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*Leeds Studies in English*  
School of English  
University of Leeds  
<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lse>

## The Question of Traditional English Dialect Boundaries

Monika Wegmann

One of the primary objectives of dialect geography has always been the division of language in space, thus the determination of regionally distributed forms and dialect areas, and the establishment of boundaries between such areas. The traditional method of defining dialect areas is based on the drawing of dividing lines, the so-called isoglosses, which form the basis for the clearly defined boundary lines drawn by traditional dialectologists. The use of such dialect boundaries in traditional dialectology has given rise to much controversy, mainly in the United States, where Lawrence Davis and Charles Houck have raised the question of what factors influence the determination of dialect.<sup>1</sup> They have come to the conclusion that both the selection of dialect items and the method of analysis are decisive. By using quantitative methods—which are not the subject of this paper—they demonstrate that there is no clearly defined Midland dialect area in the United States, as, for example, Hans Kurath has it, but rather a transition area from the North to the South.<sup>2</sup> By using a different statistical method and another set of data, Timothy Frazer on the other hand, finds enough similarity to argue against Davis and Houck and therefore for a Midland dialect area.<sup>3</sup>

This paper will focus on traditional dialect geography in England, rather than the situation in the United States. Discussions in English dialectology have not been as heated as they are in the United States, in spite of the fact that British materials call for critical examination, as Davis, Houck, and Clive Upton demonstrate.<sup>4</sup> In analogy with their work in the United States, Davis and Houck together with Upton reviewed the various attempts at mapping dialects in England and they have challenged the accepted notion of dialect boundaries. Their aim was to examine the concept of dialect area by using computational analysis; computational maps, unlike traditional ones, are based on large amounts of data,

which suggests that they should be more objective. The idea of Davis, Houck, and Upton hence was that, provided their computational analysis revealed tendencies which reconfirmed the dialect areas represented on traditional maps, there was some justification to draw such areas. However, the first indication of the dialect situation in England being more complicated than one may expect when looking at traditional dialect maps was the difficulty experienced by Davis, Houck, and Upton in generating meaningful computational analysis: 'the data revealed unmanageable variation, so we were forced to accept the fact that any computational analysis would not reveal central tendencies'.<sup>5</sup> This disillusioning statement is crucial to English dialectology, because it disturbs the convenient idea of clearly defined dialect boundaries given to us in linguistics textbooks and encyclopaedias alike.<sup>6</sup>

Peter Trudgill's maps of the dialect areas of England are the ones best known and most frequently reproduced. For this reason, it is important to note Davis, Houck, and Upton's point that Trudgill's classification of English dialect areas 'like earlier claims about English dialect boundaries [. . .] rests on Trudgill's selection of items to represent his regions'.<sup>7</sup> I will analyze Trudgill's method of constructing his map of traditional dialect areas in detail, paying particular attention to the East and the South-East of England, and thus take up the question of drawing dialect boundaries. It will be seen that boundary lines are not natural, but merely constructions of dialect geographers and non-linguists alike. It has long been noted how deep-rooted the idea of well-defined, clear-cut dialect areas is in people's minds, and maps like Trudgill's corroborate such ideas.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the questions of how objective dialect boundaries can be and what exactly they represent need to be reconsidered.

The following discussion will be structured by four main points. The first of these is the absence of clearly defined dialect boundaries in the East and South-East of England. The second is the ease with which one can find evidence and methods which yield the boundary lines one wants to draw. Third, I argue that items and features to be mapped should be chosen randomly for synchronic studies, and, fourth, that all levels of language—syntactic, morphological, phonological, and lexical—should be taken into account when attempting to draw dialect boundaries. On the basis of these four points, I will reveal what is hidden by clearly defined dialect boundaries and what is problematic about Kurath's suggestion that 'in working out the areal structure, only items exhibiting fairly clear-cut dissemination patterns are taken into consideration'.<sup>9</sup> According to Kurath's traditional mapping technique, a dialectologist should have an idea of

how his or her map will look before s/he starts drawing the dialect boundaries so that the particular items can be selected which yield what I will call predetermined dialect boundaries. Kurath says that 'such choices are usually made by men who have more or less extensive information of one kind or another about the behavior of other heteroglosses [meaning isoglosses in this context]'.<sup>10</sup> However, what criteria (whether linguistic and/or extra-linguistic) exactly underlie a predetermined pattern is not explained by Kurath. The conclusion that Kurath's method generally permits a subjective or individual choice of items or features therefore appears to be justified. Moreover, Kurath's method reveals that he must have believed in clearly defined dialect boundaries, since otherwise he would not have suggested a procedure of item selection which cannot produce anything but 'clear-cut dissemination patterns'. Trudgill's map of the traditional dialect areas in England serves as an example of a dialect map drawn in Kurath's tradition. Since this map is widely-known, I will take it as the starting point for the development of my ideas aiming at a more objective method of data selection and cartographic reproduction. As will be seen, more objectivity can be reached by random selection of items and features and by considering all four levels of language; however, I will demonstrate that objectivity can only be achieved at the cost of easily readable maps.

The material used for the present investigation comes from three sources, the first of which is René Kontic's *Dialects in East-Anglia and the South-East of England*; my basic map, which I used for all the maps presented in this paper, has been adapted from this doctoral dissertation.<sup>11</sup> The *Linguistic Atlas of England* (henceforth *LAE*) served as my second source.<sup>12</sup> It is a secondary study containing interpretive maps which are based on materials of the *Survey of English Dialects* (henceforth *SED*).<sup>13</sup> The advantage of using exclusively *LAE* maps for this investigation is that several factors which influence the cartographic representation of dialects can be kept constant. For example, *SED* data were obtained exclusively from NORMs (non-mobile, older, rural males), so the social factor remains constant. The introductory Map 1—showing the East and the South-East of Trudgill's traditional dialect areas of England—has been adapted from my third source, which is Trudgill's *The Dialects of England*.<sup>14</sup>



Map 1: Traditional dialect areas in the East and the South-East of England according to Trudgill

South:

