Development of American English in the 18-19th Centuries: Eye-witness Accounts

The eye-witness accounts of European travelers and American intellectuals on development of American English in the 18-19th cc. reveal the dynamics of this process. In the beginning of the period, mostly lexical signatures of AE were recognized. In the second part of the 18th c., New England peculiarities (twang and drawl) appeared, and the three-partite dialect division (North, South, Midland) of the Eastern Seaboard was born. Two clashing tendencies, one of more uniformed and pure AE, and another of 'incorrect and barbaric' AE, held good until the mid of the 19th c. In the end of the century, with the AE hallmarks growing conspicuously, the language in the USA had gotten a full-fledged, independent version of its own. The analysis of extra-linguistic background supports the finding of the study and pinpoints the period of formation of the American national standard to 1880-1890s. The major historical events of the century – the Westward Expansion and the influence of the Frontier, the climax of immigration to the USA, and the country reunification after the Civil War served as crucial factors in this process.

Keywords: *American English, British archaisms and dialecticisms, eye-witness accounts, language differences, purity and uniformity, variety of language*

Introduction

Development of language in the USA in the 18-19th cc. goes hand in hand with that of cultural and social country progress, when a scarcely settled territory in the beginning of the period had won its independence and later from undeveloped agricultural country on the Eastern Seaboard flexed its muscles to become a heavyweight superpower of empire by 1900s. The milestone events of the period – the War of Independence, the War of 1812, Westward Expansion and the influence of the Frontier, market revolution, development of democratic political system, technological and social progress, slavery and abolition, the Civil War and Reconstruction, the Spanish-American war of 1898 – mark this formative period of American society and, of course, language. The Colonial period of AE gave way to the National period, beginning with the Declaration of Independence in 1776, later superseded by the International period. That translates not only into the world hegemony of the country but "*the maturity of American English and its entrance onto the world stage.*" (Algeo 2006, p. 5-6).

Diachronic development of AE has been inadequately studied in sociolinguistics. It is not only about AE signatures, but the formation of America literary standards – when American '*deviations*' from the '*correct*' British usage had formed a new model of English. From this standpoint, eye-witness accounts of both numerous travelers from abroad and American literati, give invaluable information on how this process had been evolving.

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These narratives, recounting their authors' observations on various aspects of American life, became abundant in the period in question. People of different walks of life – militaries, clerics, journalists, politicians, adventurers, etc. present a wide range of voices describing all imaginable textures of American society and culture, as slavery, agriculture, customs, demography, politics, etc. Their views, though often controversial and clashing with each other, still give the vivid picture of changing American life and its institutions.

Language takes a very prominent part in these narratives. Authors from the both sides of the Atlantic elaborate on various aspects of AE. In the Colonial period, it is mostly the lexis that was explained, as borrowing from Indian languages, Dutch, French, Spanish, and German, obsoletisms, new senses in old English words (*creek*), new names for new things (New World flora and fauna), American phrases. In the second half of the 18th c., the writers' attention was shifted to British archaisms and dialecticisms in AE (*fall*), the AE accent, especially New England '*whining cadence*', regional differences of AE. In the end of the 18th c., appeared some first sketchy observations on the general character of AE. It is the 19th c., when the broad and bright palette of every imaginable aspect of AE came into its own. Apart from the above-mentioned features, there appeared much more fixtures, as spelling, nascent political correctness and style, grammar and phonology issues, cultural habits and their language expression, political lexicon, signatures of newly gained areas (Midland and West), lexicographic fixation, etc.

The present paper is a part of the author's work on AE history, but due to its format limitations, it deals with observations on general character of AE. The research objective of the present study lies in revealing the dynamics of AE development in the 18-19th cc. and their ringing with present-day features. The method of discourse analysis, with a combination of macro and micro-analytical approaches (qualitative and quantitative approaches or mixed method research) are used in the study.

Literature Review

A thorough review of the academic literature on historical development of AE exceeds the scope of this study. Here, the most relevant sources to the present research are cited. Among the early works on the subject, *Notions of the Americans* by Cooper (Cooper 1828) and Mathews *Americanisms and Briticisms…* (Mathews 1892) are important, since they show the state of AE in the corresponding periods. Then follow the works of the 20th c.: Mencken '*The American Language*' in 1919 (Mencken 1986), Krapp '*The English language in America*' in 1925 (Krapp 1960), and Markwardt '*American English*' (Markwardt 1958), which contains much material on AE signatures, as borrowings and slang, with some references to early AE development. From the second half of the 20th c., the works of Labov (Labov 2006), (Labov 2012), Dillard (Dillard 1992), Wolfram (Wolfram 2016) zero in on various aspects of AE, its diachronic development, social varieties of AE, etc. Much material

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corresponding to the present study is available in *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Algeo 2006). *The OED* (Simpson, Weiner 1994), *A Dictionary of Americanisms* by Mathews [DA] (Mathews 1956), and *Dictionary of American Regional English* [DARE] by Cassidy (Cassidy 1985), (Cassidy 1991) serve as benchmark for checking the status and origin of Americanisms.

Methodology

The traveling narratives in America are immense. The bibliography of DA contains about 5000 items (Mathews 1956, pp. 1916-1946). The digital collection of the Library of Congress '*American Notes: Travels in America, 1750 to 1920*', with 253 eye-witness accounts by Americans and foreign travelers, serves as basic material for this research. Of those, the most informative works regarding the study object were selected and added by some others. In total, 73 sources containing observations on general character of AE have been chosen. One source belongs to the first part of the 18th c., 11 – to the second; in the 19th c. by decades: 3, 5, 10, 10, 7, 7, 7, 2, 5, 5.

The social background of the authors runs as follows. Only five of them are women, the rest are men. By nationalities, 33 authors are English, 18 – Scottish, 15 – Americans, 5 – French, 3 – Irish, Chinese – 1, German – 1. Many of the authors being polymaths, the assessment by their occupation and (or) social status is the following. The occupation of a (travel) writer/author is mentioned 33 times. Then in the descending order: explorer, traveler – 18 times; politician, diplomat – 11; journalist – 8; military officer – 7; clergyman, churchman – 6; poet – 6; lawyer, judge – 5; literary critic – 5; doctor – 4, etc. The remarks related to the AE signatures are singled out and the authors' views are weighed up and analyzed to discover the prevailing trends. The analysis of social background is made to reveal the milestones of AE historical development.

Findings

The first indirect reference to the language spoken in the USA in our material came from Hamilton, a Scottish-born doctor. He wrote about the Dutch influence in the state of NY: "*One's ears perpetually invaded and molested with volleys of rough-sounding Dutch, which is the language most in use here. I heard nothing but Dutch spoke all the way."* (Hart 1907, pp. 84, 96). In the second half of the 18th c., the remark of Grant, a Scottish author, is worth mentioning. She wrote: "[They] *made their appearance at a time when the English language began to be more generally understood*." (Grant 1836, pp. 184). Gordon, a Scottish officer, noted: "*The propriety of Language here surprized me, the English tongue being spoken by all ranks, in a degree of*

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purity and perfection, surpassing any, but the polite part of London." (Mereness 1916, p. 411).

Fithian, American traveling educator, reports on one of the character in his book: "*He does indeed prefer a Tutor for his Children who has been educated upon the Continent, ... only on account of pronunciation in the English Language ... in which he allows young Gentlemen educated in good Schools on the Continent, to excel the Scotch young Gentlemen, & indeed most of the English.*" (Williams 1900, p. 147). One may infer from this remark that there might have been '*good*' and '*bad*' pronunciation at that time, the former taught at '*good schools*' in Great Britain.

A vital observation on AE phonology belongs to Anburey, a British military: "…*four women ... got into the room, when one of them with a twang, peculiar to the New Englanders."* (*Anburey* 1923, p. 32). Cresswell, an English explorer, adds to the point: "*Though the inhabitants of this Country are composed of different Nations, yet it is very remarkable that they in general speak better English than the English do. No County or Colonial dialect is to be distinguished here, except it be the New Englanders, who have a sort of whining cadence that I cannot describe.*" (Cresswell 1924, p. 271).

A New England twang was mentioned by Anburey in 1776 and '*a whining cadence*' by Cresswell in 1774. Krapp elaborates on cadence of speech and two terms – a drawl and a twang. He refers to Webster, who states: "*In New England we hear flat, drawling pronunciation.*" (Webster 1783, p. 6). Krapp writes: "*This is the earliest mention of the New England drawl ... The nasal twang was usually combined with the drawl in these descriptions of American speech.*" Krapp pays much attention to those characteristics, which are called in the book *flat, drawling pronunciation, the nasal twang*, *nasalization, whine*, etc. He states the contradictory descriptions of those by Pickering, Dwight, Cooper, Dickens, etc. The researcher has to admit: "*Since the word has a very vague content, it would be futile to attempt to give it an exact meaning. The word "twang" often means nothing more than merely "flavor."* (Krapp 1960, pp. 12-25). It is vital to establish here that twang and drawl were known nearly a decade before Webster in 1783 mentioned it.

