Kritsberh R. American English in the 18th century: from colonial to national

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Abstract. American English in the 18th century: from colonial to national. The 18th century marks a transition in the American English development from early, colonial period to national in the 19th century. In its initial stage, American vocabulary included foreign loans – Indian, Dutch, French, British archaisms and dialectisms retained in the USA, along with very scarce proper new formations, mostly referring to cultural notions. By the end of the colonial period, the lexis was expanded and included semantic and lexical Americanisms of more diversified character that stood out as distinctive American markers replacing some British names. Although by the turn of the new 19th century, the American English complex signatures in grammar, phonology, lexis, and spelling due to objective historical reasons were undeveloped, still the gradual quantitative changes set up preconditions for the formation of the national variety in the 19th c.

Keywords: Americanism, archaism, colonial period, national period, origin.

The 18th c. was important in the development of AE viewed from cultural and sociolinguistic aspects, a watershed that marks the end of the colonial period and beginning of the national one. Although all traditional signatures of AE had come into their own in the 19th c., the study of the language in the previous one sheds light on the diachrony of the process as a whole. Moreover, the 18th AE seems to be overshadowed by the neighboring 'giants' – the early development in the 17th c. and the turbulent history in the 19th c. The research of the period in between those conditions the topicality of this paper.

Historical development of AE has been subject in many works of the field: H. Mencken [8], J. Krapp [5], etc., along with collective monographs [1], [3]. Still, the objective of this paper is to fill a glaring gap of research on concrete sources to reveal the dynamics of this process in the century, less attended to. The textual materials [2], [4], [9], [10], [12], [14] which contain American signatures on all language levels serve as material for this paper. Its methodology includes methods of textual and descriptive analysis.

In the Journal of Diron d'Artaguiette, Inspector-General of Louisiana (1722-1723), one can find a few American words, as bayou [9, p. 26], calumet [ibid, pp. 29-30], squaw [ibid, p. 48], lumber, as "This_lumber has been reserved to build the director's house." [ibid, p. 31]. Some new words are explained, as Manitou "Indian spirit that dominates nature." [ibid, p. 80], bluff, as "There are the first bluffs or steep banks which we have found on the Mississipy." [ibid, p. 43]; pecan, as "There is another kind of nut tree which bears fruit just like a walnut but much smaller... They call this fruit the paquannes." [ibid, p. 74]; maringouin, originally Canadian French (CanFr): "The heat was intense the whole of last night, and the maraingouins, a kind of fly, which we call in France gnats, annoyed us." [ibid, p. 87]. Some Americanisms are taken for granted, as *medicine man* "Indian healer" [ibid, p. 58] or *Indian corn* [ibid, pp. 41, 46, 56].

In Journal of Colonel George Chicken's Mission from Charleston, S.C. to the Cherokees (1725), there are a few Americanisms, as creek "any stream of water" [9, pp. 96, 101, etc]. In Britain, creek means "the stream flowing into the sea". Green Corn dance, an Indian feast, is firstly cited by DA [7, p. 744] from this source: "The busk or green-corn dance was a solemn annual festival of eight

days' duration. It was observed by both Creeks and Cherokees, was made the occasion of forgiveness and absolution of crime." [9, p. 134].

In Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy (1741-1742), the same set of Americanisms that had been around at that time is found. Some of these words are of French origin, as bateau "flat-bottom boat", bayou "inlet to the sea": "An hour after having left the bateaux, we perceived to the entrance of the little bayou, ... a number of pirogues..." [ibid, 241-2]; sagamité "hominy porridge" from CanF [ibid, p. 245]. It is worth mentioning that sweet potato, with the earliest citation in DA in 1750 [7, p. 1693], is at least nine years older: "...they gave us to eat buffalo meat, ... sweet potatoes..." [9, p. 245].

Journal of de Beauchamps' Journey to the Choctaw (1746) contains just a few words, as Mingo "a nickname of Iroquoian" [9, pp. 266, 279, 287], creek [ibid, pp. 267, 296], medicine man [ibid, p. 277], limbourg (not in DA) with the note "a kind of French cloth much in demand among Indians", as "...they wanted to load their guns with limbourg and other articles of merchandise..." [ibid, p. 290].