Central: Eastern Central: [South Yorkshire]  
[Lincolnshire]  
[Leicestershire]

Southern: Western: [Western Southwest]  
Eastern Southwest  
Southeast

Eastern: Central East  
Eastern Counties

*The heavy bold line is a major division separating the Central area north of the line from the Southern area south of it. Furthermore, the heavy bold line together with the medium bold lines divide our map into the Eastern Central area, the Eastern area, and the Western area. Within these three areas, there are subdivisions indicated both by broken lines and dotted lines. In the Eastern area, e.g., the broken line separates the Central East from the Eastern Counties, and the Western area is cut into the Eastern Southwest and the Southeast by one of the broken lines. Note that the areas in square brackets are not labelled on Map 1, but the broken lines delimit their geographical location.<sup>15</sup> The dotted lines finally show even further subdivisions.*

The different shapes of the lines indicate that obviously each dialect boundary is not equally important, but Trudgill does not explain explicitly how he determined the importance of his lines. It is therefore unclear according to which criteria certain lines delimit major divisions and others subdivisions only. The locality dots must not be taken as points of reference, since I adopted Trudgill's lines and drew them on my basic map, which comes from Kontic (i.e. the map with the locality dots is not Trudgill's, but I transferred his boundary lines onto my basic map). Consequently, the boundaries on Map 1 are only approximate compared with the locality dots, which are missing on Trudgill's map.

Trudgill delimited the traditional dialect areas of England by mapping eight specially chosen items. These items and features are listed in Table 1.

**Table 1: Trudgill's eight items/features used to determine his traditional dialect boundaries in England, and the substitutes for four out of his eight items.<sup>16</sup>**

Item		Feature	
Trudgill	Substitute	Older form	Newer form
<i>arm</i>	<i>butter</i>	/r/	/r/-dropping
<i>bat</i>	<i>man</i>	[a]	[&]
<i>blind</i>	--	[I]	[aI]
<i>hill</i>	<i>hearse</i>	/h/	/h/-dropping
<i>land</i>	<i>man</i>	[&]	[Q]
<i>seven</i>	--	[s]	[z]
<i>(long)</i>	<i>(--)</i>	<i>([&amp;])</i>	<i>([Q])</i>
<i>(night)</i>	<i>(--)</i>	<i>([i;])</i>	<i>([aI])</i>

According to Trudgill, these items were taken in part from *SED* (*arm, bat, blind, land, seven, night*) while the other two items (*hill, long*) come from a source Trudgill does not specify.<sup>17</sup> The items in Table 1 illustrate particular, well-known phonological features, six of which yield isoglosses in my area of investigation; they therefore deserve some consideration. The two features in parentheses do not concern the area under consideration here.

The first feature refers to the loss of rhoticity before a consonant or pause in words like *arm* and *butter*. The second feature is the so-called short *a*, which is pronounced either [a] or [æ] in most traditional English dialects. The two examples in Table 1 are *bat* and *man*. The third feature represents what can be called lengthening of short vowels before certain consonant clusters. Trudgill's example deals with the lengthening and diphthongization of the high front unrounded vowel /i/ before the consonant cluster /-nd/ in words like *blind*. This gives us [aɪ] in certain English dialects, and in others, where the lengthening and diphthongization did not take place, we still have [I]. Feature four is called /h/-dropping. /h/ can only occur at the beginning of words as in the two examples in Table 1, *hill* and *hearse*, or at the beginning of a stressed syllable, as in *behind*. Many dialects do not exhibit *h*, so our examples would be pronounced [ɪɪ] and [3;s]. Feature five represents the change of short *a*, pronounced [æ] to short *o* pronounced [Q] in front of /n/. The two examples listed in Table 1 are *land* and *man*. Feature six represents /s/ and two other voiceless fricatives, /f/ and /S/, becoming voiced initially in words like *seven* pronounced either ["sevn] or ["zevn].

What is most striking about Map 1 is that Trudgill says that the boundaries on it are produced by the isoglosses yielded by the items or features discussed above.<sup>18</sup> He drew a separate map for each of the eight items or features and finally explained that 'if we combine maps 1-8 into a composite map, this gives us the picture we present here in map 9 [Trudgill's composite map from which my Map 1 has been adapted].<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, Trudgill equated each isogloss produced by the single items or features with a dialect boundary, a method frequently used in European dialectology. Edgar Schneider states:

Isoglosses are most prominent and receive their greatest weighting when they function as so-called 'selective indicators', i.e. when the course of a single isogloss, selected specifically for this purpose, is explicitly taken to be representative of the borderline between two labelled major dialect areas.<sup>20</sup>

This method, which Trudgill applied in Map 1, deserves special consideration, particularly his heavy bold boundary line starting from the Wash and running south-westwards, illustrated on Map 1. The problem, as will be shown, is that this bold line is not created by the features in Table 1 but rather by preconceptions about dialect boundaries and where they should lie. In fact, drawing such dialect boundaries is generally risky in an area as heterogeneous as the one under consideration. This supports Schneider's point that a 'problem which is sometimes ignored is that by their very character as lines isoglosses suggest a pseudo-exactness of the course of a borderline which is not justified by factual reality'.<sup>21</sup>

The mapping system applied to review Trudgill's findings can be explained and illustrated by Maps 2 to 4. Map 2 displays the isoglosses of the items *blind*, *butter*, *hearse*, *man* (twice), and *seven* according to LAE.



Map 2: Isoglosses representing Trudgill's features

— · — ·	<i>blind</i>	————	<i>man (for bat)</i>
·····	<i>butter (for arm)</i>	- - - -	<i>man (for land)</i>
— · — ·	<i>hearse (for hill)</i>	— · — ·	<i>seven</i>

Note that the individual features represented by these six items are listed in Table 1 above. The different types of lines here have no further implication than to show clearly which feature belongs to which line, in other words, a dotted line is not less important than a broken line.

