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On Early and Late Modern English Non-native Suffix *-oon*

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ABSTRACT

This paper is about identifying a nuance of social meaning which, I demonstrate, was conveyed in the Early and Late Modern period by the suffix *-oon*. The history of non-native suffix *-oon* is presented by means of assembling non-native suffix *-oon* vocabulary in date order and sorting according to etymology. It turns out that standard non-native *-oon* words (which are few) tended to stabilise early and be of Romance etymology. A period of enregisterment, c. 1750–1850, is identified by means of scrutiny of non-native *-oon* usage in sixty novels, leading to the conclusion that four or more non-native *-oon*s in a literary work signalled vulgarity. A link is made between the one-quarter non-European *-oon*s brought to English via colonial trade, and the use of such *-oon*s by non-noble merchants, traders and their customers splashing out on luxury foreign commodities. Thus, it is found that a suffix borrowed from Romance languages in the Middle English period received fresh input during the Early Modern period via non-European borrowings, resulting in sociolinguistic enregisterment in the Late Modern period.

KEYWORDS: Suffix; *-oon*; Vocabulary; Romance etymology; Non-European etymology; Early Modern English; Late Modern English.

1. INTRODUCTION

This contribution looks at how one non-native noun suffix, *-oon*, came to develop a now-lost social nuance –not in and of itself alone, but when deployed in context. A few non-native *-oon* words (*balloon*, *cartoon*) entered Early Modern English and became members of the Standard English wordstock, extending and changing their meanings over time, amplifying and

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accreting, often in the direction of [specialised → generic]. Other Early Modern borrowings in *-oon* (*monsoon*, *racoon*) remained within their semantic field, retaining their initial meaning over the centuries with no further developments once spelling had standardised. However, most Early Modern borrowings in *-oon* did not stabilise, exhibiting a variety of spellings and/or remaining low-frequency items (*mallagatoon*, *melicotoon*, *malecotoon*, *melacotoon*, *melococoon* 'type of peach'; *mahoon*, *mahume*, *mahone*, *maone*, *maon*, *maa-hume*, *mahonna* 'type of Turkish sailing barge'), or only temporarily joining the *-oon* class (*galleoon* 'galleon').

Defining what constituted membership of the Standard English lexicon is notoriously difficult. I make a distinction between words that were in general use and commonly available to all speakers at a given point in time, as opposed to words which were restricted to a subset of speakers. My method is to consider stabilisation and frequency. I make a broad distinction between *mallagatoon*, *mahoon* (and their several variants in both Early and Late Modern periods) on the one hand, and *balloon*, *monsoon* (and their few variants in the Early and lack of variants in the Late Modern period) on the other. *Balloon*-type words stabilised early in terms of word-form and spelling, in contrast to *mahoon*-type words which did not. I take the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*OALD*) as a repository of high-frequency *-oon*s that have lasted to the present day, frequent enough to be worth teaching to learners of English. Thus, my working procedure for determining membership of the Standard English lexicon is a combination of historical stabilisation, reinforced by presence in *OALD*.[1]

Crucial to my concept of standardisation of the lexicon is *stabilisation* (Trudgill, 1999: 117): "Stabilisation is a process whereby a formerly diffuse variety […] undergoes focussing and takes on a more fixed and stable form"). In the context of historical lexis, I apply stabilisation to mean consistent word-shape and invariant spelling. The 'type of peach' tokens above consistently exhibit CVCVCVCVC structure but vary with regard to spelling of vowels and mid-word consonants; the 'type of Turkish barge' tokens exhibit variant word-shape, with both two and three syllables.[2] In Wright (2011) I discuss the type of firework visible in newsprint as a *fourloon*, which exhibited at least twenty different variants of considerably different shape, such as *wheels of frueli*, *flurious wheels*, *furiloni wheel*, *thurioni wheels*, *fourlony wheels*, *forlony*, *fourloon*, the latter probably influenced by fireworks *maroon*, (*air-*, *water-*) *balloon*, *tourbilloon*. By contrast, stabilised words exhibit decreasing variation over time until the point when they became fixed with one invariant spelling.

Why classify *-oon*s in this manner? I suggest in this article that a subset of high-frequency, stabilised, Standard English *-oon*s took on a social value at some point, visible in the 1700s, which can be expressed as non-native suffix *-oon* = [+ entertainment, + commerce]. Such *-oon*s (*festoon*, *lampoon, buffoon* exemplify the semantic air of frivolity, but *saloon*, *dragoon, baboon* also sit in this subset) were used by a specific subset of speakers: [+ merchant class, + *bon ton manqué*].[3] By the mid-1700s this *-oon* had become so socially salient as to be used in literary parody –it had become enregistered, and continued to be so for the next hundred years.[4] A quarter of non-native *-oons* entered English via the various non-European languages

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of East India Company trade, and it is this route of entry, I suggest, in the speech of non-noble traders, merchants and their customers, that gave *-oon* its air of fashionable, material vulgarity.

The Early and Late Modern *-oon* list given in Appendix 1 is drawn from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), cross-checked with the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (LEME) database and the 17th–18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers database. Literature presented in Appendix 2 has been searched at the *Project Gutenberg* database and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO).

2. DEFINITION OF *-OON* INCLUSION

There are various *-oon*s in English, native and non-native, of which only a subset are under consideration here. The requirements for inclusion are:

(a) that it be non-native, entailing that monosyllables such as *moon*, *soon, spoon* and compounds such as *afternoon* are excluded;
(b) that the morpheme *-oon* form the ultimate syllable of di- or polysyllabic nouns, meaning that *oon*ful words like *Oroondates*, *Oroonoko* are excluded.

The analysis stops at 1850 as *-oons* borrowed after that date are, with the exception of *tycoon* (and perhaps *octoroon*) of low frequency, unstabilised spelling and thus not part of the Standard lexicon.[5]

Broadly speaking, *-oon*s meeting criteria (a) and (b) above in English had two main inputs:

(i) via Romance nouns: mainly French *-on*, Italian *-one*, Spanish *-ón*, but also other Romance languages and dialects, notably Portuguese;
(ii) via non-European languages as a result of East India Company, Virginia Company, Hudson Bay Company and other colonializing trade activity.

The British Empire originated in the fifteenth century, but the significant events from the point of view of non-European *-oon* borrowing were the seventeenth-century installation of trading colonies by the British East India Company and the Virginia Company. The earliest *-oon*s were borrowed from Romance languages, and these have been discussed by e.g. Skeat (1891, §131) and the *OED* under headword '*-oon*, suffix'. The earliest non-European *-oon*s entered in a colonial context via Algonquian (*raccoon* [1619]; *puccoon* [1609] 'dye plant'), Malay (*cockatoon* [1688] 'cockatoo'), Persian (*gombroon* [1698] 'Persian pottery'), Urdu and Chinese (Urdu *ṭūfān*, Chinese *tai fung* 'typhoon' [1699]). I am not aware of any previous collective treatment of non-European *-oon*s.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

3. THE DATA SET

There are currently 18,700 hits for the string ***oon** in the *OED*. However, these are mostly monosyllabic, native, and thus irrelevant *-oons*. I culled relevant borrowings in *-oon* by hand, leaving a subset, cross-checked with the LEME and ECCO databases.[6] The total number of non-native *-oon* words considered is 111, plus some extra place-names. I include in this list of 111 *-oon*s (given in Appendix 1) both types with suffixes like *buffoon* (*buffa*, n. 'jest' + *-oon* suffix) and also types like *monsoon* (Portuguese *monção* < Arabic *mawsim* 'season'), where the *-oon* was not originally a suffix. This is because from a speaker's point of view, the two were indistinguishable. Once a word became nativised within the English *-oon*stock, its previous life in other languages was forgotten. Consider *dragoon*, which firstly meant 'carbine' and only subsequently 'type of soldier who fired carbines'. The route of entry is via French *dragon* 'dragon', in reference to the fire-breathing properties of carbines. As this word stabilised as an *-oon*, its original relationship with the word *dragon* became opaque and the dragon metaphor ceased to be active.

