

LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM KING'S LYNN

by Cecily Clark and Dorothy Owen¹

SUMMARY

In these lexical comments on some early medieval bynames preserved in archive sources, mainly unpublished, from King's Lynn, the themes illustrated include local characteristics, revealed mainly through comparison with the Promptorium Parvulorum, and French influence, especially the many parallels afforded by byname-forms recorded in north-eastern France; a few suggestions are also made of derivation from proverbs and catchphrases. Forms not yet adequately identified are listed in two appendices.

Since it has over the last fifty years become a commonplace among historical linguists that early medieval bynames, and nicknames especially, form a rich mine of lexicographical treasures,² it is far from unexpected for a fair range of finds to have been unearthed by recent studies in some King's Lynn documents, partly unpublished, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

For the last fifteen years one of us has been investigating documentary material for medieval Lynn, in connection with the archaeological survey of that town undertaken in 1962 by the Society for Medieval Archaeology. Reports on standing buildings and on archaeology, drawn from the findings of the survey, have already appeared,³ and it is hoped to publish in 1978-9 a volume of medieval documents concerning the town, in the British Academy's new series of Records of Social and Economic History. This volume will include material of all periods between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, but the earliest charters and lists of citizens are particularly rich in unusual names, which are to be the subject of a special study in it. The paper which follows is a by-product of this work on names.

For this paper our main sources, apart from the list of burgesses' names in the Pipe Roll for 1166 (P),⁴ have been two unpublished bede-rolls. That of the Trinity Guild of Lynn (T), compiled in the late thirteenth century but partly based on sources datable almost a century earlier, lists merchants and others belonging to the borough — only men, that is;⁵ owing to preference in this milieu for *noms d'origine*,⁶ nicknames are not very common here, but of those that do occur many are unusual. That of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Gaywood (G), dated about 1300 but likewise based on sources considerably older, lists in family groups those enjoying confraternity and the right to prayers, most of them hailing from neighbouring villages rather than from the borough of Lynn itself;⁷ here nicknames abound. Since both rolls are conflated copies of older materials, their chronological stratification is no longer visible; in both, duplicated entries suggest derivation from unsystematic confraternity records such as survive in the *libri vitae* of, for instance, Durham, Hyde, and Thorney.⁸ Although precise dating of individual entries is impossible, all antedate 1300, and a few may do so by as much as a century; self-evidently, the bynames recorded must have been well established before the relevant entries were made. The transcriptions are sometimes uncertain, not only because of poor legibility but also because both rolls, G especially, show unintelligent copying, with confusions of *de/le* as well as of similar letters (G offers one or two forms hardly explicable except as corruptions of original spellings with *wynn* for *w*).⁹ Some readings are indeed obscure

enough to tempt an investigator into bold, and perhaps unwise, speculation, this temptation being enhanced by the reflection that for most forms transmission must have included oral stages as well as graphic ones, with all the further risks of corruption that must have been involved. Apart from these three major sources, a few forms have been collected from other Lynn documents, some preserved as originals, some in various cartularies.¹⁰

The very ordinariness of these sources may increase the significance of any finds, for it implies that similar supplements to our onomastic and lexical records could be collected from any or all of the mass of medieval English documents as yet unpublished or at least not fully exploited either by anthroponymists or by lexicographers. The repertory of nicknames found is typical of Middle-English usage as a whole rather than peculiar to Norfolk; many forms of Middle-English tional stock which – as the material adduced here for *Milnemus* and *Pilecat* suggests – may have been partly linked with proverbs and traditional catch-phrases.¹¹

Any apparently local characteristics of our material have, however, been underlined as much as possible. Whenever appropriate, parallels are cited from the fifteenth-century English-Latin dictionary from Lynn, *Promptorium Parvulorum*.¹² A minor point of interest is that one or two of the rarer terms, such as *Flobi* and perhaps *Doggedrove*, have hitherto been classed as peculiar to northern dialects. One term, *Dingle*, has been regarded as a West-Midland word; and the difficult form *Culbul* might also be most plausibly explained as a western importation. How far such unexpected forms were due to immigration by people who already had fixed nicknames and kept them without adjustment to the local dialect, or how far (as the Suffolk parallel for the rare *Flobi* suggests) to wider currency than hitherto realised of the various terms themselves, can hardly be determined without much fuller evidence.

Similar uncertainty surrounds the frequent nicknames derived from French words. To some extent these may simply be due to the general adoption of such words into the Middle-English vocabulary. Yet here, as elsewhere in medieval England,¹³ many nicknames coincide with ones common on the continent and might, therefore, have been introduced not as general vocabulary but as the names of actual foreign settlers – a probability strengthened by the various *noms d'origine* referring to places such as Beauvais and Saint-Omer (a few of the rarer and more difficult forms in this category are discussed below, in Appendix B). As Lynn enjoyed regular and long-standing trade contacts with Flanders and with north-eastern France,¹⁴ parallels have been sought mainly from these areas.¹⁵ This is not to imply that such nicknames were confined to these parts of France, for many were indeed in truly international use,¹⁶ but merely that their ranges did include the areas from which onomastic influences were most likely to have reached Lynn. In spite of an occasional *nom d'origine* apparently traceable to such places as Vienne,¹⁷ influence from the more southerly parts of France is on the whole excluded not only by external history but also by the dialectal forms involved (at this time dialects of Provençal, of the *langue d'oc*, extended as far north as Limoges and Clermont-Ferrand).¹⁸ On the other hand, any wine-trade with Bordeaux could have brought acquaintance with Gascon personal names, and place-names too, and one or two forms seem to raise the question of this (*de Runceval* T Iv/2, for instance, and a couple of forms discussed below). All in all, the frequency of parallels between the bynames found here and those current on the continent (only a few of these parallels are noted below, as most

involve either wholly commonplace terms or else patronymics) may confirm that such forms did reach Norfolk through trade and immigration rather than through general lexical influence.

