hugh, Gilbert, Ralph, Albray, Raynald and Geoffrey. (Other Germanic names popular at the time were Arnold, Roland, Randolph, Rudolph, in its French form Roul; Hey also lists here the Baldwin quoted above, which is best known in England as the name of a Prime Minister.) Of the rest, John, Thomas, Adam, Peter, Stephen and Simon are Biblical, and Nicholas, Laurence are saints' names (Thomas was also popular because of St. Thomas à Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury who stood up to King Henry II), while *Alexander* was popular because of the many medieval epics about Alexander the Great, and also, in Scotland, because it was the name of three kings. Other popular saints' names are Martin and, in Wales, David (also popular in Scotland, where it was the name of two kings), in Scotland again, Andrew, and in Ireland Patrick, which were all popular enough in the Middle Ages to produce patronymics; for some reason George did not become popular enough for this in England – was less need felt there to assert one's national identity?

Hey then lists the pet names of peasants who rioted against the poll tax in 1381, as given in John Gower's Vox Clamantis: of these, Watte (no doubt Wat Tyler), Thomme, Symme, Gibbe, Hykke, Colle, Geffe, Wille, Hobbe, Lorkyn, Jakke (presumably Jack Straw, a nickname) and Hogge (= Hodge) are recognizable as forms of Walter, Thomas, Simon, Gilbert, Richard (in the Norman French form Ricard, still in use in France), Nicholas (an aphetic form), Geoffrey, William, Robert, Laurence, John (via an intermediate form Janke) and Roger. Other names on the list are Bett (Bartholomew), Grigge (Gregory), Dawe (uncertain, perhaps Ralph, see below), Hudd (apparently an Old English name, but soon associated with Hugh, and partly with Richard), Judd (from Jordan, a name originally given to boys baptized with water brought back from the river Jordan by Crusaders), and Tebbe (Theobald). My own quick scanning of parts of Chaucer has produced in addition firstly some pet names in -kin (originally a Flemish ending — see below): Jankin/Jakke (John), Simkin (Simon), Perkin (French Pierre for Peter), Wilkin (William). Other additional pet names I find there are Robin (Robert), Dodge (Roger) and Herry (Henry; to be followed by Shakespeare's Harry and Hal), with the full names Oswald (Old English, the name of a canonized bishop), Absolon (= Absalom, Biblical), Elie (the French form of Elijah, which was also the name of some minor saints), Russell (= French Rousseau 'redhead'), Burnel (= Brunel), Piers (= Pierce, the nominative of Pierre, also known, of course, from Langland's "Piers the Plowman"), Aleyn (= Alan, a Breton name, as are Harvey, Cummin(g)s and Wiggin(s)), Alban, Damian (the names of saints), Gerveys (= Jarvis), and Talbot, together with Rauf (the old spelling of Ralph). The saints Hugh, Denys (Dennis), Ive (Ives), Austin (Augustine, doubtless more familar in the literary world in the form Austen), Joce (Joyce, the Breton Iodoc), Gregory and Bennett (Benedict), all of whose names have provided surnames, also figure in the stories. Chaucer also gives some women's names, among them Alys/Alison (Alice), Mabely (Mabel, from Amabel 'Iovable'), Malle (later Moll = Mary), Malkin (either from Malle or from Maud = Matilda), Custance (Constance) and Gille (Jill = Gillian, Juliana), and we shall meet some of these and others later in the form of surnames.