Most of these non-native *-oon*s are of low frequency (illustrated by few quotations in the *OED*) meaning that many will never have been encountered by individual speakers. Table 1 shows the few *-oon* words which have lasted in sufficiently high frequencies for them to be included in *OALD*, in date order of attested *-oon* spelling (which is emboldened if not the first attestation, and later dates given if more modern meanings have developed). I have ignored word-final <e>.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

1592 *pantaloun* 'character in Italian commedia dell'arte', **1602** *pantaloone* 'fool', 1661 *pantaloons* 'trousers' (sense in *OALD*)
?1591 *ballone*, **1605** *balloones* 'ball game', 1800 'coloured inflated rubber-bag toy' (sense in *OALD*)
a. 1425 *makerouns*, 1659 *macaroons* 'macaroni pasta'; 1611 *macarons*, **1615** *macaroon* 'almond biscuit' (sense in *OALD*), 1631 *makeron*, 1633 *macaroon* 'buffoon'
1592 *baboune* 'foolish person', **a. 1616** *baboone* 'type of monkey' (sense in *OALD*)
1619 *racoone* 'American mammal'
1622 *dragoons* 'soldier'
1584 *monsons*, **1634** *monzoons* 'prevailing wind'
1645 *lampoons* 'satire'
a. 1529 *pultrowne*, **1664** *pultroons* 'coward'
c. 1550 *buffons* 'pantomime dance', 1584 'fool', **1683** *buffoons* 'fool'
a. 1684 *cartoone* 'preparatory drawing', 1843 'humorous drawing' (sense in *OALD*)
1686 *festoon* 'garland hung between two points'
?a. 1547 *plattons*, **1687** *plotoon*, 1738 *platoons* 'small body of soldiers'
1625 *harpon*, **1697** *harpoon* 'barbed dart'
1699 *maroons* 'chestnut', 1749 *marrons*, 1751 *marroons* 'firework', 1795 *maroons* 'runaway slave', 1835 *marrone* 'brownish-red colour' (sense in *OALD*)
1699 *Tuffoons* 'typhoon, China Sea storm'
1622 *doblones*, **1719** *doubloons* 'gold coin'
1728 *bassoon* 'musical instrument'
1728 *saloon* 'spacious hall'
1590 *ponton*, **1766** *pontoon* 'floating bridge'
1612 *laguna*, **1789** *lagoons* 'brackish water'
1840 *spittoon* 'receptacle for spittle'
1857 *tykoon* 'shogun of Japan', 1861 'business magnate' (sense in *OALD*)

Table 1. -*oon*s present in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary.*

Even widening the date parameters to 1857, this is just 23 words. Of these 23 -*oon*s, 16, or 70%, were borrowed before 1700. Thus, it can be stated that the -*oons* that feature in the standard lexicon were borrowed early, and are predominantly (but not all) Romance-derived -*oon*s. However, proper names are largely absent from dictionaries, although they too formed part of the -*oon*stock. Table 2 displays some tokens, excluding Scottish Gaelic and Irish Gaelic names such as *Colquhoun* and *Cahernahoon* on the grounds that they were largely confined to Scotland and Ireland:[7]

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

Walloons, 1665, 'French-speaking people of Gaulish origin in Belgium' (*OED*, s.v. *Walloon*, n. and adj.)
Gombroon/Gameroon/Cummeroon, now known as Bandar Abbas, 1698 (*OED*, s.v. *Gombroon* | Gomroon, n.)
Scandaroon, 1699, place-name in Syria (*Flying Post or The Post Master*, 15–18 July 1699)
Cameroon, 1722, place-name in Africa (*Evening Post*, 30 August–1 September 1722)
Cape Tiberoon, 1724, place-name in Haiti (*Daily Courant*, 20 March 1724)
Gaboon, 1724, province and river in West Africa (*Daily Courant*, 11 August 1724)
Rangoon, 1789, place-name in Burma (*General Evening Post*, 13–16 June 1789)
Hoosheroons, 1833, 'people from Indiana' (Atkinson, Graham & Peterson, 1833: 216)
Kowloon, 1840, place-name in China (*The Times*, 13 March 1840)

Table 2. Proper noun -*oon*s in newspapers (17th–18th Century Burney Collection).

Further, there were borrowed personal titles such as *tykoon* (1857, Japanese shogun), *kalawoon* (1869, Burmese foreign minister), and people's names, such as *Laroon*.[8] As neither place-name nor personal name -*oon*s are amenable to corpus or any other kind of searching I have no more to say about them here, but they would have been visible to newspaper readers.

4. WHERE DID -*OON* COME FROM?

Although -*oon*-suffixed words have never been numerous, the suffix -*oon* is cognitively noticeable due to its unusual stress placement. The *OED* says that this took some time to settle down in English:

> Etymology: < French -*on* (especially in loanwords from Italian words formed with the suffix -*one* or from Spanish words formed with the suffix -*ón*) in nouns stressed on the final syllable. An element occurring in loanwords, mainly from French, from the 16th to the 18th cent. Many of these French words are themselves borrowings of Italian or Spanish augmentatives […] while a few are native French derivatives […]; on the pattern of such borrowings, a few Spanish words in -*ón* have also appeared with -*oon* in English. […] [T]he considerable variation in spelling of the element between -*oon* , -*on* , -*one* , and even -*oun* suggests that other pronunciations [than French -*on* /ɔ̃/] also occurred […] Formations in French -*on* are usually diminutive […] Italian -*one* and Spanish -*ón* are characteristically augmentative. (*OED*, s.v. -*oon*, suffix)

What the *OED* does not mention under headword '-*oon*, suffix' are the non-Romance-derived words that fit the pattern too; words from, as the *OED* identifies, Afrikaans, Algonquian, Arabic, Hindi, Mahratti, Malay, Pashto, Persian, Setswana, Urdu, Zulu –to which place-names such as *Kowloon*, *Rangoon*, *Cameroon*, *Saskatoon* can be added: that is, words

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

which entered English via colonial trade and settlement. Out of the 111 -*oon*s given in Appendix 1, I now separate -*oon*s with known etymologies into those which entered English via a Romance language (81 words, or 76%) versus those which came directly from a non-Romance language (25 words, or 24%), given in date-order (with extra place-names following):

(1) Romance: *pantaloon*, *balloon*, *cardoon*, *ducatoon*, *baboon*, *testoon*, *chapperoon*, *dragoon*, *mantoon*, *langoon*, *monsoon*, *battoon*, *pulpatoon*, *musketoon*, *jupoon*, *patroon*, *lampoon*, *blateroon*, *mahoon*, *rattoon*, *cargosoon*, *tampoon*, *buccoon*, *macaroon*, *shaffroon*, *mallagatoon*, *poltroon*, *gallioon*, *plateroon*, *Walloon*, *bougeroon*, *balatroon*, *shalloon*, *pattacoon*, *picaroon*, *buffoon*, *cartoon*, *festoon*, *platoon*, *rigadoon*, *sashoon*, *gadroon*, *harpoon*, *maroon*, *crampoon*, *jettezoon*, *saccoon*, *vineroon*, *pattoon*, *doubloon*, *chacoon*, *frigatoon*, *galloon*, *cordoon*, *bassoon*, *saloon*, *recargazoon*, *ramoon*, *spontoon*, *lardoon*, *tourbilloon*, *bridoon*, *pelotoon*, *cocoon*, *caissoon*, *pontoon*, *jargoon*, *fourloon*, *pompoon*, *lagoon*, *quadroon*, *quintroon*, *spadroon*, *tenoroon*, *frontoon*, *gossoon*, *gazoon*, *ceroon*, *flocoon*, *octoon*, *Tiburoon*.

(2) Non-Romance: *racoon*, *cockatoon*, *gambroon*, *typhoon*, *puccoon*, *scandaroon*, *doosoon*, *pantoon*, *carcoon*, *kokoon*, *pooshtoon*, *kanoon*, *madjoon*, *calleoon*, *calcoon*, *reimschoon*, *jamoon*, *impoon*, *andaroon*, *simoon*, *tycoon*, *Kowloon*, *Rangoon*, *Cameroon*, *Saskatoon*.