As bynames nearly always lack defining context, the lexicographical material which they furnish necessarily remains limited, with some specimens unresolvably ambiguous and some totally defying identification. Some hard cases are listed in Appendix B, with such commentary as seems relevant, in the hope that some scholar more perspicacious may be able firmly to identify them (this is also where a few possible *noms d'origine* are listed, even though these do not properly concern English lexicography). These limitations notwithstanding, our West-Norfolk bynames provide not only antedatings of several familiar words but also grounds for reinterpreting a few less familiar ones, together with an item or two hitherto apparently unrecorded. Thus, they modestly supplement both the standard 'literary' dictionaries¹⁹ and also the various onomastic reference books.²⁰ Deliberately, the criteria for inclusion in our list have been made generous: terms with fair 'dictionary' records may figure here if their onomastic use seems so far to have been insufficiently noted; and, correspondingly, words already known as early nicknames are listed if their existing 'literary' record is thin. The aim is to stress how widely such terms must have been current long before the extant records become common. Antedatings refer only to English lexicography: nicknames found in English documents might well provide supplementary records for French lexicography too, but that would be another story and one which a mere *angliciste* might be rash to attempt.²¹

braunch 'limb of tree, etc.': MED 1300; not in DBS, even though represented by a widespread modern surname.

*Radulfus Branch*²² G 13/1.

An identical name occurs in an early-twelfth-century Norfolk plea-roll; some possible analogues include: *Willelmus Woderys* G 18/3, apparently 'brushwood', and one or two forms from early-fourteenth-century London, such as *John Spray* and perhaps *Thomas Rys*.²³ Although analogues, including the compound *Malebranche*, also occur in France, the sense remains uncertain;²⁴ the apparently synonymous *Rameau* has been taken to allude to Palm Sunday.²⁵ Otherwise neither language seems to offer any relevant idiom, catchphrase, or occupational association.

calver(e) 'calf-herd': not in NED, MED, Fransson, or Thuresson (cf. 61), but for a Suffolk instance dated 1232, see Mills (1963), 251; DBS *s.v.* *Calver* prefers derivation from Calver, Derbyshire.

Bartholomeus le Calwere G 9/2.

*Ricardus Hymeyn*²⁶ *Calwere* G 9v/1.

Both forms, and especially the double byname in the second example, agree with interpretation as an occupational term. The spelling poses no problem, because in G, as in many other East-Anglian materials, *w* often appears for etymological [v], possibly reflecting a real sound-change.²⁷

Cf. also perhaps *vellar* below p. 65.

candilwif 'female candle-merchant': not recorded by MED, Fransson (cf. 72-3), or Thuresson.

Agnes le Candilwif G 11/1.

Interesting not only as implying the woman's personal involvement with the trade but also as one of the rare occupational terms in *-wif*.²⁸

cocard 'simpleton': MED 1393, but cf. *Cocardus* noted c. 1110 at Battle.²⁹
Alicia Cakardes G 8v/1 (with familial -es).³⁰

The corresponding French *coquard* often figures as a surname.³¹ The spelling here is, however, odd (unless a mere error), as normally Old-French -o- does not give -a- in Middle English.³²

coif(e) 'head-dress': MED 1330, but DBS 1260, s.v. *Quaif*; also *Promptorium*, col. 89. Cf. *coyfer*: Fransson (116) 1281, but DBS 1228, s.v. *Quaif*.

Edithe le Koyfe G 12v/2.

The Old-English baptismal name might support an original date earlier rather than late in the thirteenth century but, being among the commonest such forms remaining in use,³³ by no means argues for one.

Possibly analogous French surnames include *Coiffier*, *Coifu*.³⁴

coilour 'collector': MED 1301, likewise *Thuresson* (141); but cf. *cuillur* in F. M. Stenton (ed), *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, Northamptonshire Record Society 4 (1930), 38 (1180/90).

Rogerus le Coliur G 8v/2.

To be distinguished from *coliere* 'charcoal-burner' (MED 1276), as in *Thomas Coliere* G 17/2.

cokeman 'cook's assistant': not in MED, but DBS 1276, s.v. *Cockman*.

Radulfus Cokeman G 15v/3.

colite 'acolite': MED 1384, but, for some possible earlier instances, see DBS s.v. *Collet* (mainly, however, referred to a hypocoristic for *Nicholas*); also *Promptorium*, col. 9.

Henricus Colite G 9v/3.

cordal 'rope': MED 1356 (apparently rare), but DBS 1213, s.v. *Cordell*.

Helewis Cordel G 10v/3.

Current as a surname in Picardy also.³⁵

counte 'earl': MED 1425 (apparently rare), but DBS 1196, s.v. *Count*.

Simon S[i]tebiðecunte P 23.

A priori it seems unlikely that *counte*, scantily recorded though it is, was never used in English in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially as its fem., *cuntesse*, appears in the *Peterborough Chronicle* s.a. 1140 (written c. 1154) and again in the early-thirteenth-century *Hali Meidhad*. In any case, a slightly exotic word might seem apt in a phrase-name mocking the bearer's pretensions: 'Simon who claims that he sits, or, insists that he must sit, next to the Earl'.³⁶

cran(e) 'lifting-gear': MED c. 1350 (the sense 'tall bird' is noted by BT c. 1000), but 1299 for the compound *creneman*, also Ekwall (147) 1292.

Willelmus Kranbus de Lenne G 21/2.

In the context of the seaport the sense 'house beside the lifting-gear' is almost certain.

dingle 'dell': MED c. 1225 (or earlier) and DBS 1246, cf. Löfvenberg (1942), 52-3; also common in place-names; usually taken as characteristically West-Midland, even though occasionally noted from other districts.³⁷

Radulfus Dingel, Ricardus Dingel G 19/1.

estrich 'from the Baltic or from Norway': MED 1334, but Ekwall (34, 198, 330) 1319.

Folcardus Estrich G 18v/2 (cf. T 2/1 *Folcardus Estrensis qui duxit in uxorem fil. Roberti de Cybeceye* and *Folcardus S. Bernardi Estrens*).

An equivalent of the very common Latin *estrensis*, Old-French *estreis*,³⁸ but so far seldom noted except as qualifying timber or wool.³⁹

Cf. also *Philippus Estinges* G 11v/1, perhaps an error for *Estling(es)*: MED 1450.

fenkel 'fennel': MED 1300, and DBS 1327, s.v. *Fennell*, cf. Reaney (1967), 183; also *Promptorium*, col. 158, s.v. *ffenkele*, and Löfvenberg (1942), 62.

John Fenekele T 2/2.

For other bynames referring to herbs, see *Willelmus le Keruile* G 14v/3⁴⁰ and perhaps *Willelmus, Johannes, and Godmannus Woderoue/Woderowe* G 14/3 and 15/3, if these ambiguous spellings do represent 'woodruff' rather than 'woodrow';⁴¹ also the early fourteenth-century London byname *Knapwedd*.⁴²

Cf. the French *Fenouil* and the Flemish *Vankelstale*.⁴³

flobi: not noted by NED, MED, or DBS, but see EDD s.v. *flob, floppy* (and perhaps cf. NED s.v. *flabby*, first noted from 17th cent.)