These items represent the six (out of eight) features of Table 1 which yield isoglosses in the area dealt with here. It can be seen from Table 1 that I substituted four out of eight of Trudgill's items. This is because the four examples for which I used substitutes are not mapped in *LAE*, one of the basic sources for this paper. Trudgill suggests *man* as another example for both *bat* and *land*, so I followed him.<sup>22</sup> *Hearse* for *hill* and *butter* for *arm* are my own substitutions, Trudgill did not mention them as examples. All of the substitutions, however, represent exactly the same features as Trudgill's items. Assuming Trudgill's method of equating an isogloss yielded by a single item with a dialect boundary is justified, the substitution of items is legitimate; otherwise, the boundaries yielded by them depend on actual individualizations rather than items.

The adaptation of the *LAE* maps for Map 2 deserves some explanation. Since *LAE* distinguishes some features more closely than Trudgill does, I used only those *LAE* isoglosses which represent Trudgill's features exactly. Thus, while *LAE* distinguishes, for example, variants of /r/ in *butter*, I distinguished, following Trudgill, only between rhotic and non-rhotic dialects. Kurath notes that the isoglosses assembled on a map like Map 2 'run in bundles of various sizes—close knit or spaced. These bundles show the location of major and minor dialect boundaries and thus indicate the dialectal structure of the total area'.<sup>23</sup> From a structuralist point of view, not all the isoglosses are equally important. Hence Kurath states:

To evaluate the relative importance of the dialect boundaries suggested by the bundles, it is not enough to count the heteroglosses [meaning isoglosses here] composing the bundles. The heteroglosses must be evaluated from the structural point of view before a sound decision can be reached. For this reason, heteroglosses of different kinds should be assembled separately, so that they can be evaluated by groups. Each set will contribute some evidence for subdividing the area; taken together they will furnish the basis for a generalized scheme designed to exhibit the dialectal structure of the area. This procedure is laborious, and to some extent arbitrary [. . .] From the structural point of view, heteroglosses fall into three major classes: phonological, morphological-syntactic, and lexical.<sup>24</sup>

According to their relative importance in the structure of the language, Kurath suggests allocating different values to the different classes of isoglosses without giving any examples of how to evaluate them. He therefore leaves it up to the dialectologist to find an appropriate solution, which might be the reason why he calls this procedure 'to some extent arbitrary'. The aspect of stability is usually a decisive factor in attempts at evaluating different isoglosses, but to date no standardised way of weighting them has been found. However, Kurath is more explicit about the lexical isoglosses:

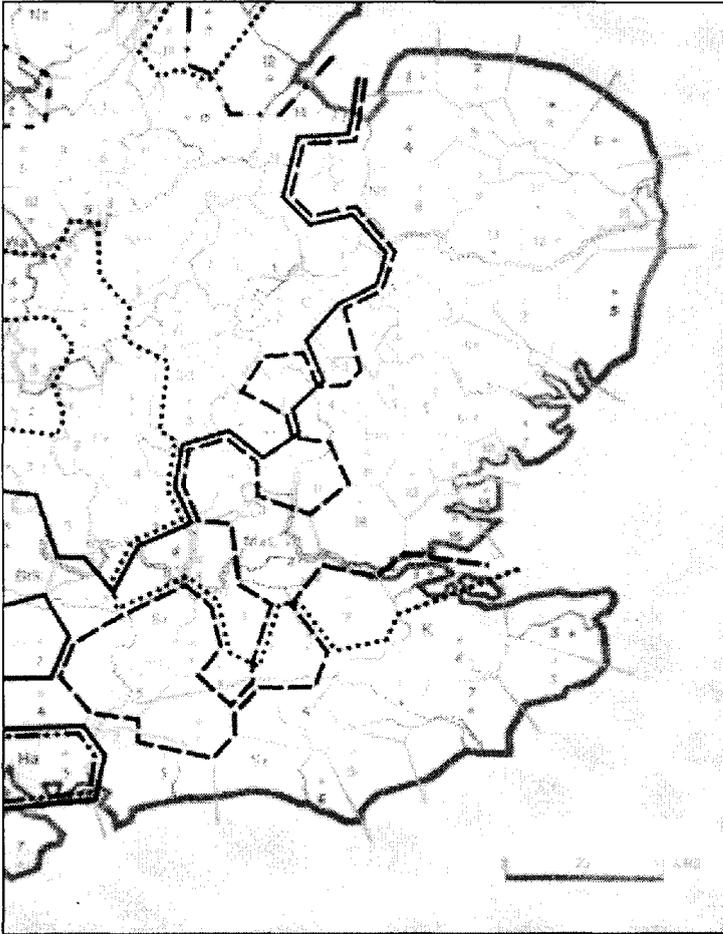
The lexical heteroglosses can be more easily handled than the morphological and the phonological. Since the lexicon of a language, though not lacking systematization, is not as rigidly structured as the morphology and the phonology, all heterolexes yielded by the survey can be given the same rank and assembled on a single map.<sup>25</sup>

In his traditional dialect classification, Trudgill only deals with phonological isoglosses; unlike Kurath, he makes no further distinctions but rather treats them as Kurath suggests for the lexical isoglosses in that he does not give them different values or weight them differently according to their particular stability. I have therefore evaluated Map 2 according to the procedure Kurath proposes for lexical isoglosses:

On an outline map on which every community investigated is set off from its neighbors by lines so as to provide a 'honeycomb grid', the course of each heterolex is entered segment by segment. In the end, the number of heterolexes running between any two communities in the area is recorded on the grid. As a result, the grouping of heteroglosses in bundles of various sizes is brought into relief.<sup>26</sup>

The honeycomb grid used in the present investigation comes from Kontic, who constructed his grid, which is not mathematically correct, according to the procedure suggested by Kurath.<sup>27</sup> The basic idea of the honeycomb grid is that each locality investigated—each dot on my basic map—should be separated from its immediate neighbours by lines which in the end yield a honeycomb grid. Onto these lines, the dialectologist enters the course of his isoglosses. Accordingly, I