Not included in the above counts are -*oon*s with etymology unclear (*succatoon*, *caroon*, *cantaloon*, *hoosheroon*, *coquetoon*, *caperoon*, *cantoon*), Irish (*bosthoon*), English (*shabberoon*, *slabberoon*, *spitoon*).

The colonial -*oon*s form a sizeable minority.[9] The distribution of printed -*oon*s (of course databases such as the *OED* and ECCO only record print, not spoken English) attests new -*oon*s in every decade from 1600, the date of the foundation of the East India Company, until 1848, the date of its nationalization and winding up.

5. SEMANTICS OF -*OON*

I now bundle -*oon*s into semantic fields, given in order of number of types:

(i) The natural world (animal / vegetable / mineral / water / air):
baboon, *calcoon*, *cardoon*, *cockatoon*, *cocoon*, *coquetoon*, *dragoon* 'type of pigeon', *impoon*, *jamoon*, *jargoon*, *kokoon*, *lagoon*, *maroon*, *monsoon*, *puccoon*, *racoon*, *ramoon*, *scandaroon* 'type of pigeon', *simoon*, *typhoon* (20)

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

(ii) Cloth / garments:
cantaloon, *cantoon*, *caperoon*, *ceroon*, *chapperoon*, *cordoon*, *flocoon*, *galloon*, *gambroon*, *mantoon*, *pantaloon*, *pattoon*, *pompoon*, *sashoon*, *shaffroon*, *shalloon*, *succatoon* (17)

(iii) Entertainment (art / literature / décor / opera / music / dance / games / fireworks):
air balloon 'firework', *balloon*, *bassoon*, *cartoon*, *chacoon*, *festoon*, *fourloon* 'firework', *frontoon*, *gadroon*, *kanoon*, *lampoon*, *maroon* 'firework', *pantaloon*, *plateroon*, *rigadoon*, *tenoroon*, *tourbilloon* 'firework', *water balloon* 'firework' (17)[10]

(iv) War / military:
battoon, *caissoon*, *dragoon*, *frigatoon*, *gallioon*, *harpoon*, *jupoon*, *musketoon*, *pelotoon*, *picaroon*, *platoon*, *pontoon*, *saccoon*, *spadroon*, *spontoon*, *tampoon* (16)

(v) Non-staple things ingested (food / drink / alcohol / drugs / tobacco):
buccoon, *calleoon*, *langoon*, *lardoon*, *macaroon*, *madjoon*, *mallagatoon*, *pulpatoon*, *rattoon*, *spittoon* (10)

(vi) Trade / coinage:
carcoon, *cargosoone*, *caroon*, *ceroon*, *doubloon*, *ducatoon*, *patroon*, *pattacoon*, *recargazoon*, *testoon* (10)

(vii) Foolish person:
baboon, *balatroon*, *blateroon*, *bosthoon*, *buffoon*, *poltroon*, *scandaroon*, *shabberoon*, *slabberoon* (9)

(viii) Other type of person:
bougeroon, *gossoon*, *Hoosheroon*, *octoon*, *Pooshtoon*, *quadroon*, *quintroon*, *vineroon*, *Walloon* (9)

The suffix *-oon* occurs with words concerned with the fruits of trade and colonialization over the centuries (including the imposition of colonialization via military occupation): the things seen and done and brought back from abroad. If the semantic fields of cloth / garments, entertainment / culture and non-staple things ingested are added together, it transpires that the largest semantic group is dressing up and going out to dine and be entertained (N = 44). *-Oon* was the pre-eminent morpheme of urban leisure.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

6. SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF -*OON*

To discover what kind of person used the suffix -*oon*, I turn to literature. Sixty novels, plays and poems were searched online at *Project Gutenberg* and ECCO. Selection criteria include popularity, works which treat urban leisure, and also works which do not, in order to act as a control. The number of types of -*oon*s in each work are given in Appendix 2. Of the sixty works surveyed in Appendix 2, forty-five contain two or fewer -*oon*s, that is, 75%. Plenty of literature published between 1611–1861 contained no -*oon*s at all. Of the remaining fifteen works, five contain just three -*oon*s, that is, one third of the remainder. The ten works which are then left contain the highest numbers of -*oon*s ('high' in this context being four or more) and they also contain the highest token counts: the top ten works not only included more -*oon* types, but they also repeated those types on multiple occasions. The top -*oon*-using authors (with four or more -*oon* types repeated multiple times per work) were Thackeray, Smollett, Byron, Sterne and Richardson, although only in certain works, not over their entire oeuvre. In other words, their works which contain four or more -*oon*s are, by virtue of this fact, unlike other contemporaneous literature. Their -*oon*s listed in *OALD* are *baboon*, *balloon*, *bassoon*, *buffoon*, *cartoon*, *cocoon*, *doubloon*, *dragoon*, *festoon*, *harpoon*, *lampoon*, *macaroon*, *monsoon*, *pantaloon*, *platoon*, *poltroon*, *pontoon*, *saloon*, *spittoon*, *typhoon* (91%). Their -*oon*s not listed in *OALD* are limited to the now-historical words *pickeroon*, *quadroon* (9%), and the names *Gomberoon*, *Laocoon*, *Quiberoon*, *Tiberoon*, *Walloon*. Nine of the top ten works contain the word *saloon*, eight contain the word *dragoon*, six the words *buffoon*, *pantaloon*. I therefore conclude that literary -*oon*fulness was not due to representation of non-Standard dialect, nor due to unusual exotic -*oon*s deployed for purposes of characterisation, nor was it due to use of incoming (and perhaps therefore fashionable) unstabilised -*oon*s. On the contrary, most were well-established, Romance-derived -*oon*s, still forming part of the Standard English lexicon today, just used at an elevated rate. What then did this textual -*oon*fulness in these specific works signal to the contemporary reader?

Thackeray has the highest number of both -*oon* types and tokens. Of his five works surveyed in Appendix 2, his full range is 21 types and 131 tokens, all except for proper names present in *OALD*. The word *dragoon* accounts for 73 of the 131 tokens, or 56%. Here is a description of one of his dragoons:

> When I was taking the waters at Bagnigge Wells, and living at the 'Imperial Hotel' there, there used to sit opposite me at breakfast, for a short time, a Snob so insufferable that I felt I should never get any benefit of the waters so long as he remained. His name was Lieutenant-Colonel Snobley, of a certain dragoon regiment. He wore japanned boots and moustaches: he lisped, drawled, and left the 'r's' out of his words: he was always flourishing about, and smoothing his lacquered whiskers with a huge flaming bandanna, that filled the room with an odour of musk so stifling that I determined to do battle with that Snob, and that either he or I should quit the Inn. William Makepeace Thackeray, 1846–1847, *The Book of Snobs (by One of Themselves)*.

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In this passage, the narrator and Lieutenant-Colonel Snobley are visiting the spa at Bagnigge Wells, which lay in an area of pleasure-gardens between the City of London and the northern village of Islington. These were the citizens' local leisure grounds, reachable from the City on foot, as opposed to the western, Thames-side beauty-spots such as Twickenham further afield, which required hiring river or carriage transport. There is a social class nuance implicit in the location: the gentry did not build homes in the area as they did along the western reaches of the Thames. Lieutenant-Colonel Snobley is all dressed up for his holiday in a manner the narrator finds unspeakable, with japanned boots and moustaches, lacquered whiskers, flaming bandanna and perfume. All of these are non-native East India Company commodities: *japan*, v. 'to provide with a hard black gloss', the name of the country first attested as an English verb in a text of 1688; *lacquer*, v. 'to varnish', also first attested as an English verb in the same text of 1688, from Persian via Arabic, Portuguese and French; *bandanna*, n. 'richly coloured silk handkerchief', first attested in English in 1752, from Hindustani via Portuguese; *musk*, n., borrowed into Middle English from Persian via French.[11]

Further, Lieutenant-Colonel Snobley drops his (postvocalic) /r/s. Compare orthoepistic comment about London /r/-dropping:

> The extreme amongst the vulgar in London doubtlessly is, to omit the *r* altogether –to convert far into fah, hard into hahd, cord into cawd, lord into lawd, &c.;– an extreme which must be avoided as carefully as the strong trill of *r* in an improper place (Smart, 1836: xi). My confidence in my judgement on this point is thus grounded: I was born and bred at the west end of London; I appeared before the public five and twenty years ago, as soon as I became of age, in a "Practical Grammar of English Pronunciation" […] from that time to the present I have been employed, seldom out of London, as a teacher of elocution in the first families of the kingdom, not excepting the family of the highest person (Smart, 1836: xv).