While I am on the subject of Germanic names introduced from French, I would like to introduce two groups of names that have also given surnames: those which, like Robert and Richard, contain the elements -bert and -(h)ard, which correspond to the English bright, hard (OE beorht, heard, similarly used in names), as the second part of a name, in the sense of 'bright as...', 'strong as...' (the suffix *-ard* also often alternates with *-ald* or *-ett*, the latter also featuring in pet names). Among the names in -bert, besides the Robert, Gilbert already noted, are Albert, Godbert, Herbert, Hibbert (Hibbard), Hubert (Hobart, Hubbard), Ilbert, Lambert, Norbert, Osbert, Wilbert (French Guilbert); another -bert is St. Philibert, whose name became that of the filbert nut, which ripens around his day, August 22nd. The names in -ard are equally numerous: Allard (Hallard, Bernard/Barnard (Barnett, cf. a similar Beraud, Barrett), Folkard, Ger(r)ard/ Hallett). Garrard/Jarrard (Garrett/Jarrett, also crossed with Gerald/Jerrold/Jarrold), Giffard/Gifford(s), Gillard (if pronounced with a soft g, = French Juilliard), Goddard, Howard, Leonard, Mallard, Maynard, Pollard, Reynard (the name of the fox in the old romances, cognate with Reynold), Willard (and also Gillard, if pronounced with a hard g, = central French Guillard), Wishard (as French Guiscard/Guichard). Among these is Everard, which is my middle name, taken from my grandmother's maiden name, and I had always taken this to be a native English name formed from eofor 'wild boar' and heard 'hard', but now it turns out to be French, like Hugh and Wil(kinson); however, H&H, Cottle and Harrison all concede the possibility of a double origin (the placename *Everton*, containing the same *Ever*-, is clearly English, and besides *Everard* there is also a form *Everett/-itt*, with the pet name suffix which we have just seen in some of the above words,

and which we shall look at further in a minute.

There are also a handful of surnames taken from saints' names and containing the word *saint* in a disguised form; these are *Seymour* (St. Maur), *Sinclair* (St. Clare), *St. John*, pronounced as 'Singeon', *Samper* (St. Pierre) and *Semple/Sempill/Simple* (St. Paul). These are in fact taken from the names of churches built in honour of these saints.

The formation of pet names

Before we come to the patronymics, there is still one more aspect of personal names that needs to be considered and that is the pet forms that developed out of these names, which have also become the basis for surnames. As we have already seen, a common process involves the shortening of a polysyllabic name to one syllable, which is then often extended by the addition of the diminutive ending -y/-ie. This has been a continuing process, and we find that names like *Bill(y)* (William), *Bob(by)* (Robert), *Ned(dy)* (Edward), *Ted(dy)* (Edward or Theodore), *Tim(my)* (Timothy) were formed after the creation of patronymics; another pet name for *Edward* now popular is *Ed(dy)*, and surnames beginning with *Ed-* are found, but this *Ed-* may not in fact have come from *Edward* but from other names beginning with *Ed-*. Alternatively, we find surnames formed from pet names ending in the French diminutive -in, which we have already seen in Chaucer's *Robin* and which is found in *Colin*, an extension of the *Colle* we have seen above. At the same time we also find the alternative French diminutive ending *-on* being used, and these endings may also turn up as *-en(s)* and *-in(g)(s)*; in addition, the Old English ending *-le* may sometimes be found combined with it .

Another process is that seen just now in *Bill, Bob, Ned, Ted*, and also found in *Dick* and Gower's *Hykke*, where a rhyming form has replaced the original name. The use of rhyme words has always been a popular device (compare the Cockney use of rhyming slang), and in this case the origin must be similar to that of rhyming compounds, initially found in nursery words but then extended to general use, a process that continues today. So we have children's words like *piggy-wiggy, doggy-woggy, nosey-posey, tootsie-wootsie* ('toe'), *danny-panny* ('hand'), *teeny-weeny, boo-hoo, bow-wow, tee-hee,* then, in nursery rhymes and fairy tales, *Georgie-Porgie, Humpty-Dumpty, Henny-Penny, Cocky-Locky, Goosie-Poosie, Foxy-Woxy,* and then, by extension, endless colloquial forms like *higgledy-piggledy, helter-skelter, hugger-mugger, hurdy-gurdy, hurly-burly, hocus-pocus, harum-scarum, hubble-bubble, hanky-panky, hotchpotch/hodgepodge, handy-dandy, honky-tonky, hoity-toity, humdrum* (words beginning with *h* seem to be especially productive), *pell-mell, roly-poly, mumbo-jumbo, namby-pamby, niminy-piminy, ragtag, razzle-dazzle, fuzzy-wuzzy,* and the more modern *airy-fairy, argy-bargy, okey-dokey, itty-bitty* (*itsy-bitsy*), and

