

BRITISH FAMILY NAMES (II)

—Names in the general vocabulary—

P. E. DAVENPORT

In the paper on the origin of British family names in the previous issue of this journal I noted that most people do not know the meaning of their surname unless it is also a word in the modern general vocabulary, such as Smith or Baker, but that there are cases (such as Law) in which the similarity with a word in the general vocabulary is the accidental result of changes in phonology and spelling, and others (such as Pretty) in which, although the surname and the common word have the same origin, the meaning of the word that gave the surname was different in the middle ages from today. In Cottle's dictionary (see the previous paper, page 201) there are about 800 surnames that in at least one of their forms are identical with modern common words, and that in their other forms usually differ from them so slightly, for instance in the doubling of a consonant as in Ladd or the presence of a final -e as in Horne that they will be assumed by people to represent the modern word. (In one or two instances, such as Budd, the form is always slightly different from the modern one). In somewhat over half of these the surname is indeed identical in origin with the modern word, there has been no substantial change in meaning, and if the several types of byname explained in the previous paper are kept in mind there is no difficulty in seeing why the name was given; thus Carpenter was a carpenter and Thatcher a thatcher, Hill lived on or beside a hill, and a man was called Bold because of his boldness. In the remainder, however, either the resemblance is accidental, or the meaning of the word when it was given as a byname was different from today (or, in some cases, such as King, was not especially different but it may not be immediately clear to people why the name was given). Here I should like to present a selection of these deceptive surnames, with much fuller information about original forms than can be obtained in Cottle. Some of such names are rather rare, and one criterion for inclusion was that they should each have at least 50 entries in the London Postal Area telephone directory of recent years; many of them have considerably more entries than this, and some of them are what everyone would consider to be common surnames.

In what follows it should be recalled that a final -s as in Burns, Pounds,

Grimes represents not the plural but the possessive, indicating 'dweller at' in the case of a locality, 'worker at' in the case of a place of occupation, and 'son (or daughter or wife or servant or apprentice) of' in the case of a personal name. It is customary to take native English words back to their Old English forms, to clarify their history. OE=Old English, 8th to 11th centuries; ME=Middle English, 12th to 15th centuries; OF=Old French, the language of the Normans who conquered England in the 11th century, though their dialect differed in a number of important points from the standard language that developed in Paris in the 13th century; OD=Old Danish, properly recorded only from the 13th century onwards—it was in the 9th century that Danes invaded and settled in eastern and north-eastern England. (OD forms are not always available, and in such cases what are called Old Norse (ON) forms are given, which are usually Icelandic of the 12th to 15th centuries). The macron - over a vowel in OE and ME (and in OD) indicates a long vowel; it was not used in these periods of the language and is a modern device to aid the student. In ON the accent ' indicates a long vowel. In OE, $\acute{c}=[t\]$ (but $\acute{s}c=[\]$) and $\acute{g}=[j]$. Variant forms of the modern surnames are indicated by putting the extra letters in parentheses. The list should be read in sequence as philological and other information is not repeated in every entry to which it is relevant.

Abbot(t) OE *abbod* 'abbot', with the final -d later devoiced to -t. Abbots, and such other clergy as bishops, deans, friars, monks, priests, and priors were bound to celibacy; in origin surnames of this kind either are nicknames, based on a person's bearing, appearance, or (sometimes probably ironically) piety, or in some cases probably refer to the servants of such clergymen.

Almond A very deceptive name, coming from the OE personal names *Ealhmund* 'temple-protector' or *Æthelmund* 'noble-protector' with simplification or contraction of the first element.

Ash(e) OE *æsċ* [æċ] 'ash-tree'. In origin it refers to one who dwelt *aet thæm aescē* 'at the ash', i. e. beside an ash-tree or such trees; as explained in the previous paper (page 192) bynames referring to a locality were in OE usually preceded by the preposition *aet* plus the dative case of the definite article and noun, and the simplified ME form *atte* that resulted from the fusion of the preposition and the definite article was dropped during the latter period. The final -e in the form *Ashe* may well reflect the OE dative case (final -e's in all words {OE -e, -a, -u, -o fell together in -e [ə] in the 10th or 11th century) ceased to be pronounced during the 14th century and might then either be dropped, thus OE *sunu*, ME *sune*, *son*, modern *son*, or retained, thus OE *nama*, ME *nāme*, modern *name*, or even added unetymologically, thus OE *gōs*, ME

gōs, modern goose).

Ball Probably a nickname referring to a fat person, using OF balle 'ball',

Ban(n)ister OF banastre 'basket', used by metonymy for a basket-maker (see other examples of metonymy in the previous paper, page 195).

Baron OF barun 'baron', Many people of the lower classes are found with this byname, and it either refers to one who served a baron or is a nickname provoked by a haughty manner.