In *Journal of Captain Phineas Stevens' Journey to Canada* (1752), the author uses just a few words related to the study: British archaism in AE *baggage* [ibid, p. 306], *creek* in American sense [ibid, p. 316], and *husking* "corn husking" [ibid, p. 319].

In Andrew Burnaby's travels through North America (1759-1760), the author gives a bright description of American flora and fauna and it is not surprising that the book is filled with 'new names for new things': "Tobacco and Indian corn are the original produce of the country; likewise the pigeon-berry, and rattle-snake-root... sassa-<u>fras</u>-trees, <u>dog-woods</u>,... <u>fringe-trees</u>, <u>atamusco</u>-lilies, May-apples." [9, p. 38]. Later, he continues: "In the woods there are variety of birds ... of which are the mocking-bird, the red-bird or nightingale, the blue-bird, the yellow-bird, the hummingbird, the Baltimore bird, the summer-duck." [ibid, p. 43]. Apart from those, the Americanisms are scarce, the author mentions meeting house "place of worship" [ibid, p. 90], lumber "timber" [ibid, p. 93], ordinary "a tavern or inn of any kind in Virginia" [ibid, p. 140]. In the first appendix to the book, the author gives new names for flora and fauna. There are 37 plants, as buttonwood, tuckahoe root, Atamasco lily, etc. [ibid,

pp. 157-159]; 15 birds, as bald eagle, Virginia nightingale, blue wing, etc. [ibid, pp. 159-60]; 12 fishes, as sheepshead, rock fish [ibid, p. 160]; 6 animals, as skunk, ground squirrel [ibid, pp. 160-1]; and 8 snakes and insects: rattle-snake, fire fly [ibid, p. 161].

In Journal of the Officer who travelled in America and West-Indies in 1764 and 1765, it is the word timber "wood, forest" the case of controversy: "I observed scarce any Pines on it, and the timber I did see, began to decrease both in Size and Number, owing to the more ancient occupancy of Virginia and Maryland." [ibid, pp. 407-08]. OED denies this sense an American origin [13, p. 2063], while DA cites it first American usage in 1792 [7, p. 1733]. Anyway, it had been known some 30 years before. While being in the College (now University of Pennsylvania), the author noted: "...the propriety of Language here surprized me much, the English tongue being spoken by all ranks, in a degree of purity and perfection, surpassing any, but the polite part of London." [9, p. 411]. Among some other Americanisms are *Indian corn*, hominy "broken Indian corn boiled with milk" [ibid, p. 400], bateaux [ibid, p. 430], rapids "in a river: rapid descent of a water", as "Seven or Eight of those rapids to pass, all of them bad, and not to be attempted without a Skilful Pilot." [ibid, p. 431]. The last usage agrees with the earliest citation in DA (1765) in another source [7, p. 1359]. Of British archaisms in the USA, the author uses meeting "meeting house, church", now obsolete in Britain, as: "It [=the town] has two handsome Meetings, on a Platform of their own." [9, p. 448].

In Journal of Captain Harry Gordon, 1766 one can find bayou [9, p. 460], bateau [ibid, p. 465], creek [ibid]. The word lick, as in place names (from salt lick) is mentioned 10 years earlier than the first citation in DA, 1775 [7, p. 971]: "We Encamped opposite the great Lick [Big Bone Lick, in Boone County, Kentucky], and next day I went with a Party of Indians and Batteau-Men to view this much talked of Place." [9, p. 466]. Of British archaisms in the USA, freshes "a freshwater stream running out in a tideway" is found: "Some few of the banks are overflowed in high Freshe." [ibid, p. 467].