also slight variations such as *huff and puff, hustle and bustle, hickory-dickory-dock, rat-a-tat-tat, rub-a-dub-dub.* We may also compare "Tricky-Dick(y)", which seems to echo the nickname "Richard the Trichard" given to Richard of Cornwall, the treacherous brother of Henry III, though I have not found any historical evidence of a connection. The phrase is frequently found in popular use today, seemingly stemming from its application to the late President Richard Nixon. But an early use in James Joyce's *Dubliners* suggests that it has a longer history, and a French translation of it in this passage as "Richard le Trichard" makes it seem as if there is a connection. Also, modern writers seem to use it with reference to Richard III. Another such appellation is "Silly Billy", the nickname given first to George III's nephew William Frederick and later to his son William IV; it has now become a generic *silly-billy. (Willy-nilly, hob-nob* have a different origin.)

Patronymics from full names and pet names

We are now ready to take our first look at the patronymics, taking first those formed from the full names and the kind of pet names we have just looked at. These patronymics could be formed in three ways: firstly, the plain name could be used as it stood; secondly, it had added to it the possessive -'s; and thirdly, it took the ending -son. So we get *Richard*, *Richards* (= Richard's) and *Richardson* (= Richard's son). The -son ending was favoured in the east and north, the area that came under Norse influence (cf. the Icelandic patronymics) and also saw an influx of Flemings, and the rest of the country used -s. This -s was also adopted in the anglicization of Welsh names, alongside the use of a prefixed *P*- or *B*- representing the Welsh *ap/ab* meaning 'son of'. In the same way we find a similar *Mac*- or *Mc*- (the Gaelic for 'son of') prefixed to Scottish names, and sometimes a *Fitz*- with French names. I will list the forms in three groups: firstly the most prolific of the Middle English forms we have looked at, then the less prolific, and finally a group of other names that we have not yet met. I will list the first group in the order that I followed above, beginning with the names that were most frequently found in the tax record of 1379.

Group 1

- John: John(s), Jo(h)nson, Jones, Jennison, Jennens/Jennyns/Jennin(g)s, also Welsh Evans, Bevan, Upjohn.
- William: Williams, Williamson, Will(s), Wilson, Willis, Willison, Fitzwilliam, Welsh Gwilym, Scottish McWilliam.
- **Thomas:** Thomas, Thomason, Thom(s), Tom(p)son, Tomlins, Tom(b)lin(e), Tomlinson, Tombleson.
- Richard: Richard(s), Richardson, Richard(s), Rickson, Rickman(?), Riggs, Ri(t)chie(s), Ri(t)ch(es), Dick(s), Dix, Dickson/Dixon, Dickey, Diggles, Hick(s), Hix,

Hickson/Hixon, Hickey, Hickman, Dickin(s)/Dicken(s), Dickinson/-enson, Diggins, Higgs, Higgon, Higgins, Higginson, Hitchin(s)/-ens (I feel that the words with *-kins*, *-kens* etc. are better listed here as formed with the use of the French diminutive *-in* rather than in the next section amongst the words which employ the diminutive ending *-kin*), Welsh Pritchard.