The reader may deduce that as Lieutenant-Colonel Snobley participates in this incoming sound-change labelled by Smart as 'vulgar' in 1836, and as he has obviously spent time shopping for his showy, non-essential accessories and cosmetics, he is neither conservative nor deferential. His flamboyant outward appearance and his accent here convey a brazen disregard of the traditional social hierarchy. Likewise, *-oon* correlates with fashion, questionable values and colloquial discourse in the play *The Maid of the Oaks* by John Burgoyne of 1774 (quoted from *A Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces and Entertainments Performed on the British Stage* [1792: 269]):

> Lady Bab Lardoon, as I live!—the princess of dissipation! Catch an observation of her while you can, Maria; for though she has been but three days out of London, she is as

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> uneasy as a mole in sunshine, and would expire, if she did not soon dive into her old element again.

'London' here stands for 'society' –Lady Bab Lardoon would have been equally in her element and at her ease in Bath or in Brighton, had she dived into those fashionable spa towns during the relevant season.[12] In the other top ten works by Thackeray, Smollett, Byron, Sterne and Richardson, *-oon* also collocates with a satirical, parodic or humorous tone and with characters of low-class or low-moral values. Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748) has themes of class conflict as the protagonist poses as a nobleman and visits Africa, America and the Caribbean. Byron's *Don Juan* (1819–1824) also has a global setting and an ironic tone. Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767) deflates pomp with bawdy humour. Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748) is largely set in a brothel. I deduce therefore that elevated levels of textual *-oon*fulness conveyed to the contemporary reader characters who were not morally responsible, well-bred or genteel (in the eighteenth-century sense); but who were, or wanted to be, *à la mode*, of the *bon ton*, and *manqué*, in the derogatory, socially-aspirant, eighteenth-century uses of those terms. The most frequent *-oon*-type in the top ten works is *saloon*. This word shifted its social-class connotations from palace to pub according to the company it kept in a downward direction over time, from "principal reception room in a palace" (*OED*, s.v. *salon*, n. 1. [a], 1728), to "gathering of fashionable ladies" (*OED*, s.v. *salon*, n. 2, 1810), to "saloon of the American Wild West" (*OED*, s.v. *saloon*, n. 6, 1841), to "saloon bar in a British pub" (*OED*, s.v. *saloon*, n. 6, 1902).

In sum, the top ten *-oon*-using novelists harnessed *-oon* to signal qualities of lower-class (but not impoverished) liveliness and brash outward showiness, often for purposes of humour and satire, as opposed to contemplative inward probity. Four or more *-oon*s in a work effectively telegraphed this kind of exuberant vulgarity to the contemporary reader.

7. DISCUSSION

In this paper, I have taken the approach of high-frequency *-oon*s as evidenced by foreign-language learners' dictionaries, together with Trudgill's (1999) definition of stabilisation as applied historically to word-shape, as a means of distinguishing between standardised and non-standardised vocabulary. I have classified *-oon*s etymologically, distinguishing between *-oon*s of Romance and non-European origin. Three-quarters of the *-oon*s that I have been able to discover in texts written between 1600 and 1850 are of Romance origin, and a quarter are non-European. Many such *-oon*s entered via French, the language of fashion. The *-oon*s brought by colonial trade were probably in use earlier than is apparent in print in Appendix 1.[13] The suffix *-oon* reflected the experiences and fruits of foreign trade, and because such experiences and fruits were those of people who travelled and bought and sold, *-oon* became associated with

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

the trading classes. Not the nobility, not the poor, but the kind of people who aspired to socioeconomic betterment, and who conspicuously and enjoyably spent their money on non-essential consumables and leisure activities.

The discussion of *-oon* in literature is one of nuance: it was not so much the word *saloon* or *dragoon* itself that was enregistered, rather it was the repetition and contextualisation of *-oon* that did the parodying work. In the context of *japan*, *musk*, *bandannas* and *r*-dropping, *dragoon*'s suffix helped bolster the impression of vulgarity –it is a list of things that were non-traditional, incoming, and not used by the conservative nobility. It then begs the question: how did *-oon* come not just to gain but also to lose these connotations? I posit traders and their families as early adopters, whether acquiring their *-oon* words along with traded goods from near (the Continent, via Romance languages) or afar (via the East India Company, with all its many global outposts). Merchants and shopkeepers were socially middling-to-lower class, depending on their wealth, education and family relationships, and so *-oon*-use became associated with this type of people. As other social classes came to adopt *-oon*ful words over time too, such words ceased to be enregistered.

With regard to the processes of standardisation, Appendix 1 shows that 51 words contain <-oon> spellings over the course of the seventeenth century, the rest developing <-oon> spellings later. Of the 23 early, high-frequency *-oon*s listed in section 3, 16 show stabilised <-oon> spellings in the seventeenth century. It is therefore established that the seventeenth century was when <-oon> crystallised as a standardised spelling: that is, it was during the 1600s that people started to write a nucleus of words ending in <-oon> rather than <-on, -one, -oun, -oune, -owne, -une> as they had been doing in previous centuries. (I emphasise that it was the <-oon/-oone> sequence of letter-graphs for the suffix that was innovated in the 1600s; the words themselves were not always new, especially the Romance-derived ones). In terms of the trajectory outlined here, the <-oon> spelling gained traction over the 1600s, with more and more words continuing to join the constellation over the next 290 years. It is remarkable that new *-oon*s are identifiable in every decade from 1600 right through to 1890, although most fell out of use and are now forgotten. No real heyday is visible, rather, from the innovation of <pantaloone> in 1602 through to <Kalkadoon> in 1897 there was a steady accretion, averaging four new *-oon*s per decade –with the caveat that this is dependent on my search findings and must be an under-reporting of actual usage. With regard to social uptake, *-oon* had acquired its social connotation of vulgarity by 1748 (when Smollet's *Roderick Random* was published), and that social connotation was still operative a hundred years later (when Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* was published in 1848). However, this social-meaning addition does not seem to have outlasted the nineteenth century, which is the reason I posit the rise and fall of the East India Company as cause and effect.

In terms of the timing, the seventeenth century as a period of crystallisation chimes well with what we now know about the processes of standardisation. It used to be thought that English standardised in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, but this was before the

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

identification of preceding processes of supralocalisation.[14] It is now known that over the later fifteenth century and sixteenth century supralocalisation took place, which is when features previously confined to specific writing-centre nucleuses spread out far beyond their traditional geographical spheres of influence.[15] A morphological example is the southern third-person singular form of the verb 'to be', which was historically *-th* in the south and *-s* in the north, with the northern form, *-s*, eventually becoming Standard English. Nevalainen says that "the incoming northern form is hardly used in the capital at all until the last couple of decades of the sixteenth century. Rather, it would appear that the southern *-th* had made deep inroads into the north in the course of the century" (2003: 132). That is, over the last decades of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, *-th* had become supralocal, far extending its traditional territory northwards –until subsequent processes of standardisation got rid of it altogether. It is typical of the supralocal spread that the features that extended their traditional reach were not the same as the ones that ended up in Standard English, and that once standardisation was underway, they left no trace. Consider elision of *at* + *the* <atte>, and elision of the definite article + following vowel, especially *a* and *o*, as in <thother, thabbot, tharchebisshop>. These two visual compressions of the definite article had a long life during the Early Modern period and were used over a wide territory, but were quickly eliminated by standardisation.[16] Supralocalisation occurred over the 1500s, and this is when *-oon* spellings in <-oun, -one, -oune, -owne, -on, -une> were still in use. This is to be expected as by definition, the ranges of supralocal centres were multiple and overlapping, meaning that there was still variation nationwide. Thus, a finding of *-oon*s stabilising from 1602 onwards, with final <-e> graph lost over the course of the eighteenth century, is to be expected.

