

# *The Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE) :* History, Fieldwork, and Evaluation

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of the present paper is to delineate the Survey of English Dialects (SED), which is the largest direct method research project into the dialects of England, and the LAE which resulted from the SED.

In the first chapter (1), the paper traces a brief history of the project from the embryonic stage to its completion.

The second chapter (2), goes through the structure of the Survey. The description covers localities (2.1), informants (2.2), the questionnaire (2.3), fieldworkers (2.4), and tape-recordings (2.5).

In the final third chapter (3), the paper focuses on the principal product of the SED, that is, the *Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE)*. A discussion of the character of its cartography (3.1), LAE compared with a newly computerized LAE, a comparison of the LAE with a computer-assisted LAE, that is the CLAE (3.2), and some important criticisms of the LAE, together with the present writer's comment on those criticisms (3.3-3.10) conclude the chapter.

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## 0 Survey of English Dialects (SED)

*The Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE)* is entirely based on the project of the Survey of English Dialects in England (SED). Accordingly you should be first familiar with the SED before proceeding to the LAE.

This project is most closely associated with the names of both Harold Orton (1898-1975) and the University of Leeds, where he was working. In fact, H. Orton planned the project, directed the fieldwork, analyzed and edited the collected data, and produced several different types of publications.

while the University of Leeds practically alone provided the enterprise with financial support. It is surprising that this monumental project was designed and pushed forward almost exclusively by the Department of English Language and Medieval English Literature, the University of Leeds. You should compare this with the corresponding project of the USA, the LANE (Linguistic Atlas of New England).<sup>(1)</sup>

We should not miss the fact, however, that many other people took part in the SED at its various stages and in various ways to complete the biggest dialect survey in England. To be impartial, we may as well conclude that the program could not have been completed without cooperators at every stage. But I am sure that the 992 local informants constitute the most substantial part of investigation. It could be better to say that the informants themselves are really the most important and indispensable cooperators for the undertaking. In this sense we have felt very sorry to find in any publication based on the SED no passage expressing deep gratitude toward all the informants of this survey, just as they did toward a great number of assistants and organizations. I would have felt much relieved if I had happened to find acknowledgement of their kindness. It is customary here in Japan to express our thankfulness to the informants first and foremost, and promise them never to make their cooperation in vain.

Nevertheless and as a matter of course, it remains true that the SED is the most significant project in the history of dialectology in England since J. Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD). In order to prove that this is true, it is best to see what the SED did and intended to do, and then to evaluate its achievements.

## 1 Chronology of the SED

Let's begin with a chronological look at the SED.

### 1922

The Swiss Germanist Eugen Dieth (1893-1956), who later became H. Orton's prime cooperator, especially in its preparatory stage, came to Scotland

and stayed at the University of Aberdeen as a lecturer in German until 1927. He took advantage of this period to survey dialects of the Buchan area around Aberdeen. That study resulted afterwards in the following work<sup>(2)</sup>:

DIETH, Eugen (1932) *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect (Aberdeenshire) descriptive and historical*, Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd.

### 1923

- (1) Joseph Wright (1855-1930) believed that the exact dialect boundaries of Middle English would not be definable until a British counterpart of the linguistic atlases of France and Germany was available [Wright et al (1949: 2-3)]. Thus J. Wright had a dream of a day when an atlas of regional dialects in Britain would shed light upon dialect boundaries.
- (2) J. Wright happened to examine H. Orton's thesis for his Bachelor of Literature degree at the University of Leeds, though in fact H. Orton's supervisor was H. C. Wyld.

### 1927

Eugen Dieth returned to the University of Zürich in Switzerland (See 1922).

### 1931

As for the Linguistic Atlas of New England in the U. S., the fieldworkers were trained together for 6 weeks. After that the fieldwork started and continued for 25 months until September, 1933.

### 1932

H. Orton became a member of the Philological Society of Britain.

### 1933

H. Orton's dialect study of his native village of Byers Green (northern part of England) was published.

ORTON, H. (1933) *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect*, London.

### 1935

The 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences was held at University College, London.

- (1) Hans Kurath (1891-) read a paper to the effect that the history of American English cannot be fully described without a dialect atlas of the British Isles.
- (2) During the session, a linguistic atlas of the British Isles was talked over among the audience, but that did not turn out to be effective.
- (3) H. Orton and E. Dieth both attended the Congress.

### 1939

- (1) H. Kurath concluded the preface of Kurath (1973: xii) by proudly saying that  
The New England Atlas may be regarded, therefore, as a cooperative enterprise in which American scholarship in general is represented by the American Council of Learned Societies, and in which several of the institutions of higher learning in New England have participated.<sup>(3)</sup>
- (2) H. Kurath et al (1939-43) *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, Rhode Island: Brown University, began to be issued.

### 1940

H. Orton wrote to E. Dieth (probably one of his last letters before World War II).

### 1945

- (1) H. Orton was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Sheffield (department of English Language). Before the war he was on the staff of Armstrong College, Newcastle (then part of the University of Durham).
- (2) E. Dieth was informed of H. Orton by the former's colleague Prof. H. Straumann of Zürich, and made up his mind to write back to H. Orton for the first time after the War. Thus correspondence between the two resumed. In a letter of those days, E. Dieth says that —
  - i) E. Dieth is intensively studying published dialect surveys, for example, the German G. Wenker's survey, *ALF*, *AIS*, Kloeke's Dutch, *LANE*, *Taalatlas Van Nord— en Zuid*

*Nederlahd.*

- ii) E. Dieth's friend and colleague of University of Zürich, J. Jud is earnestly recommending E. Dieth to make a plan for a dialect survey in Britain.

### 1946

- (1) The Philological Society's Council resolved to set up a Planning Committee to carry out a British dialect survey. The SED officially started in this year.
- (2) Eugen Dieth and Harold Orton drafted the questionnaire [—1952].

### 1947

- (1) H. Orton moved to the University of Leeds as chair of English Language and Medieval Literature [—1964].
- (2) The Philological Society appointed the three Survey Directors and Handbook Editors listed below. But to H. Orton's disappointment, E. Dieth was not included. So H. Orton requested the Society to add E. Dieth to the Directors.

(name)	(affiliation)	(allotment)
John Orr	University of Edinburgh	Scotland
Harold Orton	University of Leeds	Northern England
C. L. Wrenn	University of Oxford	Southern England

### 1948

The fieldwork for the SED began to be carried out. [—1961]

### 1950

Two more Survey Directors were recommended by the Philological Society.