Barrow (1) OE bearu 'grove'; the surname is based on the dative case bearwe (see Ash(e) above). It thus refers to one who dwelt at a grove of trees. (2) OE beorg 'hill', the dative of which, beorge, gave ME berwe, barwe, thus one who dwelt on or beside a hill.

Beach This is the same as Beech, from OE bēce 'beech-tree' or from OE bece 'stream' (the vowel of which lengthened in ME, as it did in other such disyllabic words with a, e, o as main vowel, thus also OE nama, ME nāme above, OE hopu, ME hōpe 'hope', and many others). In ME, atte Bēche; thus, one who dwelt either by a beech-wood or by a stream.

Bean OE bēan 'bean'; used by metonymy for one who grew or sold beans. In some cases it may be a nickname using a ME word bēne 'kindly' perhaps of French origin.

Bear(e) Usually from a dialectal dative beara of OE bearu 'grove' that prevented it from developing into Barrow (above). In some cases it is based on OE bær 'swine-pasture', and thus indicated the place near which a person dwelt, while in others it may be a nickname, from OE bera 'bear'.

Beer(e) Identical in origin with Bear(e) above.

Bell Various origins: (1) A nickname, based on OF bel 'handsome'. (2) Son of Bell, a hypocoristic form of Isabel (see further the previous paper, page 200); the personal name of a woman might become a byname if the woman was widowed. (3) Metonymy for a bell-ringer or bell-maker, OE bell 'bell'.

Berry OE burh 'fort', dative byriġ, though in ME beri was used to refer to the manor-house of the lord, and the byname thus to one who served there. (OE y [y] unrounded to e in some parts of England, but developed to u in others, so we have also the name Bury of the same origin, though the pronunciation with e became the standard one).

Best Very deceptive: from OF beste 'beast', thus a nickname referring to brutality or stupidity.

Bird OE bridd 'bird'; a nickname apparently applied to a youth. The metathesis (transposition) of r and the vowel happened during the ME period; cf. OE drit, modern dirt.

Bishop OE biscop 'bishop'; a nickname given for the same reasons as Abbot(t)

above, or a servant of the bishop.

Bland From a place-name proper (see the previous paper, page 192) in West Yorkshire which may possibly derive from an OE word meaning 'windy place'.

Blank(s) OF blanc 'white', thus referring to one with white (or perhaps fair) hair, or perhaps a pale complexion.

Blunt OF blund, the antecedent of modern blond, thus a nickname for one with blond hair, or a fair complexion.

Bond OE bōnda, from OD (ON bóndi), referring to a free peasant who owned the land he tilled (cf. Husband(s) below), but in ME referring to a serf, which was the status to which most of the free peasants were reduced after the Norman Conquest (though the manorial system, in which people held land in return for labour on the lord's demesne or for other services, had been developing before the Conquest).

Bone OF bon 'good', thus a nickname.

Boon(e) In some cases probably the same as Bone above, in others from a French place-name Bohon: many Normans and people from other parts of France who came over with or after the Conquest used their place of origin in France as their byname.

Booth(e) ME bōth 'hut' from OD bōth; the word appears to have been used principally for a herdsman's hut, and atte Bōthe thus indicated the man's occupation as much as his place of residence.

Bower(s) [bauə(z)] OE būr 'chamber', ME bour, later bower, referring, like Chambers below, to a chamber-servant.

Box OE box 'box-tree', so for one who dwelt near a box-tree, though the word referred in ME also to the colour yellow, and may sometimes be a nickname for a person with hair of this colour or perhaps with unusually yellow teeth.

Brand ME from OD Brand 'firebrand; sword', a personal name.

Broom(e) OE brōm, probably meaning 'broom' in the sense of the bush (and thus a local name), not that of the sweeping implement; the latter, recorded from the 14th century, was originally made of twigs of broom tied together.

Budd Probably from an OE personal name Budda 'beetle'. Modern bud is not recorded until the end of the 14th century.

Bugg ME bugg(e) 'hobgoblin; scarecrow', of uncertain etymology; judging from its meaning, a nickname. Modern bug does not appear until the 17th century.

Burn(s) OE burna 'stream', thus used to refer to one who lived near a stream: ME atte Burne, or Burnes.

Burrow(s) The form without -s derives in some cases from OE beorg 'hill' (see Barrow (2) above), in others from OE burh 'fort' (ME 'manor', see Berry above), thus referring respectively to one who dwelt by a hill and one who worked at

the manor-house, and in yet other cases from a place-name proper, Burrow, some instances of which derive from the first OE word above and others from the second. Burrows may in some cases be either of the first two with the possessive -s, but in others derives from a different word, ME *bürhūs*, OE *būr* 'chamber' (see Bower(s) above) and *hūs* 'house', referring to the private chambers of the lord or lady, and thus, as a byname, referring like Bower(s) and Chambers to a chamber-servant.

