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TWO STUDIES OF DIALECTS OF ENGLISH*

By RAVEN I. McDAVID, JR.

I

Forty years ago, no variety of the English language had been surveyed by the modern techniques of dialect investigation. Now, at least the first stage of data gathering has been completed for England and the United States, and some of the evidence has been published; a respectable beginning has been made in Scotland; in Canada there are modest first steps towards a national survey, and one has been proposed for Australia. Since there are some interesting differences in objective and method as well as fundamental similarities between the two projects furthest along, the English and the American, it is fitting to compare them in some detail, particularly in a volume dedicated to one of the directors.

Each of these surveys has been designed, essentially, by one person—by Harold Orton in England and by Hans Kurath in the United States. Each director has had experience in the field; Orton, however, did not do any of the actual interviewing for the English survey, while Kurath contributed fifteen field records to the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*. Both are thorough gentlemen—energetic, generous, and devoted to their work.

There have been several differences in administrative practices. Orton has kept control of the *Survey of English Dialects* pretty firmly in his own hands, even in retirement. At the outset of the American project, Kurath was aided by an unusually strong advisory committee of distinguished scholars; furthermore, he shared responsibilities and credit with his staff, several of whom—for example, Bernard Bloch, Lee Hultzén and Martin Joos—went on to distinguished careers in their own right. When the archives for the Atlantic Seaboard were transferred to Chicago, and editorial responsibility was assumed by Alva L. Davis and myself, he gave us free rein; although he has been readily available for consultation (and we have been happy to draw freely on his knowledge and experience), he has never sought to impose his ideas upon us. In fact, as early as 1938 he was glad to decentralize the work of the American Atlas project, since it was apparent that to organize and direct field work and editing for the entire United States

and Canada was beyond the capacity of a single scholar, even if adequate funds were available—and they were not.

It thus developed that each of the regional surveys beyond the Atlantic Seaboard—the North-Central States under Albert H. Marckwardt and myself, the Upper Midwest under Harold B. Allen, Texas under Bagby Atwood and Rudy Troike, Colorado under Marjorie Kimmerle, California and Nevada under David Reed, and Nova Scotia under H. Rex Wilson—has been autonomous, though there have naturally been informal consultations among the regional directors and with Kurath. In other words, though the original plans called for a Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, and though Kurath has been titular director of that project since 1930, for the past 30 years he has really been *primus inter pares*, and no one will succeed to his title. The considerable uniformity that one finds among the various regional surveys is due not to the hand of a single director, but to the fact that Kurath's principles have been pretty well accepted by the others, and that the more successful of Kurath's fieldworkers have helped to train the investigators for other regions. Thus, at various times, Kurath, Bloch and Guy S. Lowman, Jr. have helped to supervise the training of Marckwardt, Allen, Raven and Virginia McDavid, Davis, Reed and Atwood, who in turn have trained others.

The two surveys have come at different places in the careers of the directors. For Orton his *Survey* is the culmination of a distinguished record as a student of the English language, with a steady interest in dialects, particularly those of the north of England. The project encountered innumerable difficulties, especially at the beginning, because learned Britons could not see that English dialects needed to be investigated by the new techniques developed on the Continent; after all, a great deal of evidence—more than enough in the eyes of many—had been provided in the fifth volume of A. J. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation* (1889) and in Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905). In the planning days, funds were no less difficult to secure than was the support of the academic community. However, once the field work was done, editing and publishing proceeded so rapidly that all the *Basic Material*—the part most interesting, or at least most useful, to scholars—will be available not long after this Festschrift appears.

Kurath's career has been more varied; in fact, his work with the American Atlas has occupied only part of his time since the beginning of World War II. Under forty when the American Council of Learned Societies launched the project in 1929, he had begun as a Germanicist and general Indo-Europeanist, but—out of his teaching experience—

had already begun to modify older views about the dialect divisions in American English and the causes of those divisions.¹ With an uncommon genius for organizing and directing research, he developed a team of fieldworkers that in two years (1931-33) completed the interviewing for New England. Then, despite the retrenchments that all academic projects suffered under the Depression, he not only edited and published the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (1943) but kept Lowman in the field until 1941, when he died in an automobile collision on a back road in Upstate New York; then Kurath brought me into the project to complete the field work for the Atlantic Seaboard (1945-49). Although editing came to a halt during World War II and Kurath's commitments as editor of the *Middle English Dictionary* (another project which profited from his skill at organization) took up most of his time and energy from 1946 till his retirement, he never lost sight of the aims of the Atlas project. In fact, one might say that he has had his deepest influence on dialectology during the post-war period, by helping to train a new generation of scholars and by encouraging them to develop new techniques for dealing with the linguistic phenomena of the areas of secondary and tertiary settlement.

But where Orton found his project hard to launch but relatively easy to keep going, Kurath's experience has been just the opposite. There was no difficulty at the beginning in getting approval from the scholarly community, or—by the standards of the time—rather generous financial support. But despite the expansion of American linguistics during and after World War II, there has been little money for the Atlas or for other projects in dialectology. Volatile in linguistics as in other fields, American taste has favoured the newer activities of the profession rather than the traditional ones. To promising beginners of the last two decades, new methods in second-language teaching, structuralism, generative theories and computer linguistics have all seemed more exciting than dialect investigations. Perhaps also these new developments have been less demanding (1) in terms of personal relationships with live informants in a diversity of situations and (2) in terms of the stubbornness of massive bodies of data.² Only with the urban crises of this decade has there come a fresh realization that divergent patterns of language behaviour must be studied against a background such as the Atlas provides; the first generous institutional support in many years has been my arrangement with the University of Chicago for released time to spend on editing.

II

As Kurath has often remarked, the presentation of facts postulates an underlying theory, though the converse is not necessarily true. In comparing the English and American surveys, one must first notice the definitions of "dialect" with which the investigators worked. Although neither project is a "pure" example of a particular point of view, there are basic differences.

No linguistic survey is designed to record the whole language of all kinds of speakers in all kinds of situations; the purpose is, rather, to provide a framework within which other studies may be more effectively designed. It is interesting to know the full range of language variety in such a rapidly growing community as Fresno, California; but to understand that complex situation—to appreciate the dynamics of variety and change—it is necessary to have a record of the usage of old-stock native Fresnoians of various age and educational and social groups, and of similar informants from surrounding communities, some of which have not changed as much as Fresno.

Consequently, a first-stage general survey of a wide area is bound to stress the older and more stable elements in the population, and the more traditional elements in the language system. To young Turks, impatient to grapple with the language problems of seething urban multitudes, such an emphasis may seem quaint or "ruralistic," but it is a necessary background for their investigations—and of course it has its uses in other kinds of linguistic work, notably in reconstructing the past stages of the language.

The English survey tacitly assumed a basic opposition between dialect and standard language, between the uncorrupted folk speech of a given locality and that entity which bears the name of Received Standard. Actually, Received Standard was more or less of a fiction, even before the rise of Harold Wilson and Twiggy and the Beatles; but it was a useful fiction, as suggesting a single ideal model of linguistic excellence, such as would befit a compact country with a single, overwhelmingly prestigious cultural focus. Since Received Standard has been well described, it made sense to confine the English investigations to what one would feel are the purest local types of speech. True, the interesting intermediate types—the everyday speech of urban centres and the smaller county towns—would be overlooked, but they could be the subject of another kind of investigation.