(name)	(affiliation)
Eugen Dieth	University of Zürich
Angus McIntosh	University of Edinburgh

C. L. Wrenn did not start his work for an unknown reason, and John Orr and Angus McIntosh launched into the survey of Scotland on their own. This naturally brought the whole burden of the project on the

shoulders of the two of H. Orton and E. Dieth. E. Dieth's cooperation with H. Orton was solely personal, since the cooperation between the two Directors was not officially approved by the Universities of Leeds and Zürich.

#### 1952

H. Orton and E. Dieth published the final edition of the questionnaire after testing it five times in the field. The official title was *A Questionnaire for a Linguistic Atlas of England* [1946—]

#### 1953

The Dialect Planning Committee of the Philological Society dissolved because it was judged to have fully finished its responsibility.

#### 1956

On 24th May, E. Dieth suffered a fatal stroke in his sleep. [1893—]

#### 1961

The fieldwork for the SED was completed. [1950—]

#### 1964

- (1) H. Orton retired from the University of Leeds.
- (2) The Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies (director: S. F. Sanderton) was founded at the University of Leeds as the body which should take the full responsibility of the promotion and completion of the SED hereafter.

#### 1966

At the time of his death [1956], E. Dieth was just preparing a phonological atlas of northern counties of England on the SED material. It was continued and realized by Dr. E. Kolb.

KOLB, Eduard (1966) *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Region. The Six Northern Counties, North Lincolnshire and the Isles of Man*, Bern: Francke Verlag.

#### 1971

*The Basic Material* with *Introduction* were all completed by E. J. Arnold and Son for the University

of Leeds. They came out as the first series of publication for the Survey of English Dialects. See below.

(A) ORTON, Harold (1962) *Introduction*.

(B) *The Basic Material*:

Vol. I. ORTON, Harold and Wilfred J. Halliday (eds) (1962-3)

*The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man* (Parts I, II, and III).

Vol. II. ORTON, Harold and Michael V. Barry (eds) (1969-71)

*The West Midland Counties* (Parts I, II, and III).

Vol. III. ORTON, Harold and Philip M. Tilling (eds) (1969-71)

*The East Midland Counties and East Anglia* (Parts I, II, and III).

Vol. IV. ORTON, Harold and Martyn F. Wakelin (eds) (1966-7)

*The Southern Counties* (Parts I, II, and III).

#### 1974

A linguistic atlas made up of 207 lexical items based on the SED was published.

ORTON, Harold & Nathalia Wright (1974) *A Word Geography of England*, London: Seminar Press.

#### 1975

On 7th March after a short period of illness, H. Orton died without seeing *Linguistic Atlas of England* (LAE) published.

#### 1978

The ultimate aim of the SED lay in "the compilation of a linguistic atlas of England."

ORTON, Harold, Stewart Sanderson and John Widdowson (eds) (1978) *The Linguistic Atlas of England*, London: Croom Helm.

#### 1985

KIRK, John M., Stewart Sanderson and J. D. A. Widdowson (eds) (1985) *Studies in Linguistic Geography/The Dialects of English in Britain and Ireland*, London: Croom Helm.

#### 1987

UPTON, Clive, Stewart Sanderson and John Widdowson (1987) *Word Maps: A Dialect Atlas of England*, London: Croom Helm.

ANDERSON, Peter M. (1987) *A Structural Atlas of the English Dialects*, London: Croom Helm.

1991

VIERECK, Wolfgang (ed) (1991) *The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England I*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag

FISCHER, Andreas and Daniel Ammann (1991) *An Index to Dialect Maps of Great Britain*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

## 2 Framework of the SED

### 2.1 Localities

- (1) The number of localities that were actually surveyed amounts to 313.
- (2) Any two neighbouring localities are not more than 15 to 20 miles apart.
- (3) Localities are normally communities with 300 to 2,000 people.
- (4) The localities were not necessarily allotted in proportion to the size of each county.

Norfolk (2,053 square miles)	13 localities
Essex (1,528)	15
Suffolk (1,482)	5
Northamptonshire (1,003)	5
Cambridgeshire (858)	2
Berkshire (725)	6
[Viereck (1973: 77)	

/McDavid (1968: 212-3)]

### 2.2 Informants

- (1) The fieldworkers of the SED sought out the type of persons known as NORMS as their ideal informants in spite of arguments against this decision [Sanderson et al (1985: 39)]. The abbreviation NORMs for *nonmobile, older, rural males*, is often used to refer to the typical informants of traditional dialect research [Chambers et al (1980: 33)].

*nonmobile* and *older*: The fieldworkers often went to the local post-office or a shop and asked for the names of some older native dialect-speakers who had been born, grew up and lived

there all their lives; persons who had been absent from the locality for many years were avoided. *rural*: See 2.1 Localities.

*males*: The total number of those informants that were interviewed was 992 on 313 localities. The number of women among the 992 informants was 118 (12%), while that of men was 874 (88%) [Sanderson et al (1985: 42 & 45)].<sup>(4)</sup>

- (2) More than one informant on one locality were usually employed. One of the reasons was that women are preferable in answering the domestic questions in BOOK V of the Questionnaire (The House and Housekeeping). As to statistics concerning that, McDavid (1981: 223) gives the following.

- 1) A single informant employed on one locality was interviewed on only 31 of 313 localities.
- 2) Two informants were interviewed on 59 localities.
- 3) Three informants on 100 localities.
- 4) Four informants on 83.
- 5) Five on 31.
- 6) Six on 7.
- 7) Seven on 2.

N. B. The more initial stage the fieldworkers were in, the more informants on one locality the fieldworkers tended to employ.

- (3) difference of age among the informants of one and the same locality [McDavid (1981: 223)]:

- 1) There was a difference of more than a decade between the youngest and oldest informants on 145 localities.
- 2) a difference of 20 years or more on 40 localities.
- 3) a difference of 30 years or more on 9 localities.
- 4) a difference of at least 40 years on 2 localities.

- (4) According to Johnston (1985: 85), informants aged 0-30 form 0.1%, and those aged 30-60 form 2.8%. Informants aged 60 and over hence supposed to form 97.1%.

