The Trumpeters of Bemersyde: a Scottish Placename Reconsidered

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The placename Bemersyde in the Scottish county of Berwickshire is usually explained as "hillside or seat of the trumpeter," from the Old English words *bēmere* "trumpeter" and *sīde* "hillside" or "seat." This would represent an unusual type of formation, and the absence of references to trumpeters in historical or documentary sources casts further doubt on the interpretation. Linguistic evidence indicates that *bēmere* may have developed a transferred use to refer to a bird with a trumpet-like call, possibly the bittern. Such a meaning is much more plausible in the placename context. Many Old English bird names are attested only in placenames, frequently combining with topographical elements like *sīde*. Occurrences of *bēmere* in placenames south of the present border with England are consistent with an interpretation as a bird name, while other Berwickshire placenames provide some support for the indigenous presence of bitterns in the medieval period. I therefore propose a new interpretation of Bemersyde as "hillside frequented by the bittern."

Like many other placenames in the border counties of southern Scotland, Bemersyde in Berwickshire[1] derives from Old English (OE), the language of the Anglian settlers who moved northwards from the kingdom of Northumbria during the sixth or seventh centuries onwards.[2] Although Scotland is, as Nicolaisen points out (1976, 19), unfortunate in possessing few sources of placename spellings dating from the Anglo-Saxon period itself, the etymology of Bemersyde is fully established by the Middle English (ME) forms compiled by Williamson (1942, 144). These are as follows:

Bemersyd *c.*1220 (16th century copy), 1326
Bemerside 1406–38
Bymersyd(e) 1425 (16th century copy)
Bemyrsyde 1502

The first element of the name is OE *bēmere*, generally taken to mean "trumpeter," while the second is OE *sīde* "hillside" or "seat." The latter is fairly common in Scottish placenames, occurring elsewhere in Berkwickshire for instance in Birkenside (*Birchinside* 1153–65) "hillside grown with birch-trees," Caldside (*Caldsyde* 1502) "cold hillside," Chirnside (*Cirneside* 1095–1100) "hillside shaped like a churn,"

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Fairnieside (*Farnesyd* 1588) "ferny hillside," and Fallsidehill (*Fassethill* 1535) and Fawside (*Fausyd c.*1170) both "hill with a speckled side" (Williamson 1942, 144–46).[3] OE *bēmere*, on the other hand, is otherwise unknown in the toponymy of Scotland. "Seat, abode of the trumpeter" is the explanation given by Johnston (1934, 105; 1940, 20), and this interpretation has never subsequently been challenged. It does, however, present certain difficulties. Firstly, the placename makes little sense, for there is no logical reason why such an instrumentalist would take up his abode on the side of a hill. Secondly, it would represent an exceptional type of formation, since no other references to trumpeters occur in either the Germanic or the Celtic placename strata of Scotland.[4] The matter may therefore repay further investigation. The purpose of this paper is to reconsider the interpretation of the placename Bemersyde in the light of comparative evidence from English toponyms, and to suggest an alternative meaning for the first element.

It should be made clear from the outset that literary and documentary material provides no support for the putative role of trumpets within Anglo-Saxon culture. This kind of investigation was greatly facilitated by the publication in 1980 of *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Healey and Venezky), which makes it possible to trace all occurrences of individual words within the extant corpus of Old English literature. References to the trumpet prove overwhelmingly to occur within Biblical contexts, such as allusions to the fall of Jericho, to God's presence on Mount Sinai, or to the trumpet-blast proclaiming the Day of Judgement. They do not relate to contemporary society. Neither is there any indication in historical sources that trumpet-playing was a recognized occupation. The law-codes, a primary source of information on social classes and occupational groups, contain no legislation concerning trumpeters (Liebermann 1903–16). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, with its often detailed descriptions of warfare and campaigns, has no mention of the sound of trumpets preceding the armies of English or Scottish kings into battle (Plummer 1892–99). Surviving wills, which list many household and other objects of value to testators and beneficiaries, do not include trumpets among the bequests (Whitelock 1930). Trumpets have not come to light as archaeological artifacts from the Anglo-Saxon period; and trumpet-making is not represented among the early Middle English occupational surnames assembled by Fransson (1935).[5] The received interpretation of Bemersyde is therefore substantially at odds with the weight of evidence from other sources.