Callow OE *calo* 'bald', thus a nickname. The word was applied also to an unfledged bird, and the modern meaning of 'raw, inexperienced' appeared in the 16th century.

Cane (1) OF *cane* 'cane, reed', thus a nickname probably applied to a tall, thin person. (2) OF *Caen*, a place-name in northern France; cf. Boon(e) above.

Carver (1) One who carved, certainly in wood, perhaps also in stone; not recorded in OE, though we do have the verb *céorfan* 'to cut', and the agentive -er is from OE -ere. (2) OF *caruier* 'ploughman', thus another occupational name.

Case (1) OF *casse* 'box, chest', thus by metonymy for a maker of such. (2) Probably also, like the surname Cass, a hypocoristic form of the female personal name Cassandra (introduced by the Normans, ultimately Greek).

Cash A variant of Case, in both its origins.

Cave Indicating either a person from Cave, a place-name in Humberside (probably in origin the name of a stream, meaning 'swift' in OE), or one who was bald, from OF *cauf* 'bald' (c- is Norman dialect for standard ch-: from the standard form *chauf* we have the surnames Chafe and Chaff).

Chambers The most common way of referring to a chamber-servant (OF *chambre* 'room'); cf. Bower(s) above.

Chase Metonymy for a hunter, OF *chaceur*.

Child(s) OE *cild* 'child', but in the middle ages it referred also to a page, especially in the sense of a youth in training for knighthood. The form with -s probably denotes residence near a spring, OE *celde*.

Chubb ME *chubbe* 'chub', of uncertain etymology. The fish has a shape suggestive of fatness, and had a reputation for laziness; the surname is thus from a nickname for one who was fat (though the modern adjective chubby does not appear until the 17th and 18th centuries) or, to judge from later evidence, who was lazy or foolish.

Clark(e) OF *clerc* 'cleric', but by the 13th century the word as an occupation name had come to mean clerk (the same word) or secretary: literacy in the middle ages was largely confined to the clergy and secretarial work was done by those in the lowest orders. By the 14th century, however, especially in the towns, not all people called Clark(e) because of their occupation as compilers of records

or documents were members of the clergy, and the word even became a nickname to refer to anyone who was literate.

Close ME 'enclosure; farm-yard' from OF *clos* 'enclosure', thus a local name for one dwelling near an enclosed field or an occupation name for one who worked in a farm-yard.

Coat(es) OE *cot* 'cottage', thus one who lived in a cottage and was a cottar, i.e. a serf occupying a cottage rent-free on the lord's estate in return for labour.

Collier Based on OE *col* 'live coal; charcoal'; it referred to a maker and seller of charcoal, which was used for cooking, and not to a miner (which is the modern sense of the word).

Cotton From the OE dative plural in *aet thæm cotum* 'at the cottages', thus referring to a person who dwelt, as a cottar (see *Coat(es)* above), in one of a group of cottages.

Coward Many bearers of this surname are doubtless embarrassed by it, but unnecessarily so, as it is in origin OE *cūhyrde* 'cow-herd'.

Crab(b) OE *crabba* 'crab'; a nickname for one who either walked with a crooked gait, or had a fractious disposition (for which the crab had a reputation; this sense is illustrated from the 14th century in the adjective *crabbed*).

Crane OE *cran* 'crane', presumably a nickname for one with long, thin legs.

Craven Another embarrassing surname, but, like *Coward*, it is of quite different origin from the modern word: it is from a place-name in West Yorkshire, probably of Celtic origin.

Crook(e) Not a very nice name in one of its origins: an OD nickname *Krōk*, used with reference to one with a crooked back or one who was, indeed, dishonest. The common noun *krōk* was used also with reference to a bend in a river in those parts of England settled by the Danes, and the byname *atte Krōke* referred to one who dwelt by such a bend.

Crouch OE *crūc* 'cross', ME *cruche*, thus a local name for one who lived near a cross: in the OE period many large stone crosses were erected to provide a site of worship when there was no church.

Curry (1) OF *curie* 'kitchen', thus an occupation name. (2) A place-name proper, in Somerset, of uncertain etymology.

Day Another very deceptive name: OE *daege* originally meant a kneader of dough, i.e. a bread-maker, on the domestic level (the modern word *lady* comes from OE *hlæfdige* 'loaf-kneader', where *-dige* is a reduced form of *daege*), but came in time, probably under Danish influence, to mean a maidservant, and later also a male servant. It also referred specifically to a dairy-woman, perhaps because the making of butter and cheese was originally women's work, and later also to a dairy-man. (The word *dairy*, which appears in the late 14th century,

is itself formed from this word plus the last element seen, e. g., in bakery and brewery, borrowed from OF and denoting a place where something is made or, in this case, where a person performed his or her job}.