- (5) informants' occupations: males and females  
The most predominant occupation of 874 *male informants* was farmers and farm-workers. The other ones

are given below [Sanderson et al (1985 : 45)]. (classification is mine).

I. engaged in manufacturing, processing, repairing, etc.

- 1) baker
- 2) blacksmith
- 3) bricklayer
- 4) cabinet-maker
- 5) cobbler
- 6) culter/insurance agent
- 7) fustian cutter
- 8) hurdle-maker
- 9) joiner
- 10) miller
- 11) painter and decorator
- 12) plasterer
- 13) plumber
- 14) quarryman
- 15) saddler
- 16) sailmaker
- 17) shrimper
- 18) steel-worker
- 19) stone-mason
- 20) tailor
- 21) thatcher
- 22) weaver
- 23) wheelwright
- 24) woodturner
- 25) workman in bleach factory

II. physical labourers

- 1) builder's labourer
- 2) carter/carrier
- 3) coal-miner
- 4) estate worker/hunt-master
- 5) gamekeeper
- 6) groom/chauffeur
- 7) railway-crossing keeper
- 8) road-sweeper
- 9) transport worker
- 10) wood-haulier/smallholder

III. management of transportation, factories, shops, etc.

- 1) ferry skipper
- 2) foreman clay-worker
- 3) overlooker in cotton mill

- 4) seed merchant's representative
- 5) shopkeeper

IV. merchants

- 1) butcher
- 2) coal-merchant's assistant
- 3) greengrocer/smallholder
- 4) grocer/draper
- 5) licensed victualler
- 6) potato merchant

V. public servants or similar occupations

- 1) policeman
- 2) schoolmaster
- 3) steward/forester
- 4) water-works man

VI. operators of machine, equipment, etc.

- 1) agricultural engineer
- 2) railway engine driver
- 3) steam-roller driver

The most predominant occupation of 118 *female informants* was a housewife. The other ones are given below [Sanderson et al (1985 : 45)] (classification is mine).

I. physical labourers

- 1) domestic servant
- 2) carrier
- 3) factory-worker
- 4) school-cleaner
- 5) cook
- 6) smallholder

II. artists

- 1) singer

- (6) The informants usually had no more than 5 or 6 years of schooling.
- (7) The fieldworkers tried to interview their informants in the latter's houses. [Orton (1962 : 17)]  
· [Wakelin (1977 : 55)]
- (8) No informants were paid. [Wakelin (1977 : 55)]

2.3 Questionnaire

- (1) The questionnaire listed 800 items in its initial stage. After several pilot trials in the field, however, the number of the questions of the final edition rose to 1322 [Francis (1983 : 64)].
- (2) According to H. Orton and others' estimates,

you can get the following rough ratios of phonological, morphological, syntactical, and lexical items.

phonological	29%
morphological	10%
syntactical	6%
lexical	55%

[Orton et al (1978 : Introduction 3)]

Many items, however, are hard to allot to any single field above. You should notice that the classification of this kind inherently tends to be not very clear-cut, because one and the same item, for example, can be made use of for both a lexical and a phonological purpose.

- (3) Within the lexical field, nouns are most numerous, with verbs and adjectives following in decreasing order [Orton (1960 : 234)].
- (4) Each item specifies the sentence by which each fieldworker puts a question to informants. That means that the questionnaire controls the way the fieldworkers ask questions of informants. In this respect it is different from the standard American field-method employed in, for example, *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (LANE), which only specified the words under research and left it up to each fieldworker how he or she should actually elicit them.
- (5) According to H. Orton, the whole questionnaire (BOOKS I to IX) is expected to take 18 hours or a week. But the length includes all of the fieldworkers' tasks before starting interviewing — discovering the names of the best informants, making contact with them, etc. — as well as the time for the interviewing itself [Orton (1960 : 234)].

(6) contents of the questionnaire

BOOK I: THE FARM (10%)

- 1) the farmstead
- 2) the workmen on the farm
- 3) the cow-house
- 4) the stable
- 5) the harness
- 6) team of horses
- 7) implements
- 8) the plough

- 9) the cart
- 10) the cart-body
- 11) the cart in use

BOOK II: FARMING (7%)

- 1) the land
- 2) weeds on the land
- 3) ploughing
- 4) crops
- 5) cereals
- 6) harvesting
- 7) stacks, thatching
- 8) threshing
- 9) haymaking

BOOK III.: ANIMALS (12%)

- 1) cattle: breeding
- 2) cattle: the body
- 3) cattle: tending
- 4) the horse
- 5) horses: tending
- 6) sheep: breeding
- 7) sheep: tending
- 8) the pig
- 9) the pig: the body
- 10) calls to animals, animal cries
- 11) slaughtering cattle
- 12) slaughtering pigs
- 13) other animals

BOOK IV: NATURE (12%)

- 1) water, ground
- 2) hedge, wall, ditch
- 3) gate, track
- 4) soil, minerals
- 5) wild animals
- 6) domestic fowls
- 7) wild birds
- 8) insects
- 9) reptiles
- 10) trees, bushes
- 11) berries, fruits
- 12) parts of a tree

BOOK V: THE HOUSE AND HOUSEKEEPING (12%)

- 1) the house: outside
- 2) the house: inside
- 3) the fireplace

- 4) the fire
- 5) the dairy
- 6) baking
- 7) cooking
- 8) eating and drinking
- 9) kitchen utensils
- 10) the work-basket
- 11) clothing

BOOK VI: THE HUMAN BODY (15%)

- 1) the head
- 2) the hair
- 3) the eye
- 4) the ear and the nose
- 5) the mouth
- 6) the neck and arm
- 7) the hand
- 8) the chest
- 9) the leg
- 10) the foot
- 11) the skin
- 12) general diseases
- 13) physical states
- 14) clothing

BOOK VII: NUMBERS, TIME AND WEATHER (12%)

- 1) cardinal numbers
- 2) ordinals
- 3) time
- 4) days, festivals
- 5) the clock, meals
- 6) weather
- 7) coins
- 8) measures

BOOK VIII: SOCIAL ACTIVITIES (10%)

- 1) the family
- 2) relatives, friends
- 3) visitors
- 4) occupations
- 5) church, churchyard
- 6) school
- 7) play
- 8) behaviour
- 9) qualities

BOOK IX: STATES, ACTIONS, RELATIONS (10%)

- 1) adjectives, adverbs
- 2) prepositions, conjunctions
- 3) verbs: irregular
- 4) verbs: auxiliary
- 5) verbs: do, go
- 6) verbs: have
- 7) verbs: be
- 8) pronouns: personal
- 9) pronouns: interrogative, relative
- 10) pronouns: demonstrative
- 11) pronouns: reflexive

- (7) As for the pictures and diagrams used to make it easy for informants to identify the object under question, the fieldworkers themselves were supposed to prepare them [Orton (1962 : 17)].
- (8) Each response from an informant was impressionistically<sup>(\*)</sup> written down in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

(\*) "Impressionistic transcription" corresponds to a "phonetic" one, while "systematic transcription" corresponds to a "phonological" or "phonemic" one. See [Jones (1960 : 349-50)] and [Hartmann & Stork (1972 : 108)].