Turolfus Flobi P 28.

The same nickname appears in *Oslac Flobi*, from a Suffolk Fine of the early thirteenth century.⁴⁴ Although so far unrecognized by the main dictionaries, the term involved seems to be the supposedly northern-dialect adj. *flobby* 'distended', cognate with the verb and noun *flob* 'to swell'/'a swelling' (but cf. also the rare verb *floberen* 'to befoul' noted by MED from *Piers Plowman*).

gingil 'kind of pot': MED 1430 (apparently rare); not in DBS, even though represented by the modern surname *Gingell*.

Johannes Gingil de Lenne G 20v/2.

grucche 'resentment': MED 1449, although *grucchen* 'to grouse' and the agent-nouns *grucchere*, fem. *grucchild*, all occur c. 1225; cf. *Promptorium*, col. 210, *Gronyn, or grutchyn privyly, quod dicitur pe devylis pater noster*, also 202, 203.

Wm Gruch Wymondham cartulary, B. L. Cotton MS Titus C VIII, f.51.

hog(ge) 'young sheep': see MED s.v., also BT Supp s.v. *hogg, hocg*, and cf. EDD s.v. *hog*.

Aluricus Hocweder P. 28.

Although no exact parallel for this apparent compound of *hog* 'young sheep' with *wether* 'castrated sheep' seems so far noted, several analogous forms do occur: fifteenth-century and later examples of *wedyr hogges*⁴⁵ and, from the early thirteenth century on, the byname *Hoglamb*.

joute 'broth': MED 1393; also *Promptorium*, col. 241.

Cecilia Joute G 11/3.

In widespread use during the fifteenth century, with *Promptorium* giving the synonym 'potage' (an editorial note *ad loc.* offers some recipes),⁴⁶ this term is derived from Old-French *joute*.⁴⁷ Similar nicknames are not uncommon: thus, *Grasporee* 'cabbage and bacon broth' in twelfth-century Canterbury, likewise *Crasseporee* in Arras and in Calais; and *Potage* in Beauvais and *au Potage* in Arras.⁴⁸

lusbeburgh (and variants) 'from Luxembourg; esp. of false coinage': MED 1346.^{4 9}

Gillebertus Lussebune, Radulfus Lussebune G 12/3

melwe 'ripe; jovial': MED 1440, from *Promptorium*, col. 284, *Melwe, or rype* 'Maturus', and for the sense, see NED *s.v.* *mellow*; not in DBS even though represented by the modern surname *Mellows*.

Willelmus le Mellow G 11v/3.

milnemus 'mouse in a mill': apparently unrecorded.

Galfridus Milnemuz Blackborough cartulary, B. L. Egerton MS 3137, f.168.

Simon Milnemus Coxford cartulary, B.L. Add. MS 47784, No. 411.

The sense may be deduced from two early proverbs: 'as safe as a mouse in a mill' and 'I . . . live like a mouse in a mill and have another to grind my meal for me' – the opposite, that is, of 'church mouse'.^{5 0} A probable parallel in sense, though not in form, occurs in the *Winton Domesday* family-name *Hacchemus*, because meanings for Middle-English *hacche* include 'hay-rack'.^{5 2}

pil(i)en 'to strip, to skin': see BT Supp, SB, and NED *s.v.* *pill* v¹; also *Promptorium*, col. 336, *Pylyyd, or shalyd* 'Depilatus; glabellus', and *Pylyyd fro the bark* 'Decorticatus', cf. col. 356, *s.v.* *pyllyn*.

Ricardus Pilecat P 25.

Old English had two rare verbs, both adopted from Latin: *ge)pilian* 'to crush' and *pilian* 'to strip' (the latter blending with its Old-French cognate, acquires in Middle English the sense 'to pillage'). In *Pilecat* the latter is required both by common sense and by the role of cats' skins in popular sayings: 'He is sure of a cat that has her skin', 'what can you have from a cat but its skin?', 'a cat that has a good skin shall be flayed', 'a singed cat stays home', and so on.^{5 2} The nickname might be occupational, for a fur-dealer, but the mass of sayings on the theme suggests that it is more likely to be characteristic. Even though its exact implications remain obscure, the sayings seem to agree in suggesting an eye to small advantages.^{5 3}

quaintrelle 'over-dressed person': NED 1430 (apparently only as fem.), but DBS 1176, *s.v.* *Quantrell*; see also Reaney (1976), 253.

Willelmus Queynterel G 19/1.

The simplex *le Queynte* appears as a byname several times in T; and the diminutive *Cointerel* is common in north-eastern France.^{5 4}

skillet 'cooking-pan': NED 1403; not in DBS. Cf. *Skilleter*: DBS 1327.

Adam Skilet de S. Edm. T 1/3.

stroyer 'vandal; wastrel': NED 1300; not in DBS; see *Promptorium*, col. 443, *Stroy, or dystroyare* 'Destructor, dissipator'; and cf. NED *s.v.* *stroygood* 'wastrel', noted from 16th cent.

Godefridus Struyere G 17v/2.

APPENDIX A: Some Ambiguous Cases

?*cloker*: not certainly recorded.

Alicia Cloker G 11v/1.

A similar form from the Norfolk Subsidy Roll of 1332 is classed by Fransson, 136, under *clocker* 'clock-maker', an occupational term recorded from 1292 on, as against 1370 for the simplex *clocke*. No less plausibly, however, *cloker* might be taken as a hitherto unrecorded occupational term based on *cloke* 'outer garment', which had been current in English from the time of *Layamon B*; such a trade might have been suitable for a woman to exercise on her own account. But perhaps a third possibility is to be preferred to either of the possible occupational terms: that is, a residential byname with *Cloker*, or *belfray*, as in *Promptorium*, col. 86.^{5 5}

?*conner* 'inspector', as in *ale-cunnere*: MED 1288 (*s.v. ale*), and also Thuresson, 156; cf. BT *cunnere* 'tester; tempter'.

OR

?*cuver* 'cooper': not in MED (cf. *cuve*: c. 1300), but see Ekwall, 27, 149, 161, 184, and especially 286, where he notes the risk of ambiguities like the present one.

Ricardus Le Cuner (Coxford Cartulary) BL Add. MS 47784, no. 43.

Ricardus Le Cuuer G 13/3.