The first alarm was raised by the foreigner – a French military Chastellux: "*As for the Americans ... they avoided these expressions, "you speak English; ... and I have often heard them say—"you speak American well; the American is not difficult to learn ... they have carried it even so far, as to propose introducing a new language. The proposal was, that it should be taught in the schools, and made use of in all public acts. ... the Americans could not express in a more energetic manner, their aversion for the English.*" Whether this '*American*' differed much from BE at that time is impossible to conclude from the scarce evidence presented. The author bemoaned the '*inability*' of American to enrich the English language: "*The Americans are far from being successful in enriching their native language. On every thing which wanted an English name, they have bestowed only a simple descriptive one: the jay is the blue bird, the cardinal, the red bird… this poverty of language proves how much men's attention has been employed in objects of utility."* (Chastellux

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1828, pp. 325-326, 33). Evidently, Chastellus unduly rebels against semantic way of naming things by their color, size, application, etc., very common in any language.

In 1788, an American agriculturist Watson writes on changes in the Dutch language, comparing to Hamilton's account of 1744 above: "*The inhabitants* [Albany] *were mostly Dutch, had generally adopted in the instruction of their children the English tongue, by the establishment of English schools. ... the Dutch language, in half a century, would be unknown in that city as a spoken language.*" (Watson 1856, p. 267). Priest, an English musician, corroborates the similar swift changes among Germans in PA: "*Lancaster was originally a german settlement; the inhabitants established german schools for the education of the rising generation; but their descendants, finding the inconvenience of being without a knowledge of English, now send their children to the english schools; they acquire a tolerable idea of both languages.*" (Priest 1802, p. 60).

Some seminal observations on American language and culture appeared in the last decade of the 18th c. Twining, an English merchant, was struck by the '*volubility*' of American speech: "*The Americans have more spirits and vivacity than the English.*" He speaks of '*unreserved communication*', '*facility with which the Americans express themselves'*. Twining writes: "*The English language should be spoken more fluently than correctly.*" It may mean that the quality of English in the USA still was inadequate. An important note relates to the three-partite division of the Eastern seaboard, which seems to be taking form by the end of the 18th c.: "*There exists fixed antipathy, between the Northern and Southern States. The citizens of Massachusetts, and those of Georgia and Virginia are distinguishable by very opposite qualities. The former are considered prudent, moral, diligent; but with more industry than genius. The native of Virginia is generous, choleric. His general character seems to assimilate him more to a native of Ireland or, of France than of England. They* [Southern] *are extremely fond of cock-fighting and other cruel sports. The character of the Middle States, New York, Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and Maryland, seems to be a modification of the extremes which distinguish the provinces of the north and south, to give some idea of the characteristic features which distinguish certain sections of the United States*." (Twining 1894, pp. 117, 167, 90-91).

The English Navy veteran Davis bemoans the '*corruption*' of the American tongue: "*The English language is not written with purity in America. The structure of Mr. Jefferson's sentences is French; and he uses words unintelligible to an Englishman.*" The author started the tendency of wrongly ascribing the status of Americanisms to British archaisms and dialecticisms, which have been preserved since then in Standard AE. Davis is one of the first trend-setters of finding faults with AE, a trickle that later developed into a sea of recrimination. He expresses hope that the language of the Bible should be cementing factor in standard of English: "*If any work can transmit the English language uncorrupted to future generations on the banks of the Potomac, it will be our matchless version of the Bible. While religion exists in America,*

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there will be a perpetual standard for the English language." One cultural observation is worth mentioning: "*The New Jersey Man is distinguished by his provincial dialect; the Virginian is remarkable for his colloquial happiness, loses no opportunity of knowledge, and delights to shew his wit*." (Davis 1803, pp. 201-202, 367).

In the first decade of the 19th c., Lambert sharply criticizes AE: "*What they denominate an "American language," in fact, is nothing more than pedantic and distorted English, the country-people of Vermont, and other New England States, make use of many curious phrases and quaint expressions in their conversation, more remarkable by a sort of nasal twang which they have in speaking. Colloquial barbarisms among the peasantry of a country, are excusable; but when they are used in composition by writers, they become disgusting. I could collect hundreds of others equally absurd, invented by Americans who are desirous of introducing that they call an American language; but unless they resort to the Catabaw, Chactaw, or Kichapoo dialects, I am sure they will never accomplish it by murdering the English tongue*." (Lambert 1814, pp. 460-461, 505, 506-507).

Webster in the decade, states that aboriginal names "…*should be written with letters adapted to express their true sound in our own language*." (Webster 1810, p. vi). The right balance between the original sounding of foreign names and '*natural tendency to ease and uniformity*' is vital. Describing New England, he writes that "…*the people of these states have a distinct and uniform language. Their language is nearly the same as that of England, at the time of the first emigrations, unadulterated with modern corruption.*" (Webster 1813, p. 132).

An Englishman Mead wrote in 1817: "*The English language is spoken with more purity in New-England than in any other part of America. That section of our country has few inhabitants who are not descended from English ancestors.*" It is not so in the middle states, with natives of Ireland, Germany, and France. who mix their languages with English. In the South, the corruption of the language '*proceeds in a great measure*' due to the influx of black people (Mead 1820, pp.44, 62).

Warden, a diplomat, described Connecticut: "*The English language is spoken with a particular tone.*" (Warden 1819, Vol. 2, p.11). Then he wrote that great misapprehension prevails about the English in the USA which sometimes considered '*either a distinct dialect of English, or even an Indian language*'. The author stresses that the language here is spoken with '*great purity…by the different classes*', contrary to English counties and Scotland, where there are many '*barbarisms and corruptions*'. Warden justly writes: "*Where two countries, however, separated by such a distance … and differ so much in institutions, it is not to be expected that the standard in speech will remain precisely identical.*" The author refers to the Pickering's Dictionary (1816) trying to downplay the influx of Americanisms. He claims that many of the words are '*vulgarisms*', never used in '*writings of any value*', that American are not innovative but just preserve obsolete English words and refuse '*to follow the innovations of the mother-country*', along with the

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provincialisms brought by the early colonists. Warden writes: "*The number of corruptions introduced by American writers is surprisingly small.*" (Warden 1819, Vol. 3 pp. 472-474). The same 'pacification' was repeated by Webster later.

A Scottish traveler Duncan states that by 1816 the bitter dispute between the two sides was in full swing. Americans gave as much as they got: "*The state of the English language in America has been another standing topic of reproach with those who delight to run the Yankees down. The natives of the United States have become assailants, and asserted, that the English language is spoken with greater purity in America than in Britain. ... truth lies between.*" The author tries to strike an unbiased position accusing other witnesses by exaggerating the American differences: "*Much unfairness has been practised by travellers with regard to the language of Americans; and most of the conversations with which they have garnished their volumes, bear the brand of forgery, such conversations never took place. Some odd sounding words are in use, but to collect all these into one conglomerated mass, with many which I never heard in my progress through the country, is to say the least of it a most uncandid way of exhibiting a specimen of the language of the country.*"

Duncan tries to put AE down to '*uncanonical use of good English word* '. He speaks of the '*greater purity*' of the English in America and the '*uniformity*' of conversation: "*The peculiarities in American conversation consist partly in an occasional world surviving from the language of the first settlers, and partly in a few which* [are] *of republican coinage. The intermixture of these peculiarities is by no means so great, and the evil of their introduction is alleviated; by the total absence of provincial accent, and of some other inaccuracies which are occasionally heard at home. The hypothesis that the English language is spoken with greater purity here than at home is well founded. The inferior orders of society in America certainly speak more accurately than the inferior orders in Britain, and those local peculiarities of accent which abound so amazingly in our native country are totally unknown here. There is a great degree of uniformity throughout that portion of the country which I have visited.*"

But given the lower classes their due, Duncan criticizes the upper crust: "*The educated classes of society, do not speak by any means so. accurately in America as in Britain; there are more deficiencies in grammar, in accent, in pronunciation; there is a mixture of unauthorized phrases, and were a casual conversation between a well educated native of America, and a well educated native of Britain, that of the American, would be found deficient.*" It is apparent, by that time there had already been strong clash between the radicals who wanted to free AE from British influence and the moderates who measured innovations against the yardstick of '*authority*'. Among the latter, Duncan cites Pickering, the author of the American Dictionary, who in his famous essay on the English in the USA urged his compatriots to follow the British standard (Pickering 1816): "*Mr. Pickering strongly urges on his countrymen the necessity of forming their style upon that of the standard British authors, and of rejecting every expression for which they cannot*

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produce unquestionable authority." The author winds up his observation by saying: "*Some ultra-independent republicans have avowed their impatience of the assumed right, on the part of English critics, to sit in judgment upon American language; and have asserted their right to free themselves from the shackles of English control, in matters literary. These theorists however have not met with any support from the more enlightened and unprejudiced of their countrymen; vigorous efforts have been made to counteract the rage for literary innovation.*" (Duncan 1823, Vol.2, pp. 304-308).