2.4 Fieldworkers

- 1) Mr. Stanley Ellis, M. A. :  
investigated 118 localities (38%) in the North and the Central and East Midlands (1951-58).
- 2) Mr. John T. Wright, M. A. :  
48 localities and plus 2 shared (16%) in the South-Western Counties south of the Thames (1955-58).
- 3) Dr. Peter Wright :  
38 (12%) chiefly in Yorkshire (1948-52).
- 4) Mr. Donald Sykes, M. A. :  
31 (10%) in West Midlands (1954-56).
- 5) Mr. Michael V. Barry, B. A. :  
27 and plus 2 shared (9%) in the Isle of Man and the South-Eastern Counties south of the Thames (1957-59).
- 6) Dr. Winthrop Nelson Francis, Prof. of English, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA (American) :  
13 (4%) in Norfolk of East Midland (1956-

57).

7) Miss Averil Playford (now Mrs. Sanderson), M. A. :

12 (4%) in Leicestershire and Rutland of East Midland (1956-7)

8) Mr. Peter H. Gibson, M. A. :

11 (4%) in Staffordshire of West Midland (1953-55).

9) Mr. Howard N. Bernsten, M. A. (American) : 9 (2%) in Essex of East Midland (1960-1).

10) Mr. David R. Parry, B. A. :

3 (1%) in Monmouthshire of West Midland (as well as in the South-Eastern Welsh counties) (1960-1).

11) Miss Marie Haslam :

1 (0%) in Hertfordshire of East Midland.

N. B. 1 It should be noticed that the administrative area names above are those of the period in which the fieldwork was done. The county boundaries were changed after 1974.

2 All the above fieldworkers except the two Americans received phonetic training from Dr. P. A. D. MacCarthy, head at the Department of Phonetics, Leeds University.

3 Mr. Stanley Ellis investigated all localities of Lincolnshire (East Midland) at his own expense.

4 The fieldworkers tried to make the relationship between themselves and their informants into that of a "pupil" to "teacher" [Orton (1962 : 17)].

## 2.5 Tape-Recordings

(1) H. Orton regarded the tape-recordings as additional evidence and tried to incorporate them into Basic Materials in editing.

N. B. Three kinds of materials are distinguished in the SED.

1) question responses :

responses to the questions prescribed in the questionnaire, which were written down on recording books in the IPA by the fieldworkers.

2) incidental material :

those incidentally elicited responses relevant to the items under investigation which the

fieldworkers noticed and took down in free conversation with the informants.

3) tape-recordings :

tape-recorded free conversation between the informants and fieldworkers

(2) Seventy-six percent of all localities were tape-recorded, though none of them covered any full interview. Many of the recordings are preserved in the BBC's Permanent Sound-Record Library [Wakelin (1977 : 56)].

(3) Mr. Stanley Ellis, the principal SED fieldworker who was also responsible for the bulk of the tape-recording programme, is preparing for publication on tape/disc an anthology of representative speech from across the country, with transcriptions in normal orthography [Sanderson et al (1985 : 49)].

## 3 *The Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE) : characteristics and criticisms with counterarguments*

R. K. S. Macaulay (1980 : 230) gives high tribute to the LAE, saying that the LAE is—

a magnificent atlas containing the distillation of the results of the SED, the culmination of over 30 years' work.

That the LAE (1978) is the "culmination" of the SED must have been H. Orton's intention too. But it is regrettable that H. Orton, chief editor, died before its completion. So the other two editors (see 1 Chronology: 1978 above) tried to edit the rest of it in line with H. Orton's intention.

The LAE is largely phonological. The ratios of linguistic fields in the LAE with 473 maps in all are as follows :

Phonological	63%
Morphological	18%
Lexical	17%
Syntactical	2%

In what follows I deal with the LAE's characteristics and some important criticisms leveled against the Atlas. Nothing is perfect. Criticisms therefore should be constructive for further development. I will be constructively-minded too and put forward my counterarguments where necessary.

### 3.1 Interpretively Oriented

The LAE is interpretively oriented. Linguistic atlases are classified into two types; descriptive and interpretive. Strictly speaking, however, there is neither a descriptive atlas with no interpretive character at all, nor an interpretive atlas with no descriptive character at all. In spite of that, linguistic or dialect atlases will have one or the other character more predominantly. Many of the earlier linguistic atlases, I would say, for example, J. Gilliéron's ALF (France), G. Wenker's DSA (Germany), are rather dominant in descriptive character; on the contrary, many recent linguistic atlases, for example, H. Kurath's *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (USA/1949), *Linguistic Atlas of Japan* (Japan/1966-74); are rather dominant in interpretive character. We must immediately add, however, that even among recent ones some are descriptively oriented. An instance is *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States 1. & 2* (USA/1980), which strictly corresponds to the *Basic Material* of the SED.

When I say that the LAE is interpretively oriented, I use the word 'interpretively' in the following two-fold sense.

- 1) It attempts to trace the historical developments from the previous stages to the present one of each word in a macroscopical way.
- 2) It attempts to infer the growth or recession of geographical distribution of each word in a microscopical way.