Given the crabbed hands and the inaccurate copying characterizing our documents, it is hard to decide whether the two references do or do not involve the same individual, or, if so, under which form; or whether either, or both, should be identified with *Ricardus le Cupere*^{5 6} G 13/2.

?*doggedrove*, either 'fishing expedition': MED 1189, or 'kind of fish': MED 1278 (both senses apparently northern as well as rare); see also EDD *s.v. dog*.

OR

?*Dog Drove*: a road in the parish of Holbeach, Lincs.^{5 7}

Willelmus Doggedrove T 1v/1.

Either interpretation would seem plausible (for other Lynn bynames referring to fish, cf. *John Haddoc* T, *John Codling* T, and *Ricardus de Codling* G 13/1).^{5 8}

forke: Old-English *forca/force* from Latin *furca*; the original sense, as in BT and Supp, is 'forked implement', but here a topographical one is needed, although none is offered by Smith or by Löfvenberg.

Burdy^{5 9} *atte Phorche* G 11/3.

The Middle-English sense 'forked support-post' had acquired the specific meaning 'gallows' at least from the time of *Layamon A* (see MED *s.v.*); this would give an adequate residential byname, 'beside the gibbet', there being little reason to suppose that unpleasant associations much inhibited medieval use of such names (the gallicized spelling with *-ch-* is not uncommon and so offers no problem). On the other hand, the term offers other topographical possibilities: 'forked plot of ground' is adequately attested,^{6 0} and, even though apparently not recorded until much later,^{6 1} 'fork in the road' need not be ruled out, as already in Old English the idea of 'forking out' had been extended analogically, witness the verb *fyrclian*.^{6 2}

?*horngrai* 'grey as horn': see MED *s.v.* *horn*, and also O. von Feilitzen, 'Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names', *Namn och Bygd* 33 (1945), 84.

OR

?*irengrai* 'grey as iron': see MED *s.v.* *iren*.

Godw[ime] Horngrai P 27.

This compound *horngrai*, although not in itself implausible, seems so far not to have been noted elsewhere; so is it a corruption of the common *irengrai*, current both in literary use and as a byname (analogous with French *ferrant*), perhaps by way of the variant spelling *hiron*?

?*sling*: NED sb.¹ 'catapult': 1300 and sb.² 'noose: lifting-gear': 1323; but cf. DBS 1221.

Rogerus Slingge G 19/2.

The same byname occurs in an early Norfolk plea-record (Stenton (ed.), *Assize Rolls*, 146). DBS derives the surname *Sling* from Norwegian *sleng* 'idler', but not without some misgiving, as betrayed by the cross-reference to *Slinger*.^{6,3} Both common nouns (ultimately perhaps to be identified) would offer acceptable occupational senses: (a) 'catapult' is supported by *Promptorium*, col. 416, *Slyngge 'ffunda'*, together with *Slyngare 'ffundibularius'*; but (b) 'lifting tackle' might seem apt in the neighbourhood of a port (cf. above p.59 *s.v.* *cran(e)*).

APPENDIX B: Some Oddities, Problems, and Mysteries

Willelmus Amenai G 10v/3: if orthography had allowed it, it would have been satisfactory to link this form with *Amiens* or *Amieneis/Amienois*. In any case, French usage itself seems to prefer the construction *d'Amiens*, which English documents often represent as *de Amyas*.^{6,4} Therefore, we may perhaps compare *Amné (dép. Sarthe)*.^{6,5}

Agnes Argine, or, *Argiue* G 12/1: perhaps an error for *Arg[ent]ine*, either as an adj. (MED 1500) or as a French place-name.^{6,6}

John le Banser, or, *le Bauser* T 1v/2: does this represent Old-French *Bansard*,^{6,7} or, perhaps more probably, an error for *bausene* 'piebald; badger-headed'?^{6,8}

Godefr. Bassenloth T 1/2: perhaps a place-name so far unidentified.

Will. Caylleweit T 2/1: this might apparently represent either of two French place-names, one from the south-west and one from the north: *Caillavet (dép. Gers)*, or, alternatively, *Caillouet(-Orgeville) (dép. Eure)*.^{6,9}

Godefr. Calleuas, or *Callenas* T 1/3: if the former is the true reading and if the ambiguous hint in the previous entry of possible influence from south-western France were accepted, then this could be interpreted as *Calfas* 'celui qui chauffe';^{7,0} cf. *Galvas* below. Alternatively, our form might represent some pretty drastic corruption of a French nickname such as *calebace* or *canevas*,^{7,1} or of the occupational term *calefat* 'caulker'.^{7,2}

Galf. le Capute T 2/1: French offers several vague possibilities, some connected with carpentry.^{7,3}

Hungar Cofrich P 25: given the possibly Anglo-Scandinavian baptismal name,⁷⁴ a patronymic of the same type might be apt, and Mr. Frank Carter has suggested that the true reading may in fact be *Colrich*, a form which could be explained as a hitherto unrecorded hybrid between Scandinavian *Kol-* and Old-English *-ric*.⁷⁵

Eustachius Corpekil G 16/3: ?

Hub. Cossenán T 1/3: one possible interpretation might be as a catchphrase nickname: *a cos – anan!* 'a kiss – at once!'

Leman Culbul T 2/2: with the Old-English baptismal name (*Leofmann*), an English byname would *a priori* be likely, but the form is hard to identify. The nearest apparent parallel might seem to be the 'Shakespeare' name *Cullebulle* 'kill bull' recorded from the West Midlands;⁷⁶ but this is phonologically impossible in Norfolk where, as Old-English [y] is unrounded to [i] or [e],⁷⁷ the form expected would be *Kil(le-*. So, unless this form represents some corruption so far unexplained, a West-country immigrant's original nickname may have been accepted without sound-substitution.

Walter Galvas T 1/1: a difficult form, perhaps a variant of *Calleuas* above. The rare Old-French *galoface* 'magic gem'⁷⁸ is improbable; and other French bynames such as *Galfard*⁷⁹ seem too different in form.

Ysabella Girre G 19/2; *Agnes Girre* 19v/2; *Radulfus Gyrré* 19/2: a similar byname was current in Cologne,⁸⁰ a town from which several gildsmen listed in T take *noms d'origine*, and in various other towns of northern Germany.