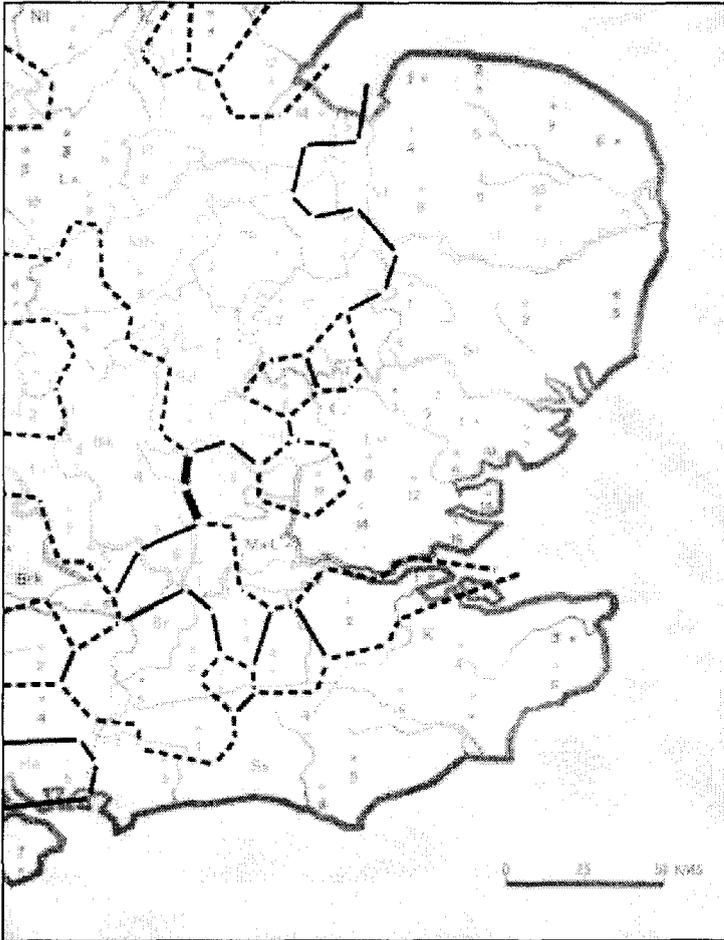
have transferred all the isoglosses from Map 2 onto my honeycomb grid. What results from this procedure is Map 3.



**Map 3: Isoglosses representing Trudgill's items and features on the honeycomb grid**

— · — ·	<i>blind</i>	————	<i>man (for bat)</i>
······	<i>butter (for arm)</i>	- - - -	<i>man (for land)</i>
- · - ·	<i>hearse (for hill)</i>	- · - ·	<i>seven</i>

As a next step, I have counted the bundles of isoglosses on Map 3 segment by segment and brought them into relief, which is illustrated by Map 4.



Map 4: Bundles of isoglosses yielded by Trudgill's features

- |       |              |       |              |
|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|
| ----- | 1 isogloss   | ————— | 3 isoglosses |
| ————— | 2 isoglosses |       |              |

This map displays the bundles of isoglosses yielded by the six items or features of Map 3. A comparison of Map 4 to Map 1 shows that Trudgill's clearly defined dialect boundaries are not particularly clear on Map 4. On the contrary, Map 4 reveals that Trudgill's boldest dialect boundary on Map 1, running south-westwards from the Wash, is not defined by his own features. This result is

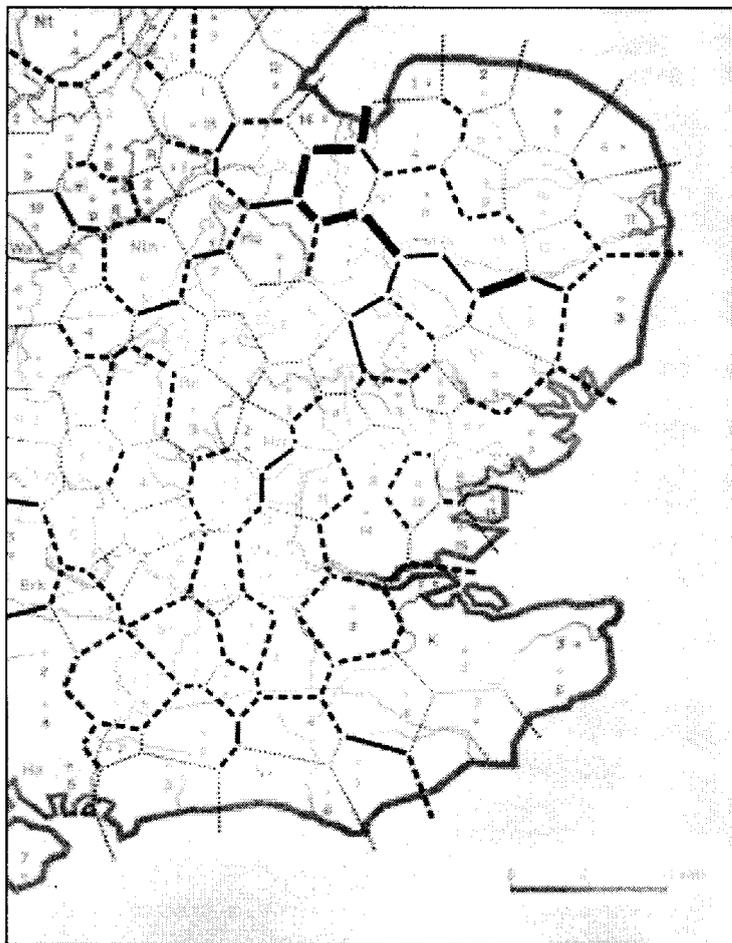
probably a function of the fact that he does not take into account either the /U/ vs. /V/ distinction as, for example, /bUt/ in the North vs. /bVt/ in the South, or the /a/ vs. /a;/ distinction as in /tSaf/ in the North vs. /tSa;f/ in the South. Although the two features are not totally co-extensive, dialectologists who use the same method as Trudgill often consider these two features as a basis for their North-South boundaries.<sup>28</sup> According to Martyn Wakelin, 'the areas so delimited [by the features /U/ vs. /V/ and /a/ vs. /a;/] [. . .] allow us to speak of "northern" and "southern" dialect areas, [. . .] which I regard as the main ones at the present day'.<sup>29</sup> Trudgill's classification of traditional English dialects in his *The Dialects of England* differs slightly from that of other dialectologists. His North-South boundary runs further north, from the Lancashire coast down to the Humber, so that all the areas north of that line belong to his North traditional dialect areas, while the areas south of it constitute his South traditional dialect areas. His bold line running south-westwards from the Wash, as can be seen on Map 1, separates his Central areas from the Southern areas.