The LAE does not explicitly say much about the first purpose above. Isoglosses enjoy a most extensive use in the LAE, but they perform the interpretive function in the second sense of the word rather than that in the first one<sup>(6)</sup>. An example will give you a clearer idea of the interpretiveness of the LAE. You are referred to Map 1, which is a northern part of «L32 b: earth-closet» of the LAE. See Map 1 on the next page. In the map 1-1 two distribution areas of *shit-house* for an earth-closet<sup>(6)</sup> are circumscribed by isoglosses, while in the map 1-2 the two areas are merged into one. Thus one and the same linguistic data can produce at least two maps. In fact, however, the LAE has employed the map 1-2 rather than the

map 1-1. What has made the LAE do that? It is because several scattered areas of *shit-house* here and there in England<sup>(7)</sup> convinced H. Orton that the two areas are surviving areas from the past and that the word is supposed to have once enjoyed wider distribution. The editor interpreted the distribution of the word thus and has chosen to unite the two "islands" of *shit-house* in the map 1-2.

### 3.2 Comparison with the CLAE, that is, another LAE

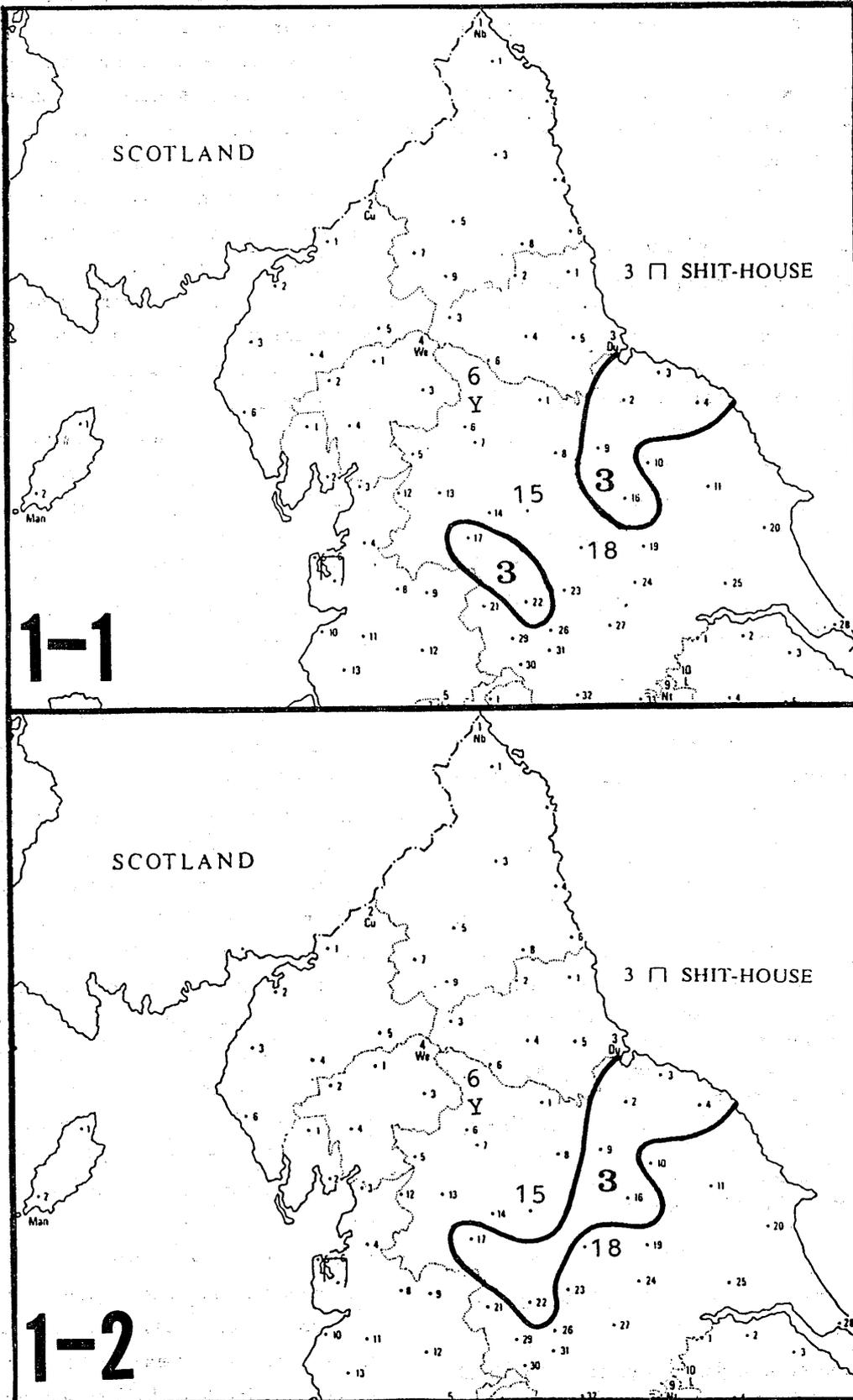
The LAE has recently appeared in another form [CLAE (1991)], which fully deserves the name of the present modern technological victory. It is a computerized atlas based on the same material as used in the LAE. W. Viereck is confident that the CLAE exceeds those hitherto published maps, except for phonological maps, that are based on *The Basic Material* of the SED "both as regards the amount of information they [=169 maps of the CLAE—H. S.] provide and in the way they present it" [CLAE (1991 : 7)].

It is really regrettable that the CLAE could provide no phonological maps for a technical reason [CLAE (1991 : 5)]. But one must admit that the CLAE excels the LAE in several respects. A comparison of these two LAEs may be in order.

- 1) The CLAE has done away with isoglosses, which are invariably used in any other linguistic atlas based on the SED. But it is not certain whether the CLAE is superior to the LAE in this point. Rather it seems to be due to a difference of their aims.<sup>(8)</sup>
- 2) The CLAE is explicitly indicated in the legend
  - i) what responses are grouped together under one and the same symbol on the map, and
  - ii) what responses remain unsymbolized on the map.

These features make the editor W. Viereck himself characterize the CLAE as "documentary in character" [CLAE (1991 : 7)].

- 3) The CLAE symbolizes on the map the informants' introspective judgements over usage of their own responses, which are divided into seven



Map 1

— “usually/rare/older/newer/suggested/preferred” and “unconsciously”. Such an attempt has never been made in any other linguistic atlas.

- 4) Efforts have been made to select symbols so as to let the geographical distribution easily catch the eye of readers.

### 3.3 Criticism 1: Outmoded Approach

the SED came increasingly under attack from sociolinguistics, mostly on the grounds of its supposedly outmoded approach.

[Kirk et al (1985b : 1)]

It is true that the regional dialectology, which is often called traditional dialectology too, has tended to pay more attention to the past than to the present. It has devoted itself almost exclusively to eliciting the older phase of dialects. No one can deny that the dialectology has been and will be historically biased. The historical propensity of conventional dialectology was caused by its time-honoured aim.