The North American survey started from other assumptions, arising from a different cultural situation. There is no single standard of cultivated American English; neither in Canada nor in the United States is there a community whose natural educated speech is

considered worthy of emulation everywhere else. Rather, in every community of consequence (and consequence does not depend on size alone) it is assumed that educated local usage is as good as any to be found in the English-speaking world—even though in other communities it may sound a little grotesque.

For this reason, in addition to the usual folk informants—the oldest and least sophisticated local types—the American investigators have interviewed educated speakers in all parts of the United States and Canada, and an intermediate group between the two extremes, whose responses serve to indicate the direction of linguistic change. Furthermore, since “dialect” is a vague term and often misunderstood (and besides, from the earliest settlements there has been a constant process of dialect mixture in all American communities, even without taking account of the influence of foreign-language groups), informants are sought by non-linguistic criteria, such as age and education and travel.

Of course, neither Orton nor Kurath has felt that dialect investigations should cease once their surveys are completed.³ In fact, there is a need for a new investigation every generation, to see what time and cultural change have done to local speech. Already, in New England a group of scholars from the University of Massachusetts, under the direction of Professor Audrey Duckert, have replicated the Atlas investigations of selected communities and noted the changes since 1933.⁴ Furthermore, in both England and the United States there have been interesting studies of the speech of urban areas, many of them by investigators for the wider-meshed surveys, and all making use of what those surveys have revealed. As different as are the interests of William Labov from those of the Atlas, he admits that his study of New York City speech⁵ would have been impossible without the records which Lowman made in 1940-41. The study of dialects, like any other study of human behaviour, is cumulative and continuing, with each investigation building on its predecessors.

III

With such different attitudes toward dialect phenomena, it is not surprising that there are differences in the research design, even though both projects have built upon the principles of field investigation as set forth by Jules Gilliéron for the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (1902-10):

1. A network of selected communities.
2. Representative local informants in each community.
3. A questionnaire of selected items.

4. Interviewing by trained investigators.
5. Interviewing in a conversational situation.
6. Recording of responses in finely graded impressionistic phonetics.

In the application of each of these principles the two surveys differ from each other, and often both differ from Gilliéron's actual practice.

1. The English network, 311 communities, is about the same density as that of Gilliéron, whose fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, recorded the usage of some 600 French communities. The American network is much denser: over 200 communities in New England alone. However, as Kurath points out,⁶ Orton was primarily interested in rural and village speech, and New England of 1930 was far less urban than England of 1950; if one applies to the two surveys the same kind of weighting of urban and rural population (the latter being proportionately more heavily represented by the criteria of both surveys), the two networks end up with about the same density.

Where the networks differ most strikingly is in the kinds of communities investigated. Despite a few urban exceptions—York, Leeds, Sheffield, Hackney (London)—most of the English communities are villages, as were all the communities in Gilliéron's survey of France. In North America, by contrast, there is every kind of settled community—from metropolitan complexes such as New York and Philadelphia to crossroads villages like Rushford, New York, and Mountville, South Carolina—to say nothing of informants living on isolated farmsteads. Cultural foci and backwaters, growing and declining towns, are all represented. In addition, since the settlement of North America is so relatively recent, there is a deliberate effort to sample what were originally compact settlements of peculiar ethnic groups: Germans in most states, Dutch in New York and Michigan, Scandinavians in Wisconsin, Finns in Minnesota; there is no parallel situation in England (at least not since the Middle Ages), and no need to worry about ethnic representation.

There are further differences in the distribution of communities. Within each American survey there has been an attempt to space the communities evenly, with some attention to population density and time of settlement. Thus in New York State only one county⁷ was not investigated; in South Carolina, only 7 of 46. In the areas of secondary settlement, in the Middle West and the Rockies, there have been from 20 to 35 counties per state, depending on the density of population. In England, however, there are wide variations: 13 communities were investigated in Norfolk, 5 in Suffolk, 15 in Essex. Perhaps there is

a reason for this discrepancy, but it is not apparent in Orton's *Introduction*, a volume roughly comparable to Kurath's *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*.

2. In Gilliéron's design, each community was represented by a single field record, from a single representative speaker of the local dialect. As we have indicated, the American fieldworkers interview informants of three basic types:

a. In every community, a minimally educated representative of the oldest living native generation.

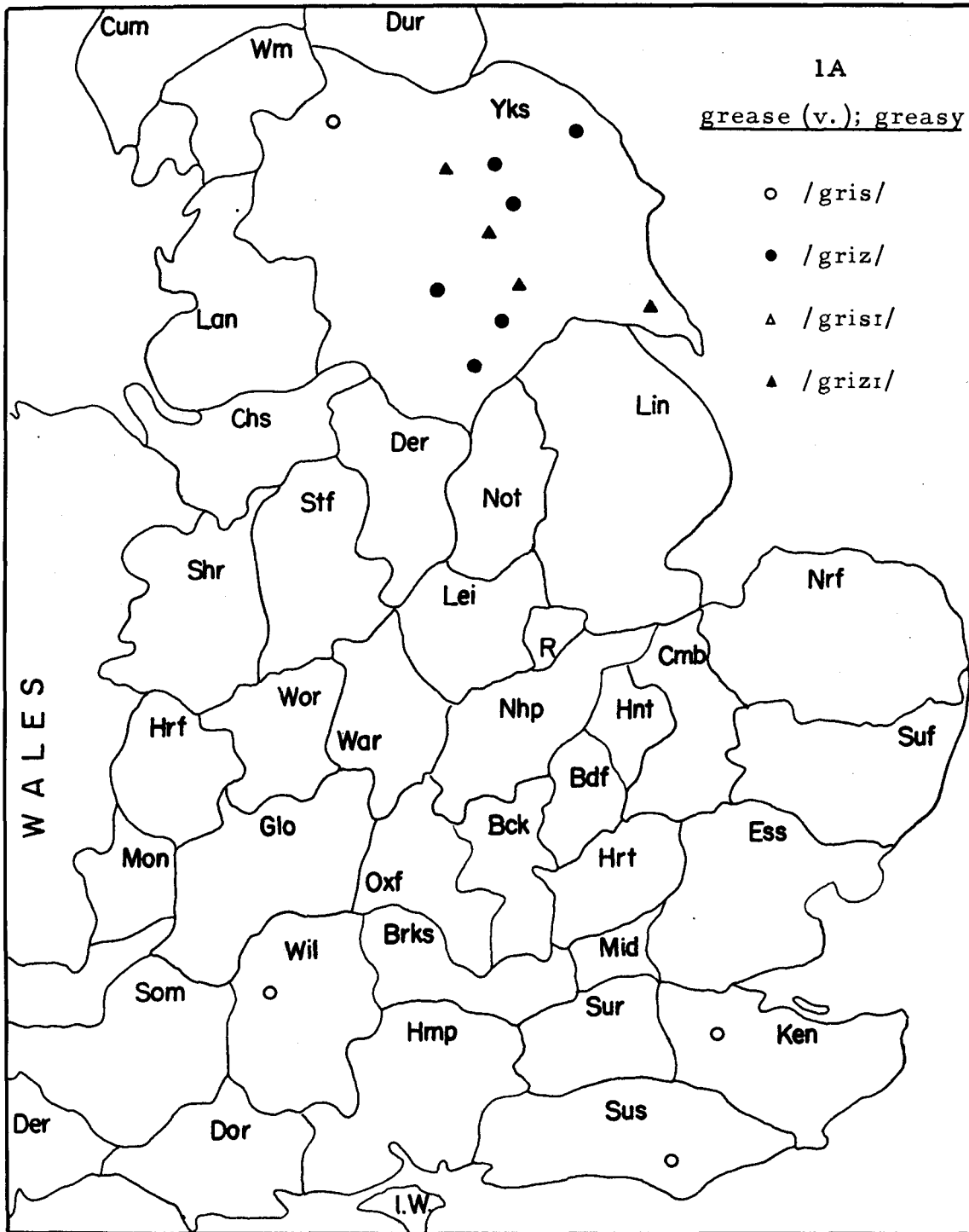
b. In every community, a middle-aged speaker with formal education to about 16.