Trudgill was certainly well aware of that frequently drawn boundary based on the /U/ vs. /V/ distinction and the /a/ vs. /a;/ distinction, and he consequently seems to have drawn his bold line in spite of the fact that he did not map either of the two features which would have yielded it. Moreover, Trudgill calls his eight specially selected features, 'the eight major features of English Traditional Dialects we can use to divide the country up into different areas'.<sup>30</sup> This statement implies that Trudgill started with his own notions of what the dialect boundaries should be, and then chose his items or features according to the boundaries he wanted to map. Furthermore, this statement reveals three assumptions:

1. Phonological features other than the ones Trudgill lists are less important.
2. The other levels of language, syntactic, morphological, and lexical, need not be considered.
3. It does not matter what item one chooses as long as it represents the sound distinction in question, or, in other words, all the items representing the particular phonological feature yield the same isoglosses, and hence, the same dialect boundaries.

We can regard a synchronic dialect study to be a snapshot of the state of dialects at a particular moment in time. In such a snapshot, all levels of language—syntactic, morphological, phonological, and lexical—should be equally important, since they together constitute the utterances of speakers.

Consequently, the inclusion of items and features of all four levels of language is indispensable. Furthermore, a synchronic dialect study, unlike a diachronic one, does not trace particular sound developments or morphological changes in time. A synchronic dialect study rather describes the state of dialects at a particular moment when a subject answers a fieldworker's questions. The different items and features occurring in the answers should be equally important, since together they constitute the dialect of the subject. Thus the items and features to be taken into account in a synchronic dialect study should be chosen randomly. Although research has shown that the four levels of language are not equally stable, this is not relevant for a synchronic analysis, since stability is a diachronic matter. This means that weighting the four levels of language differently according to their stability, as Chambers and Trudgill suggest, is not necessary, at least for a synchronic approach.<sup>31</sup> What is indispensable, however, is the inclusion of items or features of all four levels of language, as illustrated by Maps 5-8.

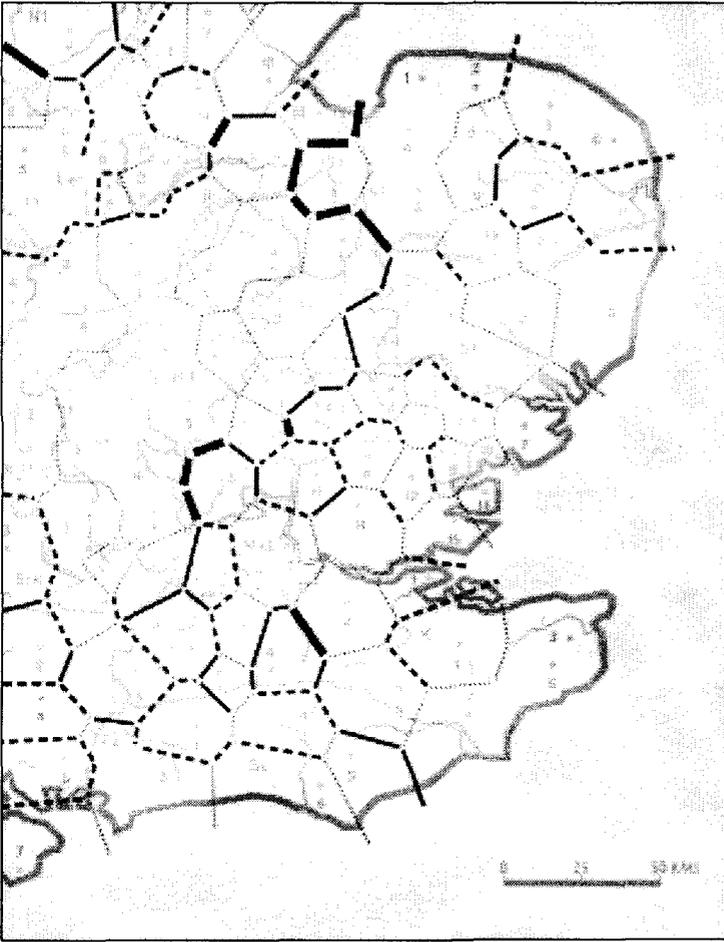


Map 5: **Phonological items randomly chosen**

(based on *LAE*)

.....	1 to 2 isoglosses	———	5 to 6 isoglosses
- - - -	3 to 4 isoglosses	————	7 to 9 isoglosses