Another Scottish man of letters Flint observes the '*brevity of language*' [AE], because, he thinks, people '*are not familiar with the extensive vocabulary*' and people's manner of speech is adapted more '*to business than to intellectual enjoyment*'. The author continues: "*Their discourse is usually intermixed with the provincialisms of England and Ireland, and a few Scotticisms, since America has been partly peopled by the natives of these countries.*" (Flint 1904, pp. 288-289). Hodgson, an English abolitionist, writes: "*Indelicate and profane language is less common in the Eastern States than with us, perhaps equally prevalent in the Middle, and far more so in the southern Atlantic States; but it prevails on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.*" (Hodgson 1824, p. 259).

Dwight, an American educator, writes about the language of New England: "[It] *was accused of erroneous pronunciation, retaining ancient words, coining new meanings*" that makes New England speech '*perplexed, unsettled, and imperfect*'. Then, he claims that the English language in the USA is pronounced more correctly than in England, meaning correct pronunciation that of '*well-bred people of London*'. '*Correctness*', by the author, refers to '*the inhabitants at large*'. He cites the distorted pronunciation of England's Yorkshire and Western dialects: "*From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, every American, descended from English ancestors understands every other as he had been bred in the same neighbourhood. There is nothing here which can be called dialectic.*" Among the reasons of AE '*correctness*', Dwight cites many young school teachers with college education, church attendance of Americans who '*imbibe their pronunciation from the clergy*', presence in court. He claims that the pronunciation in the USA is more uniform than in any country in the world, and the pronunciation of Webster, generally adopted in the country, is erroneous: '*these peculiarities spread very little*'. He regrets that the lexicographer '*departs*' from the common standard. Although Dwight is unwilling to witness the language differences between the USA and Britain, he admits: "*A variety of things in our climate, soil, and our local circumstances, vegetables, and animals differ materially from the same things in Great Britain. These things must have names.*" (Dwight 1823, pp. 265-281). This statement was later emphasized by Webster.

In the third decade of the 19th c., there were only isolated areas of community, where languages other than English were spoken. Blane, an English landowner, writes about Pennsylvania: "*Very few of the inhabitants could speak English, and the young boys and girls are chiefly educated in the German tongue.*" The author repeats the assertion of '*the great purity with*

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which the English language is everywhere spoken'. Although conceding that Americans coined '*some words*' and '*gave some peculiar signification to those already in use*', the writer still insists on '*few slight changes*' and '*the almost entire preservation of the mother tongue*': "*Although the population is so much smaller than that of the British Empire, yet in the United States there is a greater number of persons who speak pure English, than in England itself. Those vile dialects, of which nearly every county in England has its own, are unknown to the Americans."* (Blane 1824, pp. 248-249, 504-506)

An Englishman Candler considers the difficulties in communication between English-speaking countries. The author thinks that '*slight differences will prevail*', but they only add up to the '*copiousness*' of the language. Candler claims that here '*the mass of people speak better English than in England*', apart from the regions where the Dutch and German settlers prevail. And the American pronunciation sounds very much like that of the educated classes in London. Still, there is a marked difference between Connecticut and Virginia, mainly in the inflection of the voice: rising in the former, falling in the latter. The utterance of Americans is more rapid and their pronunciation is more distinct. Americans are more open to adopt cant expressions of lower classes, '*condemned by Swift, as the most ruinous of all corruptions in language*'. American should '*yield allegiance*' acknowledging the authority of English authors to preserve the purity of the language. (Candler 1824, pp. 321-334).

An English farmer Pickering wrote on language: "*Though so far back in the woods, the people are very similar in their manners and behaviour to those in and near towns; no provincialisms, and but few peculiarities in their language. All speak the English language plainly, and mostly correct, with some few exceptions, chiefly in pronunciation.*" (Pickering 1830, p. 34). An English officer Roos states: "*…the drawl of their pronunciation and the peculiarities of their idiom. Some of their expressions and metaphors are so singular as to be nearly unintelligible, and lead to strange misconceptions.*" (Roos 1827, p. 540).

Royall, the first professional woman journalist in the USA, writes about dialects of the East Coast: "*The dialect of Washington is the most correct and pure. It is very rare that you hear an improper word, even amongst the common people.*" In the NY area, the author amuses herself by ubiquitous *I guess*, *how* (a universal form of address), and *be you going*. The Boston dialect is '*wretchedly defective*'. Among her pet aversions are *had'nt ought*, *ought not*, *guess*, and the Bostonian habit to ask questions to be repeated again, their '*hickups*': "*All the learning in the world will never break them of those vulgar habits.*" The dialect of New Haven in Connecticut is an '*improvement*' on Boston and NY, although people there speak '*allwhile, alltime*, *and guess has taken such deep root'* that it is impossible '*to eradicate this word from the dialect*'. But still they speak English '*with great distinctness, clearness, and uncommon melody*'. The author scolds the local dialect of West Virginia: "*Nearly the whole of the English language is so mangled and mutilated by them.*" She gives the following usages: *my*, *rye* pronounced as /ei/, *bleez* is

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'blaze', *waun* is 'one', *shugger* – 'sugar', *hate* 'thing', as "*well you hav'nt a hate here to eat.*" (Royall 1826, pp. 44, 58, 156, 268, 390).

Hall, a Scottish officer, presents a broad, although subjective picture of American language in his seminal work. Right after landing he noticed: "*The signs over the shop doors were written in English; but the language we heard spoken was different in tone from what we had been accustomed to. Still it was English.*" On another occasion the author visited school and inquired if girls "*should pronounce the words according to the received usage in England, or according to some American variation in tone or emphasis.*" The school mistress assured him that she took Walker as their standard, "*but we don't altogether follow Walker. And you in Scotland may do as you like, but we Americans have a perfect right to pronounce our words as we please.*"

The author expresses his hidden frustration of '*of mutual misunderstanding between the Americans and their guests*', because of '*imperfect acquaintance with this very English language*' and their '*ignorance of the language*'. Hall considers English in America '*somewhat modified*', and it is not only about '*perceptible*' sense shift in many words but "*chiefly of the general acceptation of language, as connected with a set of feelings, and a state of circumstances, materially different from those which exist in England.*" The author concedes: "*It would certainly be astonishing, if some difference were not to be produced in these two nations, and in those forms of speech by which they receive expression, in consequence of the continued presence and operation of physical, moral, and political phenomena so essentially dissimilar, and in spite of the common origin, and the common language, of the two countries.*" Hall concludes with gloomy predictions: *"If it be the custom in England to apply different words, or a different form of words, from those used in America, to describe similar feelings and circumstances, an English traveller in that country will naturally be struck with a want of agreement between the facts he witnesses, and the verbal expression in which they are represented to him by the inhabitants of America. ... if their respective languages ... were entirely different, not merely in their local usage or occasional idiom, but in their whole structure ... the countries respectively may be writing not for each other at all, but for themselves exclusively, and thus ... virtually using two different languages."* Perhaps, it would make sense, Hall writes, '*to relinquish the practice of calling it the English Language!*' (Hall 1830, Vol.1, pp. 6, 28, 29, 43-49).

The centerpiece of Hall's work is conversation with Webster. Through all the discussion, the cliff-hanger *'what for?'* is in the air. Webster said: "…*his countrymen had not only a right to adopt new words, but were obliged to modify the language to suit the novelty of the circumstances, geographical and political, in which they were placed. It is quite impossible to stop the progress of language--it is like the course of the Mississippi, it possesses a momentum quite irresistible. Words and expressions will be forced into use, in spite of all the exertions of all the writers in the world."* Hall tried to retort that such innovations should be depreciated: *"...there are words enough already; and it only confuses matters.*" Further, he admits that new words make their way in

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England too: "*The interchange, in short, is inevitable; and, whether desirable or not, cannot be stopped, or even essentially modified.*" At the end, Webster tried to cater to his guest's apprehension by saying that he would not find fifty words, "*in all which were used in America and not in England, but I have certainly not been able to collect nearly that number.*" Webster went even further stating that "*all these apparent novelties are merely old English words, brought over to America by the early settlers, and here they have remained in good use ever since.*" (Hall 1830, Vol. 2, pp. 203, 205). Both assertions were preposterous in 1828, when AE had already started to hit its stride.

Trollope, an English female novelist, writes about shell-shocking effect of the Hall's book, which made a splash in both countries. The author was '*anathematized*', there was a public outcry of indignation with an absurd suggestion that Hall "*was sent by the British government for the purpose of checking the growing admiration of England for the government of the United States.*" He also was declared a person of '*equivocal morals*'. Trollope is prejudiced against Americans: "*I have listened to much dull and heavy conversation in America … there is no charm, no grace in their conversation. I very seldom heard a sentence elegantly turned, and correctly pronounced from the lips of an American. There is always something either in the expression or the accent that jars the feelings and shocks the taste.*" She writes with sarcasm: "[There] *are some biting attacks upon our utter incapacity of speaking English. We really must engage a few American professors, or we shall lose all trace of classic purity in our language.*" (Trollope 1832, pp. 56, 132, 258, 282-291).