c. In about a fifth of the communities, at least one cultivated speaker, highly educated⁸ and representative of the best local cultural traditions.

Furthermore, in larger and more complicated communities there are even more interviews—25 in New York City, 10 in Charleston, S.C., 8 in Philadelphia. Each field record typically represents the usage of a single informant, though responses from auxiliary and supplementary informants sometimes appear.⁹

The practice of the English survey is somewhere between the French and the American. There is a single field record from each community—Great Snoring and Leeds alike—but the field record rarely represents the usage of a single informant and sometimes includes responses from as many as five. From the start it was felt necessary to share out the interviewing, both to save the fieldworkers' time and to assure expert testimony on each of the fields of the vocabulary represented in the questionnaire. All of these informants, of course, were supposed to be of the same cultural level and to represent the local traditions of folk speech; even so, dividing up the questionnaire in this fashion poses many problems in ascertaining the structure of the local dialect.¹⁰

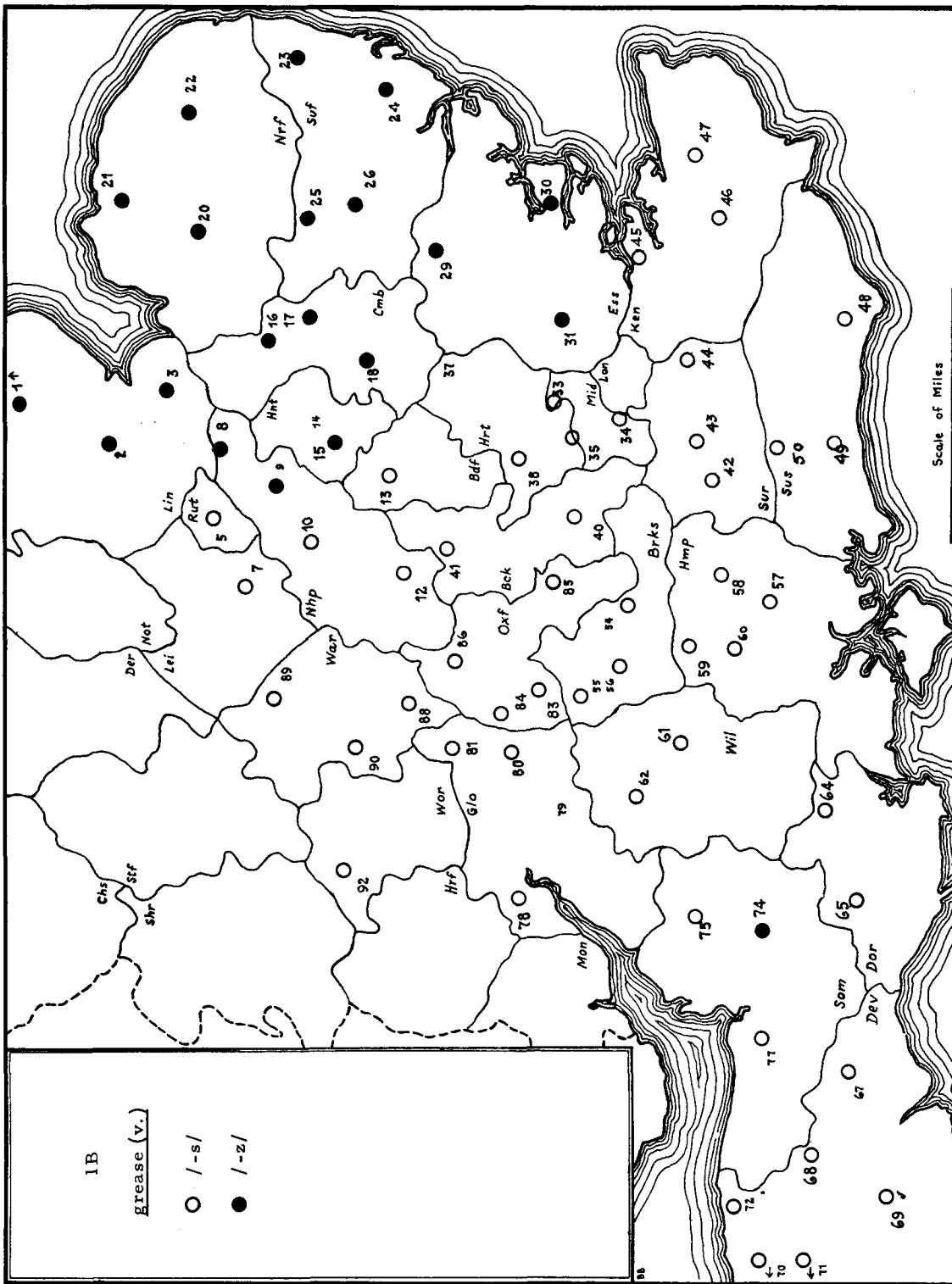
3. The questionnaires of both projects are designed to sample pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. The American questionnaire is concerned with both relics and innovations, including the pronunciations of *library*, *postoffice*, *hotel*, *theater*, *hospital*, and the various names for the baby carriage ("perambulator") and kerosene ("paraffin"); whether these terms are "dialectal" or not is a matter of one's personal definition, though they show clear regional and social variations in North America. But even in the domain of unquestioned folk speech there are omissions in the English questionnaire that keep students from making as effective comparisons as they might between English and American usage. Among the items not recorded in England are the