When another dialect science makes its appearance and gives a different view of dialects, it is unreasonable that one should reproach the other just because the latter's aim is different from the former's. Different aims call for different methods, and hence they should not attack, but supplement, each other. Actually some dialect atlases have been contingent on both the old generation and the young one of each speech community under investigation here in Japan as well as abroad. The below follows my line.

Sociolinguistics, then, owes a considerable debt to dialectology, and it is my contention that it could benefit from dialectology even more than it has done. However, it is also clear that the reverse also applies. Dialectology has already benefited from sociolinguistic concepts and methods, but it could, I would maintain, benefit even more. [Trudgill (1983 : 32)]

### 3.4 Criticism 2: Little Attention to Morphology and Syntax

One of the most neglected aspects of the SED data is the information on morphology and grammar. [Sanderson et al (1985 : 44)]

One can mention some reasons why traditional

dialectology has tended to deal more often with varieties of words and their pronunciation.

- 1) Words are the most fundamental of various linguistic units—phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, discourses, etc.<sup>(9)</sup>
- 2) The visual distinctness of words is another reason why words are the most popular with even the man in the street, though they are not easy to exactly define in linguistic terms.
- 3) The basic idea or notion you have in mind is usually expressed by a word or words. Further, words are more likely to associate themselves with independent conceptions than any other linguistic unit.
- 4) Words often reflect how the users of words act in their daily life. To be more particular, the difference in geographical distribution of words mirrors the difference in the way people behave. Behind the difference in geographical distribution of words the difference of human behaviour is supposed to hide itself.

Words are most susceptible to geographical variation just as our life styles are. Pronunciation almost always goes with words. Accordingly words and their pronunciation are assumed to be more subject to geographical variation than any other linguistic unit.

Those people engaged in such fields as folklore, ethnography, anthropology, etc. are interested in the way people lead their lives. When they begin to explore for the culture pattern there, the social scientists seek any helpful clues and usually have recourse to dialect research to discover the geographical diffusion of words the people use. Thus the above scientists as well as dialectologists are prone to give much of their attention in surveys to words and their pronunciation.

- 5) Dialectologists especially interested in linguistics proper do not confine their attention to the level of words and their pronunciation, because they are curious about phenomena at other levels of linguistic units as well. They are ready to turn attention to morphology, syntax, and even discourse.

Morphology and syntax concern words' behaviour within the limit of a sentence. Syntax together with morphology is usually called grammar. In dialectology morphology chiefly deals with grammatically changed, namely, inflected forms of words, while syntax chiefly deals with word orders.

Syntax is the core of language, and so the degree of syntactical difference among more than one dialect can be a clue to the linguistic judgement of whether they are one and the same language or different languages. Geographical variations of grammatical phenomena in a language are considered to be more limited than those of words. That seems to be the main reason they have not been that attractive to dialectologists.

To summarize, it is undeniable that almost exclusive regard has been paid to the most fertile soil of words and accents in dialectology. But it goes without saying that dialectological investigation of varieties in morphology and syntax (and discourse too) is welcomed. It is sure to bring forth unforeseen fruits and supplement the traditional achievements.

### 3.5 Criticism 3: Localization Far from Ideal

It is unfortunate that the locality network virtually ignored the coastal perimeter. [Sanderson et al (1985 : 43)]

No linguistic atlas can be perfect. No linguistic atlas meets every demand. Through a good familiarity with each aim of linguistic atlases, you can know what information they can and cannot give us. No one can make the best use of linguistic atlases without knowing what their aims are. As for the LAE, the localities were selected according to the above-mentioned standard (Section 3.2). If the localities had been selected otherwise, namely, so that more coastal native residents could be employed as informants, the LAE would be another atlas.

What has been said just now holds true of a questionnaire. No questionnaire can be perfect. Speaking of questionnaires brings to mind Gilliéron's aphorism [Gilliéron (1915 : 45)], "questionnaire, qui, pour être sensiblement meilleur, aurait dû être fait après l'en-

quête(!)," (=the questionnaire, to be any better, should have been made after the survey(!))<sup>(10)</sup>.

### 3.6 Criticism 4: No Structural Maps of Phonology

My major complaint is that the authors have chosen to present ALL their phonological materials in terms of single lexical items. This is very self-effacing of them, but it would have been helpful if they had also presented summary maps showing the major isoglosses for a particular sound. [Macaulay (1980 : 230)]

This remark was to the point. Nine years after the publication of the LAE, however, Anderson (1987) satisfied the above Macaulay's desire.

### 3.7 Criticism 5: Dialect Isoglosses or Field-Worker Isoglosses ?

The field-workers' own preconceptions of what they were going to find have influenced what they heard. The reliability of the atlas is in doubt. There are, for example, some faulty transcriptions which are easy to spot, especially those that turn up as 'field-worker isoglosses'. The isoglosses on maps 2.3 and 2.4 [omitted here — H. S.] are simply lines drawn between the localities investigated by the Norfolk field-worker, who got it wrong, and those worked on by the Cambridge and Suffolk field-workers (including Stanley Ellis), who got it right. This makes it seem as if I am conducting a vendetta against the Norfolk field-worker. I am not. There is no reason to suppose that he has done a worse job than anyone else. It is simply that this is the area that I know best and am therefore most qualified to spot mistakes in. [Trudgill (1983 : 38-41)]

This is a point of vital importance to linguistic surveys. Several countermeasures against this danger are proposed by P. Trudgill himself.

- (1) to encourage dialectologists to use tape- recorders,
- (2) Pilot studies should be conducted in each area under investigation and previous work on the locality studied and noted.
- (3) Wherever possible fieldworkers should be natives of the area, or people familiar with the the local dialect.
- (4) Greater attention should be paid to fine phonetic detail. [Trudgill (1983 : 41)]

The above countersteps suggested by P. Trudgill are all noteworthy. Regarding (1) above, tape-recordings

were made on some of localities in Norfolk in dispute now,<sup>(11)</sup> but he conjectures that the editors of the Basic Materials neither paid due attention to, nor utilized, the taped recordings. But I have no evidence for my own judgement concerning the contention. All I can do is to attend to both sides of the arguments. Below is the comment from the side of the LAE.