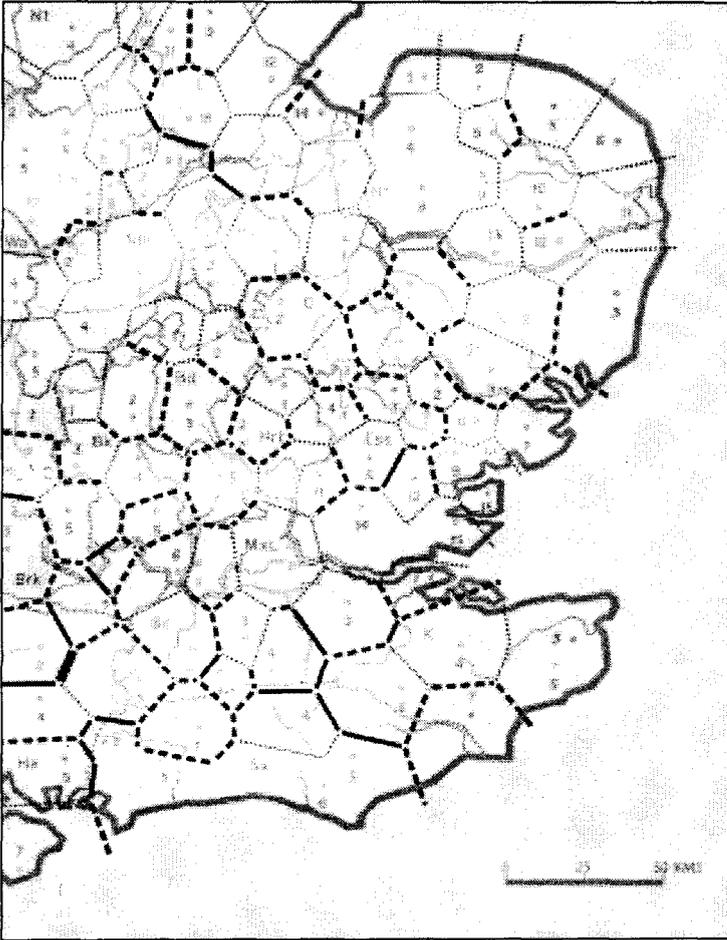
Items: *chaff* [Ph 3], *forks* [Ph 47], *hand* [Ph 220], *home* [Ph 129c], *old* [Ph 133c], *thigh* [Ph 116], *thunder* [Ph 51], *tongue* [Ph 52], *yolk* [Ph 43c]<sup>32</sup>



Map 6: **Morphological items randomly chosen**  
(based on *LAE*)

.....	1 to 2 isoglosses	—	5 to 6 isoglosses
-----	3 to 4 isoglosses	—	7 to 8 isoglosses

Items: *(he) came* [M 51], *caught* [M 52], *children* [M 60], *(they) grew* (intransitive) [M 53], *hers* [M 77], *himself* [M 80], *his* [M 76], *theirs* [M 79], *yours* (singular) [M 78]

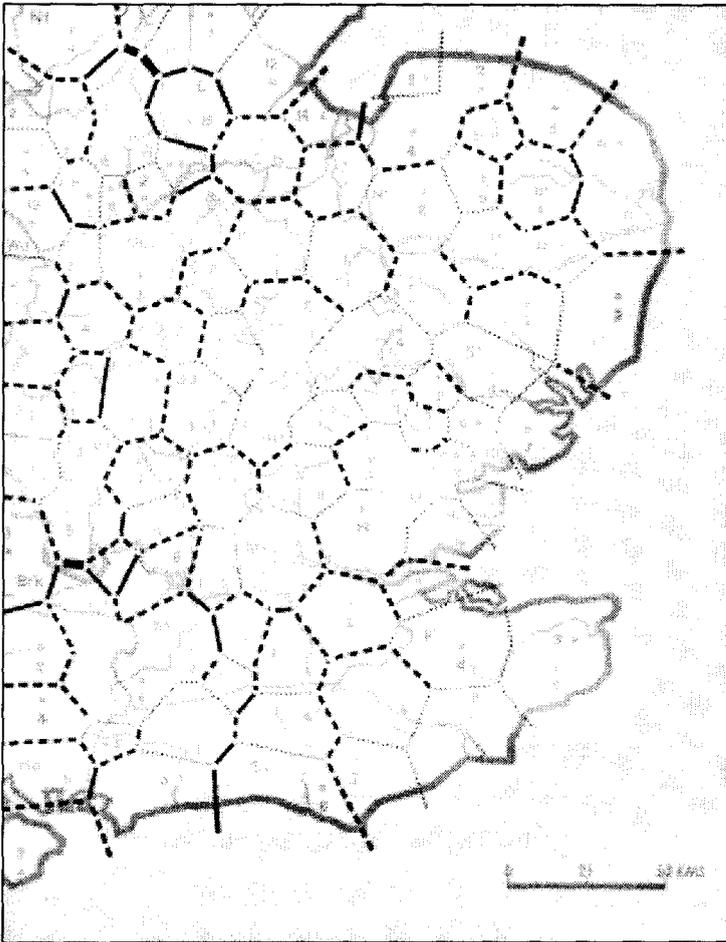


Map 7: Syntactic items randomly chosen

(based on *LAE*)

.....	1 to 2 isoglosses	———	5 to 6 isoglosses
-----	3 to 4 isoglosses	————	7 to 8 isoglosses

Items: *did not do* [S 9], *give it me* [S 1], *go and* [S 4], *on Friday week* [S 8], *(came) to (see)* [S 3], *to whom* (relative) [S 6], *twenty-five to three* [S 7], *we put the light on* [S 2], *who* (relative) [S 5]



Map 8: Lexical items randomly chosen

(based on *LAE*)



1 to 2 isoglosses  
3 to 4 isoglosses



5 to 6 isoglosses  
7 to 8 isoglosses

Items: *chip* (of eggs hatching) [L 28], *gapes* [L 47], *girdle* [L 36], (*keep*) *hens* [L 27], *mole* [L 26], *slice* (noun) [L 34], *stay at home* [L 62], *tire* (noun) [L 7], *top-and-tail* [L 13]