1B

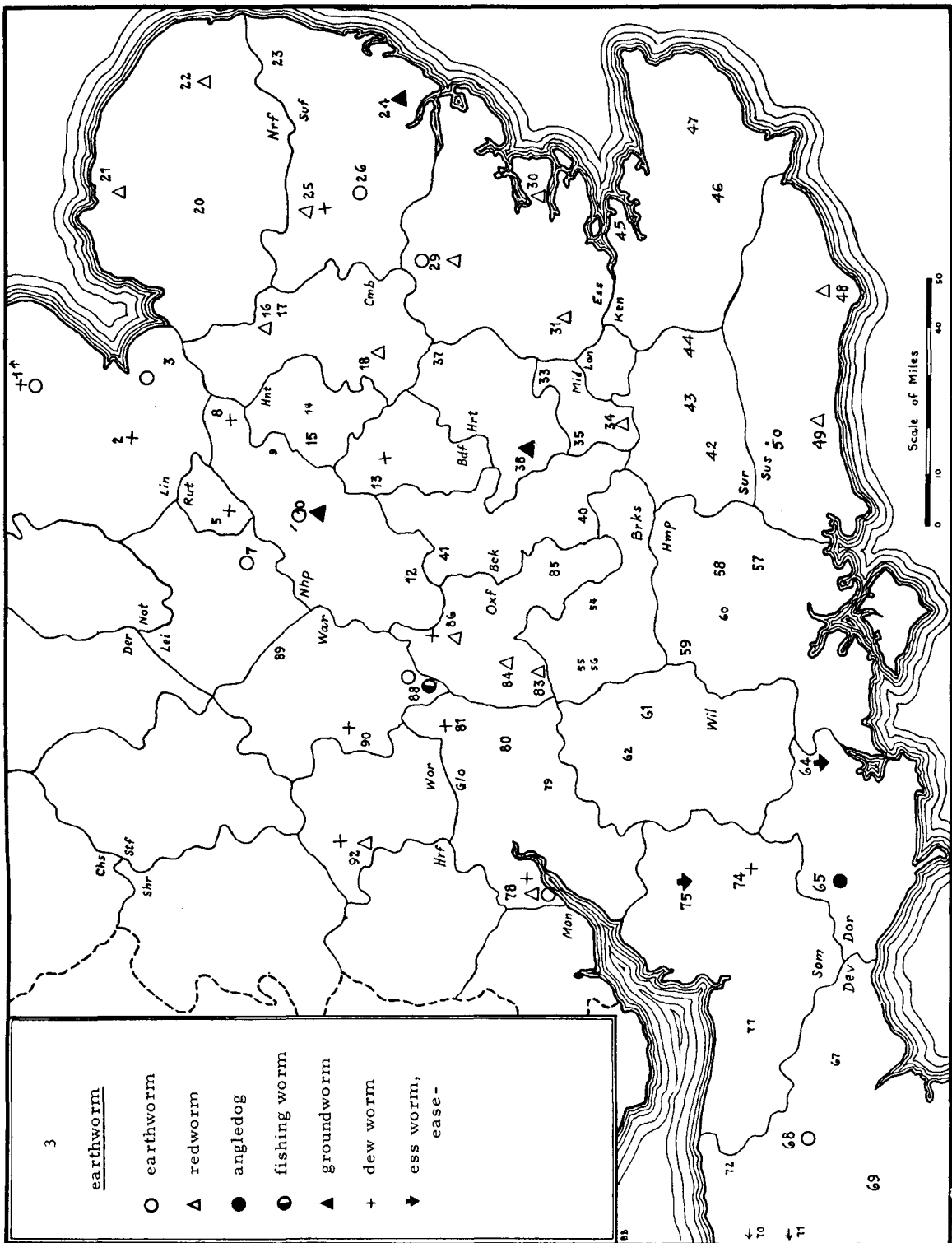
Grease (v.)

- / -s/
- / -z/



earthworm

- earthworm
- △ redworm
- angledog
- ⊙ fishing worm
- ▲ groundworm
- + dew worm
- ▼ ess worm, ease-



Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

names for the *earthworm* and the *dragon fly*, the past tenses of *climb* and *dive* and *rise*, the pronunciations of *January* and *February*, of the verb *to grease* and the adjective *greasy*. That such items have significant variants in English folk speech is shown not only by their distribution in the primary areas of American settlement but also by the English field records made by Lowman in 1937-38, to say nothing of occasional responses recorded by the English investigators. Undoubtedly there were sound reasons behind Orton's decisions; but the English data would have been far more useful, both synchronically and diachronically, had the American questionnaires—accessible since the 1930s—been replicated in more detail on items of common experience (see Maps 1-3).

The English questionnaire follows Gilliéron's ideal of uniformity throughout the area under investigation—though, since interesting new items keep turning up, Gilliéron himself observed that the perfect questionnaire cannot be devised until after all the field work has been completed. In the United States, on the other hand, despite a substantial common core, the questionnaires vary from one region to another, in response to differences in topography, ecology, culture and ethnic composition.¹¹

In length, the English questionnaire is considerably greater—nearly 1,100 items to about 750 for the longer form of the American one (Kurath's shorter version, the basis of most of the regional questionnaires used away from the Atlantic Seaboard, has about 520). Orton estimates a minimum of 18 hours for a complete interview, which seems a little long by American experience; here, a practised fieldworker could comfortably complete the long questionnaire in 8 hours, the short one in 6.¹² The difference is perhaps accounted for by the more rigid structure of the English questionnaire, in which each response was sought by a specific question, with deviations in procedure being discouraged. The American investigators, in contrast—though they shared their most successful frames for eliciting responses—were encouraged to use their ingenuity as the situation suggested; some of them were able to get up to half of the responses from the informant's unguarded free conversation. Whether uniformity in procedure is as important as naturalness in usage is a problem for each student to appraise.¹³

4. As an interesting coincidence, the field work for the English Survey and that for the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* were each shared by 9 investigators.¹⁴ In each, one investigator—Stanley Ellis for Orton, Lowman for Kurath—did nearly 40% of the interviews, 118 and 158 respectively. Scholars are naturally interested in how the

various investigators for a given survey measure up against each other, since everyone has his strengths and weaknesses in an interviewing situation. For the English survey there is no explicit comparison of the fieldworkers;¹⁵ on the other hand, the New England *Handbook* (52-53) rates Kurath's investigators on 9 scales. Although Kurath, Lowman and Bloch showed general superiority, on some scales they were not as high as some of their colleagues.¹⁶ Probably, with the more rigid form of eliciting questions in the English survey, these detailed ratings, though informative for the reader, would be less important than in the American situation where the investigators were more on their own.¹⁷ In any event, the person examining either set of data is better off than in consulting the French *Atlas*, where a single fieldworker was used, whose strengths and weaknesses are not only unknown but impossible to reconstruct.

5. Since every interview is an independent exercise in interpersonal relationships, some interview situations will inevitably be more relaxed than others. We can probably assume for both surveys that some interviewers were more successful than others in adapting to various kinds of personality, and that those who continued to do field work over a period of years were among the most successful.

6. The transcriptions for the English survey are in the unmodified International Phonetic Alphabet; those for the American atlases are in a modified form developed by Kurath—including differentiation of low-central and low-back unrounded vowels. With the IPA as a given referent, Orton offers no discussion of variations in practice among the fieldworkers; Kurath provides a full chapter in the New England *Handbook* in explanation of the phonetic alphabet and other symbols, and of variations among the fieldworkers, particularly in handling the low-central and low-back range.¹⁸

Both projects have supplemented the field records with electronic recordings. At the end of the New England field work, several dozen aluminium disc records of the natural speech of informants were made by the associate director, Miles L. Hanley. These have not yet been made available to the public, nor was anything like Hanley's project attempted for the Middle and South Atlantic States. With the advent of lightweight tape recorders, several of the regional directors began to supplement field interviews with tapes; in fact, some fieldworkers have taped their entire interviews.¹⁹ None of these American regional surveys, however, has provided an archive of recordings.²⁰ The English fieldworkers, in contrast, not only have made supplementary recordings of many of their informants but plan to issue phonograph records as part of their publication programme.