Cooper writes extensively on the subject, although these observations should not be taken for granted. The author elaborates on American accent. He claims that only American can '*distinguish between the Georgian and New-Englandman*'. Whereas an Englishman cannot escape detection in America because of the '*slang*' and the intonation of their mother country, Americans can pass for natives in England. He writes that the pronunciation of Boston, NY, Baltimore, and Philadelphia "*vary in many things, and a practised ear may tell a native of either of these places, from a native of any one of the others, by some little peculiarity of speech.*" Then Cooper claims that English is '*better spoken*' in the USA, '*incomparably better English*' than in the mother country: "*In fine, we speak our language, as a nation, better than any other people speak their language. The general accuracy, in pronunciation and in the use of words, is quite astonishing. Allowing for all the difference in numbers, there is vastly more bad English and a thousand times more bad grammar spoken in England than in America.*" This illusion is current among American writers that erroneously confused language '*purity*' (a sheer oxymoron) with the dialect differences in Britain and the USA.

Still, the author concedes that there was a close resemblance between the language of the upper classes in two countries, especially Americans of the middle states: "*Cockneyisms are quite as frequent in the language of an English gentleman, as provincialisms in the mouth of an American gentleman of the middle Sates.*" The author still pressed his point that AE showed a trend to be more standardized, '*not divided into provincial dialects*', and '*each year*

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introduces a better and purer English into our country'. One remark deserves special consideration: "*The distinctions in speech between New-England and New-York, or Pennsylvania, or any other State, were far greater twenty years ago than they are now. I was sent from a middle State, for my education, to Connecticut. I took with me the language of my father's house. I was laughed out of a great many correct sounds, and into a great many vulgar and disagreeable substitutes.*" (Cooper 1828, Vol.1, p. 63, Vol.2, pp. 125-131, 134-137). Cooper lived the first ten years of his life in NJ, then in upstate NY and at the age of 13, enrolled in Yale. Hence, his recollections refer to 1802-1805. For those twenty years, there are no supportive evidence that American speech '*had lost*' its dialect markers. The immigration was still picking up the pace, with 100 000 people arriving to the USA up to that period (Finkelman 2001, pp. 52-100). And the growing Westward Expansion did not contribute to leveling of American dialect distinctions. In other words, this author's claim is refuted by apparent evidence.

till, Cooper's notions on American dialects are of importance. First, he claims that the English in New England is spoken similar to that of the western counties of England and '*some of their provincialisms are getting to form a part of our language*' (Cooper 1828, Vol.2, p. 130). Again, this statement cannot be supported by the settlement history (Algeo 2005, pp. 59-60): the eastern New England was settled by Puritans from East Anglia, and only the back country was on the receiving end of immigrant from the North of England, Scotland and Ulster. Among some peculiarities of New English accent Cooper cites *beard* sounding as /*berd/* and /*baird/*, *stone* is /*stun*/, *none* is /*noane*/ or like /*known*/, *chamber, angel* with /*æ*/, and *does* as /*dooze*/. Cooper claims spuriously that that it is the '*intelligence and domestic habits*' of New-Englanders that caused their '*theoretical knowledge of language*' and made them read the words alphabetically (Cooper 1828, Vol.2, pp. 132-133). One can hardly find from this list something specific for modern Northern dialect zone, whose signatures comprise contrast of /*o*/ and /*ɔ*/ in *hoarse* and *horse*, postvocalic *r*-less accent, etc. (Algeo 2005, pp. 268-269). The only exception might be a shortened and centralized 'New England short *o*' that in some way might be likened to the author's /*stun*/. In the middle States, '*a softer English*' is spoken. Further south, and "*you get a slower utterance, and other slight varieties of provincialism. In Georgia, you find a positive drawl*. *The New-Yorker frequently says, 'I suspect,' and the Virginian, 'I reckon*". As for Pennsylvania, the author states, "*about one-third of all its inhabitants are the descendants of German emigrants. They are remarkable tenacious of their language, though the whole are gradually giving way before the superior influence of the English character.*" The author raises a couple of serious issues: what English language in America would be like in future and what standard of English might be: "*What shall, this standard be? It is not society; it cannot be the church; it cannot be the stage, nor the universities, nor Congress, nor the fashions of speech in England. Thus we are reduced to the necessity of consulting reason, and authority, and analogy, and all the known laws of language, in order to arrive at our object. The consequence will be,*

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that, in another generation or two, far more reasonable English will be used in this country than exists here now. How far this melioration or purification of our language will affect the mother country, is another question, but I think that it can appear that an entirely different standard for the language must be established in the United States, from that in England." (Cooper 1828, Vol.2, pp. 133-134, 305, 125).

Stuart, a Scottish politician, remarked on AE: "*In point of language, we could not observe any very perceptible difference between that in general use at New York and in many parts of England, certainly not so great as between that spoken in the west end of the town, and in parts of the city of London*." (Stuart 1833, Vol.1, p. 29). The author again reiterates this point: *"I have never been able to observe either here, or in other parts of the United States any ground for an observation which I have heard made by British writers, viz. that it is difficult to understand the language which the Americans use, and that an American does not at once understand what an Englishman says. On the contrary, I think it much more difficult, in travelling in Britain, to comprehend the various dialects that are used by the lower classes in different parts of the country."* (Stuart 1833, Vol.2, p. 21).

Boardman, a Scottish writer, was struck by a number of foreign names and inscriptions other than English. Still, it is not '*novelty of these and hundred other terms different from those used for the same things in England*' that was embarrassing. But '*the free use of new verbs, varied usages of epithets, together with the peculiar pronunciation of certain words*' that was the obstacle to communication '*nearly equal to that experienced in speaking a foreign tongue*'. The author cannot avoid the same pitfall as many of his predecessors that "*the language now used in America to be the same imported by the pilgrim fathers to the period of the separation of the governments*." (Boardman 1833, pp. 16-17). Tudor, an English barrister, is favorable to AE and builds his case against its '*ignorance of rules*' and '*perversion*'. The author points to '*fewer provincialisms*' and '*less difficulty in understanding them*' than in England. He then concedes that there are '*some few peculiarities of speech and distortion of words from their established meaning*' (Tudor 1834, pp. 451-452). Weston, a Scottish traveler, makes fun at American jargon and the nasal tone of Yankee speaking. About the Webster's *Dictionary* he writes: "…*a dictionary, by one Webster, an American lexicographer, oh, shade of Johnson! How would'st thou have blushed to see thyself convicted of spelling so egregiously wrong*!" (Weston 1836, pp. 105-106).

Hamilton, a Scottish army officer, is quite critical of developing American speech. It is an accent that annoys him: "*The word does is split into two syllables, and pronounced do-es. Where is converted into whare, there into thare; Such words as oratory and dilatory, are pronounced with the penult syllable long and accented; missionary becomes missionairy, angel – angel.*" The author faced the drawl in the first case, the lowering of the vowel – in the second, well-known secondary stress in AE – in the third, and, at last, monophthongization of the diphthong. Hamilton complains that Americans change "*the meaning of certain old and established English words, for reasons*

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which they cannot explain, and which I doubt much whether any European philologist could understand." His case is *clever* as 'pleasant', with the examples '*clever: house, sum of money, ship, voyage, cargo*': "*And any natural blockhead is a clever man.*" (Hamilton 1833, Vol.1. pp. 205, 207, 227-228).

Hamilton lambasts the '*bad grammar and barbarisms*', '*massacre of their mother-tongue*', not only of low classes but those in high social positions, educated people, as lawyers and traders: "*The privilege of barbarising the King's English is assumed by all ranks and conditions of men, they assume unlimited liberty in the use of "reckon," "guess," "calculate," and perpetrate conversational anomalies with the most remorseless impunity. I deem to express the natural feeling of an Englishman, at finding the language of Shakspeare and Milton thus gratuitously degraded. Unless the present progress of change be arrested, the dialect of the Americans will become utterly unintelligible to an Englishman, and that the nation will be cut off from the advantages arising from their participation in British literature.*" (Hamilton 1833, Vol.2, pp. 227-230).

Vigne**,** an English cricketer, writes: "*The language of every one is perfectly intelligible, there is no patois: I think it should rather be called a "slang ... The American error is detected in the formal and decided accentuation of particular syllables in several common words, and in the laughable misuse of many others; and not in any mispronunciation of the language, generally.*" He continues: "*Although the meaning of all this* [*some Americanisms*] *is perfectly understood, still it is American, not English; and although the English language be in use, yet the very un-English construction and distorted meaning of many sentences, render it so different from the language spoken in good society in England, that I do not think it can safely be dignified with the name of good English. But the English spoken in the first circles in all the larger cities of the Union, is usually very good.*" Vigne again states the uniformity of the language in America, claiming that the provincial dialects, such as in England, are unknown here. Still, the author concedes that there are a lot of '*words, accents, or expressions peculiar to each state*', and the differences are mostly in colloquial speech (Vigne 1833, pp. 130-133).

