Hog Crawl Creek Again[1]

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In 1954 JOHN H. GOFF INCLUDED an essay on *Hog Crawl Creek*[2] among his other fascinating studies of Georgia place-names. On the basis of several authorities he decides that the *Crawl* owes nothing to the verb *to crawl* "to creep," and that it is an American version of Spanish *corral*, borrowed by the Colonial Dutch as *kraal*, the common name in South Africa for Bushman and Hottentot villages and for cattle stockades. On the whole this is a sound etymology, though there are some difficulties, among them the exact channel by which an early nineteenth century Georgia place-name could be connected with the Dutch. Had it been after Mafeking at the end of the century it might have been assigned to the news media. The age of the word in English, and even in Georgia, suggests a fairly complex history, including at least some contact with the verb *to crawl*. Some profit can be reaped by a review of Goff's evidence and what we are able to add to it.

First, then, we shall discuss the *corral: kraal* base, and then the *to crawl* reinforcement: Goff locates Hog Crawl Creek at the boundary of Dooly and Macon Counties in Southwest Central Georgia [Lat. 32 15 Long. 84 00], neither in the mountainous North (Midland or Appalachian) area nor in the coastal Southeast. The original Dooly County survey of 1821 names it Beaver Creek, but the plat for James Barnard's Reserve, through which it ran, calls it Beaverdam or Hog Crawl Creek, sometime near 1828.[3] According to Goff "the designation *Hog Crawl* referred to a type of pen or enclosure, but one can be certain that Barnard did not invent the term, even though he was a member of a prominent Indian Country stock-raising family," in a position of authority, one presumes, to bestow a name which might stick. Actually the name goes back to

[1] This article is dedicated to Kemp Malone, a master student of Norse and Old English place-names, but a man not uninterested in the names of his native Southland.

[2] *Georgia Mineral Newsletter*, 7 (1958), 38–40. His article, with several others and his 116 "Short Studies of Georgia Placenames," is being edited for the University of Georgia Press by Marion Hemperley and F. L. Utley, and should appear in 1974. The entry in George R. Stewart's *American Place-Names*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 119. accepts Goff's conclusions.

[3] Goff, p. 150.

colonial times, before Georgia was a state. Goff lists the following occurrences of the name:

> (1) July 1, 1735: Noble Jones in a letter to the Trustees mentions a "Hoggs Crawl" at a "fine Blough" on the Savannah River, which is the eastern boundary of the state and runs from Lat. 3500 Long. 8430 to 3200/8100. The site was in Effingham County near the famous Ebenezer Church and "Purrysburgh" South Carolina. *(Colonial Records*, XX, 421–28).[4]
>
> (2) May 1765: John Price petitioned for an island of Crooked River (in present Camden County) to settle "an Hog Crawl." [Note *an* for *a*, suggesting a cockney loss of *h*, common in early Georgia because of the settlement from the less fashionable parts of London.] Camden County is in the Southeast corner of the state, on the Atlantic, and is cut by the Satilla River – 3100/8230 *(Colonial Records*, IX, 351).
>
> (3) (a) 1765 About the same time: John Fox requested a grant on the "Main" opposite Frederica at a place called "the Hog Crawl" *(Colonial Records*, IX, 362–63), near today's Brunswick, 3120/8130.
>
> (b) 1768 Jacob Moore asked for land on the north side of Turtle River at "hogg Crawl Creek," apparently the same stream *(Colonial Records*, X, 598).
>
> (c) 1771 William Moore, Jacob's kinsman (?), petitioned for 200 acres on the south side of the same stream *(Colonial Records*, CI, 421).

To this group we may add a document unknown to Goff, supplied in Atcheson Hench's well-known "Miscellany." His entry is on *Cowpen*, on which he comments "In eighteenth-century South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, the term not only meant a pen or an enclosure but was also used to designate a large grazing area, usually between 100 and 400 acres in size."[5] But he proceeds to cite our generic term:

> (4) August 7, 1733, *South-Carolina Gazette:* Also to be sold... 200 Acres of land, at *English Santee*, on the north side of the River, joining a large Savannah, very commodious for a Cow-pen or Hog-Craub [sic – emended in next issue to "Hog-Craul"]. The Santee runs from 3330/8010 to the sea at 3310/7920.

Though the South Carolinian example is not yet a place-name, it is valuable evidence that the term *hog crawl* had slipped into a neighboring state in the eighteenth century.

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[4] For full citations of the archives see Goff.

[5] *American Speech*, 36 (1961), 294. The term *crawl* or its derivatives does not appear in E. Wallace McMullen, Jr., *English Topographical Names in Florida*, 1563–1874 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953).

Goff considers why an enclosure for hogs is called a *crawl* rather than a *pen (Cowpens, Mulepen, Shuck Pen):*

> The singularity of hog crawl as a name, therefore, leaves the impression that this sort of structure differed from other pens. Presumably the pioneers' rail or pole pens for horses and cattle were not effective in holding the half-wild, self-reliant frontier hogs that were accustomed to roaming the woods in search of their own food. On the other hand, an enclosure made of posts or heavy pickets, placed upright and close together in the fashion of a stockade would have been "hog tight," as we say today.

This comment is one of the excellent accounts of folk life which adds to his linguistic, geographic and historic evidence to fill out the full budget of an onomastic explanation. He further supplies us with a conjectural picture of a hog crawl, with pioneer stockmen driving three elusive hogs into the crawl or stockade, while two hogs wallow on the bank of the creek, a part of which is included within the stockade to furnish mud for the wallow, and two others eat what looks like corn ears at the hog trough.