Galfridus Gubillum G 18/3: most probably to be identified with the form *Go(u)-billion* noted from thirteenth-century Metz and explained as a hypocoristic for *GoBERT*.⁸¹

Sibald Kicher P 27: another difficult form; perhaps an agent-noun from one of the verbs *kiken*, 'to kick' or 'to spy', although neither of them is so far noted until much later.⁸²

Thom. Madel T 1/1: although forms such as *le Madle* for Old-French *masle* are cited by DBS *s.v. Male*, any connection seems unlikely here.⁸³

Rogerus le Mubaut' G 8/3: probably corrupted from a metronymic use of *Mabaut* (*Matilda, Maud*); cf. the unexplained *de Mobaut, de Mubaut*, from early-fourteenth-century London.⁸⁴ and the many variants cited by DBS under the modern surname *Maud(e)*.

Nicholas Poligraunt, Stephanus Poligraunt T 2/1: originally no doubt a patronymic derived from Old-French *Pol li grant* 'tall Paul', perceived by English hearers as a single unit. *Michael Porigrand* G 16/1 apparently shows assimilation of *-l-* to the following *-r-*.

Walter Quipvait T 1v/2: probably a relative-clause byname of the kind common in French materials,⁸⁵ but rarely adopted into English usage.⁸⁶ If so, then the past tense, *qui puait* 'who used to stink', would be unusual, and interesting

because it would suggest an original scribe alert enough to adjust the phrase to an obituary context.

Bertinus Robeis T 1v/1: probably a *nom d'origine* derived either from *Roubaix*, or else from *Roubaix (dép. Aisne)*^{8,7} – the baptismal name seems especially apt for the hinterland of Saint-Omer.

Ricardus Rotefot P 22: evidently a 'bahuvrihi' form, that is, an adjectival compound whose second element consists of an unmodified substantive.^{8,8} English parallels for *rote(n fot* 'mouldy foot' are hard to find; but compare the late-thirteenth-century French *pie pourri*^{8,9} Alternatively, and perhaps more probably, this might be a slip for the common *Hotfot*,^{9,0} with *R-* erroneously repeated from the baptismal name.

Galf. Rutel T 1/3: ?

Johannes Safaluin G 8v/2: is this an error for Old-French *sac à vin* 'wine-skin'?^{9,1}

Saya Sprich G 17v/2: perhaps *spretch* 'smart', noted by EDD as current in Derbyshire.

Editha T'ger G 8/2: ?

Sim[on] or, *Sim[und]* *Tripel* P 30: difficult, unless as an error for *tripet* 'trickery'.^{9,2} Other distant possibilities may include: *tribel* 'trident', as suggested for a form from thirteenth-century Calais;^{9,3} or a form related to the Old-French verb *tripeler*, a north-eastern variant of *trépiller* 'hop'.^{9,4}

Laur. Le Vellar T 1/1; *Will. Le Viliur* T 1/3, *Will. Vilour* T 1/3: possibly variants of one and the same term; possibly not. For *vellar* alternative explanations might be proposed, neither of them compelling: a) Old-French *veilleor* 'watchman', no English derivative of which seems so far to have been noted;^{9,5} or b) Old-French *veelier* 'dealer in calves', equally without any recognised English derivative.^{9,6} The form *vil(i)our* seems even harder to explain as an occupational term: is it corrupted from a *nom d'origine* taken from one of the many places called *Viller(s)*?^{9,7} Perhaps the Medieval-Latin *vellicator* 'cheat' and *villicatio* 'robbery' ought also to be taken into account.

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¹We are grateful to Mr. A. E. B. Owen for criticizing this paper in draft and making some valuable suggestions for its improvement (see esp. p. 62 above and n.57).

²For English, see, for instance:- A. Mawer, 'Some Unworked Sources for English Lexicography', in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen* (Copenhagen and London, 1930), 11-16; G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames*, *Nomina Germanica* 4 (Uppsala, 1938), 23-7; M. T. Löfvenberg, *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames*, *Lund Studies in English* 11 (1942), xviii; B. Thuresson, *Middle English Occupational Terms*, *Lund Studies in English* 19 (1950), 21; G. Kristensson, *Studies on Middle English Topographical Terms*, *Acta Universitatis Lundensis: sectio 1/3* (1970), 9; Olof von Feilitzen, 'The Personal Names and Bynames of the Winton Domesday', in M. Biddle (ed.), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, *Winchester Studies* 1 (Oxford, 1976), 229; also Clark, 'Some Early Canterbury Surnames', *English Studies* 57 (1976), 294.

For some similar observations concerning other languages, see, for instance:- P. Lebel, *Les noms de personnes en France* (Paris, 1946), 125-8; R. Berger, *Les anciens noms de famille d'Arras: anthroponymie et lexicologie* (Courtrai, 1955; offprinted from *Annales de la Fédération historique et archéologique de Belgique: 35^e congrès* (1953)), 115-18; W. Beele, 'Middelieperse persoonsnamen en de lexicografie van het

Middelnederlands', *Naamkunde* 7 (1975), 82-124; D. Kremer, 'Übernamen und Wortgeschichte', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 12 (1977), 125-43 (Romance languages) — a reference for which we are indebted to Madame M. Mulon of the Archives de France.

³V. M. Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn* (1971); H. Parker and A. Carter, *The Archaeology of King's Lynn*, Society for Medieval Archaeology (1977).

⁴*The Great Roll of the Pipe for 12 Henry II, A.D. 1165-1166*, Pipe Roll Society 9 (1888), 21-9 [cited by p.]; we are grateful to Mr. Frank Carter for generously agreeing to check the printed text against the manuscript.

⁵King's Lynn Borough Archives GD 44: a much defaced and worn roll of two membranes, in a hand of c. 1260-70 [cited by membrane/col.].

⁶A preference common at this time not only in Lynn but in other Norfolk towns also, see R. McKinley, *Norfolk and Suffolk Surnames in the Middle Ages*, English Surname Series 2 (1975), 82-4.

⁷Norfolk Record Office, Bradfer Laurence MS. IX b, as far as the first major change of hand, at f.21v/3 [cited by fol./col.].

⁸British Library MSS. Cotton Domitian A VII (Durham), Stowe 944 (Hyde), and Add. 40,000 (Thorney); for a facsimile, see [A. H. Thompson, ed.,] *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis: a ColloTYPE Facsimile . . . &c.*, Surtees Society 136 (Durham, 1923).

⁹Confusion arises because *wynn* (= *w*) resembles *thorn* (= *tb*), which in turn closely resembles *y* in the hands of this date, cf. E. Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 48 (1951), 5. Difficult readings perhaps to be explained by such confusion include: *Agnes Hatiys* G 18v/1, perhaps representing 'at the yew-trees', with *iw* 'yew-tree' originally spelt with *wynn*; and *Willelmus Kaly* G 14v/1, probably corrupted from a similar spelling of *calwe* 'bald', with *Michael le Kalie* G 20/1 representing a further stage of corruption.