IV

Gilliéron's *Atlas Linguistique de la France* and the subsequent *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (1928-40) presented their basic information in cartographic form, with the responses of each informant for a given item overprinted in full phonetic detail on a base map, by lithoprinting from hand lettering. The *Linguistic Atlas of New England* was published in an analogous format, and preliminary drafting was done for some of the materials from the South Atlantic States. However, even before he gave up active editing, Kurath decided to publish the evidence from the Middle and South Atlantic States in tables, probably printed by photo-offset from typed copy.²¹ Conceding that the cartographic presentation of the data is more impressive, he found three compelling arguments against it:

a. The giant folio volumes required for cartographic presentation are not only unhandy to shelve but cumbersome to use.

b. With the rise in draughtsmen's wages, the cost of preparing the overprints would far exceed that of field work and editing.

c. In preparing interpretative charts, it is easier to work from tables than from maps. This is especially true when, as in the American atlases, a community is normally represented by at least two informants, and may be represented by a dozen or more.

For the Middle and South Atlantic States the presentation will be essentially that of the *New England Atlas*, with each item preceded by a brief commentary; but the data will appear in tables instead of maps. A similar format is tentatively proposed for the North-Central States. For the Upper Midwest, where evidence gathered in the field has been supplemented by correspondence checklists,²² Allen has proposed a format somewhere between simple presentation of data and interpretative studies. In other regions editorial plans are still pending.

Orton's *Basic Material*—four regional volumes, each in three parts—is comparable to the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* and the forthcoming *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States*. The phonetic data for each item are presented in tabular form, paragraphed by English counties. The only obvious objections are trivial: one might have preferred larger pages, so that the *Survey* could have been shelved with analogous works; perhaps, also, the number of special explanatory symbols could have been reduced, or a key—something like the pronunciation line in a dictionary—could have been printed at the foot of alternate pages.²³ But the severest critics concede that the *Basic Material* volumes are very easy to use.

From Gilliéron on it has been customary to provide a guide to a linguistic atlas, so that it can be consulted effectively. This purpose is served by Kurath's *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* and by Orton's *Introduction*.²⁴ A comparison of these guides reveals some striking differences, which may reflect the temperaments of the two directors or the financial resources available to them.

With larger pages and more than twice as many of them, the *Handbook* offers at least four times as much information as the *Introduction*. When it is further noted that nearly two-thirds of the latter is taken up with Orton's questionnaire, while the New England worksheets (including a more detailed explanation of sources, rationale and use than Orton provides) account for only 5% of the *Handbook*, the difference is even more striking. In addition to the ranking of the fieldworkers and the greater detail on communities and informants,²⁵ the *Handbook* provides the following kinds of information that are lacking in the *Introduction* or elsewhere in the *Survey*:

- a. A summary of dialect areas and a discussion of their origins.
- b. A bibliography of linguistic geography.
- c. A summary of settlement history and population movements, with attention to geological features of importance.
- d. A bibliography of regional history (in addition to the bibliographical information on particular communities).

In short, there is much more material in the *Handbook* to help the scholar interpret the recorded linguistic data. It is possible that the education of the average British linguist (or other potential user of the *Survey*) would include so deep an immersion in topography, communications, demography and local history that he could do without this help; but his American counterpart could not, even in dealing with the dialects of his own region. And without some such leads he would not even know where to begin. Still, since Orton's financial support has always been limited, it is understandable that the *Introduction* might not have such copious information as one would like. One would hope that, once the *Basic Material* is published, the additional information will be provided, either in a separate publication or in one of the interpretative studies.

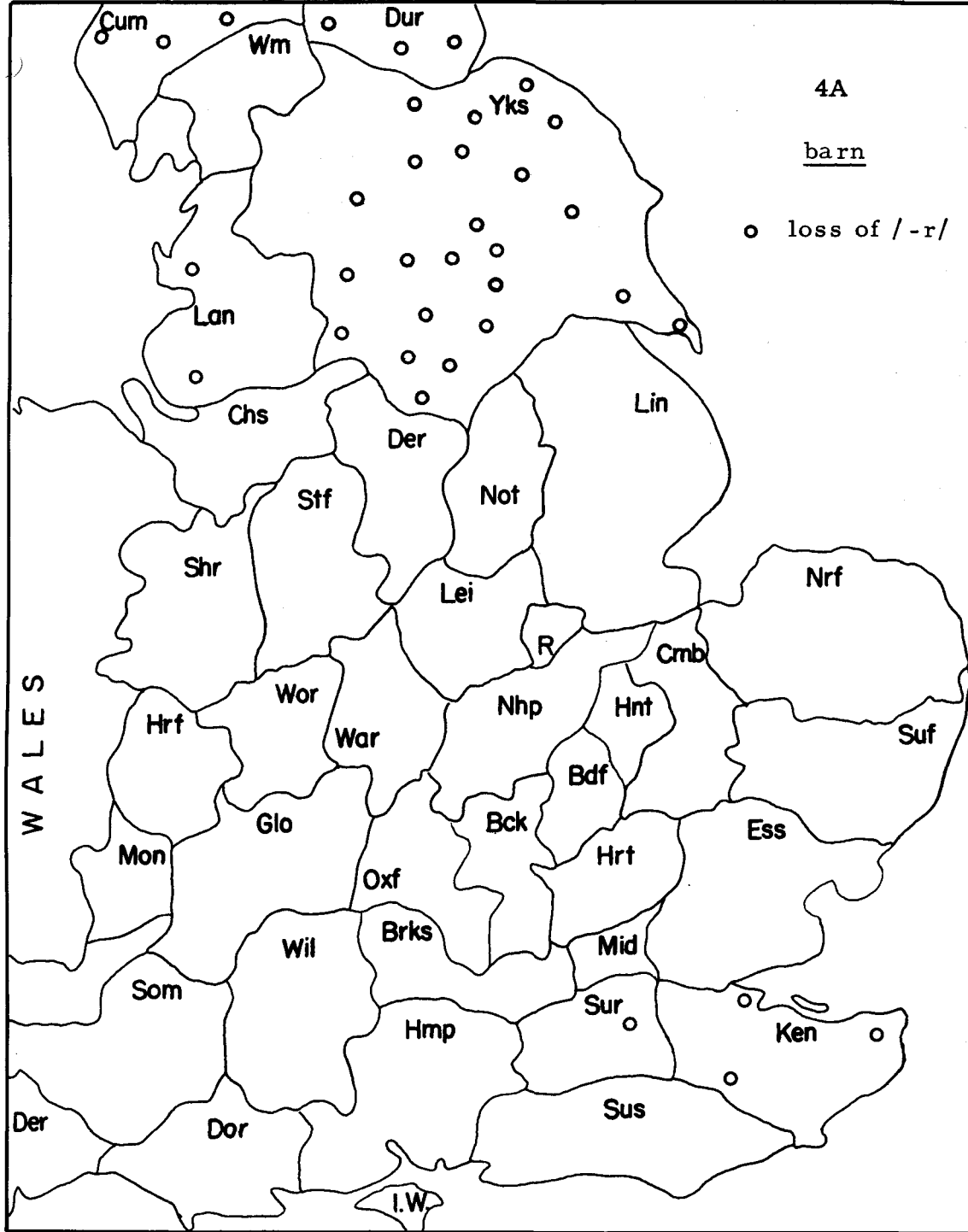
All linguistic atlases have allowed for such interpretative studies, for generalizations from the field data. One might say, in fact, that Wrede's *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (1926-) is really an interpretative work, since it involves generalizing from the data contained in 44,251 responses to Georg Wenker's original questionnaire. Of the American

surveys, only one so far has presented its findings solely in an interpretative study—Atwood's *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas* (1962).²⁶ For the Atlantic Seaboard there are three summaries for parts of the data:

- Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (1949).²⁷
 Atwood, *A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States* (1953).²⁸
 Kurath and McDavid, *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (1961).