The LAE editors were aware that in some SED localities, notably in North Norfolk and Leicestershire, the data caused particular difficulties in mapping, but whether the superficial singularity of these areas was due to discrepant transcription or simply to actual dialect differences has yet to be established.

[Sanderson et al (1985 : 41)]

I will propose as a safety measure that a single fieldworker should not do the work on a large number of continuous localities. This is often the practice in Japanese dialect surveys.

### 3.8 Criticism 6: Does the LAE exactly represent the Basic Material?

Is the material represented in the LAE exactly the same data as that of the Basic Materials? Can you fully substitute the LAE for the Basic Materials? B. Southard (1981) shows us an interesting brief test in this respect.

While it seems at times that the maps in LAE simply reproduce the responses listed in SED, this is not the case. I made no attempt to conduct a comprehensive survey of the material presented in SED. I did, however, do my own charting of material contained in four of the LAE maps — Ph 5, 9, 10, and 229 — but even here I charted only material contained in Volume 4 of the Basic Material. I found Ph 9 and 10 to be inaccurate, Ph 5 and Ph 229 to be accurate.

[Southard (1981 : 58 & 61-2 (note 2))]

In the above citation B. Southard means the Basic Material by SED. He randomly picked up four phonological maps for the test and concluded Phs 9 and 10 to be inaccurate and Phs 5 and 229 to be accurate, even though his test was confined to the Southern counties of England.

Now I myself have applied a slightly different test to the same maps. I have limited my scope to the

Northern counties including the Isle of Man. You are requested to see Map 2 on the next page. One more point where my test is different from B. Southard's is that I have changed his Ph 229 to Ph 228. It is because Ph 229 provides no variation but [sn] in its northern part unlike in its southern counterpart, while Ph 228 provides two variations; [ʃ] and [s].

The problem with Southard's test is that he did not indicate how accurate and how inaccurate they are. His report is too vague in this sense. Taking this into consideration, I will show in the tables (pp. 94-105) to what extent the LAE is exact or inexact. The explanation of the tables follows their order.

In the Tables 1-1 (Ph 5), 1-2 (Ph 9), 1-3 (Ph 10), and 1-4 (Ph 228), figures indicate their locality number, for which you are referred to Map 2 on the next page. Each number has two rows, where the vowels or consonants corresponding to the underlined part of the title words (man, calf, half and sure) are written in the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). The top row is for the phonetic symbols retrievable from each map of the LAE, while the bottom row is for the ones of the Basic Material. When a phonetic symbol is put across the two rows, it means that both the LAE and the Basic Material use the same vowel or consonant.

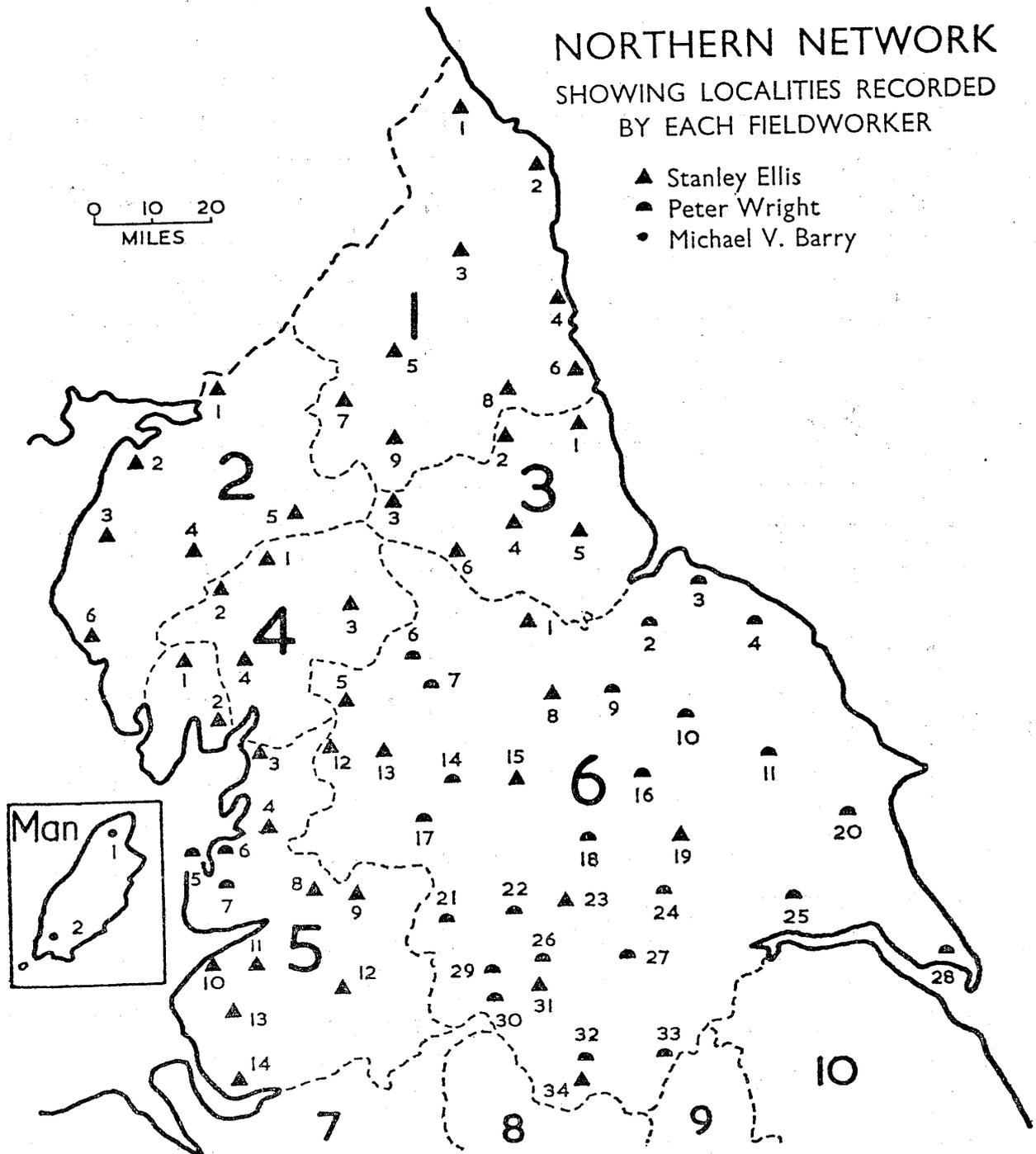
After initially looking over the tables, one should make a closer comparison. For that purpose, I will introduce the following three categories.