Dean(e) (1) OE *denu* 'valley', ME *dēne*, thus for one who dwelt in a valley. (2) OF *deien* 'dean', thus a nickname, or referring to one who served a dean.

Death, De'Ath, D'Eath The name, from OE *dēath* 'death', is usually disguised as one of the latter two forms (De'Ath is the commoner, pronounced [diæθ]; Death is usually pronounced [di:θ]). The name was probably applied to a person who regularly played the role of Death in mediaeval pageants or plays.

Dent (1) OF *dent* 'tooth', thus a nickname. (2) From a place-name in West Yorkshire, probably of Celtic origin and meaning 'hill'.

Diamond No connection with the jewel: it is a relatively modern corruption of *Dayman*, meaning a dairy-man or a herdsman (cf. *Day* above).

Drake OE *draca* 'dragon', which was conceived of as a kind of serpent. In some cases it must be a nickname; in others it may refer by metonymy to a standard-bearer, as the word was used, for obvious reasons, with reference to a battle-standard.

Duke(s) OF *duc* 'military commander', later used in both England and France for one of the highest ranks of nobility. In some cases a nickname, referring to an aristocratic bearing, in others an occupation name, for one who served a duke.

Earl(e) OE *eorl* 'a man of noble rank'; in the ME period an earl usually had the governorship of a county. Like *Duke(s)* above, and for the same reasons, it is either a nickname or an occupation name.

Edge OE *ecg* [ed3] 'ridge, steep hill', thus a local name for one who dwelt near such.

Farmer OF *fermier* 'a tax or rent collector'; thus for one who collected rents ('farms', in money or in kind) from the people who rented land for cultivation, and only later applied to such people themselves. The modern general sense of a cultivator of the land whether as tenant or owner dates from the 16th century.

Flood OE *fliōd* 'stream', thus for one who dwelt near such.

Flower Several origins: (1) OE *fliā* 'arrow', which became *fliō* in ME, plus the agentive -er, thus an arrow-maker. (2) OF *flour* 'flower', used as a nickname (though the reasons are not entirely clear) and as a woman's name. And possibly (3) OF *fleur*, the same word as (2), meaning also 'flower', so by metonymy for one who produced the substance.

Foster A contraction or corruption of several words referring to occupations: (1) OF *forestier* 'forester'. (2) OF *forcetier* 'cutler'. (3) OF *fustier*, a person who

made the framework for saddles.

Free OE frēo 'free', used in the middle ages of a freeman as opposed to a serf.

Frost OE forst 'frost' (on the metathesis cf. Bird above), a nickname based either on frosty white hair, or on frostiness of manner.

Fry OE frīg 'free', a phonological variant of Free above.

Gale (1) OE gāl 'merry; wanton', thus a nickname. (2) OF gaiole 'gaol', thus ME atte Gaole, with reference to a gaoler (gaiole was Norman dialect for standard jaiole, whence modern jail and the modern pronunciation of gaol).

Gaunt ME gaunt, the modern word, of uncertain etymology; thus, a nickname. In some cases, for a man from Ghent (in Belgium).

Gore OE gāra, the irregularly shaped piece of land left over after a field had been divided into rectangular strips for cultivation by different individuals (etymologically, at least, the piece of land was triangular, as the word is related to OE gār 'spear'). Thus ME atte Gōre, for one who lived beside such.

Grant OF grant 'great', used as a nickname for a tall (and perhaps obese) person.

Grave(s) OD grefe 'steward', thus an occupation name in the north and north-east of England.

Green(e) OE grēne 'green', thus ME atte Grēne, for one who dwelt beside the village green.

Grime(s) OE grimm 'grim, fierce', thus a nickname, or OD Grim, with the same meaning, a personal name.

Gross OF gros 'fat; big', thus a nickname.

Guest OE giest 'stranger', so perhaps used of a newcomer to a community.

Hale(s) OE halh 'nook; side-valley', thus ME atte Hāle for one who dwelt in such a place.

Hatch OE haec̄ce 'forest-gate; sluice-gate', thus ME atte Hacche for one who dwelt there.

Hawk(e)(s) OE hafoc 'hawk', ME hawek, used (1) as a nickname presumably for one with a cruel or rapacious disposition, or (2) as metonymy for a hawker, one who bred and trained the birds (hawks were used as well as falcons in falconry, a very popular sport of the nobility in the middle ages). In some cases with -(e)s the name probably represents a variant phonological development of OE halh, see Hale(s) above.

Hay(es) OE haeg 'fence, hedge', thus also 'an enclosure', and ME hay was also used with reference to a forest enclosed by a fence for hunting; thus a local name for one who lived near such. In some cases it is a nickname based on one of the phonological developments of OE hēah, 'high, tall' (the modern high is

from a non-standard OE form *hēh*).