Although unrecorded elsewhere in Scotland, OE *bēmere* occurs in several placenames south of the present Scottish/English border, mostly clustering in the South and West Midlands of England. The entry for this headword in *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (Parsons, Styles and Hough 1997, 80), a dictionary of placename terms currently in progress at the Centre for English Name Studies to replace Smith's two-volume

English Place-Name Elements of 1956, identifies it as the first element of the placenames Bemerhills, Bemerton and a lost *Bemerehill* in Wiltshire, Bemersley in Staffordshire, and a lost field name *Bemare(s)forlong* in Gloucestershire. The headword entry also draws attention to the phrase *to bymera cumbe* in an Old English charter boundary. In a recent study of these English placenames, I suggested that the toponymic material might testify to a transferred use of OE *bēmere* to refer to a bird with a loud, trumpet-like call, possibly representing the etymon of the modern word *boomer* as a name for the bittern (Hough 1997–98). This hypothesis has been accepted in a thorough-going survey of Old English bird names by Kitson (1998, 2), who points out however that the etymon would correctly be the West Saxon dialectal form *bȳmere* rather than the Anglian form *bēmere*. At that time, I was unaware of the occurrence of the same term as the first element of Bemersyde in Scotland, and I am very grateful to Professor Richard Coates for drawing it to my attention in a private communication. The additional evidence provided by this placename may help to throw further light on the interpretation of the word.

OE *bēmere, bȳmere* is a rare term, recorded only six times in the small corpus of surviving Old English literature. One occurrence is within Ælfric's *Grammar*, the other five being glosses, mostly to Latin *tubicen* "trumpeter." The Middle English reflex *bēmere* is equally sparse, occurring only within manuscripts of the guide for anchorites known as *Ancrene Riwle* (Kurath and Kuhn 1930–). Again, the religious context may be significant, indicating that the term belonged to a specialized register of use. There is no doubt that OE *bēmere, bȳmere* did mean "trumpeter." This is evident not only from the gloss material but from the etymology of the word itself, a compound of the Old English noun *bēme, bȳme* "trumpet," itself attested by some 150 occurrences (Amos and Healey 1986–), with the occupational suffix *-ere*, also found for instance in such terms as OE *gēotere* "smelter," OE *hoppere* "dancer," OE *mētere* "painter," and OE *tæflere* "gambler." However, it may be doubted whether a total of six occurrences, none of them in ordinary prose or poetry, is sufficient to establish the full range of meaning of the word. As in Modern English (ModE), many Old English words were polysemous, developing extended or alternative meanings in different contexts, and it is not uncommon to find that whereas one meaning is represented in literary sources, another is preserved in placenames. This is partly due to the limited range of the surviving literature, which covers certain subject areas in more detail than others, and partly due to the different registers of spoken and written language. Whereas the extant corpus of Old English literature preserves a predominantly literary range of vocabulary, most placenames originate in the spoken language, and therefore preserve a more demotic range of vocabulary. A well-known example is OE *pīc* (Smith 1956, II, 63). Here the only meaning attested in pre-Conquest literature is "a point." However, a topographical usage "pointed hill" is found in placenames in northern England and southern Scotland,[6] while placenames such as Pickburn in the West Riding of Yorkshire and

Pickmere in Cheshire, both meaning "pike stream," show that the Old English word also already had the Modern English sense as a fish name *pike*. Another example of a word for which placenames preserve an alternative meaning is OE *draca*. This is attested in literary sources with the meaning "dragon," but also occurs in placenames with the alternative sense "duck" that survives in ModE *drake* (Hough 1996). Other examples include OE *cæg*, attested in the literature as "key" but used in placenames with an alternative sense "stone" (Kristensson 1996, 433–34), OE *feax*, attested in the literature as "hair" but used in placenames to refer to "rough, coarse grass" (Smith 1956, I, 166), OE *græg*, attested in the literature as a color adjective but used in placenames as a substantive referring to a grey animal, probably the badger or wolf (Hough 1995; Biggam 1998, 79–80), and OE *wearg*, recorded in the literature with the meaning "criminal," but occurring in placenames in an earlier sense "wolf" (Hough 1994–95). Less secure are OE *fealu*, again attested as a color adjective but apparently used substantively in placenames to refer to "the fallow deer" (Smith 1956, I, 165–66), and OE *pohha*, attested with the meaning "bag" but in placenames possibly designating a bag-shaped animal (Gelling 1973–76, II, 290–91); while the occurrence of OE **bagga* "badger" in placenames testifies to a transferred use of an OE **bagga* "bag" which itself is unattested (Parsons, Styles and Hough 1997, 36–37).