But the use of the word *crawl* for "pen" puzzles him as it does us. He cites Webster, the *Shorter Oxford,* and the *DAE* for testimony that the word comes from

> the Colonial Dutch word *kraal,* that in turn seemingly was derived from the Spanish or Portuguese *corral.* But how the name got into Colonial English is a mystery. It may have been brought here from the West Indies, or more probably directly from Africa by slaves or slave traders, because the dictionaries in discussing the word mention a crawl as an enclosure for slaves. Apparently the name was known in South Carolina before Georgia was founded.

The *DAE Crawl* n.[1] supports only the definition "An enclosure for keeping turtles or terrapins," and submits as etyma "Du. *kraal,* Sp. *corral.*" Hence the value of citation (4) above, which supports the use of the term for hogs in the neighboring state of South Carolina.

> (5) 1682 ASH *Carolina* 28 They bring them [turtles] in Sloops alive, and afterwards keep them in Crauls, which is a particular place of Salt Water of Depth and Room for them to swim in, pallisado'd or staked, in round above the Waters Surface.
> (6) 1837 WILLIAMS *Florida* 65 A turtle-crawl is considered an essential appurtenance to a habitation.... The crawl is a pen made where the water is about two feet deep, at low tide.
> (7) 1906 L. BELL *C. Lee* 191. I sold some timber to a Yankee firm who wanted fine cypress, and with the money I constructed a terrapin crawl.

Thomas Ash was a British traveller, and John Lee Williams a Florida observer who may have lived there, since he wrote a second book on the state or territory, and published in New York and Philadelphia. Lilian L. Bell was a novelist who published in Boston; her regional novel, *Carolina Lee*, which apparently heralds the long century of devastation of southern forests by the North, anticipates the more forcible accounts of Thomas Wolfe and William Faulkner. The DAE's *Crawl* n.[2] we will save for later discussion.

Goff's suggestian of West Indian origins gains weight by the treatment of *Crawl* / kraal / in Cassidy and Le Page's *Dictionary of Jamaican English*,[6] which provides five citations from 1660 to 1956:

> (8) 1660 Hickeringill, p. 13, They build two or three little Houses, or more; by them called a Crawle, and in these, they first inclose these tame Hogs, with which they begin their stock, and there feed them; that after (being let out) they will come to the haunt, at the sound of a Horn.
> (9) c 1695 *Acts and Laws* 111, None shall hunt any Gang of Dogs within 4 Mile of any Crawl.
> (10) 1707 Sloane xvii, Swine fed at *Crawles* are in very great plenty. These Crawles, or Houses and Sties built for feeding and breeding Hogs, are kept by some Whites, *Indians*, or Blacks.
> (11) 1774 Long I 345, The word Craal being commonly used in the West-Indies to signify a place where provisions are planted, and hogs bred.
> (12) 1956 McStE / a did hav a smaal kraal joz die wi tuu pig / I had a small crawl just there with two pigs; also Clar.

Two of the *DJE* quotations are also found in the *OED's Crawl* (krǭl), *sb.*[2] with its first meaning "an enclosure, pen, or building for keeping hogs (in the West Indies). *Obs*"; the *DJE's* illustrations are slightly fuller than those of the *OED*. We may add the self-defining third example from *OED*:

> (13) Smyth *Sailor's Word-Bk.* 1867 On the coast of Africa, a pen for slaves awaiting shipment.

This group of quotations (8–12), with the exception of (12), testifies to the special use of the word *crawl* for hog-pens in Jamaica and other West Indian islands. Apparently (8) Jamaican hogs are tamer than Georgia hogs, and come back more willingly to the crawls. The major danger to them was the dogs (9). The 1956 citation is plentiful contradiction to the *OED's* label of "obsolete"; it was collected by Louise McCloskey, a field worker, from oral sources in the parish of St. Elizabeth and Claren-

[6] *DJE*, p. 129.

don. Hickeringill was a ship's captain who wrote *Jamaica Viewed: with All the Ports* (London); Sloane was the famous Sir Hans Sloane, benefactor of the British Museum, whose *Voyage to Jamaica* contains a Natural History; Edward Long wrote *The History of Jamaica, or General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of that Island*, like the other two published in London. The *Acts and Laws* were printed by the Institute of Jamaica without imprint in 1695. To the *DJE* citations on hogs we may add

> (14) PIG CRAWL sb dial; from pig + CRAWL. A pigsty or pig pen, 1952 / pig kral / pig pen, supplied by F. G. Cassidy from his field work in St. Ann's parish.

As we have seen, the basic entries in the *DAE* were confined to marine creatures. The Jamaican dictionary *(DJE)* provides this as a second meaning alive today:

> (15) 1934 Kingston *Gleaner* 15 March, The fish are transferred to a crawl.

There is special value in this last citation, since it demonstrates the use of the term for a swimming creature which, as opposed to a turtle or a pig, can by no stretch of the imagination be thought of as "crawling." Unless we resort to a generalization of meaning, assuming a place for amphibious crawlers leading to a place for the non-amphibious swimmers as well, the basic *corral: kraal* etymon is securely attested.