Murray, a diplomat, notes on American intonation: "*There is another point which must invariably strike the ear of an Englishman, the intonation of voice common to Americans of both sexes: it varies in its character in the northern, western, and southern States; but in all it is quite distinct, and may be called a national peculiarity: it is observed by French and German travellers as well as by the British, though of course the latter are more sensible of it.*" (Murray 1839, pp. 319-320).

Abdy, an English abolitionist, expresses the general regret that: "*Their* [English & Americans] *common language is the chief impediment in the way of a mutual understanding. That which seems to bind them together, serves too often to dissever them. When a word has two meanings, one that we have been long accustomed to, and the other, not only new but opposed to the former, it need not be asked to which we would give the preference.*" The author build his case against American claim that the way they speak was the only right one, as

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in the following: "*This man amused me much by telling me, that I was almost the only Englishman he had ever met, who could speak American correctly.*" There are no reasons to change English, he continues, that '*have prevailed during the era of Swift and Addison*'. When American "*laugh at the cockneys for confounding these letters, they forget that they themselves, are obnoxious to the same treatment, for substituting z in the place of s, &c., in several words, such as design, consign, which they pronounce dezign, consign.*" He concludes: "*I merely say that they who claim a right to deviate from an established standard, -- have no right to blame others for doing the same thing. Wherever the deviation lies, one set of men are as much entitled to choose their own style of pronunciation as another. The American "people" are to be flattered in everything; and foreigners, who cannot speak our language correctly, tell them that they ought to exclude English books from their country, lest their mother tongue should be debased and corrupted.*" Americans at that time gave as much as they got. Abdy quotes the United States' Gazette that presumptuously claims that "*the inhabitants (of England) will look to the United States for a dictionary, by which they may read the classics of their ancestors, Steele, Johnson, and Addison.*" He sarcastically concludes: "*… a superior race, that are sprung from the same stock, and can restore, by their example, its primitive purity and richness to their common tongue; affording, by the revision of their vernacular vocabulary.*" (Abdy 1835, pp. 22, 313-362).

Latrobe, an English military, reiterates that: "A*n Englishman of this cast will be thunderstruck, at hearing the oft-reiterated assertion, that English is spoken better in America than in the mother country…. If he stays long enough in the country, and travels sufficiently, he will grant that throughout America, he will generally hear English pronounced, he may readily understand it.*" He asserts that "…*the dialects which prevail in many of our counties do not exist, in some parts of the Eastern states, a language very much approaching to a dialect is spoken;--for the rest, the general pronunciation of the language goes, all may be at least intelligible.*" The author differentiates between '*the style of conversation of Americans of literary turn*', both in main cities and remote parts of the country, with no difference between written and conversational language. Still, an Englishman can hardly understand American slang, "*quite as incomprehensible to him as the gipsy lingo of our own hedge-sides, forms the common mode of communication in some parts of the country; and there are few ranks of society in which a certain degree of this base coin is not current.*" There is a contradiction between ubiquitous '*English spoken better in the USA*' and the last remark (Latrobe 1833, pp. 318-319).

Mellen, an American lawyer, claims: "*The language of the United States differs little or nothing from that of the middle and southern counties of England. The slight peculiarities relate to accent and intonation, and do not affect the sense.*" The Americanisms are '*too few to deserve a particular notice*'. And the language of the educated people of two countries is scarcely to be distinguished. The author concludes that "*the jargon put into the mouths of Americans by foreign travelers"* is a caricature of its original (Mellen 1839, p. 473).

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Marryat, an English officer, made a splash with his book. His prejudices against AE alternate with quite reasonable opinions. First, he states: "*It is remarkable how very debased the language has become in a short period in America.*" Then, he author greatly exaggerates the influence of British obsolete and provincial words: "*Now, in America, they have a dictionary containing many thousands of words, which, with us, are either obsolete or are provincialisms, or are words necessarily invented by the Americans. When the people of England emigrated to the states, they came from every county in England, and each county brought its provincialisms with it. These were admitted into the general stock. With the exception of a few words coined for local uses, I do not recollect a word which I have not traced to be either a provincialism of some English county, or else to be obsolete English.*" On the other hand, the author quite truly observes: "*The Americans boldly assert that they speak better English than we do … What I believe the Americans would imply by the above assertion is that you may travel through all the United States and find less difficulty in understanding or being understood, than in some of the counties of England.*" The author stresses the difference of American accent: "*The upper class of the Americans do not, however, speak or pronounce English according to our standard; the accent being generally laid upon the wrong syllable.*" (Marryat 1839).

Chevalier, a French engineer, had predicted the emergence of a new Western dialect of AE, which in future indeed has become a dominating type of AE pronunciation: "*Yankee blood to modify the primitive character of the New England race, and to form a third American type, that of the West, whose features are not yet sharply defined, but are daily assuming more distinctness; this type seems destined ultimately to become superior to the others … Already the old division into North and South is becoming of secondary moment, and the great division of the Union will soon be into the East and the West.*" (Chevalier 1839, pp. 213, 225-226).

Grattan, an Irish poet, keeps denigrating AE: "*I have long since become accustomed to peculiarities even more startling than the inelegant short cuts taken by the Americans to express an idea in English.*" He writes: "*This people are very ambitious of establishing a sort of quaint and coarse phraseology, and their standard notions of politeness in language are very far indeed below European refinement. Expressions that are usual with only the lowest orders in England are very common from the mouth of American gentility.*" Still, the author reasonably admits: "*America has quite as good a right as we have to establish a standard, or to pass above or below it at pleasure.*" Grattan is irritated by the nascent political correctness in America: "*And I am infinitely more annoyed by instances of their affected fine speaking. But the* '*filagree phrase and silken term precise*' *of attempted fine speaking are still worse. Nothing is more provoking than to hear 'garments' for clothes, 'mansion' for house, 'a vehicle' for a carriage, 'domestics' for servants, 'the atmosphere' for the air, "hose" for stockings.*" (Grattan 1856, pp. 16, 62-64, 54-55). Horton, an English merchant, denies '*often-alleged improprieties of speech and liberties taken with the Queen's English amongst Americans*'. He continues: "*Our*

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language is spoken much better and more correctly in all parts of American than it is in England." Horton states that there are no provincialisms here, but '*uniform correctness*' (Horton 1847, pp. 122-123).

Raumer, a German historian, writes that in a dispute about BE and AE, he gives Americans the right to make '*improvements*' in the language to the little pleasure of English. Such '*innovations*' and '*alterations*' are very few, given the different circumstances. Raumer repeats the claim that "*in the USA the language is spoken with greater purity and uniformity, and with fewer differences of dialect, than in England.*" The author asserts that it is "*more easy for a German to understand the Americans and the Scotch than the English*." (Raumer 1846, pp. 478-491).

Buckingham, an English mariner, also wrote on uniformity of AE: *"There is much less of variety in dialect, pronunciation among the people of America than in Great Britain, where not only the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welch, have their marked and broad accents and peculiarities, but where the different counties produce such varieties. Here, the frequent intercourse between State and State, wears off whatever peculiarities may be acquired in early life; and there is a general level, or standard, observable among the whole.*" The author claims: "*The only universal characteristic I could observe to distinguish American conversation from English, was a clearly perceptible, but almost indescribable sort of whining tone, not quite nasal, but mingled with a thin wiry sound.*" (Buckingham 1841, Vol.1, p. 238). One more spurious claim is: "… *most of the phrases* [Americanisms] *are in reality old English, brought to this country by the original settlers, they have become obsolete in England, but are still continued to be used here.*" (Buckingham 1841, Vol.3, p. 528).

Houstoun, an English writer, bemoans the fact that Americans use too frequently '*guessing*' and '*expecting*' "*and the frequent use of those favourite verbs would spoil the charm of any conversation.*" He continues: *"It is highly probable that the Americans (who fancy that they alone speak English with correctness and purity, and that in the old country no one understands his own language at all) may be equally struck by some of the conventional terms which we are in the habit of using. They consider your peculiar incorrectness in speaking your mother tongue finding quite as much fault with our English, as we habitually do with theirs."* Another remark concerns the general character of the American speech: *"If you chance to pick up some stray words of an American's conversation, you will find in them both strength and spirit, and originality. If you happen to fall in with a prosy, tiresome talker, a hundred to one the man is an Englishman."* (Houstoun 1850, pp. 163-164, 222).

A Scottish geologist Lyell notes in his work: "*There are scarcely any American words which are not of British origin, some obsolete, others provincial. When the lexicographer Webster was asked how many new words he had coined, he replied one only 'to demoralize'*. In Pennsylvania, he reported on the lingering German language: "*We found the German language chiefly spoken in this region. It is fast degenerating into a patois, and many Germanized English words introduced into the newspapers, such as fense for*

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fence, flauer for flour." (Lyell 1849, pp. 65, 100, 102). Baird, an American clergyman, tries to downplay the American signatures: "*I heard nothing of the use or misuse of words not in an Englishman's vocabulary to mean things and ideas different*" from those in the UK. The author still concedes that '*in conversations and even in the writings of some Americans*' one may find occasionally words and phrases '*unwanted to the English ear*', as *fix, calculate, guess, reckon*. "*But in good society such instances are rare.*" (Baird 1850, p. 309).