As some of these examples illustrate, an area of vocabulary represented more fully in the placename corpus than in the extant literature is that of the common names given to birds and animals in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular. Instances of bird names known only from placenames include OE **cā* "jackdaw," OE **falca* "falcon," OE **glente* "bird of prey," OE **speoht* "green woodpecker," OE **stint* "sandpiper, dunlin," and OE **wrocc* "buzzard" (Smith 1956, I, 75, 164, 203; II, 137, 153, 279), while a case has recently been made for an OE **cucu*, the etymon of ModE *cuckoo*, as the first element of Coxwold in the North Riding of Yorkshire (Coates 1994–95). The quasi-occupational suffix *-ere* is represented in bird names such as OE *fiscere* "kingfisher," OE *higere* "jay," OE *mūsere* "kestrel," and possibly OE *pīpere* "piper," the etymon of the lost placename *Pyperdoun* in Berwickshire (Johnston 1940, 45). It is therefore not intrinsically implausible that OE *bēmere* may belong within the same group of formations. Bird names are very common in combination with topographical elements such as OE *lēah* "wood, clearing," OE *hyll* "hill," and OE *cumb* "valley," the generics found in the English placenames mentioned above; and whereas a combination of OE *sīde* "hillside" with an occupational term like "trumpeter" would be highly unusual if not unparalleled,[7] this element too not uncommonly compounds with words for wild creatures in placenames like Hardenside in Dumfriesshire from OE *hara* "hare" (Williamson 1942, 147), Roeside in Derbyshire from OE *rā* "roe, roe-buck" (Cameron 1959, I, 65), Whelpside in Midlothian and a lost *Whelpside* in West Lothian from OE *hwelp* "young animal" (Dixon 1947, 179; MacDonald 1941, 47), and the lost Derbyshire field name *le*

Fouleside (1415) from OE *fugol* "bird" (Cameron 1959, III, 749).[8]

A link in the chain between OE *bēmere*, *bȳmere* and ModE *boomer* may be represented by the use of the verbal substantive *beming* in the work of the early-sixteenth-century Scots poet Douglas. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *beming* as "trumpeting," identifying a transferred sense "noisy buzzing" which is exemplified by the only citation given under this headword, an extract from Douglas' *Æneis*:

> A gret flycht of beis...Wyth loud bemyng gan alycht.

The *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Craigie et al. 1937–) adds two further citations from Douglas:

> For byrdis sang and bemyng of the beys

and:

> The beys...with mekill dyn and bemyng.

This usage illustrates precisely the kind of transferred use of the concept of trumpeting that I suggest for the noun *bēmere*. It will be noticed, however, that the frame of reference in all three quotations is the noise made not by birds but by bees. Indeed, among the definitions of the verb *boom* given by the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* are "to hum or buzz, as a bee or beetle," as well as "the usual word to express the cry of the bittern." It would appear then that the concept of trumpeting could potentially be applied to the sound made by any noisy creature, insects as well as birds. The possibility that OE *bēmere* in Bemersyde refers to the bee rather than to the bittern is worth considering.

On the one hand, references to bees and other insects are well attested in Scottish placenames, frequently occurring in combination with topographical elements. A reference to a valley frequented by bees occurs in Beeslack, Midlothian, from OE *bēo* "bee" and ON *slakki* "shallow valley" (Johnston 1934, 104), while Beecraigs in West Lothian is explained by MacDonald (1941, 66) as "probably 'hills frequented by bees'," from the same first element with Gaelic *creag*. The English placenames from OE *bēmere* could also be accounted for along similar lines, with the sole exception of Bemerton, the only one of the group to contain a habitative generic. Professor Barrie Cox has suggested to me that the combination here with OE *tūn* "farmstead, estate" might refer to a place where honey was produced, as with Honington in Warwickshire and Honiton in Devon from OE *hunig* "honey" (Ekwall 1960, 248). A similar interpretation for Bemersyde might be supported by comparison with a lost Berwickshire placename recorded in 1189 as *Milchesid*, and explained by Williamson (1942, 148) as "hillside of rich pasture, which produced a good yield of

milk."