Head OE *hēafod* 'head', in some cases perhaps a nickname, though the reasons can only be guessed at, but also a local name from the meaning 'head of a valley or stream; top of a hill'.

Hol(l)iday OE *hāligdæg* 'holy day, religious festival'; used for one born (or perhaps baptised) on such a day.

Homer OF *heaumier* 'helmet-maker', thus an occupation name. In some cases it is a spelling variant of *Holmer* [*houmæ*], OE *holh-mere* 'hollow-pool', i. e. a pool in a hollow, and thus a local name.

Hook(e) OE *hōc* 'hook'; probably a nickname for one with a bent figure or a hook-nose. Another source is OE *hōh* [*ho:x*] 'steep ridge', thus a local name, and yet another is perhaps metonymy for *Hooker*, OE *hōcere* 'hook-maker' (for reaping, etc.).

Hope OE *hop* 'a small side-valley', thus *atte Hōpe* (from the dative; on the lengthening of the vowel see *Beach* above) for one who lived there. The same word occurs as a place-name proper.

Horn(e) OE *horn* 'horn', as a byname probably used with reference to a horn-shaped hill, thus a local name. Also from OE *horna* 'corner, bend', thus perhaps for one who lived at a bend in a river.

House OE *hūs* 'house', as a byname for one who worked at a religious house.

Husband(s) OE *hūsbōnda* (*hūs* 'house'; on *bōnda* see *Bond* above), based on OD (ON *húsbóndi*), referring to a free peasant who owned his house and land, and coming also to mean the head of a household. The modern meaning, the male equivalent of 'wife', is first recorded in the late 13th century. In the ME period the word as a byname usually referred to the typical tenant farmer in a state of serfdom.

Jewel(l) From a Breton (a kind of Celtic) personal name *Iudhael* 'lord-generous', brought over with the Conquest. In some cases it may be metonymy (OF *joel*) for a jeweller (OF *juelier*).

Keen(e) OE *cēne* 'bold', and sometimes 'wise'; thus used as a nickname. The modern meaning of 'eager' is recorded from the 14th century, but that of 'having a sharp sense (of hearing, etc.)' not until the 18th.

Key(es) A variant of the more common *Kay(es)*. There are several origins: (1) A Welsh personal name *Kei*, probably from the Latin name *Caius* (based on a word meaning to rejoice). (2) OF *cay* 'quay', thus for one who dwelt near or worked at such a place. (3) ME *kay* from OD *kā* 'jackdaw', thus a nickname, probably provoked by loquacity, for which the bird, in its own way, had a reputation. And perhaps (4) OE *caeg* 'key', so metonymy for a maker of such, or for one whose job was to keep the keys of a large residence or a fortress.

Kid(d) ME kid 'kid' (i.e. a young goat), probably from OD. Thus a nickname based on obvious personal qualities. In some cases it may be metonymy for a seller of ME kidde 'faggot' (used as fuel).

King OE cyn(in)g 'king', thus a nickname based on a person's bearing, probably a swaggering one, or (similar to Death) for one who played the role of a king in a play or pageant.

Knight OE cniht 'boy, male servant', later also with reference to a man who served a master in a military capacity. In the middle ages, it referred to a tenant who held land on a manor in return for mounted military service and later to a man of noble birth raised to the honourable military rank of this name after serving an apprenticeship (cf. Child(s) above).

Lad(d) ME ladde, antecedent of the modern lad, of uncertain etymology, and in ME meaning a servant, or a man of low birth.

Lake OE lacu 'stream' (and not the antecedent of modern lake), thus ME atte Lāke for one who dwelt beside such.

Large OF large, meaning 'generous' in ME rather than 'big' (cf. largesse); a nickname.

Last OE last 'shoe-last'; metonymy for a maker of such.

Lavender OF lavandier 'launderer', thus an occupation name.

Law OE hlāw 'hill', thus a local name for one who lived on or beside such in the north of England (see Low below). In some cases it is a hypocoristic form of the personal name Laurence, introduced by the Normans, in origin a Latin name and popular because the name of a well-known saint.

Lay From OE lēage, a dative form of lēah, denoting a tract of open land, which would usually be a forest-clearing and used as pasture or as arable land, so a local name for one who lived near such. Lee is the more common surname from this word, deriving from a different dative form.

Lem(m)on ME Lem(m)an, a contraction of an OE personal name Lēofmann 'beloved man', though the word lem(m)an was also used to mean a sweetheart, so the surname comes in some cases from the personal name and in others from the word used as a nickname.

Light OE lēoht 'bright, cheerful' (the word had also the modern sense of not heavy), thus a nickname. Probably also from OE lyt 'little' (the pronunciation of these two OE words having eventually fallen together in [li:t]), so also a nickname.