These volumes are not intended as substitutes for the regional atlases, nor are they part of the official publication programme. Rather, they were designed both to summarize some of the evidence and to interpret it, in terms of geographical, demographic and social forces, for the benefit of the reader who is not a professional dialectologist. *The Pronunciation*, for instance, is concerned not only with the various phonic qualities of the phonemes in particular environments but with phonemic incidence and with differences in the phonemic system.

For the *English Survey* it is proposed to have a *Linguistic Atlas of England* in addition to the *Basic Material*. As yet there is no published statement about its plan and content. If, however, one may draw inferences from the *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region* (1966) by Eduard Kolb, one of Orton's associates, one could still be looking for the broad-gauge interpretation the more general reader desires and needs. Essentially, the *Phonological Atlas* merely reproduces in elaborate and expensive cartographic form the phonic evidence already available in the *Basic Material*. Its emphasis is phonic, not phonemic; it is arranged by Middle English ancestral sounds rather than by present-day significant sound-types; and on the differences between the phonemic systems of the various dialects it is silent. For instance, the *Basic Material* indicates that in several communities the contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/ has been lost before postvocalic /-r/ and its counterparts, as in *horse* and *hoarse*. This neutralization is also found in British Received Pronunciation and in many varieties of North American English.²⁹ But though *hoarse* is an item in Orton's questionnaire, Kolb has not included it in his study, much less the comparison with *horse*; nor does he touch the similar neutralization of the vowels of *four* and *forty*. One would like to suggest that Orton's proposed *Linguistic Atlas of England* be modelled more closely on Kurath's *Word Geography*, that if anything Orton should provide fuller detail about topography, communications and population history. If he must choose between this background information and elaborate cartography, he could well



4A

barn

○ loss of /-r/

W
A
L
E
S

Cum

Wm

Dur

Yks

Lan

Chs

Der

Lin

Stf

Not

Shr

Lei

Nrf

R

Cmb

Hrf

Wor

War

Nhp

Hnt

Suf

Glo

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Ess

Mon

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Hrt

Wil

Brks

Mid

Som

Hmp

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Ken

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Dor

Sus

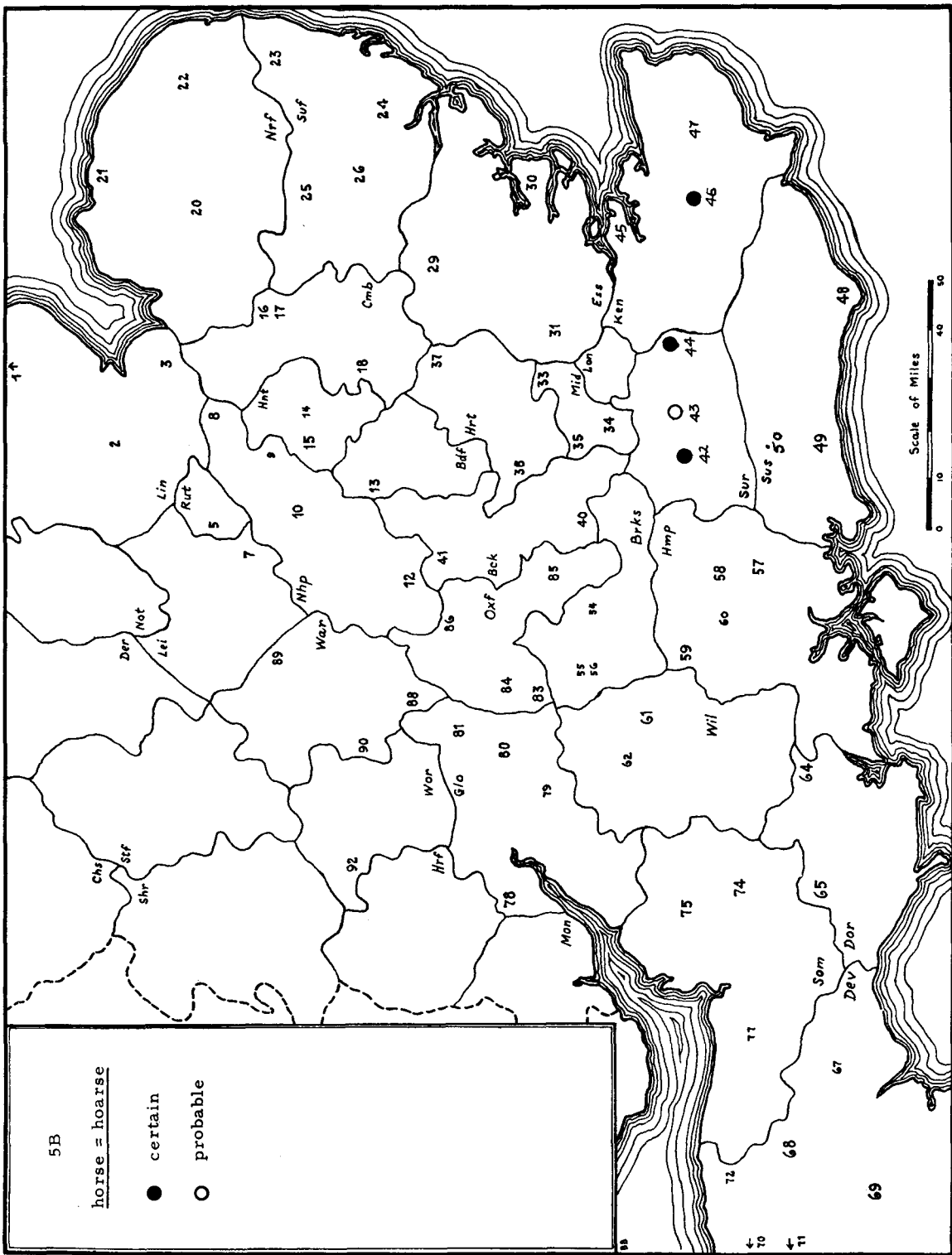
I.W.