The *DJE* has a further set of meanings, under TURTLE CRAWL, for the amphibious creature:

> (16) 1707 Sloane viii, Rivers on the North-side are... Porto Antonio River, Turtle Crawl River, Priest Alan's River... [etc.]
> (17) 1827 Hamel II 201–2, He shall have the boat that is hid in Turtle Crawl.
> (18) 1833 Scott, *Tom Cringle's Log* (1859) 420, The Turtle Crawls filled with beautiful clear water.
> (19) 1873 Rampini 166, We subsequently visited a turtle 'crawl' in Sheffield Bay. It was a little fenced-in enclosure underneath some mangrove trees. Four green turtles were swimming about, preparatory to being sold.
> (20) 1903 *Daily Mail* 9 Sept. 5/3, A turtle crawl in Kingston, where over two hundred turtles were confined awaiting shipment, was broken up by the force of the sea during the cyclone in Jamaica.
> (21) 1935 HPJ, An enclosure for keeping alive turtles [A. Clerk: *in the sea*] generally called "a turtle crawl" under *Turtle sb.*[2]

The *OED* and its 1933 *Supplement* entries provide no additional citations; they quote (5) also found in the *DAE* and (18) and (20) in the *DJE*, and (9) also from the *DJE*, but from a secondary authority, *A New History*

of Jamaica, 2nd edition, 1740, p. 183. The authorities are Sir Hans Sloane again, a novel called *Hamel, the Obeah Man*, Michael Scott's well-known sea story *Tom Cringle's Log*, Charles I. G. Rampini's *Letters from Jamaica*, the London *Daily Mail*, and the pioneer Jamaican fieldworker H. P. Jacobs with notes by his transcriber Astley Clerk. Thus the bulk of the witnesses are travellers or novelists, but there are at least two from the ground, in 1873 and 1935.

One visualizes these turtle crawls as being somewhat different from a pig or hog crawl. If Goff is correct the hog crawl must exist near a creek and have wallowable mud, whereas the turtle crawl is large or small, allows swimming (Scott, Rampini, A. Clerk), but is near the shore *(Daily Mail*, Rampini) and is fenced in, as a *corral: crawl* should be (Rampini). We may add one more English example, which provides a new dimension, the sponge crawl. *The Century Dictionary*[7] cites the *Fortnightly Review*, N. S. 34 (1886), 179 with a brief quotation. We shall expand it because it provides so well a visual and olfactory picture of the crawl. The author, Henry A. Blake, in an article called "Try the Bahamas," describes sponge fishing in small boats by two men, who examine the 15–20 bottom of the sea with a "sponge-glass," or glass-bottomed bucket:

> (22) The sponges when found are hooked up by the armed [30-foot] pole, and as soon as the schooner's deck is filled she sails away to a 'ranche,' where she deposits her now evil-smelling load in a 'crawl,' or enclosure of wattles in shallow water, where it remains for a fortnight, during which the crew are fishing for a fresh cargo. On their return all hands enter the crawl and beat out the now-rotted fleshy part of the sponge, which, when first gathered, presents the appearance of a round mass of dark india-rubber freely perforated. When the fleshy part has been thoroughly removed and the marketable skeleton washed, the heap is laid on shore in a secluded spot, while the lot that has taken its place remains in the crawl, and the schooner starts again for the sponge banks.

There follows a humorous account of how the sand is added by the middleman in London or New York to increase the weight, and how the black fishermen sing "many old English ditties now long forgotten in these days of steam winches.... They have wonderfully true ears and are very fond of harmony. At a little distance the effect of these choruses is really charming." It is not clear from the quotation whether the "crawls" are borrowed turtle crawls, or specialized sponge crawls, but it is fairly clear that they are near the shore, to allow the work of the beaters.

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[7] *Century Dictionary Revised and Enlarged*, ed. W. D. Whitney and B. J. Smith (New York: Century Company, 1914), p. 134. A massive work with many historical citations missed elsewhere.

So much for the English examples. There seems to be very little disagreement that the sponge, hog, fish or turtle crawls come from the Spanish *corral* or Portuguese *curral* via the Dutch Colonial *kraal:* essentially the same etymon is provided in the *OED, DJE, DAE, WBED* (which calls *crawl* a doublet of *corral),* and *RHD.* But nothing they say answers the major question of how a Colonial Dutch word *kraal* got into Jamaica and Georgia, and was transferred from a stockade for South Africa freemen or African slaves to a stockade for hogs or turtle. The answer may lie in the vagaries of the slave trade or of Dutch settlement in the West Indies and South America. Surinam (Dutch Guiana, now Guyana) was first colonized by the British in 1630 and taken over by the Dutch in 1667–83, by an exchange arrangement in the Treaty of Breda which assigned Surinam to the Dutch and New Amsterdam or New York to the British. The neighboring Curaçao and the Netherlands Antilles (Aruba, Bonaire) were taken by the Spaniards in 1527 and by the Dutch in 1634; it was in these islands that the celebrated Peter Stuyvesant as governor lost his leg (1643) and became governor (1646) both of New Amsterdam and the Antilles. The Dutch settlements in South Africa began with Table Mountain in 1652, and the colonization of the Cape of Good Hope proceeded from 1650 to 1670. The Dutch East India Company, founded in 1587, began trading in the beginning with the Indonesian islands; their rivals there were the Portuguese, from whom they took Ceylon in 1638 and Malabar (southwest India) in 1663. By 1607 they had already captured the spice island of Celebes with its port of Makassar, originally settled by the Portuguese. Thus the Dutch dictionaries prefer a Portuguese *curral* as a basis for *kraal.*[8] Their evidence is worth examining more closely.

According to Heinsius' great *Woordenboek, Kraal*[9] and *Koraal* in both their senses, "coral" and "stockade," are doublets. The first meaning, from the Latin-Greek *corrallium* is of no interest to us except as it indicates the tendency to syncope. Heinsius' citations for *Kraal* III "stockade" follow (dates provided from his Bibliography and from other external sources):

> (1) 1899 HESSELING, *Afrik.* 94 volg. In Z.-Afrika en Indië: een afgepaalde ruimte waarbinnen men her vee of andere dieren opsluit; voorts ook (in Afrika): een dorp van inboorlingen [aborigines].
> (2) 1884–93 RIEBEEK, *Dagverh.* 1, 80. De crael met een slooth [ditch] graven om de beesten snachs in te bergen.