Philip Vickers Fithian, journal and letters, 1767-1774, begins with description of Princeton college with two early Americanisms: "Senior Class consists of ten: The Sophimore of twenty five: And the Freshman of eighteen." [4, p. 10]. Here – sophomore "2nd course student", freshman "1st course student". Another word used in this source is bit "one eighth of a dollar": "He made me a vast fire, blacked my Shoes, set my Room in order, for which I gave him half a Bit." [ibid, p. 71]. Now obsolete word pistareen "a small Spanish coin current in the American colonies and early republic" is explained: "Pistareen, which then equalled about 19.4 of our cents; half of it, 9.7; the English sixpence, 12.2; seven-pence-halfpenny Virginia money, 10.4." [ibid, p. 72]. Names of new animals and plants are also found in the book, as robin red-breast, mocking bird [ibid, p. 232], other examples include buckskin "a nickname for backwoodsman, Virginian" [ibid, p.

The practice and the word burying-yard is described by Ph. Fithian as: "Most of the landed estates had their private burial grounds, wherein the lords of the manor and their families were laid to rest; the churchyard being re-

served for the lower classes." [ibid, p. 74]. Other, now obsolete Americanisms used in the book, are: quarter as "slaves' quarter" [ibid, p. 76], clamp "brush" [ibid, p. 252], along with one of the earliest mentioning of gouging "in fighting, to force an opponent's eye from its socket with the thumb": "...Cooper, who is likely to lose one of his Eyes by that Diabolical Custom of gouging which is in common practise among those who fight here." [ibid, p. 104]. Again, DA, with its earliest citation going to 1779, lags 5 years behind [7, p. 720]: it is written in 1774.

Another correction should be made regarding the old English card game all-fours, later know in the USA as seven-up. Described firstly in 1674, it is thought to have been brought to America in the 19th c. As it follows, the game had been already popular there at least a quarter of century earlier "I am ashamed that I may record here what does no honour to my old Aunt, I saw her with three Partners round a Table playing Cards at that vulgar game fit only for the meanest gamblers "all Fours" [ibid, p. 163]. One of the character of the book, Colonel Lee, informed the author that "...he does indeed prefer a Tutor for his Children who has been educated upon the Continent... only on account of pronunciation in the English Language, in which he allows young Gentlemen educated in good Schools on the Continent, to excel the Scotch young Gentlemen, & indeed most of the English". [ibid, p. 147]. One may infer from this remark that there might have been 'good' and 'bad' pronunciation at that time, the former taught at 'good schools' in Great Britain.

In Journal of David Taitt's Travels from Pensacola, West Florida, to and through the country of the upper and the lower Creeks, 1772, there are few lexemes of interest for the study: British archaism in AE baggage [9, p. 498], creek [ibid, p. 501], bluff [ibid, p. 505], rapids [ibid, p. 511]. Some notions of Indian culture follow: busk "a feast of first fruits among the Creek Indians", Green Corn dance [ibid, p. 549], etc.

The journal of Nicholas Cresswell (1774-1777) has a few Americanisms to mention: *Indian corn* [ibid, p. 18], humming bird [ibid, p. 23], banjo [ibid, p. 30], creek [ibid, p. 66], rapids [ibid, p. 68], licks [ibid, p. 77], huckleberry [98], etc. Some of the new, Indian names still come in old forms, as "This morning Captn. Clark showed me a root that the Indians call pocoon [now poke], good for the bite of a Rattle Snake." [ibid, p. 68]. Some other phenomena are explained, as "The meat is first cut from the bones in thin slices, then four forked sticks are stuck in the ground in a square form, and small sticks laid on these forks. The meat is laid on this and a slow fire put under it. This is called *jerking* the meat" [ibid, pp. 75-6]. N. Cresswell describes the newlyemerged USA money: "On the 4 Dollar bills is impressed a Wild Boar running on the spear of the hunter." [ibid, p. 131]. Flora and fauna species are among those: glasssnake, horned snake [ibid, p. 145].

The author gives one of the first references of the word sauerkraut: "Now all these Ditches and fortified places are full of stagnate water, damaged sour Crout and filth of every kind." [ibid, p. 244]. That was written on June 24th, 1777. DA gives the first reference in 1776 [7, p. 1460]. In the end of his Journal N. Cresswell comes out with an important observation on the language in America: "Though the inhabitants of this Country are composed

of different Nations and different languages, yet it is very remarkable that they in general speak better English than the English do. No County or Colonial dialect is to be distinguished here, except it be the New Englanders, who have a sort of whining cadence that I cannot describe." [9, p. 272].