NOTES

1 It is in theory possible for an *-oon* word to have stabilised early but remain restricted to regional dialect, although I am not aware of any.

2 I refer to word-shape rather than sound because data is taken from printed publications, but there are likely to have been variant pronunciations.

3 *Bon ton* 'fashionable society', first attestation in 1747 (*OED*, s.v. *bon*, adj. h.); *manqué* "used chiefly to describe a person who has failed to achieve a role, profession, etc., to which he or she aspires or is suited", first attestation in 1778 (*OED*, s.v. *manqué*, adj. 2.). I would temper the meaning to "is aspiring to but has not yet achieved (and is probably unlikely to)", "would-be"; as well as "has aspired to and failed". In context, as will become apparent below, *bon ton manqué* refers to the sons and daughters of successful merchants who were qualified by money and ambition but not qualified by birth to join the society of the ranks above.

4 The term *enregistered* can have multiple interpretations; I use it as defined by Agha: "a linguistic repertoire differentiable within a language as a socially recognised register" indexing "speaking status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values" (2003: 231).

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

5 *-Oons* borrowed after 1850 are: *barracoon* (1851), *pettiloons* (1851), *shagroon* (1851), *tykoon* (1857), *octoroon* (1859), *tosheroon* (1859), *rantoone* (1864), *Pakhtoon* (1867), *kalawoon* (1869), *puftalooner* (1871), *Gaboon* (1872), *bigaroon* (1875), *terceroon* (1878), *cahoon* (1880), *marsoon* (1884), *pultoon* (1895), *Kalkadoon* (1897), *rockoon* (1953). Dates are of first *-oon*(*e* spellings in the *OED*.

6 I have included *-oon OED* headwords, and *-oon(e(s* spellings in *OED* quotations. There are less than half a dozen *-oon* spellings mentioned in *OED*'s 'Form' section which are not illustrated in the quotations; these have been ignored. A cross-check with ECCO has not revealed any further types.

7 For reasons of dating I have excluded place and population names *Pakhtoon* (1867), *Saskatoon* (1882, see Map of Temperance Colonization Society Grant), *Kalkadoon* (1884).

8 "The engraver, Marcellus Lauron, or Captain Laroon, who was born in London, has left on record that his family name was Lauron, but being always called Laroon, he adopted that spelling in early life" (Tuer, 1887: 2). Tuer is speaking here about the artist Marcellus Laroon the elder, 1653–1702, born in The Hague of a French father but brought up in England, who entered the army in 1707. He trained until about 1670 with the artist known as La Zoon (perhaps Hendrick Sonnius, Lely's assistant [Thackray, 2004]), and both he and his son, who had the same name, painted eighteenth-century society, both high and low. Laroon the elder drew the *Cries of London* –a series of portraits of itinerant street sellers. Laroon the younger's *A Nobleman's Levée* (c. 1740) shows "the boy grooming a dog in the foreground [which] parodies the relationship between the nobleman and the valet tending his wig. Laroon's individualized treatment of servants and his gentle mockery of aristocratic pride may derive from his period as a page" (de Piles, 1706: 444). I have found no further information on La Zoon.

9 Note that this cannot be a comprehensive list: Thackeray uses the spelling <Quiberoon> in *Vanity Fair* (1847–1848), for example, for place-name *Quiberon*, and there are likely to have been many more *-oon* spellings in novels and newspapers which have escaped my searches. My purpose here is to draw attention to the substantial subset of non-Romance *-oon*s.

10 Firework terminology came from the military (see Wright, 2011); pre-1700 tokens fit the category 'military', post–1700 tokens are more likely to fit the category 'entertainment'.

11 *OED*, s.v. *japan*, v.; s.v. *lacquer*, v.; s.v. *bandanna* | *bandana*, n.; s.v. *musk*, n.

12 *OED*, s.v. *dissipation*, n. 5: "the frittering away of energies or attention upon frivolities".

13 See Wright (2017) for a discussion of trade protectionism in East India Company cloth-terms, effectively putting an end to the dissemination of such vocabulary in 1720.

14 See Wright (2020a) and Stenroos (2020) for textbook claims that Standard English derived from a putative dialect known to twentieth-century scholarship as Chancery Standard, with a supposed East or Central Midlands provenance. The nineteen chapters in Wright (2020c) show why this cannot have been the case.

15 For example, see Nevalainen (2000).

16 In Wright (2020b) I suggest that *atte* [*at* + *the*] mimics the Anglo-Norman cliticisation of preposition and definite article *del* [*de* + *le*] 'of the', *al* [*a* + *le*] 'to the', *as* [*a* + *les*] 'to the', plural; and *th'* + noun beginning with a vowel mimics Anglo-Norman cliticisation of the definite article *l'* followed by a noun beginning with a vowel, as in *lestatut* [*le* + *estatut*] 'the statute'.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

That is, spelling encoded social information: Anglo-Norman had been a language of written administration (along with Medieval Latin) in the earlier fifteenth century, but it did not outlast the middle of that century. When English took over from Anglo-Norman as a language of written administration (Latin continued on for several centuries), it took over Anglo-Norman's visual features too –including, crucially for standardisation, lack of variation.

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APPENDIX 1. LIST OF NON-NATIVE, WORD-FINAL SUFFIX *-OON*S

I have been maximally inclusive with my criteria, allowing some marginally relevant *-oon*s (e.g. Irish *bosthoon*, *gossoon*), in order to assess whether they were influential, but it turns out that they are few. The list is ordered in date order of *-oon*, rather than borrowing of lexeme, with the dates of first *-oon* spellings emboldened:

***-oon* word**	**Date of first *-oon* attestation**	**Etymology**	***OED* headword or other source**
pantaloon	1592 *pantaloun* 'character in Italian commedia dell'arte', **1602** *pantaloone* 'fool', 1661 *pantaloons* 'trousers'	F *pantaloon*, It *pantalone*	*pantaloon*, n.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

balloon	?1591 *ballone*, **1605** *balloones* 'ball game', 1592 *ballons* 'stone ball on pillar', 1629 *ballouns* 'firework', 1656 *ballowns* 'hollow, inflated person', 1800 'coloured inflated rubber bag toy'	F *ballon* 'firework' 1549, 'hollow ball' 1557	*balloon*, n.
cardoon	**1611** *cardoons*, 1661 *sherdoon* 'artichoke-like plant'	F *cardon* < It *cardone* or Sp *cardón* 'great thistle'	*cardoon*, n.; *sherdoon*, n.
ducatoon	**1611** *duckatoone* 'silver coin'	F *ducaton* < It *ducatone*	*ducatoon*, n.
baboon	1592 *baboune* 'foolish person', **a. 1616** *baboone* 'monkey'	AN *babewene* 'stupid person'	*baboon*, n.
caperoon	**1616** *caperoon* 'garment'	?*cape* + /r/ + *-oon*	*tammel*, n.
testoon	1545 *testanys*, **1617** *testoones* 'silver coin'	F *teston*, It *testone* > *testa* 'head'	*testoon*, n.
racoon	**1619** *racoone* 'American mammal'	Virginia Algonquian *aroughcoune*	*racoon*, n.
chapperoon	1619 *shaparowne*, **1620** *chaperoones* 'hood', 1680 *chapperoon* 'small escutcheon'	F *chaperon* 'hood'	*chaperon*, n.
dragoon	**1622** *dragoones* 'carbine', 1622 *dragoons* 'soldier', 1686 *dragoons* 'dragonnade', 1712 *dragoons* 'fierce fellow', 1725 *dragoons* 'pigeon'	F *dragon* 'dragon'	*dragoon*, n.
mantoon	**1623** *mantoon* 'large cloak'	It *mantone* < *manto* 'cloak'	*mantoon*, n.
langoon	**1624** *langoon* 'white wine'	F *Langon*, name of town on the Garonne	*Langoon*, n.
monsoon	1584 *monsons*, **1634** *monzoons* 'prevailing wind'	Portuguese *monção* < Arabic *mawsim* 'season'	*monsoon*, n.
battoon	1562 *batune* 'heraldic bar', **1637** *battoone* 'truncheon'	F *baton* 'stick'	*batoon*, n.
pulpatoon	**1637** *pulpatoones* 'dish of rabbits, game'	It *polpettone*	*pulpatoon*, n.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