¹⁰Records in the following collections have been scrutinized:-

Blackborough cartulary: British Library Egerton MS 3137.

Castleacre cartulary: BL Harleian MS 2100.

Coxford cartulary: BL Additional MS 47784.

Ely Liber M: Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records MS G 3/28.

Cartulary of Lynn Carmelite Priory: Public Record Office MS E 135/2/50.

Wymondham cartulary: BL Cotton MS Titus C VIII.

¹¹This is a topic CC hopes to explore more fully elsewhere. Meanwhile, see P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (1967), 275-9, also 223-9, and cf. Lebel, 88.

The main collection of medieval English proverbs is B. J. and H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writers mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968); further material may be found in M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950) and in F. P. Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1970).

¹²A. L. Mayhew (ed.), *The Promptorium Parvulorum: the First English-Latin Dictionary, &c.*, Early English Text Society: Extra Series 102 (1908); a variant manuscript had earlier been published by A. Way (ed.), 3 vols., Camden Society 25, 54, and 89 (1843-1865).

¹³See further 'Thoughts on the French Connections of Middle-English Nicknames', to appear in *Nomina* 2 (1978), and 'Quelques exemples de l'influence normanno-picarde sur l'anthroponymie cantobé rienne du XII^e siècle', to appear in *Revue internationale d'onomastique* 31 (1979).

¹⁴See, for instance, E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'La guède française en Angleterre: un grand commerce du moyen-âge', *Revue du Nord* 35 (1953), 98-9; also J. H. Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte des bansischen Stablhofes zu London* (Hamburg, 1851), citing *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ff. 209, 612, 655.

¹⁵Of the many studies published on personal names in north-eastern France, the following have been cited several times below:-

Berger (1963)

R. Berger (ed.), *Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194-1361)*, 2 vols. (Arras, 1963-1970) [for convenience, references are to the name-index in vol. 1.].

Debric

R. Debric, 'Noms de personne de la région d'Amiens au XIV^e siècle: essai d'identification', *Revue internationale d'onomastique* 26 (1974), 51-72.

Gysseling and Bougard

M. Gysseling and P. Bougard, *L'onomastique calaisienne à la fin du 13^e siècle*, *Onomastica Neerlandica: Anthroponymica* 13 (Louvain and Brussels, 1963).

Morlet (1955-56)

M.-Th. Morlet, 'Les noms de personne à Beauvais au xiv^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1955 & 1956), 295-309.

Morlet (1967)

Eadem, *Etude d'anthroponymie picarde: les noms de personne en Haute Picardie aux XIII^e, XIV^e, XV^e siècles* (Amiens, 1967).

Quantin

G. Quantin, 'Les noms de personne de la paroisse Saint-Hilaire de Reims au XIV^e siècle', *Revue internationale d'onomastique* 6 (1954), 121-35.

The following French reference-books have also frequently been cited:-

Dauzat (1945)

A. Dauzat, *Les noms de famille de France* (Paris, 1945).

- Dauzat and Morlet A. Dauzat and M.-Th. Morlet, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*, rev. edn. (Paris, 1969).
- Dauzat and Rostaing A. Dauzat and Ch. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris, 1963).
- Lebel As in n.1.
- Godefroy F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, &c.*, 10 vols (Paris, 1881-1902).
- Tobler-Lommatzsch A. Tobler and E. Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, then Wiesbaden, 1939- in progress).

¹⁶ Many French nicknames, such as, amongst others, *Bataille, Blanchard, Cousin, Joie, Roussel, Sapbir*, appear not only in England but also in the Low Countries and Germany: see, for instance, W. Beele, *Studie van de ieperse persoonsnamen uit de stads- en baljuwsrekeningen 1250-1400*, 2 vols. (Handzame, 1975), II, 37, 64, 257-8, 505; M. Gysseling, *Overzicht over de noordnederlandse persoonsnamen tot 1225*, *Onomastica Neerlandica: Anthroponymica* 16 (Louvain and Brussels, 1966), 14-15; C. Tavernier-Vereecken, *Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1225* (Tongres, 1968), 204, 187; and S. Hagström, *Kölner Beinamen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, *Nomina Germanica* 8 (Lund, 1949), 73-4.

¹⁷ Thus, *Gerard de Viane* T 1/2; but, as alternatives to Vienne (*dép.* Isère), there are two smaller places of such a name on the Aisne (*dép.* Eure), see Dauzat and Rostaing, *s.v. Vic*.

¹⁸ See, for instance, M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French, &c.* (Manchester, 1934), 16-18, and W. D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (1960), map on p. 13; among more detailed studies may be noted S. Escoffier, *La rencontre de la langue d'oïl, de la langue d'oc, et du franco-provençal entre Loire et Allier*, *Publications de l'Institut de linguistique romane de Lyon* 11 (Paris, 1958).

¹⁹ The English dictionaries cited are:-

- BT and Supp J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, also A. Campbell, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary and Supplement*, also *Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda* (Oxford, 1898-1921, also 1972).
- MED H. Kurath *et alii*, *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor, 1954- as far as METAL).
- NED J. A. H. Murray *et alii*, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, 13 vols. (Oxford, 1884-1928).

Also:-

- EDD J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1898-1905).
- ²⁰ The English personal-name studies cited are:-
- DBS P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (1958); the 1976 version by R. H. Wilson was not available until this article was in proof.
- Ekwall As in n.9.
- Fransson G. Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation 1100-1350*, *Lund Studies in English* 3 (1935).
- Löfvenberg (1942) As in n.1.
- Löfvenberg (1946) M. T. Löfvenberg, *Contributions to Middle English Lexicography and Etymology*, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* n.s. 48/8 (1946).
- Mills (1963) A. D. Mills, 'Some Middle English Occupational Terms', *Notes & Queries* (July 1963), 249-57.
- Mills (1968) *Idem*, 'Notes on some Middle English Occupational Terms', *Studia Neophilologica* 40 (1968), 35-48.
- Reaney (1967) As in n.11.
- Smith A. H. Smith, *The Elements of English Place-Names*, 2 vols., *English Place-Name Society* 25 and 26 (Cambridge, 1956).
- Thursson As in n.1.