- Robert/Robin: Roberts, Robertson, Robart(s), Rob(b)ins, Robyn, Robi(n)son, Robson, Robeson, Robey, Robb(e)(s), Rabb, Dobb(s), Dobson/Dopson, Dobbins, Dobby, Hobb(e)s, Hobson/Hopson, Nobb(s), Welsh Probert.
- Adam: Adam(s), Adis/Addiss, Addison, Scottish Macadam/McAdam.
- Henry/Harry/Hal: Henry, Hen(e)ries, Henrison/-ry-, Henderson, Henson, Henn, Hanson (see the extended forms below), Harry, Harri(e)s, Harrison, Fitzhenry, Welsh Parry/Perry/Peary, Scottish McHenry.
- Roger: Ro(d)gers, Rogerson, Dodge/Doi(d)ge, Dodgson/Dodson (see also Dodd), Dodgin/Dodgeon, Hodge(s), Hodgson/Hodson/Hotson, Welsh Prosser.
- **Peter/Pierre/Piers:** Peters, Peterson, Pierce/Pearce/Pears(e), Pierson, Pearson, Perrin(s)/-ing/Peren/Per(r)owne.
- Hugh/Hutcheon (French Huchon): Hughes/Hews, Hewson, Howe(s), Howson, Hutchin(g)s, Hutchi(n)son, Huggins, Welsh Pugh, Scottish McHugh.
- Nicolas/Colin: Nicol, Nicholl(s), Nicholson, Nixon, Nicklin, Cole(s), Co(u)lson, Col(l)in, Collins, Colli(n)son, Scottish McNicoll.
- Laurence: Lawrence, Law/Low(e), Law(e)s, Lawson, Larry/Larrie/ Lawrie/Low(e)ry, Larson, Scottish McLawren/MacLaurin/MacLaren.
- Ralph, old Rauf: Rall, Ralls/Rawles, Rawson, Rawlin(g)s, Rawlinson, Haw(es), Hawson, Fitzralph. I am also including Daw(es), Dawson; these have generally been supposed to have come from David, but Hey quotes McClure as saying they belong here, as David was not commonly used at this time for forming surnames (I presume he means outside Wales and Scotland; see David below).
- **Gilbert:** Gilbert, Gibb(s), Gibson, Gibbon/-in, Gibbons/-ens/Gubbins, Giblin, Gilbey, Gipp(s), Gipson.
- Herbert: Herbert, Hebbard, Hebb, Fitzherbert.
- Hubert: Hubert, Hobart, Hubbard.
- Hibbert: Hibbert, Hibbard, Hibbett, Hibbs, Hipps.
- Simon: Simon(d)(s), Simond, Simmon(d)s/Symon(d)s, Simonson, Sim(s), Sim(p)son, Simison, Sime(s)/Syme(s), Simnel, Fitzsimon, Fitzsimmonds.

Walter/Wat: Wa(l)ter(s), Watter(s), Waterson, Watt(s), Watson.

Bartholomew/Bett: Bartholomew, Bart(le), Barty, Batty/Beatty, Batten, Bate(s),

Bateson, Bat(e)man, Betts, Bettison, Bettenson (these last might have come from Elizabeth).

Gregory: Gregory, Greig, Grigg, Gregson, Grigson, Scottish Grier/Greer, Grierson, McGregor.

Hudd: Hudd, Hudson/Hutson, Huddy, Huddle.

Dodd: Dodd(s), Dodson (perhaps with some blending with Dodgson, cf. Hod(g)son).

Theobald: Tibalt, Tibble, Tipple, Dibble, Tibbs, Tebbs, Tipson, Tibbins/-pp-.

Absolon: Aspelon, Asplen, Aspling, Ashplant.

- Elie (= Elijah): Ellis/Ellice, Ellison (Ely/Elie is taken by H&H and Cottle as coming from the name of the cathedral city, and they recognise only Ellis as the basic form of this name, not Elie, but Harrison gives the Chaucerian Elie as the basic form, rightly it seems to me, as this is required by derivatives like Eliot and Elkin).
- Aleyn/Alan: Allen/Allan/Alleyn(e), Allens, Alli(n)son (but Allison may have come from Alice/Alison, which was a popular girls' name in the Middle Ages; cf. Allott below), Fitzalan, Scottish McAlan/MacCallan.

Gerveys/Jarvis: Gervais, Jarvis.

Group 2

Stephen: Stephen/Steven/Stiven, Stephens/Stevens, Stephenson/Stevenson, Fitzstephen.

Albray: Aubrey, Avery, Averies.

Alexander: Alexander, Sa(u)nders, Sanderson, partly Sand(y)s.

- **Reynold**/Norse **Ronald**: Reynolds, Reynoldson, Rennell, Ronaldson, Scottish McRanald.
- **Geoffrey/Jeffrey/-ery:** Geoffrey/Geffrye/Jeffrey/-ery, Geoffries/Jeff(e)ries/-yes/-eys, Jefferson-reson, Jeffress, Jeffs.

Arnold: Arnold, Arnison

Roland: Rowland(s), Rowlandson.

Randolph: Randolph/Randall, Ranson, Ransome, Rand, Randy.

Rudoplh/French Roul, from Norse Rolf: Roul, Rowell, Roll(s)/Rowles, Rowlson, Rowling(s), Rollin(g)s, Rowlin(g)son, Rowe(s), Rowson.