musketoon	**1638** *musquetoons* 'soldier with type of musket', 1643 *musketon*, 1650 *musketoons* 'type of musket'	F *mousqueton*, It *moschettone* 'musket'	*musketoon*, n.
jupoon	**1640** *jupoon* '?overtunic, ?armour'	?F *jupe* 'male garment'	*pourpoint*, n. 1
patroon	**a. 1641** *patroon* 'patron', 1719 'ship's captain', 1744 'Dutch West India Company landholder', 1671 *pateroone* 'slave master'	F *patron*, Sp *patrón*, Portuguese *patrono*, It *patrone*	*patroon*, n.
lampoon	**1645** *lampoons* 'satire'	F *lampon* 'let us booze'	*lampoon*, n.
blateroon	**1647** *blateroons* 'babblers'	L *blatero* 'babbler'	*blateroon*, n.
mahoon	**1651** *mahoon* 'Turkish barge'	It *maona* < Turkish *mauna*	*mahone*, n.
rattoon	1648 *rattoone* 'raccoon', **1656** *rattoon* 'cheesecake'	variant of *raccoon*; F *raton* 'scraping (of pastry)'	*rattoon*, n. 1; *rattoon*, n. 2
cargosoone	1626 *caragasoune*, **1657** *cargosoone* 'cargo'	Sp *cargazon* 'load of a ship'	*cargason*, n.
tampoon	**1658** *tampoon* 'bung'	F *tampon*	*tampion*, n.
buccoon	1625 *buckones*, **1659** *buccoon* 'morsel'	It *boccone* 'mouthful'	*buckone*, n.
macaroon	a. 1425 *makerouns*, **1659** *macaroons* 'pasta', 1611 *macarons* 'almond biscuit', 1631 *makeron*, 1633 *macaroon* 'buffoon'	It *maccarone*, F *macaron* >It *maccarone*	*macaroon*, n.
shaffroon	1465 *shawfron*, **1660** *shaffroones* 'frontlet of horse', 1511 *schaiffronis*, 1516 *schaffroun* 'ladies' headdress', 1725 shafferoons 'frontlet of horse in funeral procession'	F *chaufrain*	*shaffron*, n.
mallagatoon	**1661** *mallagatoons*, 1704 *melicotoons*, 1719 *malecotoon*, 1744 *melacotoons*, 1745 *melococoons* 'peach'	Sp *melocotón*	*melocoton*, n.
poltroon	a. 1529 *pultrowne*, **1664** *pultroons* 'coward'	F *poltron* < It *poltrone*	*poltroon*, n. and adj.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

gallioon	1529 *gailȝeownis*, **1665** *galeoons* 'galleon'	F *galion* < Sp *galeon*, It *galeone*	*galleon*, n.
plateroon	**1665** *plateroon* 'metal plating'	F *plate* + *er* + *-oon*	*plate*, n.
Walloon	**1665** Walloons 'French-speaking people of Gaulish origin in Belgium'	F *Wallon* < medieval Latin *Wallōn-em*, < Germanic **walah*, *walh* 'foreigner'	*Walloon*, n. and adj.
bougeroon	**1675** *bougeroon* 'sodomite'	OF *bougeron*	*bougeron*, n.
balatroon	**1678** *balatroon* 'buffoon'	L *balatron* 'buffoon'	*balatron*, n.
shalloon	1270–1271 *chalonibus*, **1678** *shalloon* 'woollen cloth', 1688 *shaloone* 'coach'	F *chalon* < place-name *Chalons-sur-Marne*	*shalloon*, n. 1; *shalloon*, n. 2
pattacoon	1665 *patagons*, **1679** *pattacoones* 'silver coin'	Portuguese *patacon*, Sp *patacón*	*patacon*, n.
picaroon	1624 *piccaroune*, **c. 1681** *piqueroon* 'pirate', 1629 *picheron* 'thief', 1625 *picaroones* 'pirate ship'	Sp *picarón* 'rogue'	*picaroon*, n. 1
buffoon	c. 1550 *buffons* 'pantomime dance', 1584 'fool', **1683** *buffoons* 'fool'	F *buffon* < It *buffone* < *buffa* 'jest', connected with *buffare* 'to puff'	*buffoon*, n.
cartoon	**a. 1684** *cartoone* 'preparatory drawing', 1843 'humorous drawing'	F *carton* < It *cartone* 'stout paper'	*cartoon*, n.
festoon	**1686** *festoon* 'garland hung between two points'	F *feston* < It *festone* < *festa* 'feast'	*festoon*, n.
platoon	?a. 1547 *plattons*, **1687** *plotoon*, 1738 *platoons* 'small body of soldiers'	F *ploton*	*platoon*, n.
rigadoon	**1687** *riggadoone* 'lively dance'	F *rigodon*	*rigadoon*, n.
sashoon	**1687–1688** *sashoones* 'leather pad in leg of boot'	F *chausson*	*sashoon*, n.
cantoon	**1688** *cantoon* 'type of fustian'	?	*cantoon*, n.
cockatoon	**1688** *cockatoons* 'cockatoo'	Malay *kakatúa*	*cockatoo*, n.
gadroon	**1697** *gooderoon* 'fluting in gold and silver plate'	F *godron*	*gadroon*, n.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

harpoon	1625 *harpon*, **1697** *harpoon* 'barbed dart'	F *harpon* 'little cramp'	*harpoon*, n.
gambroon, gombroon	**1698** *gombroon* 'Persian pottery', 1812 *gambroons* 'cotton and worsted fabric'	*Gambroon*, former European name for a town on the Straits of Hormuz (now Bandar Abbas, Iran)	*gambroon*, n. and adj.; *gombroon*, n.
maroon	**1699** *maroons* 'chestnut', 1749 *marrons*, 1751 *marroons* 'firework', 1795 *maroons* 'runaway slave'	F *marron* < It *marrone* 'chestnut'; F *marron* < Sp *cimarrón* 'fugitive'	*maroon*, n. and adj. 1; see Wright (2011)
shabberoon	**1699** *shabberoon* 'ragamuffin'	?root of *shabby* (1685) + *-eroon*, after *picaroon*	*shabaroon*, n.
typhoon	**1699** *Tuffoons*, *Typhones* 'China Sea storm'	Urdu *ṭūfān* 'violent storm' and Chinese *tai fung* 'big wind'	*typhoon*, n.
succatoon	**1703** *succatoons* 'type of cloth'	?*succota* 'type of cloth' + *-oon*	*succatoon*, n.
puccoon	1609 *pochon*, **1705** *puccoon* 'American dye plant'	Virginia Algonquian *poughkone*	*puccoon*, n.
crampoon	**1706** *crampoons* 'metal bent in form of hook'	F *crampon*	*crampon*, n.
scandaroon	1631 *skanderouns* 'ruffian', **1707** Scandaroon 'place in Syria', 1860 *Scandaroon* 'pigeon'	*Scanderoon* < *Iskanderūn*, the name of a seaport in Syria	Justice (1707: 232); *scandaroon*, n.
jettezoon	**1708** *jettezoons* 'jetsam'	AN *getteson* 'act of throwing goods overboard'	*jettison*, n.
saccoon	**1708** *sacoon*, 1730 *sagoone*, 1799 *segoon* 'seconde' (fencing terminology)	F *seconde* /səgɔ̃d/	*saccoon*, n.; *segoon*, n.
vineroon	**1710** *vineroons* 'grape grower'	F *vigneron*	See Wright (2017); *vigneron*, n.
cantaloon	**1711** cantaloons 'woollen cloth from west of England'	?	*cantaloon*, n.
pattoon	**1715** *pattoons* 'thick-soled footwear'	AN *patin* 'shoe with thick sole', It *pattino* 'wooden patten'	*patten*, n.
doubloon	1622 *doblones*, **1719** *doubloons* 'gold coin'	Sp *doblón* or F *doubloon*	*doubloon*, n.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