In the decade 1850-1860, a Scottish chemist Johnston writes: "*The introduction of new words enriches a language but to give an old word a new signification not only perplexes the hearer, but makes the language poorer.*" The writer's concern is to preserve English '*pure*'. While changes are induced in our mother tongue, '*the gradual growth of differences in the speech can scarcely be avoided*'. He admonishes that the community of speech should not put "*within the reach of the most ignorant and ill-intentioned editor of the meanest periodicals, in either country, in England, America, Africa, or Australia*" that may '*awaken national bitterness*' (Johnston 1851, pp.147-148).

A French traveler Olliffe writes about '*Idiotismes Américains*': "*In the most educated pages in the USA, one can often find the modes of speech which we call 'Americanisms'. In this spoken language they are so numerous and used so frequently that every foreigner, even the English should familiarized themselves with their meanings. I cannot ignore those vicious locutions, which go against all grammar rules. Apart from the phrases Americans made and adapted to their own usage, they attached to the multitudes of English words some new senses, far from those understood in Great Britain.*" (Olliffe 1853, pp. 287-288). A Scottish publisher Chambers states: "*It was agreeable to note, that the English language is everywhere spoken well. I heard no patois, no local dialect. The tone of speech was uniform, though more nasal in some parts of New England than in other places.*" (Chambers 1854, p. 343). An English esquire Beste sticks to the opinion shared by many others that English in the USA, is '*more pure*' than that in the UK: "*…all English people pronounced the language in the same manner; and so prided themselves upon the superiority of American English. For, notwithstanding the disagreeable nasal tone and drawling whine in which most of them speak, and a few national phrases and the peculiar use and pronunciation of certain words, the American people, in general, speak English without provincial dialect or vulgarisms.*" (Beste 1855, p. 280).

Bird, an English explorer, has a very keen eye for American language and culture in the 1850s: *"In England we speak of America as "Brother Jonathan" and consider it as one nation, possessing uniform distinguishing characteristics. I saw less difference between Edinburgh and Boston, than between Boston and Chicago; the dark-haired Celts of the west of Scotland, and the artisans of our manufacturing cities, have more in common than the descendants of the Puritans in New England, and the reckless, lawless inhabitants of the newly-settled territories west of the Mississippi."* Often she was taken for New Englander, because she spoke '*like one*' and '*had not the*

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English accent at all'. That shows the similarity between New England and British accents, although Bird writes that '*a strong nasal twang*' is observed also in the state of NY. In another abstract, the author extols the political correctness of American, which had already taken deep root: "…*in this motley assembly there was nothing of coarseness, and not a word of bad language. I must bear very favourable testimony to the Americans; for, in the course of my somewhat extensive travels in the United States, and mixing I never heard any of that language which so frequently offends the ear in England."*

The Bird's observations on differences of AE in the North and South are worth mentioning: "*I have frequently heard Americans speak of the descriptions given by Dickens and Mrs. Trollope of the slang and disagreeable practices in the States; and they never denied their truthfulness. The exhilarating influences of the climate and the excitement of business have a tendency to produce animation of manner, and force and earnestness of expression. A great difference in these respects is apparent in gentlemen from the southern States, who live in an enervating climate, and whose pursuits are of a more tranquil nature. The dry, elastic atmosphere of the northern States produces a restlessness from this arise the frequent use of superlatives, and the exaggeration of language, which the more phlegmatic English attribute to the Americans.*" (Bird 1856, pp. 321-322, 366-367).

Mackay, a Scottish poet, states that American slang is a particular form of '*ultra-vulgar vernacular*'. Such words in America are striking by their novelty, they show '*difference in national character, circumstances in politics and trades*'. The author considers pronunciation changes, appearance of new senses in old words, and making up new words. American expressions and phrases '*grated harshly*' on his English ear. Some of those Americanisms had already been introduced into England, others, of Dutch, German, and Spanish roots stood out. Mackay repeats the trite assertion that in AE "*the new words are more commonly revivals of local and provincial Anglo-Saxon ... words still in use in the rural districts of England dropped out from the polite life and literature*" and then '*annexed*' by Americans (Mackay 1859, pp. 100-101).

Marsh, an American philologist, repeats the truism in his work that the average English is better spoken and written in the USA than in Britain, and there are fewer local peculiarities of form and articulation. The author also notes that English in America is more emphatic than in Britain: "*...if we have engrafted in our mother-speech some wide-spread corruptions, we have freed the language from some vulgar and disagreeable peculiarities common in England.*" Marsh continues by justly claiming that differences between AE and BE are mostly in spoken than in written language and unjustly states that those are mostly in pronunciation and accent rather than in vocabulary and grammar. Again, he exaggerates the retention of old English words in Eastern Virginia and Southeastern Massachusetts, the first settlement areas. As for syntax, Marsh writes that the signature of AE is '*laxity, irregularity, and confusion in the use of particles*'. American taste in language is less fastidious, due to lack of refinement, Americans drawl words and pronounce them '*more deliberately and clear*', citing very important feature, valid nowadays – a secondary stress

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on the penultimate syllable (*dictionary*), with overall '*greater slowness and fullness of articulation*'. Still, Marsh prefers the American drawling to '*nauseous, mumbling thickness*' of cockney. Some features mentioned in the book, are stock ones in modern AE: New England fronting of diphthong (*coat*), intrusive *r*, as in *lor* (*law*) and *r*-dropping (*doah* "door"). The author states the intonation difference between Eastern and Southern people. He is concerned about the rapid divergence of AE and BE. Differences of dialects are serious obstacles to national progress. And the more dialects, the fewer can be cultivated '*as to possess the living literature*'. The author bemoans '*inconveniences of local dialects*'. With the development of progress and civilization, the local dialects are doomed. There is a need to speak one and the same dialect in the USA. The dialects are dying out, concludes the author spuriously (Marsch 1863, pp. 666-684).

Taylor, an American critic, comments on American speech. The New England language is "*marked with a certain precision, betraying a consciousness of or at least belief in, its accuracy.*" The New Yorker's language "*…is not so carefully chosen, but his voice has more variety of modulation.*" Sound peculiarity of an average man '*lies in voice rather than in accent*'. The voice of the Southerner *'betrays'* him, because, as a child, he was in touch with African-Americans. He drops *r* altogether. The Westerner man has '*an expansive use of adjectives in his talk*'. His speech is marked by "*…the use of peculiar words and phrases rather than any distinctive peculiarity of accent.*" (Taylor 1862, pp. 388-396). Nichols, an American physician, writes on the regional differences: "*Many English writers confuse the American idioms and peculiarities of the East, West, and South. It is as if one should mix up Scotchman, Irishman, and Cockney.*" Then he writes that Yankee talks through his nose because of '*cold fogs and drizzling north-easters of Massachusetts Bay*', but in West, people "*open their mouths and broaden their speech*' (*"thar are heaps of bar over thar, whar I was raised"*), *Southern speech is clipped, softened, and broadened by the negro admixture.*" Still, Nichols concludes: "*I do not think that American peculiarities of language are so remarkable as those of character and manners-- Our language is English, modelled mainly upon English literature.*" (Nichols 1864, pp. 384, 385, 389).

The American writer Tuckerman comes to the defense of AE. '*Philological blinders*' are found in many districts of England. The author claims that the Yankeeisms "*were brought from England, and are still current in the localities of their origin.*" He refers to the Bartlett's opinion: "*…the nine tenth of the colloquial peculiarities of New England are derived directly from Great Britain; and that they are now provincial in those parts from which the early colonists emigrated.*" (Bartlett 1848, p. iv). The author states: "*Not only language, but the culture of an educated American are analogous to, or identical with those of England.*" (Tuckerman 1864, pp. 252-291).

Zincke, an English clergyman, cites some American opinions that the language of Englishmen is '*very unlike our own*'. English don't know, where to use and where not to the initial *H*, "*and their language is full of ungrammatical and vulgar expressions, from which ours is entirely free.*" He asserts that the

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English language in America is remarkably '*pure*' and is "*spoken by equal purity by all classes, results of the success of their educational efforts*." The author claims that everywhere even by '*the negroes in the towns*', the language is spoken without vulgarisms and dialectal differences, and '*all Americans spoke uniformly one dialect*'. The author feels shame for the '*wretched vocabulary*' and ungrammatically used and mispronounced words by English '*peasantry*' (Zincke 1868, pp. 34-36).