[8] On the importance of Portuguese in the Dutch Colonial vocabulary see G. G. Kloeke, *Herkonst en groei van het Afrikaans* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1950), pp. 282–83, 316. See also "Corral" in Georg Friederici, *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* (Hamburg, 1947), pp. 212–13, which has several Portuguese and South African citations, none too helpful here.

[9] *WNT,* VIII. 1, cols. 18–21.

(3) 1672 BALDAEUS, *Beschr. v. Ceylon* 198 a. Een droog kledreck in 't crael aen brandt geraeckt sijnde. 3, 25. Men vanght ... de Elephanten, met Coralen, zijnde vele Boomen in de aarde geslagen, die in 't eerste een ruymen ingank geven, maar van langhzamer handt enger worden.

(4) 1724–26 VALENTIJN, *Oost-Ind.* VIII, 3, 94 b. Dat zeker vryman ... aan hunne huysjes in den brand, en nemende al her vee met zich.

(5) 1746 DE MARRE, *Besp.* 165 *(Eerkroon voor de Caab de Goede Hoop).* Kraalen, door wier muuren Het vee geveiligd is voor 't woedend ongediert.

(6) 1804–1808 V. HEMERT, *Lekt.* 3, 103. Iemand die in eene kraal der Kaffers leefde.

(7) 1864 PRUYS V. D. HOEVEN, *Sumatra* 1, 63. De eigenaars... drijven de buffels in een daartoe gemaakte kraal, die fuiksgewijze varvaardigd, uitloopt in een sterk omheind moeras met een naauwe opening.

(8) 1879 TROMP, *Herinn. uit Zuid-Afr.* 172. Op eenigen afstand van de Paarl ... treft men nog een kraaltje van dezen stam aan.

These examples show that our normal association of *kraal* solely with South Africa and its Bushman, Hottentot or "Kaffir" villages is not an inevitable one, since the first South African example is from J. de Marre's *Bespiegelingen over Gods Wysheid in 't bestier der Schepselen, en Eerkroon voor de Caab de Goede Hoop*, published in Amsterdam in 1746. The earliest reference, from P. Baldaeus' *Beschrijving der Oost-Indische Kusten Malabar en Choromandel* [*and Ceylon*], published in Amsterdam in 1672, is from Ceylon, with its Portuguese antecedents, and the next, F. Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Dordrecht, 1724–26), is likewise speaking of the East Indies. The citations indicate that the *curral: kraal* was primarily used for buffalo, elephants and cattle rather than for hogs, turtles, or fish. None are from the West Indies. This is no great problem, of course, since a sea-going and colonizing nation like the Netherlanders could have brought the word and the customs connected with it around the world from east to west. But we can gain a bit of further assurance from Heinsius' entry for the doublet *Koraal* VI:

(8) 1714 DE BRUYN, *Reizen* 2, 359. Men ziet op dit eilant..., wordende daer van op eene jagt 100 ja wel 150 en 200 gevangen in een korael of fuik [trap], welker vleugels zick meer dan drie uren verre uitspreiden.

(9) 1711 A. BOGAERT, *Histor. Reizen* 351. *(De olifanten)* werden in koralen gevangen, gemaakt van veele bomen, die vast in d'aarde gegrieft zyn, en vooraan eenen ruimen ingang hebben, thans al vervolgens enger toelopen, en voorzien met valdeuren.

> (10) 1914–17 *Encyclop. v. Ned. W. I.* Koraal ... Veekraal. Een ommuurde ruimte zonder dak, waarin op de plantages op Curaçao het vee's nachts verblijft: in het algemeen een omheind stukje grond voor of achter het huis.

De Bruyn's travels were to Muscovy and Persia and India, and Bogaert's to the eastern part of Asia, but the *West Indian Encyclopedia* provides us assurance that Curaçao has the word and artifact which we have also found in Jamaica and the Bahamas and Georgia.

The dates are disappointing, however, since our first English example, Hickeringill's *hog-crawl* from Jamaica, appears as early as 1660, 12 years before the Dutch word is attested from Ceylon. There are no examples of the word in Middle Dutch, if the basic dictionary for that period is to be trusted; it does cite examples of the Middle Dutch form derived from L. *corallium* "coral" and *choralis* "choral, song, song-leader."[10] On the other hand, there are plentiful examples from the medieval Spanish and Portuguese dictionaries of corral, meaning "corral, cercado, patio, redil (sheepfold)," and perhaps "iglesia" and "prison."[11] Since *corral* was available in early Spanish, we should not wholly rule out the possibility of a syncopated form appearing in the Spanish Netherlands in time to produce a Dutch (or even Spanish) model for Hickeringill's *Crawle* for hogs in Jamaica, especially in view of the *redil* "sheepfold" meaning attested in the thirteenth century Berceo. Portuguese forms of *curral* are around as early as the sixteenth century in the poems of Antonio Ferreira.