On the other hand, equally strong parallels can be adduced between the *bēmere*-names and placenames referring to birds. Whereas a case can be made for Bemerton as a farm producing honey, it is indisputable that the same generic combines with bird names, as for instance in Cranston in Midlothian, from OE *cran* "crane" (Dixon 1947, 165), Fulton in Roxburghshire, from OE *fugol* "bird" (Williamson 1942, 21), Laverton in Gloucestershire, from OE *læwerce* "lark" (Smith 1964–65, II, 4), and Thrushelton in Devon, from OE *bryscele* "thrush" (Gover, Mawer and Stenton 1931–32, I, 210). Hills, valleys and woods are often associated toponymically with the names of birds. Examples from Berkwickshire include Foulden "bird valley," Gladswood "kite wood," and Hawkslaw "hawk hill" (Williamson 1942, 101–02, 84, 123). Similarly, Cushat Wood "pigeon wood" occurs in Midlothian (Dixon 1947, 257), *Pyehills* "magpie hill" in Selkirkshire (Williamson 1942, 118), Redden "raven valley" in Roxburghshire (Williamson 1942, 100), and Rockhillflat "rook hill" in Dumfriesshire (Williamson 1942, 116), while a wide range of English counterparts appear in the detailed analysis of topographical placename vocabulary presented by Gelling (1984). On contextual as well as on etymological grounds, then, either "bee" or "bittern" would appear to be acceptable as an interpretation of OE *bēmere*.

There may nonetheless be good reason to prefer a bird name for the Old English word. Other English and Scottish placenames referring to bees contain the attested OE *bēo* "bee," a term common to both written and spoken registers of language. No other word would appear to be needed for this concept. With regard to the bittern, on the other hand, no demotic term has yet been identified in Old English. One of the advantages of the two-volume *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts, Kay and Grundy 1995) is that the grouping of the material by subject makes it possible to identify gaps in the known vocabulary of Old English. There are many such gaps in the areas of bird and animal names, reflecting an understandable bias in writers of literature towards unusual and exotic creatures rather than towards humble farmyard animals and indigenous fauna. Thus there are attested words for the ostrich, the pelican, the griffin, and the unicorn, but not for commonplace birds such as the bunting, the greenfinch, or the redshank.[9] The *Thesaurus* entry for "dragon" cites no fewer than fourteen alternative names, whereas for "eagle" there is only one, and for "duck" a mere two. Most significantly for the purposes of the present paper, no common term for the bittern appears in the literary corpus of Old English. The *Thesaurus* entry for "bittern" cites *cȳta*, *felofor*, *frysca*, *hæferblǣte*, and *rāredumbla*, but all are rare terms, apparently belonging to a specialized register of literary language. Indeed, all except *felofor* are attested only in glosses or glossaries, while none occurs in placenames. A demotic name for the bittern must have existed in Old English, and in view of the high incidence of bird and animal names in the placename strata of England and Scotland, it is reasonable to turn to this range of evidence in an attempt to supply the

deficiency. The toponymic context of Bemersyde is fully consistent with an interpretation of the first element as a bird name, and I suggest that this placename, together with its English cousins Bemerhills, Bemerton and Bemersley, attests a transferred use of OE *bēmere* meaning "bittern."

A question that remains to be explored is whether the topography of Bemersyde would been represented suitable bittern habitat during the early Middle Ages. This is clearly crucial. Unfortunately it is difficult to establish because of the changing face of the countryside over the past millennium. Placename evidence itself often provides essential data for the study of landscape history (Faull 1978–79), and here some indications of the wetland habitat essential to the bittern's survival may be found in other Berwickshire toponyms referring to bogland, as with Bogangreen and *Boighouse* from Gaelic *bog* or *bogan* "bog" (Johnston 1940, 22) and Billiemire, *Carsmyir*, Drake Mire and Paddysmire from ON *mýrr* "bog, swamp" (Johnston 1940, 20,24,28), or to marshland, as with Bellstruther, *Bradestrothirburne*, *Knolestruther* and Westruther from OE **strōðer* "marsh" (Johnston 1940, 20, 22, 37, 51). Particularly significant is the occurrence of the placename Mertoun, from OE *mere-tūn* "farmstead by the lake," in the close vicinity of Bemersyde itself. As Williamson (1942, 30) comments, "A mention of '*piscaria lacus de Mertoun*' in 1515 ... proves that there was a lake there at one time, perhaps where Bemersyde Moss is now." Such a lake would have provided an ideal breeding-ground for the bittern.[10]