Rivington and Harris left some observation on the AE of the late 1860s. They stated that "*the proverbial nasal twang, the high-pitched voice, and the slow drawling pronunciation are not found among the upper classes of society.*" (Rivington 1870, p. 34). The authors rightly notice that such twang in New England was brought by emigrants from Norfolk and Suffolk where it still exists. Indeed, 20,000 Puritans largely from East Anglia settled there in 1621-1641 (Algeo 2005, p. 60). The authors exaggerate the role of old English words in America. As for the pronunciation, they mention '*oo*' in *new*, '*ai*' in *are*. Of those, the first feature is spread in most of American dialect areas, the second is signature in Western Pennsylvania spreading to the American West (Wolfram 2016, p. 70). The authors again claim that "*there is a far greater average correctness of speaking*" English in the USA than in England. The peace is made by stating that some changes in language are inevitable to adapt the language to the new conditions and aspects of life (Rivington 1870, pp. 35-36).

Chester, an English archeologist, states that English in America "…*is spoken with far greater precision than it is in England, and such a vulgarity as Cockney, as well as obsolete provincialisms, are alike unknown.*" He writes that some '*penny-a-liners*' are spoiling the language, but he hopes that "*the community will put an end to such etymological enormities.*" (Chester 1869, p. 398). Alford, an English scholar, on the contrary, made a scathing remark on the subject: "*The process of deterioration, which our Queen's English has undergone at the hands of the Americans. Look at those phrases which so amuse us in their speech and books, at their reckless exaggeration and contempt for congruity and then compare the character and history of the nation – its blunted sense of moral obligation and duty to man, such example may serve to show that language is no trifle.*" (Alford 1863, p. 8).

A Scottish journalist Rae notes that English words in America have different meanings and the alterations in senses. However, the author doesn't side with those who were shocked '*at the alleged deterioration of the English language in America*', nor does he blame the people for their accent. Rae reasonably writes that "*neither side will convince the other, nor will denunciation of the American accent alter it one iota.*" The accent is different in different states: sharp and shrill in New England, slow in the South, deep-toned and resonant in the West. The writer concludes by saying that in many cases those differences are slight and hard to detect: "*I am certain, that the greater the differences within reasonable limits, the better will it be for both parties.*" (Rae 1870, pp. 381-384).

Campbell, a Scottish lawyer, plays down the differences between BE and AE: "*In their language they are in a very marked degree British, and not*

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foreign. I was really surprised to find how little difference there is, and how much their idioms and everything else are thoroughly English." He again repeats the old cliché that peculiar Americanisms go back to English provincialisms: "*The provincial peculiarities ... they carried with them from certain parts of Old England or established among themselves in the early days of American settlement. It may be that these have been handed down among the richer classes, whereas among the lower classes the language has assumed a sort of cosmopolitan English character.*" Campbell spuriously claims: "*Language of America is almost entirely English derived from the southern counties of England, from which the early settlers came, many peculiarities in language, which we now call American, are really old English*." Still, English in American is '*a little better than that used in any county of England'* (Campbell 1879, pp. 22-23).

Adams, an English radical, states: "*The language of peoples so widely separated will undergo the process of variation.*" He continues that there are many words and phrases, quite unknown or having different meanings in England. Those '*departures*' were so numerous, that in one episode, the writer did not dare to take part in the conversation for fear of misunderstanding. Adams points out that changes go '*from below*': first, used by vulgar people, then – by more refined, until being included in the national language. Then, the author gives some Americanisms, as *clever, handsome, to fix* (in many senses), *right away,* etc. The author concludes: "*The process of creating at least a new dialect has commenced on the other side of the Atlantic*." Such statement in the early 1880s when AE had already hit its stride sounded long overdue (Adams 1883).

Thébaud, a French-American Jesuit educator, comments on the uniformity of AE, '*with the same Anglo-American idioms spoken*'. Although there are some Americanisms here, still the language has '*remarkable grammatical accuracy and clearness of diction*'. No dialects, no jargons are present, as in the mother country, the criminal slang being out of count (Thébaud 1904, pp. 137-138). Money, an English military, writes: "*The idioms vary more and more yearly, and probably the pronunciation also. You do meet Americans, who have no nasal twang, but otherwise the nationality is easily recognized. Some of the Americans seem to forget that England was the birthplace of the English language. One said to me, "Very true, we do pronounce many words differently, and I can always recognize your countrymen by the British accent they use."* (Money 1886, p. 78). Aveling, a British biologist, calls '*the American dialect of the English tongue*'. He admits that people can't help wondering when they are told to speak with '*an English accent*' (Aveling 1887, p. 111).

Hudson, in California in 1882, was surprised to know the "… *homeliness of the Anglo-Saxon language. Nothing save the inscriptions upon the signboards, and the tongue of the people, indicated that we were in an English-speaking country."* (Hudson 1882, p. 182). Kipling, an English writer, was struck by the American speech: "*They delude themselves into the belief that they talk English—and I have already been pitied for speaking with "an*

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English accent." The man who pitied me spoke the language of thieves. And they all do. Where we put the accent forward they throw it back, and vice versa where we give the long "a" they use the short, and words so simple as to be past mistaking they pronounce somewhere up in the dome of their heads. How do these things happen? But the American has no language. He is dialect, slang, provincialism, accent." (Kipling 1891).

Gratton edited a work, written by an anonymous Chinese traveler. He mentions the political correctness, described by many authors from the beginning of the 19th c.: "*As the Americans are all equal, there are no servants among them. The poor are as good as the "boss," and won't be called servants. You read in the papers, "A lady desires a position as cook in a small family", "A saleslady wants position." When you meet these "ladies," in nine cases out of ten they are Irish from the peasant class--untidy, insolent, often dissipated in the sense of drink.*" The author is indignant about '*American slang*' that he calls '*a peculiar second language*'. He thinks that it goes back to the professional actors on the stage and then imitated by '*leaders in all towns*'. Yet, the author says that slang is never heard among refined and cultivated Americans (Gratton 1916, pp. 118, 121, 292).

Mathews, an American academic, presented a reasonable treatise of American and British differences. The author writes: "*In America there is no necessity to plead for the right of the Americanism to exist. The cause is won.*" Then he quotes Webster's preface to his dictionary in 1828, where the lexicographer asserts that no absolute identity of the language should be retained due to different political and physical conditions of two countries. The author builds a case that there is no such idea as '*pure English*' at all, the language needs no guardian, and the '*departure of usage*' makes no sense. '*Pure English*' may be dialects of Yorkshire or Dorset, or cockney, American, British or Australian. This independence and self-sufficiency of language forms stressed by the author far back in the 1890s, is acute nowadays. Mathews wonders how the future generations will speak, citing a sentence from a British newspaper that is '*almost incomprehensible to the ordinary American*'.

The author remarks on the dynamics and future of the English language: "T*here is no basis for the belief that somewhere there exists a sublimated English language, perfect and impeccable, the flawless ideal to which all artists in style strive to attain, whether they are Englishmen or Americans, Australians or Canadians. As to the English of the future, the language is alive and growing and extending on all sides, to the grief of the purist and the pedant, who prefer a dead language that they can dissect at will. The existence of Briticisms and of Americanisms is a sign of healthy vitality. Neither usage, can be in itself better or worse than the other. Each usage is the better in the land in which it has grown up of itself. To declare a single standard of speech is impossible.*" Still, another author's prediction seems less fortunate: "*That there will ever be any broad divergence between the English language and American speech ... is now altogether unlikely. A divergence as wide as this has been impossible since the invention of printing.*" The divergences between

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World Englishes exist and the gap is widening nowadays (Mathews 1892, pp. 5-7, 29-31).

O'Rell, a French journalist, writes: "*In reading the Buffalo newspapers, I noticed favorable criticisms of my lecture; but while my English was praised, severe comments were passed on my pronunciation. In England, where the English language is spoken with a decent pronunciation, I never once read a condemnation of my pronunciation of the English language*". On politically correctness the author writes: "*The employees (I must be careful not to say "servants")*", "*The cold, icy air fell on my legs, or (to use a more proper expression) on my lower limbs.*", "*At eleven o'clock I went to bed, or, to use a more proper expression, I retired*." (O'Rell 1891, pp. 77, 83, 266, 300).

Archer, a Scottish critic, rightly observes: *"The English language occupies a unique position among the tongues of the earth. It is unique in two dimensions--in altitude and in expanse … and we should rejoice to accept their* [=American] *aid in the conversation and renovation of this superb and priceless heritage."* The author is certain that English '*has gained, and is gaining*' by its expansion in America, expressing the varied human experience by vocabulary or idioms. And more '*dialects*' and '*vernacular variations*' only add up to its vitality, '*to promote the abundance, suppleness, and adaptation of the language as a literary instrument*'. He justly states: "*The English language is no mere historic monument to be religiously preserved as a relic of the past, and reverenced as the burial-place of a bygone breed of giants. It is a living organism, ceaselessly busied, in the processes of assimilation and excretion.*" Archer admits a lot of '*bad blood*' and '*dissension*' on both sides. Many English regard Americanisms as vulgar and tasteless '*aberrations*', and Americans give as much as they get. The author makes the periphrasis of the famous Webster statement, when he writes: "*New words are begotten by new conditions of life; the tendency towards neologism cannot but be stronger in America than in England. America has enormously enriched the language, not only with new words, but with apt and luminous colloquial metaphors.*" Archer concludes: "*The idea that the English language is degenerating in America is an absolutely groundless illusion, the English language has been entrusted to the care of all of us, English no less than Americans, Americans no less than English*." (Archer 1899, pp. 202-203, 214,215, 218-220, 253-254).