In Travel Diary of Bishop and Mrs. Reichel and their company from Lititz, Pennsylvania, to Salem in Wachovia, North Carolina (1780) one can find some historical items, as Congress money "money issued by a Continental Congress during the Revolution": "Congressmoney still has good value here,--40 to 1. It was necessary for us to exchange silver for Congress-money, for the most part there is little money and silver is little used" [ibid, p. 590]. Another example is commissary "an officer of the Government" [ibid, p. 594]. Of Americanisms proper, the author uses creek, corduroy road [ibid, p. 596], etc.

Colonel William Fleming's Journal of Travels in Kentucky (1779-1780) contains nearly the same repertoire of American markers. The author mentions tafia "rum-like drink", now obsolete: "...we dined and got some taffieo drink here..." [ibid, p. 620]; lick as place-name [ibid, p. 621], creek [ibid, p. 625], hoe-cake [ibid, p. 641], buckeye [ibid, p. 651]. Another Colonel William Fleming's Journal of travels in Kentucky (1783) opens with the British archaism in the USA – baggage [ibid, p. 661]. Further, the author uses a rather rare name for pecan: "I was informed the Oionn or Illinois nut grows near the Falls" [ibid, p. 666]. The earliest citation in DA refers to 1781 [7, p. 862]. Lick and creek are ubiquitous, as well [9, p. 671, etc.].

William Priest in Travels in the United States of America; commencing in the year 1793 and ending in 1797 admire American flora and fauna: "...ten species of oak; viz, white, black, red, spanish, turkey, chestnut, ground, water, barren, and live oak." [9, pp. 11-12]; "...porgiefish, hog-fish, yellow-tails, cony-fish..." [ibid, p. 71]. Among other new names are *mush*, *hominy* [ibid, p. 37], sleigh [ibid, p. 47]. The author's use of relish "an appetizer for dinner" is the first reference of the word in this sense cited by OED [13, p. 1552]: "About eight or nine in the morning they breakfast on tea and coffee, attended always with what they call relishes, such as salt fish, beefsteak, sausages, broiled fowls, ham, bacon, &c" [9, pp. 32-3]. Banjo, with its first reference to 1740 in DA [7, p. 71], is also explained: "The instrument proper to them is the banjore, which they brought here from Africa, and which is the origin of the guitar." [9, p. 190]. In the other author's remark - "By the word tavern, in America, is meant an inn or public house of any description" [ibid, p. 34], the word tavern does not reveal any reference to its American roots both in OED and DA. One can assume that in late 18th-early 19th cc. that usage was more common in America.

In Travels in America 100 years ago. Being notes and reminiscences by Thomas Twining (1795), the author excels the taste of buckwheat cakes: "Mrs. Francis helped me to some of the celebrated buckwheat cakes. It takes its name from the species of wheat of which it is made, and in size and appearance resembles the English crumpet, and is dressed in the same manner, being first toasted and then buttered. But it is superior to the crumpet or muffin." [14, p. 35]. The writer mentions the way of naming Amer-

ican streets in Philadelphia, as "First", "Second", "Third", etc. [ibid, p. 44]. Equally, the author was surprised as "An English traveller is at first surprised to find the villages, often clumps of houses, of America bearing the names of the great towns or cities of England." [ibid, p. 64]. On his travel to Vermont, Th. Twining learned about Yankee: "We apply this designation as a term of ridicule or reproach to the inhabitants of all parts of the United States indiscriminately; but the Americans confine its application to their countrymen of the Northern or New England States." [ibid, p. 68]. The other Americanisms the author mentions are: boatable "navigable" [ibid, p. 77], sheepshead "fish" [ibid, p. 156], gouging [ibid, p. 89],

One important note relates to the three-partite division of American cultural traits that bears on dialects formation in the Eastern seaboard. It seems to have taken form by the end of the 18th c. The author writes about "fixed antipathy" between the Northern and Southern States. The citizen of Massachusetts is "prudent, moral, diligent; but with more industry than genius", while the latter is "generous, improvident, choleric, eloquent; but manifesting in his pursuits more genius than morality or exertion" and closer to Ireland or France than to England. "The character of the Middle States, New York, Pennsylvania... seems to be a modification of the extremes which distinguish the provinces of the north and south." [ibid, pp. 90-1].