Martin: Martin(s), Martinson.

Ive(s): lve(s).

Austin: Austin/-en.

Joce: Joyce.

David: David, Davy, Davidson, Davi(e)s, Davison, Dowd. These names were popular in Wales and Scotland. Day may also be derived from David, as well as partly originating from the *Day(man)* quoted above.

Andrew: Andrews, Anderson.

Patrick: Patrick, Pate, Patton/Paten, Patti(n)son, Paterson, Partridge, Fitzpatrick.

George: George, Georgeson.

- Judd: Judd, Judson (I can find no reference to the similar Joad, which was familiar at one time as the name of a popular broadcaster; is it connected?). (The next names on my list, Russell and Brunel, have no derivatives.)
- **Dennis**, also partly from the woman's name, now **Denise**: Dennis, Dennison, Denny, Tennyson, Dyson, Tyson.

Edward: Edward(s).

- Edmund: Edmund(s)/-ond(s), Edmondson. Other names like Eddie, Ed(i)son, Eade, Eadie, Eads may come from this or from other names beginning with Ed-, including the woman's name Edith.
- Harold: Harrod.

Group 3

Giles: Giles, Gilson.

Samuel: Samuels, Sam(m)s, Sampson.

Michael: Michael(s), Michaelson/Mickleson, Mitchelson/-enson, Myhill/Myall, Miles, Milson, Miggles, Mitchell(s), Mitchie, Scottish MacMichael.

Philip: Phil(l)ips, Phelps, Phipps, Filson.

Paul: Paul, Paulson, Poulson/-som, Pawling/Powling, Pollins, Paw, Scottish McPhail.

Matthew/Mayhew: Mat(t)hew(s), Matheson/-i(e)son, Mathi(e)s, Matt(e)s, Mates, Mat(t)son, Matti(n)son, Matten, May(s).

Mark: Mark(s).

Luke: Luke, Lucas, Luck(e)(s), Look(e), Lock(s), Lugg, Lockie, McLucky.

- **Guy:** Guise, which may be a blend of the patronymic and the French family name Guise.
- Neil: Neill/Neale, Nelson, Fitzneale, Scottish Macneill.

Maurice: Morris/Morse, Mor(r)ison, Fitzmaurice, Scottish McMorris.

Humphrey: Humphreys.

Daniel: Daniels, Scottish Macdaniel.

Lewis: Lewis, Lewison.

Cuthbert (old English saint): Cubitt, Cobbett, Cobbold, Cuddy, Cusson.

Eustace: Stac(e)y.

Timm (OE; suggested by H&H as preferable to Tim, the pet name of Timothy, which is only post-Reformation): Timms, Timpson, Timmins/-ons, Timblin.
Jull (< Julian, a saint's name): Jill(e)/Gill, Jowell, Jell(ey), Jellicoe.
Amery (a Norman name): Emory/-ery/-bry, Emerson.
Hammond: Hambly, Ham(b)lin.
Askell/Haskell (< ON Ásketill > Ashkettle): Scottish McAskill/McCaskill.
Benn (partly < Bennett = Benedict): Benn, Benson, Benney/-ie, Binnie, Binn(i)s.
Brice (saint's name): Brice, Bryson.
Budd- (OE): Budd(e), Budding.
James: James, Jameson, Jamieson.
Charles: Charles (these two royal names, like George, appear not to have been popular in the Middle Ages).

It will have been seen that three of these names are partly from women's names — metronymics rather than patronymics. Others that belong here are Mal(l)in, Mallinson/Mallison/-eson from the Malle (= Mary) that we looked at above, and, from Maud, also noted above, Maude, Mudd, Mad(d)ison, Mawson, Moule, Ma(u)lt, Moult, Mo(u)lds, Malson, Molson (or are some of these from Moll for Malle?). Another such name is Margaret, which has given Magge, Magson, Meigs, Mogg, Mudge, Mox(s)on/Mox(s)om and Meg(gi)son; Lord Rees-Mogg was my $k\bar{o}hai$ (two years junior to me) at school, and when I was a child we had neighbours called Megson. Queens have also provided names: Emma has given us Empson and Emlyn, Anne is the source of Anson, and Elizabeth of Ibb(s) and Ibson/Ibbison, and perhaps of some of the names listed under Bartholomew. H&H also give Jeeves as coming from a pet form of Genevieve.