Tantalizingly inconclusive evidence is presented by the placename Butterdean in East Berwickshire, which Johnston (1934, 119; 1940, 23) explains as "wooded glen of the bittern," deriving the first element from Old French (OFr) *butor*, the etymon of ModE *bittern*. This word had been adopted into Middle English by about 1330 (Kurath and Kuhn 1930–), and my hypothesis is that it replaced OE *bēmere* as the common word for a bittern. If Johnston's interpretation is correct, Butterdean offers important evidence of the bittern's presence in an area of Berkwickshire to the north east of Bemersyde during the later Middle Ages.

Unfortunately, though, the case is not clear-cut. Williamson (1942, 101) explains Butterdean as "'valley which yielded plenty of butter' (because the pasture was rich)," deriving the first element from OE *butere* "butter." Either etymology is consistent with the early spellings of Butterdean, which are as follows:

Buterden	1335–6
Butterdene	1336–7
Buttirdene	1541
Butterdane	1600

The second element is undoubtedly OE *denu*, ME *dene* "valley," but the first is less certain, and Williamson's interpretation is in fact more in line

with modern scholarship than Johnston's. Smith (1956, I, 65) identifies a number of English placenames from OE *butere*, including Butterton, Butterwick, Buttercrambe, Butterhill, Bitterley, Butterley, and Butterworth, and notes that the element "usually refers to 'a farm where butter is made' ... sometimes to 'rich pasture which produced good butter'," an explanation endorsed most recently by Gelling (1984, 206) and Cameron (1996, 202). A similar interpretation is generally accepted for Butterwhat in Dumfriesshire and Butterthwaite in the West Riding of Yorkshire "clearing with rich pasture" (Nicolaisen 1976, 103). However, it may be possible that some of the English names themselves should be reconsidered. Whereas a derivation from OE *butere* "butter" is required for those recorded before the Middle English period, and is fully plausible for others where the second element is a term such as OE *lēah* "clearing" or OE *tūn* "farm," it is more difficult to account for in the context of marshland or water, as with Buttermere in Cumberland from OE *mere* "pool," one of the placenames cited by Smith (1956, I, 65). Others which have come to light in post-1956 volumes of the English Place-Name Survey include Buttersyke in The West Riding of Yorkshire from OE *sīc*, ON *sík* "small stream, ditch" (Smith 1961–63, V, 43), Butterwell in Gloucestershire from OE *wella* "spring, stream, well" (Smith 1964–65, II, 183) and *Butter Gill* in Westmorland from ON *kelda* "spring" (Smith 1966–67, II, 57). Smith's suggestion that "butter spring or well" in Butterwell and *Butter Gill* may refer to "one used for cooling butter" (1966–67, II, 57) carries little more conviction than Dixon's explanation of Butter Well in Midlothian as "a well with water that makes good butter" (1947, 115),[11] while the accepted interpretation of Buttersyke as "probably 'a stream in good pasture-land'" (Smith 1961–63, V, 43) and of Buttermere as "*mere* surrounded by good grazing land" (Armstrong et al. 1950–52, I, 33) may also deserve further consideration.

None of these placenames is in fact recorded from the Anglo-Saxon period. The earliest is Buttermere, recorded as the name of a lake from 1343 but as a village named from the lake by 1230 (Armstrong et al. 1950–52, I, 33; II, 355). *Butter Gill* first appears in 1295, Buttersyke in 1577, and Butterwell not until 1831. It is fully possible that any or all of these are Middle English formations from OFr *butor*, ME *bito(u)r*, *butur* "bittern," an interpretation that would also make sense for the Dumfriesshire placename Butterwhat from ON *þveit* "clearing." ON *þveit* is an element known to have continued in use into the Middle English period (Fellows-Jensen 1995, 184), and it also combines with bird names in placenames such as Tranthwaite and Trainford "crane clearing" in Westmorland (Smith 1966–67, I, 103; II, 185), and Crawthwaite and Crawthat "crow clearing" in Dumfriesshire (Nicolaisen 1976, 103–04). So too OE *mere* "pool" is described by Smith (1956, II, 39) as "common in ME minor names," while other hydronyms discussed in the section of "Lake-Names" in the English Place-Name Survey for Cumberland include