Yet in view of the ample evidence for Portuguese-Dutch contact in the East Indies and Ceylon, we need not push this possibility too far. In spite of the priority of Hickeringill's 1660 Jamaica *Crawle* over Baldaeus' 1672 Ceylon *coralen*, we may assume the oral existence of a full or syncopated form in Dutch Colonial speech early enough to have found its way to the West Indies by a speedy sea-leap, where its use for buffalo, elephants and cattle was extended to a more common domestic beast in need of a stockade, the hog. Despite the lack of early examples, Surinam or Curaçao might have been the channel to Jamaica and the British Bahamas, where as early as 1707 (Sloane) it was used for a somewhat

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[10] *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, ed. E. Verweis and J. Verdam, III ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1894). The *MED* also has *Coral.*

[11] R. S. Boggs, Lloyd Kasta et al., *Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish* (Chapel Hill, 1946), I, 145; Victor R. B. Oelschlager, *A Medieval Spanish Word-List* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940), p. 52; *Tesoro Lexicografico (1492–1726)* ed Samuel Gili Gaya (Madrid, 1947), I, 645–46. For suggested etyma of corral see Pedro Felipe Monlau, *Diccionario etymologico de la lengua castellana* (Buenos Aires: Il Ateneo, 1944), p. 545. For the Portuguese *curral*, with citations from Antonio Ferreira (1528–69) and Jaõo X. de Mattos (d. 1789) see *Grande diccionario portuguez ou thesouro da lingua portugueza*, by Fr. Dominges Vierra (Porto, 1873), II, 675.

different construction known as a *Turtle Crawl.* If our scanty examples give us sure ground, we may then assume that the coastal Georgia and South Carolina examples came by sea route from Jamaica, Curaçao or, even more likely, from the Bahamas. Two of the four Georgian examples of *hog-crawl* cited by Goff are on "the Main," whereas the South Carolina instance and a third Goff Georgia instance are on navigable rivers. The Macon-Dooly *Hog Crawl Creek* with which we began is inland, where it may well have traveled from the coast.

Thus, as we gain the fuller evidence which Goff lacked, we see that his general history of the word is fairly well attested. And there we might leave the question, were there not a few residual details to be cleared up. We may list our troublesome queries as follows:

(1) the pronunciation
(2) the parallel existence of the tempting verb *to crawl* as a counter-etymon
(3) the nature of the hog
(4) the existence in America of other nominal derivatives of the verb *to crawl.*

The pronunciation of the head word in *hog crawl* and *turtle crawl* is a disturbing factor. Presumably from the spelling the Georgia word is pronounced with a low back rounded /ɔ/, similar to the sound of the verb, rather than with the Dutch /a/, low central unrounded. The spellings in some of the Jamaica citations, *Craal* (11), *kraal* (12), and /pig kral/, if they have not been unconsciously influenced by the authorities' knowledge of the conjectural Dutch etymology, suggest that the Jamaican pronunciation is low central unrounded. Georgia is one of the many American areas where there is considerable variation between the /a/ and the /ɔ/. Probably the unrounded form predominates in the mountainous Midland reason in the north of the state, and the rounded form in the Carolina-Low Country region.[12] Unfortunately there are no examples of the verb *to crawl* in the Kurath-McDavid study of the Atlantic states, to indicate whether Georgia preserves the Scotch-Irish / Southern English distinction between the vowels, with the unrounded form in the North.[13] The rounded form is the normal reflex from the Middle English

[12] W. Nelson Francis and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Structure of American English* (New York: Ronald Press, 1958), p. 520. For the difficulties in the sound, largely conditioned by lip-rounding, see George Philip Krapp, *The English Language in America* (New York: Century, 1925), II, 141–46, and William Grant and James M. Dixon, *Manual of Modern Scots* (Cambridge: University Press, 1921), pp. 51–53.

[13] Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 113–14, maps 31–32; and pp. 141–43, maps 77–82.

/a + l/ in words like *small* and *talk*.[14] Thus, even if the word came from Jamaica or the Bahamas as /kral/, it would probably have been assimilated to the local coastal pronunciation of *hall, call, all, small, awl*, the low back rounded vowel. Though the rounding may have begun on the islands, it is pretty certain that by the time the word came to Georgia and the Carolinas it was a homonym of the verb *crawl*.[15]

Our second point involves the history of the verb. Unlike the borrowing from Dutch Colonial, it goes back to Middle English, where it is, according to the *OED*, "a rare word ... and apparently only northern; probl. from Norse; cf. Da. and Norw. *kravle* to crawl, climb up, Sw. *krafla* to grope, Icel. *krafla* to paw or scrabble with the hands (mod Icel. *krafla fram úr* to crawl out of). The word existed also in West Germanic, but the corresponding OE. form **craflian* has not been found. It is from an old Teutonic frequentative based on a conjectural **krab, *kreb-* 'to scratch, claw, paw'.... The diphthongal ME. *craule, crawle* (from *cravle*), was reduced to *crall* by the end of 15th c., riming with *small* in Spenser; cf. the form-history of AWL. But the phonology of the early forms *crewle, creule, croule, crule* is obscure: *crewle* reminds us of MDu. *crēvelen*, but *croule, crule*, suggests some confusion with CROWL, Fr. *crouler;* see esp. sense 6."[16] The *OED* provides only four examples from before the sixteenth century, three from *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300), and one from the *Towneley Plays* (c. 1460). CROWL, which also has *crawle* spellings, is an apparently onomatopoeic word, blending something like *croak* and *growl;* it refers to rumblings of the belly (1519–1717). Sense 6 of *Crawl* compares the French *crouler* "To have a sensation of things crawling over the skin; to feel 'creepy,' to 'creep.'" Presumably the *OED* senses as we do some kind of psychological connection of the tensions in the belly and those on the skin, a legitimate though not thoroughly rigorous kind of etymological speculation.

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[14] Samual Moore, *Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Morphology*, revised Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1965), p. 137.

[15] The *OED* calls it /ɒ̄/ and the *RHD* /ô/. Both essentially stand for the low back round vowel, but of course there is "normalization" in both general dictionaries, and it is probably a word known to the lexicographers only through literary channels. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary Unabridged*, ed. Philip E. Gove (Springfield: G. and C. Merriam, 1966), has /krȯl/ for the verb with the vowel of "saw, all, saurian" and one form of "horrid"; /krol -ä-/ for *kraal*, with the vowel of "bother, cot, father, cart." *OED* gives the spelling *crall* for a corral or circle of wagons used as protection against Indians in the American West, citing the Hon. G. C. F. Berkeley, *The English Sportsman on the Western Prairies* (1861) xi. 179: "My three waggons could not make a crall or fence around my mules and horses." This appears to be a nonce occurrence by an Englishman who perhaps remembers the Dutch word rather than the Spanish *corral*.