Lock(e) OE loca 'enclosure', thus a local name, or a nickname based on OE locc 'lock of hair', for one with fine locks.

Lord OE hlāfweard, literally 'loaf-keeper' (see on lady in Day above) but with the meaning of master or chief whether of a household or not, and certainly

referring to the chief of a village or a shire. In ME the word, now contracted to *laverd* or even further to the modern *lord*, usually referred to the feudal lord. In most cases it is probably a nickname based on arrogant behaviour.

Low(e) The same origins as *Law* above. OE *ā* remained as *ā* in ME in the north of England, but rounded to *ō* in the midlands and south, thus ME *lōw* from OE *hlāw*, and cf., for instance, ME *stōn* 'stone' from OE *stān*. The variant phonological development of the hypocoristic form of *Laurence* did not have such a regional distribution. Another origin in some parts of the country is a nickname based on OD (ON *lágr*) 'low, short', which is the antecedent of the modern word *low*.

Luck This and *Luke* were the common forms of the Latin name *Lucas* (which is ultimately Greek).

Lynch OE *hlinç* 'hill, slope' thus a local name. OE *y* [y] was unrounded to [i] at the end of the OE period in many parts of England, and the graphs *y* and *i* became interchangeable (on other developments of OE *y* see *Berry* above).

Major From a Norman personal name *Maugier*, of Germanic origin (*Malger* 'council-spear'; on such names see the previous paper, pages 190-1).

Man(n) OE *Mann* 'man', a personal name. In many cases it is probably the general word *mann* 'man', perhaps used with the same kind of reference as *Lad(d)* above, i. e. for a servant or man of low birth.

Manners OF *Mesnières*, a place-name in northern France. On the use of French place-names as bynames see *Boon(e)* above and the previous paper, page 194.

March OF *marche* 'boundary', thus applied to one who lived by the boundary of an estate.

May OE *maeg* originally denoted a kinsman or kinswoman but developed the meaning of a maiden or youth, and it is probably the latter meaning that is found in the byname. The word 'may' in the sense of maiden (which itself is from the related OE word *maegden* 'girl') continued to exist into the 19th century. Another source of the surname is a hypocoristic form of the personal name *Matthew* in its Norman form *Mahieu*.

Money OF *Monnai*, a place-name in northern France. Another possible source is OF *moigne* 'monk', perhaps referring to one who worked at a monastery, or perhaps used as a nickname (these being also the reasons for the modern surname *Monk*, OE *munc* 'monk').

Moon OF *Moyon*, a place-name in northern France. Probably also from a Norman dialectal form of OF *moigne* 'monk', see *Money* above.

Moor(e), More OF *Maur*, a personal name probably from the Latin name of a 6th-century saint, *Maurus*. The word meant a Moor (i. e. one of the inhabitants of north-west Africa), and, in the form 'the *Mōre*', was sometimes applied as

a nickname, doubtless to a person with a swarthy complexion. Another source is OE *mōr* 'moor; fen', thus ME *atte Mōre*, a local name. There are also place-names proper of this origin.

Moss OE *mos* 'marsh', thus a local name for one who lived near such. Also a hypocoristic form of the biblical name Moses, which usually appears in ME as *Moyse*, OF *Moise*.

Mould From an OF hypocoristic form of the woman's name *Matilda*, of Germanic origin (*Mahthildis* 'strength-battle'). The usual hypocoristic form was and still is *Maud*.

New OE *nīwe* 'new', presumably used with reference to a newcomer to a community. In the case of *atte Newe* we have an interesting phenomenon in which the final nasal consonant of the definite article became attached to the OE word *ēow* 'yew' instead of being dropped (see *Ash(e)* above and *Ray (2)* below, and note that the surname *Nash(e)* shows the same phenomenon happening with *Ash(e)*); in this case, then, it is a local name.

Pace OF *pasche* 'Easter', used in ME as a personal name for one born at Easter. Another source is OF *pais* 'peace', which also was used as a personal name.

Parish A variant of *Paris*, so a byname showing origin in that French city.

Parry From the Welsh *ap Harry* 'son of Harry'; see the previous paper, page 197.

Peel OF *piel* 'palisade', used with reference to a small castle or fortified tower; thus a local name for one who lived near such or worked there.

Pegg One of the hypocoristic forms of the female personal name *Margaret* (from Latin *Margarita*, ultimately Greek, 'pearl'), others being *Peggy*, *Meg*, *Madge*, *Maggie*, and *Maisie*. Another source is ME *pegge* 'peg', of uncertain origin, metonymy for a maker or seller of such.

Petty OF *petit* 'small', thus used as a nickname.