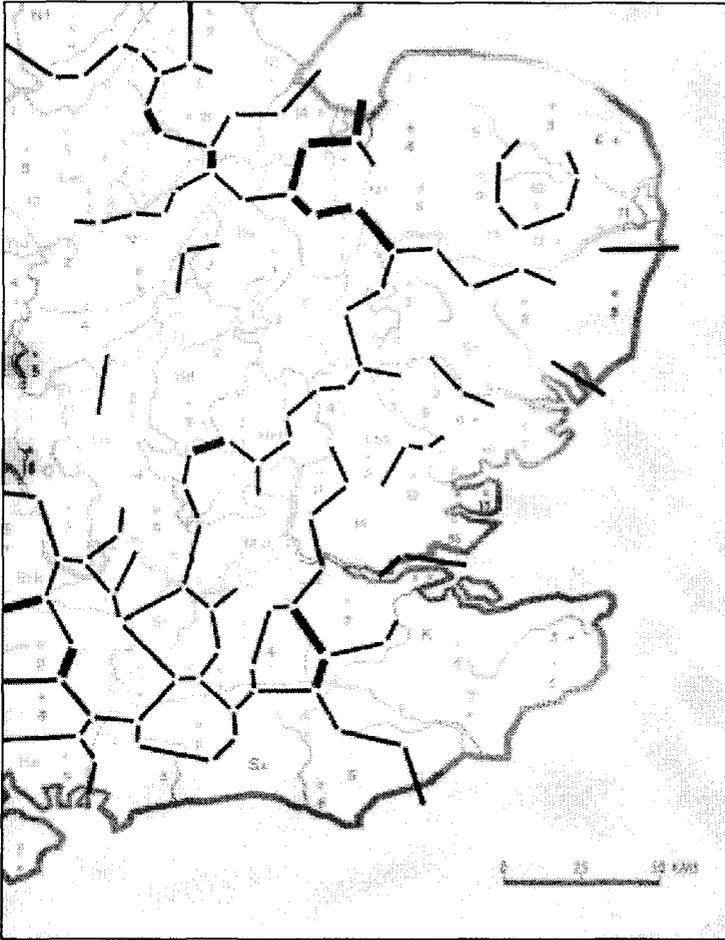
The third and fourth points noted at the beginning of this paper argue that, on the one hand, the choice of items and features should be random, and, on the other hand, that all four levels of language should be taken into account. Each of Maps 5-8 deals with one level of language, and they have all been drawn according to the following method: for each level of language, nine individual maps from *LAE* were chosen. The choice was basically random except that the maps had to have isoglosses in my area of investigation. I decided on nine maps for each level of language because in *LAE* there are only nine syntactic maps, and it seemed reasonable to consider an equal number of *LAE* maps for each level of language. Then, for each level of language, I entered all the isoglosses from the nine *LAE* maps on a honeycomb grid and counted them in order to get bundles of isoglosses, as illustrated on Maps 5-8. Unlike Kurath, I did not select certain bundles and omit others, but rather mapped all of them. Thus Maps 5-8 illustrate all the bundles yielded by the isoglosses.

A comparison of the phonological Map 5, the morphological Map 6, the syntactic Map 7, and the lexical Map 8 reveals that they do not corroborate what Kurath found in the United States, nor what Wolfgang Viereck found in England—namely that the phonological, the lexical, and the grammatical (including the morphological and the syntactic) levels yield the same boundaries.<sup>33</sup> Simply put, there is no substantial agreement among Maps 5-8, between the bundles of isoglosses the four levels of language yield.

Two general observations can be made regarding Maps 5-8. First, it becomes evident that, concerning the bundles of isoglosses, the phonological and the morphological maps show less scattering than the syntactic and the lexical ones. Viereck (1980b: 28) only partially agrees with this finding when he says that 'syntax shows relatively little regional variation—much less than phonology, morphology and vocabulary'.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, he states that 'the map [morphological map 9 in Viereck's 'Dialectal Speech Areas in England: Orton's Phonetic and Grammatical Evidence' (see note 33)] reveals largely the same structure for morphology as we described for lexis [. . .] and for phonetics'.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Jack Chambers' and Trudgill's structuralist approach of grading isoglosses noted above ranks the syntactic level most important and the lexical level least so.<sup>36</sup> This generally means that one is not likely to get any more clearly defined dialect boundaries by weighting the different levels of language differently. This, at least, holds true for the present investigation. My second observation involves a comparison of Map 5 with Map 4. Both are based on phonological features, but Map 4 displays six specially chosen items and features,

while Map 5 shows the bundles yielded by nine randomly chosen items and features. Despite some similarities along the border between Nf and Sf, the bundles on the two maps look rather different. This supports Davis' point that 'dialect areas are, in large measure, a function of the items one selects, and that changing those items even slightly can result in very different sets of boundaries'.<sup>37</sup>

This study strongly suggests that the more items one considers the less strong the bundles of isoglosses are. This can be seen if we look at the four levels of language separately: on Maps 5-8 we have bundles which are seven to nine isoglosses strong, meaning that there are localities which differ in seven to nine out of nine features. However, if Maps 5-8 are combined into Map 9, we find that, with 36 items, nine for each of the four levels of language, the strongest bundle is made up of 24 isoglosses only. This indicates that no consistent pattern emerges.



Map 10: Composite map simplified  
(based on Map 9)

- 11 to 17 isoglosses
- 18 to 24 isoglosses

Map 10, which is a simplification of Map 9, shows that the area of investigation dealt with in this paper is rather heterogeneous even when as small a set of 36 randomly chosen items of the four levels of language is taken into account. This finding is corroborated by Davis, Houck, and Upton, who point out that 'major

English dialect patterns seem clear only when one examines carefully chosen items or small groups of items'.<sup>38</sup>

A comparison of Map 10 and Map 4 adds yet another dimension, namely that of the levels of language: with a small set of items including all four levels, the bundles of isoglosses do not indicate more clearly defined dialect boundaries on Map 10 than we have on the phonological Map 4. Interestingly, however, the bundles on Map 10 have some similarities to Trudgill's boundaries on Map 1, which should not be ignored; that is, we can see part of Trudgill's bold line running south-westwards from the Wash, which has been discussed above in some detail. The point still remains that in the East and South-East of England, neither Map 10 with a rather small set of items for each level of language nor any other map I have drawn supports the notion of clearly defined dialect boundaries. There is simply too much internal variability to justify such boundaries.