²¹ For instance, although Berger (1955), 117, dates the earliest extant records of Old-French *corduener* and *parchier* to 1170, forms of both occur in Canterbury rentals dated *ante* 1167 (W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (1967), items A37, B208); of course, scrutiny of further documents might well put the dates further back on either side, or on both.

²² Throughout this paper bynames have been printed with initial capital without regard to the variable practice of the manuscripts. Baptismal names from G, entered there in gen. sing. after *Pro anima* . . ., are silently normalized to a Latin nom. in order to avoid the risk of conjecturing the underlying vernacular forms. Except in cases of special uncertainty, contractions have been expanded silently.

²³ D. M. Stenton (ed.), *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize-Rolls A.D. 1202 and 1203*, *Northamptonshire Record Society* 5 (1930), 144, 148 (cf. 129); Ekwall, 305, 315.

²⁴ See Dauzat and Morlet, 63: 'La valeur du surnom n'est pas claire'; and, for *Malebranche*, 408, col. b; also Morlet (1967), 71.

²⁵ See Lebel, 98.

²⁶ A metronymic derived from the Greco-Latin *Ismena*, popularised through *Le roman de Thebes* and

other romances (see L.-F. Flutre, *Table des noms propres . . . figurant dans les romans du moyen âge, &c.*, (Poitiers, 1962), 109 s.v. *Ismaïne*); for some English instances, see Ekwall, 244, also 37 (*Imaigne*), and M. S. Walker (ed.), *Feet of Fines for the County of Lincoln for the Reign of King John*, Pipe Roll Society n.s. 29 (1954), 64, 76.

²⁷ See B. Seltén, *The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399*, *Lund Studies in English* 43 (1972), 166-8, 175; also B. Sundby, 'Middle English Overlapping of *v* and *w* and its Phonemic Significance', *Anglia* 74 (1956), 438-44.

²⁸ See Mills (1968), 44, s.v. *Fetherwif*.

²⁹ British Library Cotton MS Domitian A II, f.17v ([J. S. Brewer, ed.], *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello, Anglia Christiana Society* (1842), 16).

³⁰ See DBS, xxix-xxxii, also Reaney (1967), 91-6, and Seltén, 52-4.

³¹ See Dauzat and Morlet, 145, s.v. *Coq*; also Morlet (1967), 215, and *eadem*, 'Les noms de personne à Eu du xiii^e au xv^e siècle (suite)', *Revue internationale d'onomatistique* 12 (1960), 216, and 'Les noms de personne à Corbie au XIV^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique* (1967), 770.

³² See R. Jordan (rev. H. Ch. Matthes), *Handbuch der mittellenglischen Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1934), 201-2; even in native words *-a-* for *-o-* seems to have been uncommon in thirteenth-century Norfolk, see Seltén, 102-3. Given the general standard of copying in G, the easiest explanation is that our form is an error, with *-a-* anticipated from the following syllable (the MED cross-reference from *cokard* to *cacard* is a misprint, as the entry is under *cocard* and no *-a-* forms are noted).

³³ See Seltén, 33-5.

³⁴ See Dauzat and Morlet, 139-40.

³⁵ See Morlet (1967), 154, and Debrie, 62; also Dauzat and Morlet, s.v. *Corde*.

³⁶ The explanation offered by Reaney (1967), 294, is beside the point.

³⁷ See E. J. Dobson, *The Origins of 'Ancrene Wisse'* (Oxford, 1976), 117, n.3; but he notes that EDD includes Suffolk in this word's dialect range.

³⁸ So *Johannes Lestreis* P22; all the forms DBS cites s.v. *Estridge* in fact show *Estreis*, so also Reaney (1967), 54. See von Feilitzen (1976), 211.

³⁹ See MED s.v., also Löfvenberg (1946), 29-30, and B. Sandahl, *Middle English Sea-Terms: I, The Ship's Hull*, [Uppsala] *Essays and Studies in English Language and Literature* 8 (1951), 52-3; but cf. Ekwall, 198, 330.

⁴⁰ Cf. MED s.v. *chervel*.

⁴¹ Cf. McKinley, 117, and also DBS s.v. *Woodroff*, *Woodrow*. Both surnames occur locally at the present day and, given the orthographic and phonetic uncertainties (see n.27 above), the spelling in our material might represent either etymon.

⁴² Ekwall, 266.

⁴³ See Dauzat (1945), 205, and Dauzat and Morlet, s.v.; also Gysseling and Bougard, 79.

⁴⁴ B. Dodwell, ed., *Feet of Fines for the County of Norfolk 1201-1215; for the County of Suffolk 1199-1214*, &c., Pipe Roll Society n.s. 32 (1958), 144.

⁴⁵ MED s.v. *hog*(ge); cf. the NE Yorks quotation cited in EDD s.v. *hog*: 'Hogs are distinguished as wether- and gimmer-hogs, according to sex'.

⁴⁶ See Way (ed.), I, 265-6, and cf. Mayhew (ed.), 631; see also T. Austin (ed.), *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*, Early English Text Society: Original Series 91 (1888), 5-6.

⁴⁷ See Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v. *jote*, *jotier*; also Quantin, 129.

⁴⁸ Urry, item B118; Berger (1963), 202, 244; Gysseling and Bougard, 31; Morlet (1955-56), 304, 308, and *eadem* (1967), 167. Cf. H. Carrez, 'Le vocabulaire de l'alimentation et les noms de personne dans la région dijonnaise du xii^e au xv^e siècle', *Annales de Bourgogne* 10 (1938), 173-88, esp. 180-1.

⁴⁹ *Promptorium*, col. 272, offers the difficult equivalence: *Lushburue 'Papyrus'*; cf. note *ad loc.* in Mayhew (ed.), 645.

⁵⁰ See Tilley, 479-80 (also 'merry as mouse in malt'), and Wilson, 547-8; Whiting offers nothing relevant. Another saying on the same theme, noted c. 1700, is 'warm as a mouse in a churn' (E. Partridge and J. Simpson, *The Routledge Dictionary of Historical Slang* (1973), 595).

⁵¹ See von Feilitzen (1967), 212, and also Clark, in *Archives* 13 (no. 58; Autumn 1977), 86; cf. MED s.v. *bacche*.

⁵² See Whiting, 72-4, and Tilley, 86.

⁵³ Dauzat and Morlet cite, s.v. *Pélabon*, a Norman byname *Pelcat* said to apply to those who were 'censés corcher des animaux dont la peau avait peu de valeur'.

⁵⁴ See Berger (1963), 199, and Debrie, 65; cf. Dauzat and Morlet, 189.