The author also was struck by the volubility of American speech: "It is to this unreserved communication probably that the facility with which the Americans express themselves in conversation is to be attributed. An American speaks English with the volubility of a Frenchman." [ibid, p. 117].

At the end of his work, Th. Twining wishes that "...the English language should be spoken more fluently than correctly" [ibid, p. 167]. Here, the author gives the following footnote: "Though such words as illy, vended, to loan, to enterprise, and a few others are to be met with in the least cultivated ranks of society, there are others which are allowable in America for their usefulness, as "portage," applied to the distances goods must be carried at the locks, falls, and rapids, and some which are admissible both for their usefulness and greater precision, as "boatable," as applied to shallow rivers, instead of navigable, and "immigration."" [ibid]. After the OED, illy is "Now chiefly U.S.", with the first American reference in 1785 [13, p. 815], *vend* [ibid, p. 2221] has no restrictive label and seems to have caught in American in the end of 18th c., *loan* is marked by "Now chiefly U.S." [ibid, p. 988], to enterprise is archaic in both countries [ibid, p. 520], portage is originally American, with the first reference in 1698 [ibid, p. 1392].

In Richard Parkinson's A tour in America in 1798, 1799, and 1800, the author was surprised to learn that American farmers, in winter kept "their horses on blades, and their cows on slops... [Blades] proved to be blades and tops of Indian corn: and the slops were the same that are put into the swill-tub in England, and given to hogs; composed of broth, dishwashings, cabbage-leaves, potatoe-parings." [10, pp. 39-40]. OED labels slop as "US dial. and coll." [13, p. 1796] citing the same, while The Heritage show no restrictive label [11, p. 1638]. The first reference to the word trucks as "garden produce" owes to

the R. Parkinson's work: "I thought nothing in the farming-line likely to be profitable, except what in that country is called truck,--which is garden produce, fruits, &c." [10, p. 161]. Then R. Parkinson learned what gullied land is: ...it was (as it is termed in America) gullied; which I call broken land. This effect is produced by the winter's frost and summer's rain, which cut the land into cavities." [ibid, p. 45]. Some other Americanisms are used by the author without apprehension, as "There were none but snake-fences; which are rails laid with the ends of one upon another, from eight to sixteen in number in one length" [ibid, p. 48]. DA has the same first reference [7, p. 1578]. Sedge [sage] is another American equivalent [10, p. 53] for the English spear-grass. According to the author, at that time, a plant disease marked by ferruginous spots, was called *mildew* in England and *rust* in America: ...wheat injured by the mildew, or what the Americans call the rust." [ibid, p .66]. OED, however, refers rust in this sense to 1340 [13, p. 1635], with no reference to the American origin.

One more word in focus is to whip "to outdo, surpass, etc." OED marks this sense as "Now U.S. coll." [ibid, p. 2305], with the first British reference to 1571 and American to 1828. But it is used by R. Parkinson almost three decades before: "They have once whipped the British; and they will do it again (the term whipping arises from their whipping the negroes)." [9, p. 265]. New animals and insects are mentioned, as canvas-back duck [ibid, p. 62], Hessian fly [ibid, p. 201], wood-hog [ibid, p. 290], Turkey buzzard [ibid, p. 301], blackbird [ibid, p. 302], etc.