[16] Carl D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 683–86 (10. 41 CREEP, CRAWL), offers the same Teutonic root, but also compares Greek *grapho* "scratch, write."

Apart from sense six, the meanings of *Crawl v.*[1] are what we should expect: to move like a child or a worm, to crawl over, to walk with a slow dragging motion (hyperbolic extension), to encroach stealthily upon (rare), to move stealthily, sneakingly, or abjectly, to spread over a surface or creep like ivy, to be alive with crawling things. It is easy to associate the wallowing hog or the reptile turtle with some of these meanings, though the *OED* provides us with no convenient citations.

OED Crawl v.[2] with its meaning "to entangle" is momentarily tempting, since this rare word (three examples, 1548, 1633) provides us with some sense of the wire crawl in which fish or turtles are penned: "Being cralled in the deuilles snares"; "We have crauled, and ravel's out Soules into Knots"; "The unprofitable Web of my Life, which in the Weaving I have so strained ... knit, and crawled." Might we assume a pious fisherman or hog-driver in the seventeenth century who recalls such meditations? I suppose not. *Crall v. Obs.*, an equivalent of *curl* (1420–1500) suggests a reinforcement of the derivative from French *crouler*, but it need not detain us.

MED craulen v. provides two more references, in the basic meanings of (a) "to swarm, crawl" [with worms] and (b) fig. "to drag oneself, walk slowly," and it also records the basic spellings *crallen, crŏulen, creulen, crulen.* It provides no subsidiary meanings; one assumes many of these may have emerged slowly. *MED's* possibly related *croulen* "to tremble, quiver, shake," equivalent to the *OED's Crowl* (1519–1717) provides several earlier examples, from *Cursor Mundi* MS 1400 original a 1325 "crepes crouland," *The Castle of Perseverance* a 1450, and *Florence of Rome* MS 1500? a 1400: "Syr Garcy went crowliande for fayne As rampande eyen do in the rayne." A rare word, of unsettled meaning, it is nevertheless available in the seventeenth century or later for whatever kind of connotative increment it might make to the progeny of Spanish *corral* and Dutch *kraal.*

So much for the ubiquitous verb *to crawl.* Our third residual point revolves around the word *hog* and the nature of the beast. It is a highly popular word in America, a flavorsome term which comes close to the core of American earthy humor, the center of a hundred pioneer jokes, many of them favorites of that most typical American, Abraham Lincoln. "Root, hog, or die": and "too many hogs for the tits," a description of office-seekers which Carl Sandburg euphemized to "more horses than oats," were among his favorite expressions.[17] In Old English it does not appear in the simplex form, but the *OED* lists *hoggaster* "young sheep" as early as c. 1175 in Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman texts, in 1332–33 in

[17] F. L. Utley, *Lincoln Wasn't There or Lord Raglan's Hero* (Washington: College English Association, 1965), pp. 10–11.

English texts. The expanded form was still alive in 1874; it bears also *(MED* and *OED)* the subsidiary meaning "a boar in its third year," from c. 1420 until at least 1824, often in the folk-etymologized form *hogsteer.*

The simplex *hog(ge),* according to the *MED,* is described as "OE, ? from Celt," but no evidence for the conjecture is provided. Buck's *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms* (3. 31–35, pp. 160–164) sheds no light on the etymon, and treats the word as a NE development, competing with OE *swīn, bār, bearg (*ME *barowe), SŪ, Sugu* (MG *Sow),* and *fearh* (replaced by MG *Pigge).* "ME hogge," he says, is "used generically, but also defined in some passages as the castrated male (an Hogge, *maialis, est enim porcus carens testiculis).*" Among the vast list of varieties of the genus *Sūs,* multiplied by the basic importance of each kind to agriculture, appear the Welsh *hwch* "sow," the Cornish *hoch,* and the Breton *houc'h,* but the *OED* rejects this etymon on the basis of phonology. Uncommon in Old English, Bosworth-Tòller supplies one form of *hog* in a document and two in place-names.[18] Though the notion of "yearling pig" seems basic, there are many senses in the *OED,* a swine raised for slaughter (especially a castrated male swine) (1340–1846), the species of swine including wild boar and wild sow (c. 1483 and later), other members of the family *Suidae,* including groundhog, riverhog, seahog, and water-hog (1732–1860). In the fourth sense we leave the idea of *sūs* completely and move to *ovis.* In Scotland and various English dialects *hog* is "a young sheep from the time it ceases to be a lamb till its first shearing" (1350–1867); sense five extends the term to the young of other species, bullocks or colts, and in sense six to hog-fish. Metaphorical extensions are to a coarse or gluttonous person (whence the name alights upon the students of St. John's, Cambridge), a shilling or dime, a broom, scrubbing brush, paper pulp agitator, hop-drying frame, and a curling-stone which falls short of the mark. The United States is not alone in using it for colorful proverbs and phrases: "cast not your pearls before hogs," "bring hogs to a fair market," "a great cry and little wool, quoth the Devil when he sheared the hog," "every hog his own apple," "what can you expect of a hog but his bristles." Compounds are rife: a hog in armor (clumsy sheep, person or armadillo), hog-butcher, hog-cholera, hog-backed and hog-buttocked, hog-reeve, hog-grubber, hog-ape, hog-perch -molly -sucker -mullet and -fish, hog-potato and hog-peanut, and so forth. But the joke or whatever it is that lies behind *hogshead* is a mystery to the *OED* and the rest of us.