⁵⁵ Cf. G. Kristensson, 'Studies on Middle English Local Surnames containing Elements of French Origin', *English Studies* 50 (1969), 472.

⁵⁶ For *c(o)upere* and *cuppere*, see Clark, *English Studies* 57, 298.

⁵⁷ A source suggested by Mr. A. E. B. Owen in a private communication.

⁵⁸ See DBS, 150, 73; also in general Reaney (1967), 274.

⁵⁹ For *Borda*, from Old-English *Brorda*, see O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, *Nomina Germanica* 3 (Uppsala, 1937), 208; cf. *filius Burdi* in Stenton (ed.) *Assize-Rolls*, 23.

- ⁶⁰ See K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, English Place-Name Society 27, 28 and 29 (Cambridge, 1959), III, 727.
- ⁶¹ NED cites *forked way* from 1525 but *fork* 'of road' not until C19.
- ⁶² See Clark, 'Studies in the Vocabulary of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, 1070-1154', *English and Germanic Studies* 5 (1952-53), 67-89, esp. 84.
- ⁶³ See also Reaney (1967), 122, 127.
- ⁶⁴ For instance, Ekwall, 292.
- ⁶⁵ See Dauzat and Rostaing, s.v. *Amigny*.
- ⁶⁶ See Dauzat and Rostaing, s.v. *Arganchy*.
- ⁶⁷ See Dauzat and Morlet, s.v. *Bans*.
- ⁶⁸ See MED s.v., and cf. Dauzat and Morlet, s.v. *Baussan(d)*, variant *Baussard*; also Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v. *baucenc* (mainly applied to horses, cf. Modern-French *balzan*, of a horse with white socks), and Lebel, 101.
- ⁶⁹ See Dauzat and Rostaing, s.v. *Cailbau*; also Dauzat and Morlet, 78; cf. the tentative suggestion in DBS, s.v. *Callaway*, likewise Reaney (1967), 71.
- ⁷⁰ See Dauzat and Morlet, 79.
- ⁷¹ See Lebel, 126, and Morlet (1955-56), 305.
- ⁷² See Godefroy, *Complément* s.v. *calfat*; cf. MED s.vv. *calfater*, *calfating*, *calfat-nail*.
- ⁷³ See Lebel, 91, and Dauzat and Morlet, s.vv. *Capot*, *Chapot*; cf. also Godefroy, s.v. *chapoter* 'to whittle away'.
- ⁷⁴ For this name, which might be either Anglo-Scandinavian or Continental-Germanic, see D. Whitelock, 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 12 (1937-45), 127-53, esp. 147.
- ⁷⁵ For Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid names in general, see O. Arngart, 'Some Aspects of the Relation between the English and the Danish Elements in the Danelaw', *Studia Neophilologica* 20 (1947-48), 73-87, esp. 78-9, and O. von Feilitzen, 'Notes on some Scandinavian Personal Names in English 12th-Century Records', in *Personnamstudier 1964 tillägnade minnet av Ivar Modéer (1904-1960)*=*Anthroponymica Suecana* 6 (1965), 52-68, esp. 63-4.
- ⁷⁶ See B. Sundby, *Studies in the Middle English Dialect Material of Worcestershire Records*, Norwegian Studies in English 10 (Bergen and Oslo, 1963), 110; also MED s.v. *killen*. Around 1600 *killcow* and *killbuck* appear as common nouns in the sense 'swashbuckler', see NED s.vv.
- ⁷⁷ See K.-G. Ek, *The Development of OE \ddot{y} and $\ddot{e}o$ in South-Eastern Middle English*, Lund Studies in English 42 (1972), esp. 122 and simplified map on 123; also Seltén, 112-16.
- ⁷⁸ See Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v.
- ⁷⁹ See Dauzat and Morlet, 275.
- ⁸⁰ See Hagström, 101.
- ⁸¹ See H. Jacobson, *Études d'anthroponymie lorraine: les bans de tréfonds de Metz (1267-1298)* Göteborg, 1955), 33, 175.
- ⁸² See MED: *kiken* v. (1) 'to kick' is first noted from 1384, but in a proverbial use implying established currency; *kiken* v. (2) 'to spy' is first noted c. 1390, cf. *Kekyn, or privyly waytyn*, in *Promptorium*, col. 252 but as a Dutch loanword may be less likely to have been current by the mid-14th century.
- ⁸³ See Jordan-Matthes, 227: in words of this type *-dle* is normal but *-del* would be anomalous.
- ⁸⁴ See Ekwall, 235; cf. DBS s.v. *Maud*.
- ⁸⁵ See K. Michaëlsson, 'Surnoms formés à l'aide de propositions relatives dans les rôles de taille parisiens', *Third International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponymy*, 3 vols. continuously paginated (Louvain, 1951), 737-43.
- ⁸⁶ See Ekwall, 26.
- ⁸⁷ See Dauzat and Rostaing, s.v. *Rebais*; cf. Dauzat and Morlet, 528.
- ⁸⁸ See E. Tengstrand, 'Three Middle English Bahuvrihi Adjectives', *Studier i Modern Sprakvetenskap* 17 (1949), 210-26, and B. Seltén, *Early East-Anglian Nicknames: Bahuvrihi Names*, Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 1974-75: 3 (*Rotefot* is not included among the compounds of *-foot* collected here; nor by Reaney (1967), 241).
- ⁸⁹ Cited by Lebel, 86; nothing *analogous* is noted by H. Carrez, 'Surnoms évocant des infirmités portés dans la région dijonnaise du xii^e au xv^e siècle', *Onomastica* (later = *Revue internationale d'onomastique*) 1 (1947), 41-51, esp. 42.
- ⁹⁰ See MED s.v. and Reaney (1967), 241.
- ⁹¹ See Carrez (1938), 185.
- ⁹² See DBS s.v. *Trippett*; also Godefroy and Tobler-Lommatzsch, both s.v. *tripot*.
- ⁹³ See Gysseling and Bougard, 78.
- ⁹⁴ See Godefroy, s.v. *trépiller*, and Tobler-Lommatzsch, s.v. *tripeler*.
- ⁹⁵ See Godefroy, *Complément*, s.v.: also Dauzat and Morlet, s.v. *Veillier*. Cf. Thuresson, 146-8.
- ⁹⁶ See Godefroy, s.v.: also Quantin, 129. Cf. Thuresson, 61.
- ⁹⁷ See Dauzat and Rostaing, 715-18; cf. Dauzat and Morlet, 596.