Bassenthwaite Lake, a name described as "probably of post-Conquest origin," Pyet Tarn, named from the *piet* or magpie, Ravelsaye Tarn, originally *Goseterne* named from the goose, and Tewit Tarn, named from the pewit or plover (Armstrong, *et al.* 1950–52, I, 32, 35). A case could therefore be made for Buttermere as another post-Conquest name referring to the type of bird that frequented the water. Bearing this in mind, it seems to me that the interpretation of Butterdean in East Berwickshire should remain open. The same first element also occurs in the nearby placename Butterlaw, recorded in a single early fifteenth-century spelling as *Bowtyr law* (Williamson, 1942, 123), but again the combination with OE *hlāw* "hill" is equally consistent with either a bird name or a reference to the productivity of the land.

The county of Berwickshire is named from the town of Berwick upon Tweed on the east coast of northern Britain. Although now situated within the English county of Northumbria, Berwick upon Tweed was formerly part of Scotland, and the River Tweed itself runs south-west into Berwickshire, passing close by Bemersyde. A recent study of Tweed fishery names has brought to light the interesting form *Butershote* dating from the fourteenth century (Watts 1997, 92). The second element of this name is OE **sceot* "a place where nets are shot, a fishery," while the first is again taken to be OE *butere* "butter." Watts comments, however, that "the sense of *butere* in this name is uncertain," citing the traditional interpretation of Buttermere, "mere surrounded by good grazing land," as a possible parallel. Again, a derivation from ME *bito(u)r*, *butur* "bittern" may represent an alternative possibility, and if correct would provide corroborative evidence for the indigenous presence of the bird in medieval Berwickshire.

In conclusion, I suggest that the first element of Bemersyde in Berwickshire is OE *bēmere* used in a transferred sense "bittern." Although unattested in literary sources, such a meaning is linguistically plausible, and is supported by the comparative and contextual evidence discussed above. I therefore propose a new interpretation of the placename as "hillside frequented by the bittern."

Notes

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1. All references are to the county boundaries preceding the United Kingdom local government re-organization of the 1970s.
2. The Anglian settlements in Scotland are generally held to post-date the conversion to Christianity in 627, but this view has recently been challenged by Hough (1997).
3. These historical names are of course quite distinct from more recent formations containing *-side* in the sense "by the side of." A thorough treatment of the latter group, focusing particularly on the prototypical name *Burnside*, appears in Nicolaisen (1985).
4. A useful tool in tracing the occurrence of Celtic elements in Scottish placenames is the Index to Watson's *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, the first publication of the Scottish Place-Name Society. Forty-eight different occupations are listed in the subject index (Basden 1997, 77–78), none of which are instrumentalists.
5. Fransson's collection is limited to surnames denoting artisans and dealers, and would therefore exclude players of the instrument. The more extensive range of Middle English occupational terms assembled by Thuresson includes three references to trumpeters: *Horneblawer* 1255, *Cornur* 1179, and *Trumpour* 1332 (1950, 183–84). Perhaps significantly, the last two are not of native origin but derive from the Old French words *corneor* and *trompeor*, neither of which would have entered the language until after the Norman Conquest.
6. Williamson, noting that "*Pike* occurs in the area most subject to Norse influence," suggests that it "may be a loan from ON *pík*, 'pointed mountain,' rather than a development of OE *pīc* 'pointed instrument'" (1942, 256–57); but Smith considers the meaning to be "probably also English, as examples of its use as a hill-name are found outside the Danelaw" (1956, II, 63).
7. The only possible instance that I have been able to trace is a Derbyshire field name recorded in 1415 as *Waynmonside* (Cameron 1959, III, 749). Alternatively, however, this may derive from a personal name.
8. Swineside in Roxburghshire does not represent the same type of formation, as it derives from an original OE *swīnes heafod* "pig's head" (Williamson 1942, 238).
9. Kitson (1997 and 1998) also draws attention to a number of species that must have been known to the Anglo-Saxons, but for which no vernacular name has survived.
10. I am indebted to Mrs Margaret Scott for alerting me to the significance of Mertoun, and for many useful discussions while this paper was in progress.
11. No early spellings are available for this placename, and its derivation must therefore remain uncertain.

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