5B

horse = hoarse

● certain

○ probable

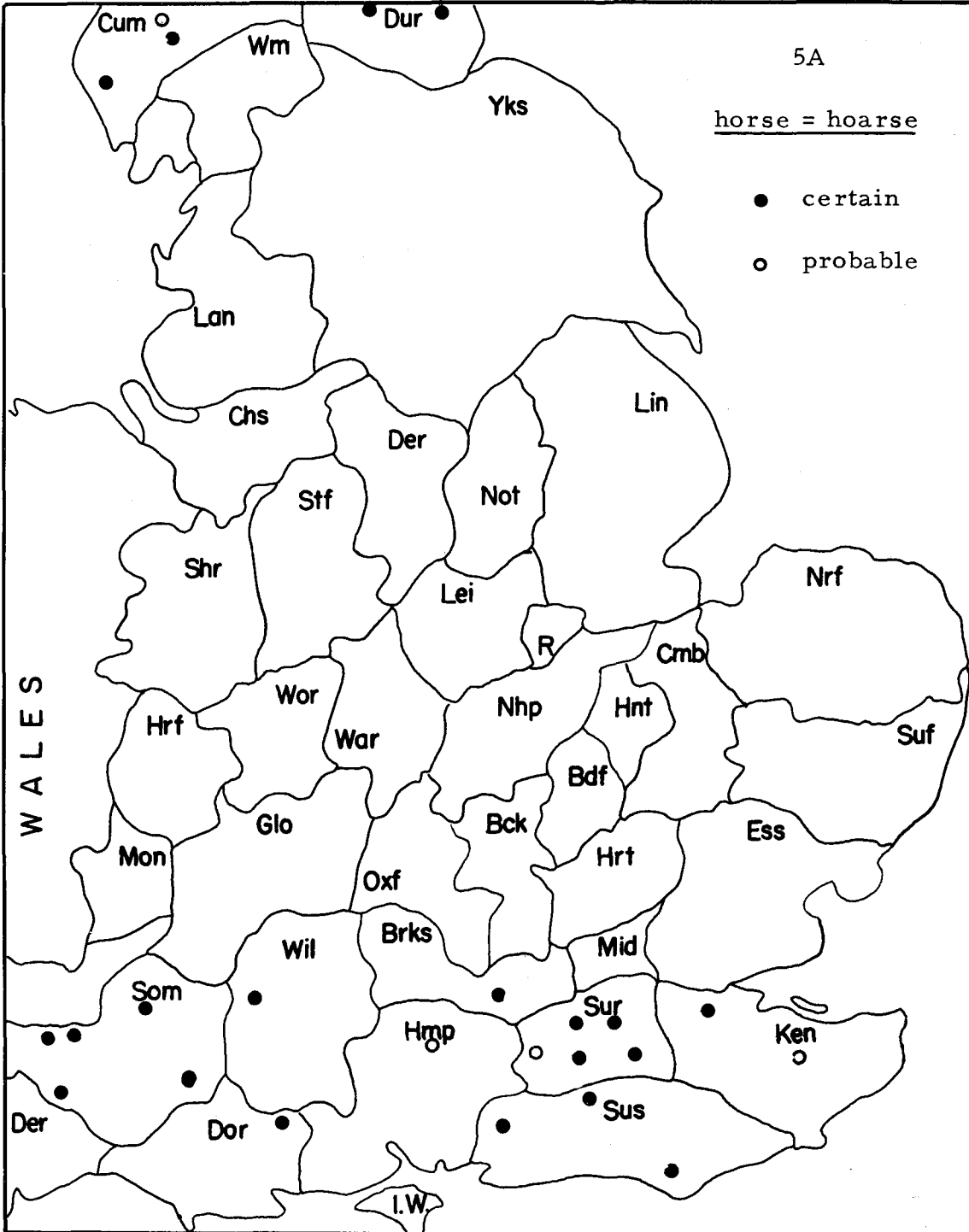


5A

horse = hoarse

● certain

○ probable



dispense with the latter. For the purpose of interpretative volumes is to lead the readers to investigate intelligently on their own the greater riches of the *Basic Material*.

V

Although this comparison has so far been concerned with evaluating Orton's *Survey* as objectively as possible against analogous studies, it would be unfortunate to leave the impression that it is not a significant work. It is, indeed, a monumental contribution to knowledge.

First of all, it is the first investigation of English dialects to be built upon field investigations on the spot by trained investigators using a uniform questionnaire. However we may argue about their procedures and what they found, there are indubitable recordings of identifiable informants in specific localities, and they will be indispensable for generations of students of the English language.

Second, where the data can be checked against other field investigations, similar patterns are found (Maps 4-5). This is especially true for the loss of postvocalic /-r/ in *barn*, in Southern England. For the lack of contrast between *horse* and *hoarse* the greater number of informants in the *Survey* and perhaps the increasing influence of Received Pronunciation may explain the higher frequency of this neutralization.

Finally, neither study pretends to have said the last word; each provides a framework within which other scholars may conduct more intensive investigations. It is interesting that the new attention to urban problems has provoked similar responses from dialectologists on both sides of the Atlantic. If the responses in the United States have come earlier and on a larger scale, it is not merely that the problems are more acute, but that more evidence has been available for a longer time. What has been undertaken in the United States so far by Frank, Hubbell, DeCamp, Sawyer, Howren, Pederson, Labov, Shuy and Udell³⁰ is now being essayed in Britain by Stanley Ellis and his colleagues. These new studies—which could never have been undertaken without the framework provided by the American regional atlases and Orton's *Survey*—not only should provide us with the means for more sensitive and effective teaching of English in the schools, but should lead us to a deeper understanding of human behaviour, through a greater appreciation of man's most characteristic activity, the use of language.

NOTES

* For statements about the American atlases I am naturally indebted to long association with Kurath, Marckwardt, Allen and others, as well as to the American Council of Learned Societies, which sponsored the project and has contributed generously to its support. Maps 1A, 4A, 5A are based on what has been published of Orton's *Basic Material*. Maps 1B, 2, 3, 4B, 5B are based on the unpublished field records from southern England, made by Lowman in 1937-38. A monograph summarizing the lexical and grammatical evidence in these records is being prepared by Dr. Wolfgang Viereck of the University of Hamburg.