Discussion and Conclusion

In the AE development by the end of the 18th c., three-partite division of the Eastern coast dialect areas (North, Midland, and South) had been well under way. The New England twang and drawl had come into its own also at that time. Two clashing trends – that of extolling AE as more pure than in the mother country, and denigrating AE as '*barbaric*' variety also appeared by the end of the century. In the first decade of the 19th c., the manifestation of American markers became well pronounced. The broadside critical attack of British authors shows the expanding AE signatures not only in lexis, but in

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phonology, as well. The three Eastern seaboard dialect areas seem to have taken shape by that time, with English, '*spoken with more purity in New England*', was considered also '*more distinct and uniform*'. In the second decade of the 19th c., a thesis of '*more pure*' English in the USA grew in force. Along with that, came quite a fair comment that two countries separated by a great distance and so different in culture and institutions are not expected to maintain the same speech standard. Some authors admit the growing chasm between upper and lower classes, as well as growing differences between oral and written speech. Language in the Eastern States is more uniformed and less '*corrupt*' than in Midland and South. The role of British provincialisms and archaisms is exaggerated in AE vocabulary, evidently to play down the developing American standard.

The third decade of the 19th c. reveals very conflicting views on AE development. Some authors state AE as '*a better English*', '*English spoken with purity*', '*plainly and mostly correct spoken English*', '*not divided into provincial dialects*', while others speak about '*ignorance of the language*', '*mutual misunderstanding between the Americans and their guests*', and even the danger of '*to relinquish the practice of calling it* [AE] *the English Language*'. In evaluating AE, there are, as well, clashing views: from the right '*to modify the language to suit the novelty of the circumstances*' to downplaying AE markers as '*merely old English words, brought over to America by the early settlers and remained in good use ever since*'. There are reasonable statements that '*an entirely different standard for the language must be established in the United States*'. This controversy also refers to AE dialectal areas, with some authors stressing uniformity, while others elaborate on regional differences, where the best English is spoken in the middle states and the worst – in New England and South.

The accounts of the 19th c. fourth decade continue the wide clashing gamut of opinions on AE. They range from quite a favorable view, as '*English is spoken better in America than in the mother country*' to sarcasm about American jargon, nasal Yankee speech, '*bad grammar and barbarisms*', '*massacre of their mother-tongue*', and denouncing '*barbarising the King's English'* and '*degrading the language*'. Some observations go as far that '*the dialect of the Americans will become utterly unintelligible to an Englishman*'. The peculiarities in phonology and lexis had become conspicuous. The marked difference between 'bad' AE of the lower classes and 'good' of high society is also referred to. The three regional areas New England, Midland, and West, seem to be well-formed, with a new one, Western, appearing. Quite an insight view at that early period was that '*the old division into North and South is becoming of secondary moment, and the great division of the Union will soon be into the East and the West*'.

In the fifth decade of the 19th c., a trend of clashing opinions on AE and controversy of its status continues. On the one hand, it is '*expressions that are usual with only the lowest orders in England are very common from the mouth of American gentility*', with English finding fault with AE. Other authors insist that the English '*spoken much better and more correctly in all parts of*

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American than it is in England', '*in the USA the language is spoken with greater purity and uniformity, and with fewer differences of dialect, than in England*', and the idea that '*America has quite as good a right as we have to establish a standard, or to pass above or below it at pleasure*'. Nascent political correctness in AE began to grate on English ear. A growing difference between written and spoken language is also stressed by some accounts. And spurious claim that Americanisms are but old English words and provincialisms still clings on. Some authors downplay American differences, other exaggerate them. Strength, spirit, and originality of American conversation are also admitted.

From 1850 through 1860, the narratives about '*AE spoken well*', its '*correctness*', and '*lack of dialects*' are considerably scarcer, while the critique of '*bad English*' is gaining on. Some authors elaborate on *'the gradual growth of differences in the speech*' between AE and BE. Others state the rapid divergence between AE and BE and visible American dialect peculiarities ('*less difference between Edinburgh and Boston, than between Boston and Chicago*'), especially the differences between the North and the South. Other opinions center on conspicuous political correctness in AE, American slang, signatures of American phonology, and similarity between language in New England and that in the mother country. The trite assertion that AE is only an old version of BE is on the wane.

The decade from 1860 through 1870 is marked by growing difference in regional markers: New England, Midland, South, and West. The backlash against English criticism and attempts to downplay AE peculiarities are well-pronounced, as well. The old views on remarkable '*purity*' of AE and its '*greater correctness*', along with domination of old and provincial English words here are dying hard. Opposite point of view is '*deterioration*' of English in the USA. In the last but third decade, scarce in evidence, the differences between two varieties and denial of '*deterioration of the English language in America'* are stressed, along with downplaying the AE markers and spurious allegation that '*language of America is entirely English derived from the southern counties of England*'.

In the last but one decade, the abundance of American markers became so huge that makes them difficult to ignore. Some authors write about '*American dialect of the English tongue*' and '*creating a new dialect on the other side of the Atlantic*'. The voices of dissent about AE '*purity*' and '*uniformity*' diminished greatly. The Western AE peculiarities became conspicuous. In the last decade of our study, there is not a single opinion about the '*purity and uniformity*' of AE. On the contrary, AE considerable differences from BE were admitted and even exaggerated – '*The American has no language*', '[Americans] *delude themselves into the belief that they talk English*', and '[BE] *almost incomprehensible to the ordinary American*'. Along with that, quite reasonable view appeared: there is no need to plead for the right of AE to exist, cultural environments of two countries are different and so are different their languages. There should not be an idea of '*pure*' English, the language is

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alive, growing, and expanding, with new varieties of English '*begotten by new conditions of life*'.

Of much importance to the present research is the related problem, when national AE standard had been formed, or, in other words, when American '*deviations*' from '*correct*' British usage formed a new model of English. The issue can be encapsulated as following.

The time when AE came into its own is a moot point. Simpson considers the process completed by 1850: "*Thanks to the efforts of two generations of linguistic pioneers and to spectacular rise in the national self-confidence America had by about 1850 a version of English that was recognizably its own.*" (Simpson 1986, p. 10). Mencken specifies the time-period differently: "*From 1814 to 1861 the influence of the great open spaces was enormous and during those gay and hopeful and melodramatic days all traditional characteristics of American English were developed.*" (Mencken 1986, p. 148). They both emphasize the external factors which brought into play language characteristics reflected in literature. Still, the sweeping historical changes of the 19th c. can't be downplayed to '*open spaces*' and '*rise in the national self-confidence*' only. The peak of immigration to the USA from the 1820s to the 1920s with some 37 millions of people is unlikely to recur. The Westward migration that began to take form in the 1840s, swelled to more than a quarter of a million people within twenty years crossing a distance of 1800 miles. In 1890s, the age of Frontier was officially pronounced closed, but its consequences affected American life. Turner defended the idea of '*ever-expanding Frontier*' as of great account for all that: "*The advance of American settlement westward explains American development. The American institutions have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people.*" Turner's view has been supported and challenged since then by historians who, as Crèvecoeur, called the Frontier '*a unifying element in American nationalism*', or, as Jones wrote that American culture "*arises from the interplay of two great sets of forces – the Old World and the New.*" (Luedtke 1988, pp. 81, 8, 12). Still, the impact of the Frontier on American life can't be underscored.

Another event that left a profound impression on the national conscience and history was the Civil War. Growing dissension between the North and South had led to two divergent societies based on conflicting economies and ways of life. This contrast was so sharp, the distinction between two parts was so deep that some historians spoke of '*divergent civilizations*', two political aliens, '*the bond of diverse States*', or even, '*the forced alliance and rough companionship of two very different peoples*' (Inge 1993, p. 293). The Reconstruction after the war took some time until the mid-1880s. It was actual reunion of the country, a necessary provision for one language to function, with close economic ties on undivided territory. This analysis of extra-linguistic background agrees with the finding of the present study. The period of formation of the American national literary standard should be moved ahead of the dates suggested by Simpson and Mencken: from 1850s or 1860s to 1880s.

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Hence, the present study reveals the dynamics of AE development. In the end of the 18th c., appeared New England peculiarities (twang and drawl) and the three-partite dialect division (North, South, Midland) of the Eastern Seaboard was born. Two clashing tendencies, one of more uniformed and pure AE and another of '*incorrect and barbaric*' AE, held good until the mid of the 19th c. Then, the AE hallmarks growing conspicuously, the narrative of '*bad*' language in the USA gained ground. After all, in the end of the century, the case against AE was dropped by most accounts, and the language in the USA won its independence.

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