In John Davis's Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America: during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802, the author was amazed that "Every publichouse in the United States, however contemptible, is dignified by the name of Tavern." [2, p. 32]. Some linguistic confusion appeared when the author was asked if he "...drives well his scholars...". He explained later "The term drive, requires some little note explanatory to the English reader. No man forgets his original trade. An Overseer on a Plantation, who preserves subordination among the negroes, is said to drive well." [ibid, p. 50]. Other infamous historisms of slavery in the book are: "When taken, the men are put in irons, and the boys have their necks encircled with a "pot-hook [=iron collar]."" [ibid, p. 93]; "negur (=Negro), day-time -"A cant term among the negroes for night; they being then at leisure" [ibid, p. 385], quarter [ibid, p. 382]. Among other Americanisms found in the book are: to tote "carry" [ibid, p. 389], to mush "go on foot" [ibid, p. 119], lengthy [ibid, p. 126], hoe-cake [ibid, p. 129], coatee "a short close-fitting coat", now obs. [ibid, p. 346], vendue [ibid, p. 359], banger (=banjo) [ibid, p. 379], julep [ibid]. A few British dialectisms and archaisms in Standard American are used, as well: "...the Run is so high, from the freshes, that you will not be able to ford it. [Note: A stream that crosses a road is called a Run in the southern States. After a heavy rain, the freshes (floods) render these Runs for some time impassable" [ibid, p. 127]. The former, after OED, labeled "chiefly US & north dial.", started its usage in the USA in 1605 [13, p. 635], the latter's first reference goes to 1634 with the label "Now U.S." [ibid, p. 1629]. Some erroneous remarks are made, as the author claims that to lay "have sex" is "Phrase of frequent occurrence among the southern Americans" [2, p. 123]. In fact, it goes back to the England of the 17th c. [6, p. 403]. Or, *illy* as Americanism [2, p. 202] which OED labels as "Now chiefly US", with first reference in Great Britain in 1549 [13, p. 815]. J. Davis expresses his frustration about "impurity" of English in America He bemoans the fact that they admit words into their vocabulary, for "which there is no authority in the undefiled writers of English. Appreciate and meliorate" are bad words; so are novel and derange." [2, p. 201]. The first one as "rise in value" in an Americanism since 1778 [7, p. 40], both meliorate and novel do not have any American roots, to derange "to remove from office" is obsolete Americanisms now (the first reference is of 1796) [ibid, p. 478].

The author proceeds with the following: "The English language is not written with purity in America. The structure of Mr. Jefferson's sentences is, I think, French; and he uses words unintelligible to an Englishman. Where I did he get the word lengthy? Breadthy, and depthy would be equally admissible. I can overlook his verb belittle; it is introduced in wantonness; but he has no right to improve ill into illy" [2, pp. 201-2]. While comparing "The New Jersey Man" with "The Virginian" the author writes "The New Jersey Man is distinguished by his provincial dialect, and seldom enlarges his mind, or transfers his attention to others; the Virginian is remarkable for his colloquial happiness, loses no opportunity of knowledge, and delights to shew his wit at the expence of his neighbor." [ibid, p. 367].

Summing up, the American English in the 18th century underwent a transitional development from early, colonial period to the national one which started at the turn of new, 19th century and was ushered and greatly influenced by N. Webster's works. The dynamics of such quantitative changes lie in gradual expansion of the American vocabulary from Indian, Dutch, and French loans, along with British dialectism and archaisms in general American use – 'new names for new things' – to the development of new American notions and their expressions – 'new names for old things', that burgeoned in the 19th century. Still, by that time, the American English complex signatures in grammar, phonology, and spelling were nascent.

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Крицберг Р.Я. Американский вариант английского языка в 18 веке: от колониального до национального периода

Аннотация. Переход в развитии АЕ от раннего, колониального до национального периода в 19 в. приходится на 18 в. В своей начальной стадии словарный состав АЕ включал в основном иностранные заимствования из голландского, французского и индейских языков, а также британские архаизмы и диалектизмы, сохранившиеся в США. Новые образования-американизмы были немногочисленны и относились к культурным реалиям. К концу колониального периода словарный состав АЕ расширяется за счет семантических и лексических американизмов более разнопланового характера, которые выступают различительными американскими маркерами, заменяя британские названия. Хотя к началу 19 в., в силу объективных исторических причин, комплексные особенности АЕ на всех уровнях языка – грамматическом, фонологическом, лексикосемантическом, а также орфографии были еще неразвиты, постепенные количественные изменения создали предпосылки для формирования национального варианта языка в 19 в.

Ключевые слова: американизм, архаизм, колониальный период, национальный период, происхождение.