The *MED* extends the meanings and the examples, but does not bring the Middle English examples behind 1340 *(Ayenbite of Inwit)* for "young

[18] *The Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Supplement,* ed. Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Tiller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 556.

pig," 1310 from a document for "young sheep." There is a rich list of surnames and place-names: Willelmo Hog (1174–80), Jordanus Oggesfot (1220), Joh. Fathogge (1297), Willelmus Kelehogge (1306 – cornflakes and bacon?), Stephen hoglambe (1313–17), Johannes Hogeman (1327), Roberto Hoggesfles (1327), Richard Hoggesher (1328), Nic. le Goggreue (1332), Hoggesford (1333), Hoggefeld (1363), Hoggettarii apud Hoghal (1399–1400), and Hoggehurste (1426) – excellent evidence of the support lexicography can have from onomastics. But Chaucer's Hogge of Ware in the *Cook's Tale* is misleading, since it is Hodge or Roger, with a palatalized *g*.[19]

The *DAE* provides the additional meaning of a domestic swine allowed to run wild (1630–1905). And the colorful phrases continue: "hog and hominy," "fat as a nigger's hog," "the whole hog," and the ubiquitous "as independent as a hog on ice."

But after this excursion into the savor of the word, which enforced its presence in the pioneer vocabulary, we must concentrate on places or runways used by hogs in both *DAE* and *OED*: hog-sty (English 1475–1821), hog-yard (English 1657), hog-fence and hogfold (for sheep, Scotland 1802, England ca. 1772), hog-house (Scotland 1806), hog-pen, hog-pound (England 1695), hog-cote, hog-wallow (American, as with all to follow, 1840), hog-bed (1799), hog-court (1639), "Virkins-kill alias hogge-Creeke" (1673), hog-hole (1895), Hog Island – a great favorite,[20] hog-pasture (1749), hog ranges (1857), hog-trail (1866). We hear of "A fresh marsh without the hogg yeard on the left hand lying in the last division" (1654); "[At Stonington] they would fence it [a street] up at each end, and turn it into a hog-lot"; "The hogreiffes ... presented a list of thos persons that weare diffective in hogge Fences" (1663).

Clearly fences were the major tribulation of hog ranchers, hog drivers, and their neighbors represented by the hog-reeve. The right kind of fence was "hog-tight, horse-high, and bull strong" (1880, *DAE* from Tourgee) – over ordinary fences the horses jumped, under them the hogs rooted, and if there was anything left the bulls horned them in the middle. Hence hogs needed hog-rings to prevent their grubbing (England and America 1692 on), hog-yokes to prevent them from getting through hedges (1613

[19] The dialectal citations, especially regarding sheep, need not be retailed here, but the following references are worth consulting: John Jamieson, *The Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, revised John Langmuir and David Donaldson (Paisley, 1880), II, 601–604; *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, ed. Sir William Craigie and A. J. Aitken (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937) – (in progress), III, 142; *The Scottish National Dictionary*, ed. William Grant and David D. Murison, (Edinburgh, 1960), V, 171–175; *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1962), III, 194–98.

[20] See George Stewart, *Names on the Land* (New York: Random House, 1945), p. 59; and his *American Place Names*, pp. 207–208 for hog islands.

Purchas), or they were hog-tied to keep them out of mischief in general (America 1894). This is ample testimony of Goff's view that a *hog crawl* was a stockade built with close and deep rails to prevent the hogs from escaping.

But besides the idea of restraint and protection, hogs demand a suitable environment in another connection, mirrored in the words *hog-bed, hog-wallow, hog-wallow-prairie.* In the *DAE* citations in 1829 Lorenzo Dow requests a dam for a hog-wallow, in 1888 the *Washington Argus* speaks of the unsanitary nature of "Cesspools, hog wallows and duck ponds in close proximity to wells," and in 1894 the *Congressional Record* provides in January its august blessing to a pool "At the back of the barn... which in the summer was a hog-wallow." There are bear and buffalo-wallows, and in the Texas prairies, depressions or oases of green- like hog-wallows, "rich and waxy," where hog-wallow mesquite grows, "extremely fine, nutritious pasturage for every type of graminivorous animals." The wallow recalls Goff's hog-crawl, with part of the stockade in the water, and the hogs *crawling*, or wallowing, within it. Though wallows are apparently not insisted on, or even permitted by modern antiseptic swine specialists, the hog-wallow was certainly intrinsic to pioneer stock-breeders, and whether it was because of temperature control (one specialist explains to me the pig has no sweat-glands), the avoidance of insects, or just plain fun, it seems to have been the nature of the beast, Epicurean and friend to epicures.[21] The action of wallowing is not exactly that of crawling, but its rolling heavy movement suggests the sensuousness of a crawling reptile, and the extension to extreme hedonism is proverbial.