caroon	**1720** *caroon* 'London licence to keep a cart'	?	*caroon*, n. 1
chacoon	**1721–1800** *chacoon* 'saraband dance'	F *chaconne* < Sp *chacona*	*chaconne*, n.
frigatoon	**1721** *frigatoon* 'type of frigate'	It *frigatone* 'large frigate'	*frigatoon*, n.
galloon	1604 *galloune*, **1727** *galloon* 'ribbon'	F *gallon*	*galloon*, n.
cordoon	**1727** *cordoon* 'ribbon insignia of knightly order'	F *cordon* 'ribbon'	*cordon*, n.
bassoon	**1728** *bassoon* 'musical instrument'	F *basson* 'bassoon'	*bassoon*, n.
saloon	**1728** *saloon* 'spacious hall'	F *salon*	*saloon*, n.
recargazoon	**1737** *recargazoon* 'homeward-bound ship's cargo'	*re* + *cargazoon*	Bailey (1737) (LEME); *OED recargaison*, n.
slabberoon	**1737** *slabberoon* 'ragamuffin'	*slabber* 'to slaver' + *-oon*	Bailey (1737) (LEME)
ramoon	**1740** *ramoon* 'type of American tree'	Sp *ramón* 'branch'	*ramon*, n.
spontoon	**1746** *spontoons* 'half-pike weapon'	F *sponton*, Sp *esponton*	*spontoon*, n.; *espontoon*, n.
lardoon	1653 *lardons*, **1747** *lardoons* 'pieces of pork'	F *lardon*	*lardon*, n.
tourbilloon	**1751** *tourbilloons* 'type of firework'	F *tourbillon* 'whirlwind'	See Wright (2011); *OED tourbillion*, n.
bridoon	**1753** *bridoon*, 1803 *bradoon* 'bridle'	F *bridon* 'bridle'	*bridoon*, n.
pelotoon	**1760** *pelotoon* 'small body of soldiers, platoon'	F *peloton* 'little ball'	*straggle*, v. 1
cocoon	**1760** *cocoon* 'spun case for insect larva'	F *cocon* 'little shell'	*cocoon*, n.
caissoon	**1765** *caissoon* 'watertight chest used in laying foundation of bridge'	F *caisson* 'chest'	*caisson*, n.
pontoon	1590 *ponton*, **1766** *pontoon* 'bridge'	F *ponton*	*pontoon*, n. 1
jargoon	**1769** *jargoons* 'zircon'	F *jargon* < It giargone	*jargon*, n. 2
fourloon	**1770** *fourloon* 'type of firework'	It *furiloni* 'type of firework' < *frullare* 'to whirr'	See Wright (2011: 129–130), a variant of *furiloni wheel*

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

pompoon	1748 *pong pong*, **1782** *pompoon* 'ornamental bunch of ribbons'	F *pompon*	*pompom*, n. 1
doosoon	**1783** *doosoons* 'Malaysian villages'	Malay *dusun* 'village'	*dusun*, n. and adj.
pantoon	**1783** *pantoon* 'Malay verse form'	Malay *pantun*	*pantun*, n.
lagoon	1612 *laguna*, **1789** *lagoons* 'brackish water'	F *lagune* < It, Sp *laguna* 'pool'	*lagoon*, n. 1
quadroon	1707 *quarteron*, **1796** *quaderoon* 'person three-quarters white and one quarter black'	Spanish *cuarterón* 'person who is by descent three-quarters white and one-quarter non-white (originally spec. American Indian)'	*quadroon*, n. and adj.
quintroon	1769 *quinterones*, **1797** *quinteroon* 'one who is fifth in descent from an African'	Sp *quinterón*	*quintroon*, n.
spadroon	**1798** *spadroon* 'sword'	Genevan *espadron*	*spadroon*, n.
tenoroon	**1800** *tenoroon* 'wooden reed-instrument intermediate in pitch between oboe and bassoon'	*tenor* + *-oon* (from *bassoon*)	Catalogue of instruments sold by Goulding & Co. (ECCO); *OED tenoroon*, n.
frontoon	**1802** *frontoon* 'pediment'	F *fronton* < It *frontone*	*fronton*, n.
gossoon	1684 *gosoun*, **1802** *gossoons* 'servant boy'	F *garçon*, as used in Ireland	*gossoon*, n.
carcoon	**1803** *carkoon* 'clerk'	Mahratti *kārkūn* 'clerk', < Persian *kār-kun* 'operator, manager'	*carcoon*, n.
kokoon	**1806** *kokoon* 'South African antelope'	Setswana *kgokoñ*	*kokoon*, n. 1
gazoon	**1813** *gazoon* 'troop' (nonce literary form)	F *gazon* 'turf'	*gazoon*, n.
pooshtoon	**1815** pooshtoon 'speaker of Pashto'	Pashto *paxtun*	*Pashtun*, n. and adj.
kanoon	**1817** kanoon 'dulcimer or harp'	Persian or Arabic *qānūn*	*kanoon*, n.
madjoon	**1819** *madjoon* 'cannabis sweet'	Urdu *maʿjūn* and (partly via Persian) its etymon Arabic *maʿjūn* 'paste'	*majoun*, n.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

ceroon, seroon	**1824** *ceroons*, 1833 *seroons* 'a bale or package made of skins'	Spanish *seron* 'hamper, crate' < *sera* 'large basket', partly through French *serron*	*ceroon*, n.; *seron*, n.
flocoon	**1826** *flocoons* 'tuft'	F *flocon* 'tuft'	*flocoon*, n.
calleoon	**1828** *calleoons* 'water pipe for smoking'	Persian *qaliyān*	*calean*, n.
bosthoon	**1833** *bosthoon* 'tactless fellow' (Irish contexts only)	Irish *bastún* 'whip made of green rods', 'soft or spiritless fellow'	*bosthoon*, n.
hoosheroons	**1834** *hoosheroons* 'Indianans'	American *hoosier* 'person from Indiana', etymology unknown + *-oon*	*Hoosier*, n.
calcoon	**1835** *calcoons* 'African bird'	Afrikaans *kalkoen* 'turkey'	*kalkoentjie*, n.
reimschoon	**1835** *reimschoon* 'brake-shoe of wagon'	South African Dutch *remschoen*	*remskoen*, n.
jamoon	**1838** *jamoon* 'fruit of *Eugenia jambolana*'	Hindi *jāmun*	*jaman*, n.
impoon	**1839** *impoon* 'grey duiker'	Zulu *i-mpunzi*	*impoon*, n.
anderoon	**1840** *anderoon* 'apartments of a Persian harem'	Persian *enderūn* 'interior'	*anderoon*, n.
octoon	**1840** *octoon* 'person who is by descent seven-eighths white and one-eighth black or native American'	L *octo* 'eight' + *-oon*	*octoon*, n.
spittoon	**1840** *spittoon* 'receptacle for spittle'	*spit* + *-oon*	*spittoon*, n.
coquetoon	**1846** "The Coquetoon, *Cephalophus rufilatus*", 'type of antelope'	?	Gray (1846: 166); *OED coquetoon*, n.
simoon	**1847** *simoon* 'hot dry wind'	Arabic *semūm*	*simoom*, n.