Petnames with extensions

Variations on the patronymic involve extensions of the pet name by the use of suffixes, the first of which is -*kin*, already observed in forms like *Wilkin*. This is not a native English ending but was prevalent in Middle Dutch, making it likely that pet names ending in -*kin* came in from Flanders with the Flemish weavers, which shows the possibility that *Wilkin* was one such name. Be that as it may, -*kin* is found added to nearly all the names in Group 1 and a few of the others, resulting in patronymics ending in -*kin(s)/-king(s)*, -*kinson*, which can also be abbreviated to -*k(e)s*, -*kisson*, -*kson* and the like.

Then there are also other suffixes that can be added to pet names, one of them to women's names

as well. The first of these is -cock, which gives surnames ending in -cock, -cocks, -cox, -coxon, sometimes euphemistically changed to -cott to avoid sexual suggestions. The word was originally applied to a lively youngster, and is found alone as a name, Cock(s), Cox, Coxon. The other is -ott or -ett (from French), sometimes combined with a preceding -le to give -lett; we have already seen examples of this ending in variants of names in -ard, such as Hallett, Barnett, Garrett/Jarrett, Pickett and Everett, and a similar formation is seen in Burnet(t) from French brunet(te), and perhaps also in Barrett, Garbett and Aslett. So let us now list these forms, in the same order as before. We shall find that many names that did not take -kin take -ott/-ett, showing that they had already adopted this form in France.

- John: Jenkin(s) (earlier Jankins), Jenkinson, Jenks, Jack(s), Jackson, Jackman, Jake(s) (as evidence of the Flemish form, cf. French Jannequin; the Collins dictionary says that 'jackanapes' is a variant of 'jakken-apes', which perhaps points to an intermediate Jakken).
- William:Wilkin(s)/-kens, Wilke(s), Wilkinson/Wilkerson, Wil(l)kie, Willcock(s)/Wilcox(son), Willett(s)/-its, Wyllyott, Wilmot(t) (cf. the bird name guillemot), Gillett/Gilliott/-iatt, and Gilkins, Gilkison, Gilkes, if these are all pronounced with a hard g (cf. French Guillotin, the name of the promoter of the guillotine).
- **Thomas:** Tom(p)kins, Tom(p)kinson, Tonkin, Tonks, T(h)ompsett.
- **Richard:** Hitchcock, Hickocks/-ox, Hiscock/Hiscox/-cott, Rickett(s)/Reckitt(s), Higgett/ -itt/-ott. (The names ending in *-kins*, *-kens* etc. are probably not formed with the use of *-kin*, and are listed in the previous section.)
- Robert/Robin: Hopkin(s), Hopkinson, Dobkin, Nopkins, Rabbitt.
- Adam: Adkins, Atkin(s), Atkinson, Adkisson, Ai(t)ken, A(i)kin, Addekin, Acheson/ Aitchison, Adcock(s). Hadcock Adnett/-itt.
- Henry: Hanks (cf. the pet name Hank for Henry), Hankinson (an alternative derivation from Johan has been suggested, as also for Hanson above, but this seems to me unlikely, unless a Flemish name Hankin was imported, similar to the Dutch woman's name Hanneke; it seems to me more likely that Han- is a variant of Hen-, as seen in the next word cf. continental Henk, Henneken, Hennecke, Heineken), Henkin, Hancock (another possible source suggested is Randolph), Herriot(t)/Harriotts
- Roger: Hodgkin(s), old Hodkins (quoted by Hey), Hodgkisson, Hod(s)kin, Hotchkiss. (Hoskins/-kyns, Hoskisson, Huskinson/-kisson, together with the Hochkyn(s), Hockyns, Hoschyns quoted by Hey, would, in my judgment, fit in very nicely