Pike Numerous origins: (1) OE *pic* 'pickax, point, pointed hill'; as a byname probably a local name referring to one who dwelt near the latter. (2) OD *Pik*, etymologically the same as (1), a nickname for a tall, thin person. (3) ME *pike*, the fish, also from (1) etymologically and so called because of its pointed jaw; metonymy for a fishmonger. (4) OF *pic* 'woodpecker', thus a nickname, though the reason is unclear.

Pink OE *pinc(a)* 'chaffinch'; this, like the surname *Finch* (OE *finč* 'finch'), was probably used as a nickname for a simpleton.

Pitt OE *pytt* 'pit, hollow', thus a local name for one who lived in a hollow or small valley.

Poor In one of its origins, the name is identical with the modern word: from OF *poure* 'poor', thus a nickname. In many cases, however, it is from OF *Pohier*

meaning a man from Picardy, a region in northern France.

Pope OE *pāpa* and OF *pape* 'pope', thus a nickname based on certain personal qualities, or for one who played the role in a mediaeval pageant.

Porter OF *portier* 'door- or gate-(OF *porte*) keeper' or OF *porteur* 'carrier, porter'; thus an occupation name.

Potter OE *pottere* 'potter'; the mediaeval potter made vessels not only of earthenware but also of copper and brass.

Pott(s) (1) A hypocoristic form of *Philpot* (using only the last syllable) which was itself from an OF hypocoristic form of the personal name *Philip* (ultimately Greek, 'lover of horses'). (2) Metonymy for *Potter* above.

Pound(s) OE *pund* 'pound, enclosure', usually a cattle-pound, so for one who dwelt near such or who was in charge of it.

Power(s) Identical in origin with *Poor* above.

Press A simplification of ME *Prestes* 'priest's', used for a servant of the priest (OE *prēost*).

Price Welsh *ap Rhys*, son of *Rhys* ('ardour'): see the previous paper, page 197.

Priest OE *prēost* 'priest'. Although all the kinds of clergy mentioned under *Abbot(t)* above might have a byname referring to their office, it should be remembered that they could not found families, so in origin surnames such as *Priest* either are nicknames based on a 'priestly' character or refer to the servants of such clergymen.

Prince OF *prince* 'prince', a nickname based on character, or from playing the role of a prince in a pageant, or perhaps, in some cases, a kind of occupation name from service in a prince's household.

Prior OE *prior* and OF *priur* 'prior'; a nickname or occupation name: see *Priest* and *Abbot(t)* above.

Ray (1) OF *rei* 'king', thus a nickname given for the same reasons as *King* above. (2) From OE *aet thære ie* 'at the island', thus a local name, in which the -r- of the feminine dative case of the definite article attached to the noun in ME, in a similar way as in one of the origins of *New* above. Some examples in general words of such metanalysis, as this process is known, are *adder*, OE *nædre*, where ME 'a nadder' was redivided into 'an adder', *apron*, where ME 'a nāperon' (from OF) became 'an apron', and the word *nickname*, where the -n of the indefinite article in ME 'an ēkenāme' (meaning an additional name) was attached to the noun. Another good example in a surname is *Rock* below.

Read(e) OE *rēad* 'red', so used as a nickname for one with red hair or a very red complexion. Probably also from an unrecorded OE word *rīed* 'clearing', seen also in the surname *Ride*, thus a local name for one who dwelt at a forest-clearing.

Reader Both this and the surname Reeder refer to a thatcher who used reeds, OE hrēod. The byname is recorded from the 13th century, but a general word reeder in this sense not until the 15th.

Reading The first syllable is [red-], not [ri:d-]. (1) From an unrecorded OE word rydding 'clearing', see Read(e) above. (2) From the place-name near London, on the origin of which see the previous paper, page 193.

Reed Identical in origin with Read(e) above.

Rice A form of the Welsh personal name Rhys; see Price above.

Rider OE rīdere, in ME a rider in the sense of a mounted soldier. Probably also for one who dwelt at a forest-clearing, see Read(e) above, using the agentive -er.

Rock Another example of metanalysis (see Ray above), from OE aet thære āc 'at the oak', in which, in ME, the -r- of the definite article attached to the following noun, to give atte Rōk; this gave either the surname Roke [rouk] or, with shortening of the vowel, Rock; thus a local name for one who lived beside an oak-tree.

Book(e) OE hrōc 'rook', probably used as a nickname for one with black hair. In some cases it may also be another phonological development of the form behind Rock above.

Rose From a Norman personal name Royse, Ro(h)ese, from Germanic (Hrodohaidis 'fame-kind'); the name usually gave the surname Royce, but was also treated as if the name of the flower (which was borrowed from OF).

Row(e) OE rūh 'rough', applied as a local name to one who lived near rough (presumably meaning uncultivated) ground. Another source is OE rāw 'row', which might have been applied to one who lived beside a hedgerow or perhaps in one of a row of houses (cf. Cotton above).