The primary aim of this investigation has been to demonstrate that there are no clearly defined dialect boundaries in the East and the South-East of England. The example of Trudgill's traditional English dialect map has shown that, in accordance with Kurath, he found evidence and methods to draw clearly defined dialect boundaries in this area. My analysis of his map has revealed, however, that his boundary lines in my area of investigation are the product of predetermination. Trudgill carefully selected his exclusively phonological items and features according to his personal expectations of the course which his boundary lines should run. Each isogloss produced by these items and features was eventually equated with a boundary line, as Trudgill explains, in order to delimit the traditional dialect areas of England. Yet according to my investigation these boundary lines are not confirmed by other items and/or features of either the phonological, the morphological, the syntactic or the lexical levels of language (see Maps 5-8); thus Trudgill's traditional dialect boundaries cannot claim general validity. As I have concluded elsewhere, 'dialect maps which are drawn in Kurath's tradition are highly subjective, since they permit predetermination in that, for example, the choice of items and features is exclusively based on the dialect geographer and so is the ultimate course of his boundary lines'.<sup>39</sup>

In order to reduce the influence of the dialect geographer on his or her map, I suggest the items and features should be chosen randomly and from all four levels of language; moreover, all the isoglosses yielded by the items have to be considered for the determination of dialect boundaries. It has become evident that we can only reach more objectivity at the cost of easily readable maps: unless a small amount of carefully selected items is examined, the variability causes the

boundaries to vanish. We should accept this finding because it reflects reality and because our maps should represent the real dialect situation as exactly as possible.

NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> See Lawrence M. Davis and Charles L. Houck, 'Is There a Midland Dialect Area? -- Again', *American Speech*, 67 (1992), 61-70; Lawrence M. Davis and Charles L. Houck, 'What Determines a Dialect Area? Evidence from the "Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest"', *American Speech*, 70 (1995), 371-86; Lawrence M. Davis, 'The Reliability of Dialect Boundaries', *American Speech*, 75 (2000), 257-59.

<sup>2</sup> See Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949).

<sup>3</sup> Timothy Frazer, 'On Transition Areas and the "Midland" Dialect: A Reply to Davis and Houck', *American Speech*, 69 (1994), 430-35.

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence M. Davis, Charles L. Houck and Clive Upton, 'The Question of Dialect Boundaries: The SED and the American Atlases', in *Issues and Methods in Dialectology*, ed. by Alan R. Thomas (Bangor: University of Wales, 1997), pp. 271-83.

<sup>5</sup> Davis, Houck and Upton, 'The Question of Dialect Boundaries: The SED and the American Atlases', p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> See Jack K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Peter Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Davis, Houck and Upton, 'The Question of Dialect Boundaries: The SED and the American Atlases', p. 277.

<sup>8</sup> See Eugen Dieth, 'A New Survey of English Dialects', *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, 32 (1946), 74-104; *The Linguistic Encyclopedia*, ed. by Kirsten Malmkjær, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 108-110.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics*, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> René Kontic, *Dialects in East-Anglia and the South-East of England* (doctoral dissertation, University of Basle, Basle: Econom Druck, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> *Linguistic Atlas of England*, ed. by Harold Orton, Stewart F. Sanderson and John D. A. Widdowson (London: Croom Helm, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> *Survey of English Dialects (B): The Basic Material*, ed. by Harold Orton and Martyn F. Wakelin (Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71), IV: 1-3 (1967-68); *Survey of English Dialects (B): The Basic Material*, ed. by Harold Orton and Michael V. Barry (Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71), II: 1-3 (1969-71); *Survey of English Dialects (B): The Basic Material*, ed. by Harold Orton and Philip M. Tilling (Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71), III: 1-3 (1969-71).

<sup>14</sup> Peter Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

<sup>15</sup> For Trudgill's complete classification of the traditional English dialects see Trudgill's *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn, p. 33.

<sup>16</sup> See Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn, pp. 19-35 and *The Dialects of England*, 2nd edn, pp. 20-36.

<sup>17</sup> Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 2nd edn, p. 139.

<sup>18</sup> Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn, p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup> Edgar W. Schneider, 'Qualitative vs. Quantitative Methods of Area Delimitation in Dialectology: A Comparison Based on Lexical Data from Georgia and Alabama', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 21 (1998), 175-212 (p. 179).

<sup>21</sup> Edgar W. Schneider, 'Qualitative vs. Quantitative Methods of Area Delimitation in Dialectology', p. 178.

<sup>22</sup> Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn, pp. 19-31.

<sup>23</sup> Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics*, p. 24.

<sup>24</sup> Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics*, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics*, p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics*, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> Kontic, *Dialects in East-Anglia and the South-East of England*, p. 239.

<sup>28</sup> See Martyn F. Wakelin, 'The Stability of English Dialect Boundaries', *English World-Wide*, 4 (1983), 1-15 (pp. 1, 12, 13).

<sup>29</sup> Wakelin, 'The Stability of English Dialect Boundaries', p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Trudgill, *The Dialects of England*, 1st edn, p. 32.

<sup>31</sup> See Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 2nd edn, pp. 99-100. It is important to note here that my synchronic approach to this investigation does not conflict with the basic materials from *SED* and *LAE*, which have a historical emphasis. These data and maps are treated as synchronic records, as they are mainly of the 1950s, regardless of their diachronic focus.

<sup>32</sup> Throughout this paper, the references to *LAE* maps are enclosed in square brackets.

<sup>33</sup> Hans Kurath, *Studies in Area Linguistics*; Wolfgang Viereck, 'Dialectal Speech Areas in England: Orton's Phonetic and Grammatical Evidence', *Journal of English Linguistics*, 19 (1986), 240-57; Wolfgang Viereck, 'Dialect Speech Areas in England: Orton's Lexical

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- <sup>34</sup> Wolfgang Viereck, 'The Dialectal Structure of British English: Lowman's Evidence', *English World-Wide*, 1 (1980), 25-44 (p. 28).
- <sup>35</sup> Viereck, 'Dialectal Speech Areas in England', p. 243.
- <sup>36</sup> Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, p. 99.
- <sup>37</sup> Davis, 'The Reliability of Dialect Boundaries', p. 257.
- <sup>38</sup> Davis, Houck and Upton, 'The Question of Dialect Boundaries: The *SED* and the American Atlases', p. 272.
- <sup>39</sup> Monika Wegmann, *What If There Are No Dialect Boundaries? Dialect Maps Revisited* (unpublished Lizentiatsarbeit, University of Zurich, 2003), p. 152.