With this sinuous, rolling vision we come to our final residual point, the known noun derivatives from the verb *crawl.* How much of the Epicurean sty remains in the *pub crawl*, a favorite sport of English and American students, is uncertain, and depends a good deal on the beholder. We remember the witty temperance song which puts a drunkard in a gutter beside a pig, and ends with "and the pig got up and walked away." *OED Crawl sb.*[1] defines "The action of crawling; a slow creeping motion;" and it is easy to see the extension to student slang, though the main dictionary cites only 1818 Shelley on crawling reptiles and 1853 Kane on centipedes. But in the 1933 *Supplement* it cites a cockney *beer crawl* from 1902, a *gin crawl* from 1927, and a Scottish *crawl* of 1905, for "a walk at a leisurely pace ... a slow progress from one drinking-place

[21] See, for instance, the comparison of the clean panther and the dirty hog wallowing in mud in Nicolaus of Pergama's fourteenth century *Dialogus creaturum*, in J. G. Grässe, *Die beiden ältesten lateinischen Fabelbücher* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965) (reprint of Tübingen 1880), pp. 266–267; and Beryl Rowland, *Blind Beasts — Chaucer's Animal World* (Kent State University Press, 1971), p. 78.

to another." There is no historical citation for *pub crawl*, though it is mentioned, apparently on the authority of the lexicographer, that harmless drudge who, like Dr. Johnson, enjoyed often an evening on the town with the Club. The *crawl* of a crawl-stroke in swimming is cited from 1903 to 1926, attributed to American children; the refinements of the *Australian crawl* had not apparently reached the lexicographer in 1933. But the *Supplement* also cites a delightful *Crawlsome* "Addicted to mean, worm-like behaviour" (1900, 1904), but restrains itself, as we shall not, from noticing the blend with *quarrelsome*.

The *DAE*'s *Crawl* n.[1] is our rich collection of turtle crawls. Its *Crawl n.*[2] defines the word as "An act of creeping ... esp. after game." Citing Garrard's *Wah-To-Yah* i. 24 (1850) it quotes the book as follows: "The immense herds feeding and running near camp enticed the men to many a 'crawl' that evening, and more than one greenhorn took his first trembling and unsuccessful shot." The corresponding *Crawl v. 1* offers three quotations: from horse-capture in Texas (1820), buffalo on the prairies (1844), and "running the buffalo or 'crawling on' the antelope" (1875). *To crawl horses*, in the second sense of the specialized verb *Crawl*, is to tame, bust, or manage them (Remington, 1893 and 1894).

It was from the *DAE* that Goff secured his first assurances of the turtle crawl, with its extension in his own examples (he did not know the Jamaican examples) to hogs. Turtles are ambiguous creatures, since they may swim like fishes, or crawl like a fellow-reptile the centipede on land (see Ash's 1683 and Williams' 1837 example). The completed *DAE* appeared in 1938, and apparently its four volumes lay ready to his hand. Hence, though he wrote in 1954 and the *Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*, relying to a large extent upon the *DAE*, appeared in 1951, he apparently was not led to use it. Had he used it he might have written a shorter version of this article. For the *DA* does add interesting material to the *DAE* despite its brevity. Under *crawl, n.* we have the quotation from Garrard on the greenhorns and their hunting crawl. There are no turtle or hog crawls in *DA*. But it does add one highly significant quotation from John James Audubon's *Ornithological Biography* (Boston 1831–39) IV (1838), 46: "We discovered a well-beaten path..., very much resembling those made by the Beaver, to which hunters give the name of 'crawls.'"

Here clearly the beaver, and not the hunter, is doing the crawling. And if it crawls, it does not crawl within a stockade. It would slide, push, and make a dam; it would maneuver itself in mud as hogs do, though being a busy creature, it might not enjoy itself so much. Had Goff seen this quotation he might have understood why the original Dooly survey of 1821 marked the subsequent Hog Crawl Creek "Beaver Creek," and why James Barnard's plat of 1828 (?) names it both Beaverdam and

Hog Crawl Creek. May we then surmise that an area fit for a Beaver Dam, a beaver crawl, was likewise one fit later for a stockaded Hog-Crawl or Kraal? Surely we may be cleared of charges of irresponsible popular etymologizing (a delightful sport, engaged in by most people who eat Welsh rarebit or live at Smackover and Picketwire), if we suggest that the idea of the verb *crawl* might have been there from the first, reinforcing the imported Dutch word, that the hogs might have been the heirs of the beavers, that the hogs of pioneer days wallowed or whatever they do on the sanitary hog-farms of today, and that all of this justified the building of a *hog-crawl* on a creek at a place near to or identical with the beaver's former habitat. Is it too much to say that the normal assimilation of a low-central unround vowel in *Kraal* to a coastal low-back round vowel in *Crawl* was aided by the beaver? Beaverdams were common, as Goff shows in another fascinating article in the series.[22] May we not have, in short, not a folk-etymology, but a blend-word, of the kind discussed so ably by Louise Pound and George McKnight?[23]

We dedicate this article to Kemp Malone, a scholar who would, we think, have enjoyed this combination of omonomastics, lexicography, etymology, American folklife, and Southern history. He was a man as independent as a hog on ice who worked like a beaver, bless him.

Dictionaries and Abbreviations

DA — *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*, ed. Mitford M. Mathews, 2 vols., University of Chicago Press, 1951.

DAE — *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, ed. Sir William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert, 4 vols., University of Chicago Press, 1938.

DJE — *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, ed. F. G. Cassidy and R. B. Le Page, Cambridge: University Press, 1967.

MED — *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath and Sherman M. Kuhn, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1956 — (in progress).

OED — *The Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. James A. H. Murray et al., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, with *Supplement and Bibliography*, 1933.

RHD — *The Random House Dictionary*, ed. Jess Stein and Lawrence Urdang, New York: Random House, 1966.

WBED — *The World Book Encyclopedia Dictionary*, ed. Clarence L. Barnhart, London, 1966.

WNT — *Woordenboek der Nederlandsch Taal*, ed. J. Heinsius, 's Gravenhage en Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916 — (in progress).

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[22] To appear in the edition of Goff's Studies cited in note 2.

[23] George McKnight, "Some Compound Etymologies," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 12 (1913), 1–8; Louise Pound, *Blends: Their Relation to English Word-Formation* (Heidelberg, 1914).