- ¹ "The Origin of Dialectal Differences in American English," *Modern Philology*, XXV (1927-28), 385-95; "American Pronunciation," *SPE Tract XXX* (1928), 279-97.
- ² The possible applications of linguistics to the needs of Cold War diplomacy and defence technology have resulted in generous government support for several kinds of research in some of the newer aspects of linguistics; for example, much of the work of Noam Chomsky and his transformational disciples has been subsidized by the military establishment.
- ³ It is hard to convince both the learned and the laity that the study of speech is a continuing business. As we mentioned above, the mere existence of the work of Ellis and Wright—however outdated their methods—for a long time stood in the way of Orton's project. And every field investigator encounters the notion that amateur studies or regional novels have said everything. I recall the incredulity of a county official in Milledgeville, Georgia: "Isn't all that in *Gone with the Wind*?"
- ⁴ For example, Mrs Ruth Schell Porter, "A Dialect Study in Dartmouth, Massachusetts," *Pub. Am. Dial. Soc.*, XLIII (1965), 1-43. Professor Duckert herself has revisited Plymouth, Mass., and by good fortune has been able to interview one of the original informants for the *New England Atlas*. A report of her investigation was presented to the Linguistic Society of America, Dec. 29, 1968.
- ⁵ *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966. The field records for the *Linguistic Atlas of the North-Central States* were also utilized by Roger W. Shuy and his associates in their study of social dialects in Detroit, Michigan, 1966-67.
- ⁶ Review of the *Survey of English Dialects: Introduction and The Basic Material*, Vol. 1, in *American Speech*, XXXVIII (1963), 124-29.
- ⁷ Rockland, the southernmost county on the west bank of the Hudson. For Atlas purposes, the county is the basic community for all regions except New England, where the smaller township is the more effective unit of local government.
- ⁸ A cultivated informant is usually a graduate of one of the more prestigious colleges, but there are exceptions—members of old families who were educated by private tutors. One of these was a Pulitzer Prize journalist, another an internationally known water colourist.
- ⁹ An "auxiliary informant" is a husband, wife, other kinsman or long-time friend who is present during parts of the interview and offers his responses (sometimes when the principal informant is unable to answer, sometimes when he disagrees with a response the principal informant has made). A "supplementary informant" is someone with a background similar to that of the principal informant, who completes the interview when the principal informant cannot.
- ¹⁰ The *New England Handbook* provides much more information than Orton offers about the communities and informants. Typically, Kurath's historiographer, the late Marcus L. Hansen, provides a brief history of the community with population changes, the names of local histories if any, a biographical sketch of each informant, and notes on his speech characteristics, whether apparently idiosyncratic or typical of a wider area. The character sketches are often quite vivid.
- ¹¹ A compilation of atlas questionnaires for field work (or "work sheets," as Kurath prefers to call them), edited by Virginia and Raven McDavid, was published in 1951. A second edition of this compilation, with Davis as a third editor, will be published by the University of Chicago Press in 1969.
Some 1500 interviews had been completed for the various American surveys before Orton began his investigations.
- ¹² I have actually completed a long interview in about four hours, a short one in two. But this demanded extraordinary rapport with the informant.
- ¹³ In the American cultural situation, conversational responses are especially valuable for grammatical evidence. Even illiterates have confused notions about "correctness" when they are confronted with a choice of grammatical forms—though their notions are probably no more inaccurate than those of the educated, if we examine the hostile reactions to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1961). Under direct questioning an informant is not only likely to give the "standard" form (or what he thinks is "standard") but to deny using non-standard forms that the fieldworker has noted as common in his unguarded speech. As James H. Sledd put it, "Any red-blooded American would prefer incest to *ain't*," *Language*, XL (1964), 473.
- ¹⁴ Lowman and I did most of the field work for the Middle and South Atlantic States. In the North-Central States I did over half the interviewing, though fourteen others participated; in the Upper Midwest Allen did the greater part, with six others helping.

- ¹⁵ One may of course draw certain conclusions, as from the apparent ability of fieldworkers to elicit non-standard grammatical forms.
- ¹⁶ For other regions, there have been informal comparisons. A field record which Bloch made of my speech in 1937 is useful in appraising his transcriptions, since I have subsequently made a tape of the responses he recorded. What is particularly interesting is the consistency of the transcriptions made by fieldworkers with comparable training. There are only minute differences between my records and those of my wife and Davis; all of us were trained by Bloch.
- ¹⁷ Unfortunately, in some American surveys there are striking differences where the fieldworkers have not been given a period of common training or the opportunity to do practice interviews under the supervision of experienced investigators. This is regrettably true of most of the field records from Indiana.
- ¹⁸ This area of the vowel quadrangle is very important in North America, since a number of American dialects (including most of Canada) lack a contrast between /a/ and /ɔ/, as between *cot* and *caught*. For certain other dialects, as those of east Texas, this contrast is lacking before /-r/ or its counterparts, as in *card* and *cord*.
- ¹⁹ In fact, some fieldworkers have conducted interviews without transcribing on the spot and have later transcribed (or had others transcribe) from the tapes. For a discussion of this procedure see my "Tape Recording in Dialect Geography: a Cautionary Note," *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, III (1957-58), 3-8.
- ²⁰ However, a parallel project, Recordings of Standard English, directed by Davis, will provide a wide sampling of cultivated American speech.
- ²¹ The development of interchangeable shuttles for electric typewriters has made available an almost unlimited variety of phonetic characters. Several reference works with difficult typography, notably the *Middle English Dictionary*, have been published in this fashion.
- ²² The *Deutscher Sprachatlas* of Wenker and Wrede was prepared from data collected by correspondence; the atlases of Norway and the Netherlands have also relied on correspondence. After Gilliéron—and Romance dialectologists in general—pointed out that the German method was notoriously ineffective in achieving its primary aim, the collection of phonological data, the correspondence method fell into disrepute. However, in his dissertation, *A Word Atlas of the Great Lakes Region* (Michigan, microfilm, 1949), Davis showed that a carefully prepared multiple-choice questionnaire could yield a great deal of reliable vocabulary evidence. Since then, collection of vocabulary evidence by correspondence questionnaires (or "checklists," as distinguished from the "work sheets" used for field interviewing) has been a part of the programme of the regional surveys in the Upper Midwest, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific States. For the Gulf States it has provided the only systematic evidence available. This method has also been used by Angus McIntosh in his Linguistic Survey of Scotland.
- ²³ Since there are only 311 interviews, one might also prefer to have all the evidence for a given item in one place, rather than divided among four volumes. Orton, however, justifiably felt that publication of the northern materials would bring both critical approval and financial support that would make possible the early publication of his other material.
- ²⁴ A *Handbook* for the Upper Midwest is now being edited; one is also planned for the Middle and South Atlantic States.
- ²⁵ A minor irritation: the two maps in the *Introduction*—the national network and the localities recorded by each fieldworker—are so small that the symbols are hard to distinguish, and the symbols for the various fieldworkers are not distinctive enough.
- ²⁶ Atwood's data, vocabulary plus a number of verb forms, were gathered by graduate students as class assignments over a period of years.
- ²⁷ The *Word Geography* went to press before the completion of field work in South Carolina, eastern Georgia, and upstate New York. For these regions it is partially supplemented by two articles of mine: "The Folk Vocabulary of New York State," *NYFQ*, VII (1951), 173-92, and "The Position of the Charleston Dialect," *Pub. Am. Dial. Soc.*, XXIII (1955), 35-53.
- ²⁸ Further data are provided in Virginia McDavid, *Verb Forms in the North-Central States and Upper Midwest*, diss. (microfilm), 1956.
- ²⁹ Along the Atlantic Seaboard this contrast is lacking in all classes of speakers in Metropolitan New York, the Hudson Valley, and most of Pennsylvania. Homonymy is spreading in the area of New England settlement and is prevalent in most of the United States west of the Appalachians, as well as in most of Canada.
- ³⁰ In addition to works already mentioned, there are Yakira H. Frank, *The Speech of New York City*, diss., University of Michigan, 1948; Allan F. Hubbell, *The Pronunciation of English in New York City: Consonants and Vowels*, New York, 1950; David De Camp, "The Pronunciation of English in San Francisco," *Oybis*, VII (1958), 372-91, VIII (1959), 54-77; Janet B. Sawyer, *A Dialect Study of San Antonio, Texas: a Bilingual Community*, diss., University of Texas, 1957; Robert R. Howren, *The Speech of Louisville, Ky.*, diss., Indiana University, 1958; Lee Pederson, *The Pronunciation of English in Chicago: Consonants and Vowels*, *Pub. Am. Dial. Soc.*, XLIV (1965); Roger W. Shuy, Walter A. Worfram, William K. Riley, *Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study*, Urban Language Series 3, Washington, D.C., 1968; Gerald Udell, *The Speech of Akron, Ohio*, diss., University of Chicago, 1966.