Total = 111 of which 51 (46%) predate 1700 and 60 (54%) postdate 1700. This does not mean that these words entered at the dates recorded by the *OED*, rather that they are recorded in print then, and there are naturally more words in later periods than in earlier ones as less text has survived from earlier periods.

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

APPENDIX 2. COMPARATIVE *-OON*NESS OF SIXTY ENGLISH LITERARY TEXTS (1611–1861)

The number of types of *-oon*s in each work are given in descending type order, with token numbers in brackets after each type. Note that types are lexemes, meaning that 'lampoon' includes *lampoons*, *lampooned*, *lampooners*, *lampooning*, *lampoonery*, etc. Words in square brackets have not been included in the count but they added to the *-oon*ness of a text.

Author	Title, date of publication	*-oon*s	Types	Tokens
William Makepeace Thackeray	*Pendennis*, 1848–1850	*dragoon* (30), *pantaloon* (6), *saloon* (3), *buffoon* (2), *doubloon* (2), *baboon* (1), *balloon* (1), *bassoon* (1), *cocoon* (1), *harpoon* (1), *poltroon* (1), *spittoon* (1), [Irish characters *Roony/Rooney* and *Looney*]	12	50
William Makepeace Thackeray	*Vanity Fair*, 1847–1848	*dragoon* (17), *saloon* (8), *pantaloon* (2), *bassoon* (1), *buffoon* (1), *macaroon* (1), *pontoon* (1), quadroon (1), *Mr Quadroon* (1), *Quiberoon* (1), *spittoon* (1), [Ensign *Spooney*]	11	35
Tobias Smollett	*Roderick Random*, 1748	*baboon* (6), *papoon* (the Welsh pronunciation of baboon) (1), *lampoon* (4), *buffoon* (2), *poltroon* (2), *Tiberoon* (2), *doubloon* (1), *platoon* (1), *saloon* (1), [*Oroondates*, discourse marker *oons*, from 'god's wounds']	9	20
Lord Byron	*Don Juan*, 1819–1824	*saloon* (5), *balloon* (2), *buffoon* (3), *festoon* (2), *Laocoon* (1), *monsoon* (1), *pantaloon* (1), *typhoon* (1)	8	16
Tobias Smollett	*Peregrine Pickle*, 1751	*baboon* (3), *buffoon* (3), *lampoon* (3), *pantaloon* (2), *dragoon* (1), *Gomberoon* (1), *saloon* (1), [discourse marker *oons*]	7	14
Laurence Sterne	*Tristram Shandy*, 1759–1767	*platoon* (5), *macaroon* (3), *dragoon* (1), *pantaloon* (1), *pontoon* (1), *Walloon* (1)	6	12

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

William Makepeace Thackeray	*The Book of Snobs*, 1848	dragoon (4), pantaloon (2), saloon (2), balloon (1), buffoon (1), festoon (1), [colleague *Spooney*]	6	11
William Makepeace Thackeray	*The Newcomes*, 1854–1855	*dragoon* (15), *saloon* (3), *bassoon* (2), *Laocoon* (2), *cartoon* (1), [Irish *Mr Shaloony*]	5	23
Samuel Richardson	*Clarissa*, 1748	*poltroon* (2), *baboon* (1), *dragoon* (1), *pickeroon* (1), *saloon* (1), [discourse-marker *oons*, *Oroonoko*]	5	6
William Makepeace Thackeray	*Henry Esmond*, 1852	*dragoon* (7), *saloon* (2), *lampoon* (3), [French *M. de Moon*]	3	12
Thomas Love Peacock	*Gryll Grange*, 1861	*balloon* (6), *saloon* (1), *festoon* (1)	3	8
John Burgoyne	*The Maid of the Oaks*, 1774	(excluding stage directions) *Lady Bab Lardoon* (4), *festoon* (1), *saloon* (1)	3	6
Tobias Smollett	*Humphrey Clinker*, 1771	*buffoon* (2), *lampoon* (2), *saloon* (1), [*Sir George Coon*]	3	5
Fanny Burney	*Cecilia*, 1782	*pompoon* (1), *buffoon* (1), *lampoon* (1)	3	3
Daniel Defoe	*Robinson Crusoe*, 1719	*pantaloons* (1), *doubloon* (1), *Scanderoon* (1), [*Oroonoque*]	3	3
Aphra Behn	*Love Letters*, 1684	*lampoon* (7), *pattacoon* (1)	2	8
Jane Austen	*Mansfield Park*, 1814	*buffoon* (1), *festoon* (1)	2	2
John Burgoyne	*The Heiress*, 1786	*balloon* (1), *festoon* (1)	2	2
Henry Fielding	*Joseph Andrews*, 1742	*buffoon* (1), *dragoon* (1)	2	2
Maria Edgeworth	*Castle Rackrent*, 1800	*gossoon* (9)	1	9
Jane Austen	*Pride and Prejudice*, 1813	*saloon* (2)	1	2
William Congreve	*Love for Love*, 1695	*lampoon* (2)	1	2
Richard Brinsley Sheridan	*The Rivals*, 1775	*poltroon* (2)	1	2
Jane Austen	*Northanger Abbey*, 1803	*dragoon* (1)	1	1
Jane Austen	*Sense and Sensibility*, 1811	*saloon* (1)	1	1
Fanny Burney	*Evelina*, 1778	*lampoon* (1)	1	1

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

Lord Byron	*Childe Harold*, 1812–1818	*Laocoon* (1)	1	1
Coleridge	*Ancient Mariner*, 1834	*bassoon* (1)	1	1
William Congreve	*The Way of the World*, 1700	*lampoon* (1)	1	1
William Congreve	*The Double-Dealer*, 1693	*lampoon* (1)	1	1
William Congreve	*The Old Bachelor*, 1693	*buffoon* (1)	1	1
Daniel Defoe	*A Journal of the Plague Year*, 1722	*Scanderoon* (1)	1	1
Daniel Defoe	*Roxana*, 1724	*dragoons* (1)	1	1
Daniel Defoe	*Moll Flanders*, 1722	*ducatoons* (1)	1	1
Henry Fielding	*Tom Jones*, 1749	*dragoon* (1)	1	1
Thomas Love Peacock	*Nightmare Abbey*, 1818	*baboon* (1)	1	1
Alexander Pope	*The Dunciad*, 1728–1743	*buffoon* (1)	1	1
Alexander Pope	*Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*, 1735	*lampoon* (1)	1	1
Alexander Pope	*Epistle to Sir Richard Temple, Lord Cobham*, 1733	*buffoon* (1)	1	1
Alexander Pope	*Prologue to a play for Mr Dennis's Benefit*, 1733	*dragoon* (1)	1	1
Alexander Pope	*The Rape of the Lock*, 1712	*lampoon* (1)	1	1
Alexander Pope	*Sandy's Ghost*, 1717	*pantaloon* (1)	1	1
Samuel Richardson	*Pamela*, 1740	*rigadoon* (1)	1	1
Richard Brinsley Sheridan	*The School for Scandal*, 1777	*lampoon* (1)	1	1
Jonathan Swift	*Gulliver's Travels*, 1726	*monsoon* (1)	1	1

The following works were surveyed, but found to contain no *-oon*s:
Jane Austen: *Persuasion* (1818), *Lady Susan* (written 1794), *Emma* (1815); Aphra Behn: *Oroonoko* (1688); Lord Byron: *The Giaour* (1813); Theophilus Cibber: *The Harlot's Progress* (1733), *The Rake's Progress* (1778–1780); Henry Fielding: *Shamela* (1741); Samuel Foote: *The Lame Lover* (1764); King James *Bible* (1611); Thomas Love Peacock: *Crotchet Castle* (1831), *Headlong Hall* (1816); Richard

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131

Brinsley Sheridan: *The Critic* (1779); Horace Walpole: *The Castle of Otranto* (1764); Wordsworth: *Lyrical Ballads* (1798).

Print ISSN: 1578–7044; Online ISSN: 1989–6131