Scale(s) ME scāle from OD (ON skáli) 'hut, shed', thus a local name for one who dwelt by such.

Seal(e), Seales OE sele 'hall', i. e. the house of the village chief, used in ME with reference to a large residence, thus for one who worked at such a place.

Seller(s), Sellar(s) In some cases the possessor of this byname was indeed a seller, i. e. a trader of some kind; the word is not recorded in OE but we have the verb sellan 'give', which had developed its modern meaning of 'give in return for payment' by the early ME period. In other cases it is from OF celier 'cellar, pantry', thus ME atte Celer for one who looked after the provisions for a large residence or a monastery.

Slack In some cases from OE slaec 'lazy; careless', thus a nickname. In others it is from OD (ON slakki) 'hollow; small valley', and is thus a local name.

Slaughter From ME slahtere 'slaughterer (of animals)', the word slahter 'slaugh-

ter' having been borrowed from OD (it is etymologically related to the word *slay*, which is from OE *slēan*). In some cases it is obviously a local name, and will then be from the unrecorded OE word *slōhtre* 'slough, swamp'.

Small OE *smael*, which meant 'slender' as well as 'small', and continued to do so until at least the 16th century; thus, a nickname.

Snow OE *snāw* 'snow', used as a nickname for one with snow-white hair.

Speed OE *spēd* 'success, prosperity'; it was only in ME that the word became frequent with reference to swiftness. As a byname it is more likely to have the older meaning, thus a nickname for a prosperous man. The old meaning is preserved in the proverb 'More haste, less speed' and in the now archaic expression 'God speed!' (subjunctive, thus meaning 'May God give you success').

Squire(s) OF *escuier* 'shield-bearer', used for an attendant, himself of good birth, on a man with the honourable rank of knight (see *Knight* above). The common modern meaning of a landed gentleman appears in the 17th century.

Stack OD *stak* 'haystack'; this is the modern word *stack*, which already had its general modern meaning in the ME period, but in the case of the byname it probably did refer to a haystack, and was either metonymic for one who built them, or a nickname for a hefty person.

Stamp OF *Estampes*, a place-name in northern France (see *Boon(e)* above).

Still (1) OE *stille* 'quiet', thus a nickname. (2) OE *stiele* 'fish-weir', thus a local name. (3) OE *stigol* 'stile', ME *stīl*, which usually appears as *Stile*, but *Still* may be a variant of this with a shortened vowel; thus, a local name.

Stock(s) OE *stoc* 'trunk, tree-stump', perhaps also 'foot-bridge', thus a local name of some kind.

Stor(e)y From an OD personal name (ON *Stóri*), probably meaning 'big'.

Strange OF *estrange* 'foreign', used as a nickname with reference to a newcomer to a community.

Street OE *stræt* 'street', thus a local name for one who lived in the (main) street of a village. (In OE the word usually referred to one of the paved roads that had been made by the Romans during their occupation of Britain from the middle of the 1st century AD to the beginning of the 5th).

Summer(s) OF *somier* 'sumpter', thus an occupation name for a muleteer.

Swann (1) OD *Sven* 'boy', a personal name. (2) OD *svēn* 'boy; servant', thus a kind of occupation name. (3) OE *swān* 'swineherd; peasant'. (4) OE *swan* 'swan', used as a nickname for some unknown reason.

Tenant OF *tenant*, 'tenant' in the sense of one who held a tenement, i. e. land held by tenure.

Tester, Testar OF *testard*, a derogatory word based on *teste* 'head', thus a nickname for a 'big-head'.

Till A hypocoristic form of the personal name Matilda, see Mould above.

Wade OE Wada, a personal name. Also a local name, from OE waed 'ford', for one who dwelt there.

Wait(e) Norman dialect waite 'watchman', thus an occupation name.

Ward(e) OE weard 'guard, watchman', thus an occupation name.

Water(s) From a Norman personal name Walter, pronounced [wauter], of Germanic origin (Waldhar 'rule-folk'). Also, in the form atte Watere, from OE waeter 'water, stream', thus a local name.

Week(e)s OE wic 'village; dairy-farm'; the latter was probably the usual meaning when the word was used as a local byname.

Whittle OE hwit hyll 'white hill', a local name, or indicating one who had come from a place of this name (of which there are several).

Wick(e)(s) Identical in origin with Week(e)s above.

Winn OE Wine 'friend', a personal name.

Witt(s) A variant, with a short vowel, of the surname White, OE hwit 'white', used as a nickname for one with white (or perhaps fair) hair, or a pale complexion, thus equivalent to Blank(s) above from French.

Worth OE worth 'enclosure; homestead', thus a local name, or for a man who had come from a place of this name, of which there are several.