here (cf. Hodson, Dodson for Hodgson, Dodgson), but they are said to have come from words beginning with *Os*-, like *Oswald*, *Osmond*, *Osbo(u)rn(e)*, *Osgood*, with prothetic *h*-; H&H give examples of such an *h*- in *Hosburn/Hosbons*, *Hos(e)good*, and similarly *Herrick* from *Eric*, *Huck* from OE *Ucca* and the *Hallett* we have seen already — I also list others here and there — so it may be that this confusion of aspirated and unaspirated forms had already begun at this point, perhaps aided by French words like *(h)ostel*, *(h)ostler*, now *hostel*, *ostler*. It seems, therefore, that I must bow to this opinion, while perhaps also positing a blend with *Hodgkins*.) There is another interesting name Nodgecock, which was formerly used to refer to simpletons, but I have not seen any record of its use as a surname!

Peter/Pierre: Parkin(s)/Perkin(s), Park(e)s/Perks, Parkinson, Parrot(t)/Perritt (cf. French *pierrot*), Parlett.

Hugh: Hukins, Howkins, Huggett, Hewitt, Hewitson, Howitt/-ett, Hewlett/-itt/Hulett.

Nicholas/Colin: Colkin/Caulkin, Colcock, Collett.

Laurence: Larrikin, Larkin(g), Lorkin(g), Larrett.

Ralph: Dawkins, Daukes (cf. Daw, Dawson above, where Hey prefers this derivation to that from David), Hawkins (if not from *Hawke*), Hawking, Hawkes, Hawkey.

Simon: Sim(p)kin(s)/-kiss, Sim(p)kinson, Simcocks/-(p)cox, Simmonet.

Walter: Watkin(s), Watkinson, Welsh Gwatkin(s).

Bartholomew: Battcock, Bartlett.

Theobald: Tebbitt/-utt, Tibbett/Tippett/-ott.

Elie: Elkin, Elcock, Hellcat/Hillcoat, El(l)iot(t), Elliotson, Alliott.

Aleyn/Alan: Alkin(s), Alcock/Alcott, Alcox.

Herbert: Hipkin(s), Hercock/Hir-.

Alexander: Sandercock.

Geoffrey: Jeffcock/-cott.

Arnold: Arnott/-att/-ett/Harnott.

Randolph: Rankin(g); for Hanks, Hancock see Henry.

Rudolph/Roul: Rowlatt/-ett.

Ive: Ivatt.

David/Day: Dakin, Davitt.

Ed-: Eakin.

Jull (= Julian), (Giles?): Gillett, Gill(i)ott, Gilkins, Gilkison, Gilkes, if these are pronounced with a soft g, Jowett/-itt, Jewett.

Hammond: Hammett, Hamnett, Ham(b)let.

Askell/Haskell: Askins, Haskin(g)s.

Michael: Myatt.
Philip: Filkins, Philcock/-cox, Philpott(s), aphetic Pott(s), Pottle, Potkin(s).
Paul: Pawlett.
Matthew/May: Makin(s), Makinson, Matkin, Meakins/Meekings, Maycock, Meacock.
Luke: Luckett, Lockett, Luccock, Locock.
Guy (Norman Wye): Guyatt (cf. French Guyot(te)), Wyatt.
Timm: Tim(p)kin, Timkins, Timkiss.
Dennis: Dennett, Dinkins.
Babba (OE): Babcock, Babbitt, Babbage.
Bobb- (OE): Bobbitt.
Budd- (OE): Budcock, Budlett.

Besides these, we also have a handful of metronymics:

Amabel: Mabbott.
Mary: Ma(u)lkin, Mal(l)et(t), Marriott/Marryat/Marret/Mer(r)itt.
Emma: Emmott/-ett/-itt, Hemmett.
Maud: Mowatt.
Margaret: Meggott/-itt.
Alice: Allott.
Isolde: Issott
Elizabeth: Ebbet(t)s, Ibbott, Ibbotson, Epcott (?).
Rose/Royse/Royce: Ruskin.

This completes my select survey of English patronymics and a few metronymics. I will not trouble to put my two lists together, but even with them left as they are you can see just how prolific just a few common names were, and how inventive English was. Hey adds an appendix of the fifty most common names today, among them the Welsh names *Evans*, *Morgan* and *Griffiths*, and half of the fifty are patronymics.

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