- (1) The footnote below each map explicitly states that a certain phonetic form is interpreted as belonging to a certain sound.
- (2) The footnote below each map does not state so, but the readers seem to be able to understand implicitly that a certain phonetic form is interpreted as belonging to a certain sound, namely, to something like an allophone.
- (3) This category includes the cases of neither (1) nor (2). I mean the sounds that the LAE has neglected to mark on the map, though the Basic Material has actually recorded them. The higher the number of the cases belonging to this category is, the less accurate the LAE is evaluated.

# NORTHERN NETWORK

SHOWING LOCALITIES RECORDED  
BY EACH FIELDWORKER

- ▲ Stanley Ellis
- ◐ Peter Wright
- Michael V. Barry



from H.Orton & W.J.Halliday  
(eds)(1963) The Basic Material,  
Vol.I,Part II, Leeds: E.J.  
Arnold & Son Limited.

Map 2

Ph 5 (VIII.1.6) man

LAE  
Basic Material

1 Nb:

1	a				
2	æ	a			
	æ·				
3	æ				
	æ·				
4	æ				
	æ <sup>ə</sup>				
5	a	æ			
		æ·	æ·ə		
6	æ				
	æ:ə				
7	a				
8	a	æ			
		æ <sup>ə</sup>			
9	a				

3 Du:

1	a				
2	a				
3	a				
4	a				
5	a				
6	a				

4 Ne:

1	a				
2	a				
3	a				
4	a				

2 Cu:

1	a				
2	a				
3	a				
4	a				
5	a				
6	a				

5 La (Part 1):

1	a				
2	a				
3	a				
4	ɒ				

Ph 5 (VIII.1.6) man

LAE  
Basic Material

5 La (Part 2):

5	D			
6	D			
7	D	ə		
8	D			
9	D			
10	D			
11	D			
12	D			
13	D			
14	D			

6 Y (Part 2):

6	a	ɑ		
7	a			
8	a			
9	a	ɑ		
10	a			
11	a	ɑ		
12	a			
13	a			
14	ɑ			
15	a			
16	a			
17	a			
18	a			
19	a			
20	a			
21	D			

6 Y (Part 1):

1	a	ɑ		
2	a			
3	a			
4	a			
5	a			

6 Y (Part 3):

22	a				
23	a				
24	ɑ				
	ü				
25	a				
	ä				
26	æ				
27	a				
28	ɑ				
	ü				
29	a				
30	a				
31	a				
32	a				
33	a				
34	a				
	ɑ				

6a Man:

1	æ	æ	æ·		
2	æ	æ	æ· <sup>ə</sup>	æ <sup>ə</sup>	

Table 1-1

Ph 9 (III.1.2) calf

LAE  
Basic Material

1 Nb:

1	a				
2	a:				
	a·				
3	a:				
	a·ə				
4	æ:	a			
	æə				
5	a:	əə			
	a·				
6	æ:				
	æ·ə				
7	ə:				
8	a				
9	ə:				
	ə·				

3 Du:

1	a:				
2	a:				
3	ə:				
4	ə:	ə·ə			
5	a:	ə:			
6	ə:				

2 Cu:

1	a:				
2	ə:				
3	ə:				
4	ə:				
5	ə:				
6	ə:				

4 We:

1	ə:				
2	ə:				
3	ə:				
4	ə:				

5 La (Part 1):

1	ə:				
2	ə:				
3	ə:				
4	ə:				

Ph 9 (III.1.2) calf

LAE  
Basic Material

5 La (Part 2):

5	o:				
6	o:				
7	o:	a:			
8	o:				
9	o:				
10	o:				
11	o:				
12	o:				
13	o:				
14	o:				

6 Y (Part 2):

6	o:				
7	o:				
8	o:				
9	o:				
10	o:				
11	o:	a:			
12	o:				
13	o:				
14	o:				
15	o:				
16	o:				
17	o:	a:			
18	o:				
19	o:	a:			
20	o:				
21	o:				

6 Y (Part 1):

1	a:				
2	o:	a:			
3	o:				
4	o:				
5	o:				

6 Y (Part 3):

22	ɔ:	a:			
23	ɔ:				
24	ɔ:				
25	ɔ:				
26	ɔ:				
27	ɔ:	a:			
28	ɔ:				
29	ɔ:				
30	ɔ:				
31	ɔ:				
32	ɔ:				
33	ɔ:	a:			
34	a:				

6a Man:

1	ɑ:				
	ä:				
2	æ:				
	ä:				

1 Nb:

1	a				
2	a				
3	a	a˙			
4	æ				
	æ˚				
5	a	a˙			
6	a	æ˚			
7	a	ɔː			
8	a				
9	ɔː				

3 Du:

1	a				
2	a				
3	ɔː				
4	ɔː				
5	ɔː				
6	ɔː				

2 Cu:

1	a				
2	ɔː				
3	eː				
	e˚	ɔː			
4	ɔː				
5	ɔː				
6	ɔː	eː			
		e˚	ɛ˚		

4 We:

1	ɔː				
2	ɔː				
3	ɔː				
4	eː				

5 La (Part 1):

1	eː				
2	eː				
3	eː	ɔː			
4	eː				
	e˚				

5 La (Part 2):

5	a:				
	e:				
6	ɔ:	e:	εə	e'ə	εə
	ɔ:				
7	e:				
	ɔ:				
8	e:				
9	e:				
10	ɔ:				
11	e:				
12	e:	ɔ:			
13	e:				
14	e:				

6 Y (Part 2):

6	ɔ:	a:			
7	ɔ:	a:			
8	ɔ:				
9	εə				
10	ɔ:	a:			
11	ɔ:	a:			
12	e:	ε:			
13	ɔ:	ε:			
14	ɔ:	a:	εə		
15	ɔ:				
16	ɔ:	a:	εə		
17	ɔ:	a	e:	ε:	εə
18	a:	ɔ:	e:	εə	
19	ɔ:	e:			
20	ɔ:	εə			
21	ɔ:	a:			

6 Y (Part 1):

1	a:				
2	ɔ:				
3	a	a:	ɔ:	εə	
4	ɔ:				
	e:				
5	e'ə	ɔ:			

6 Y (Part 3):

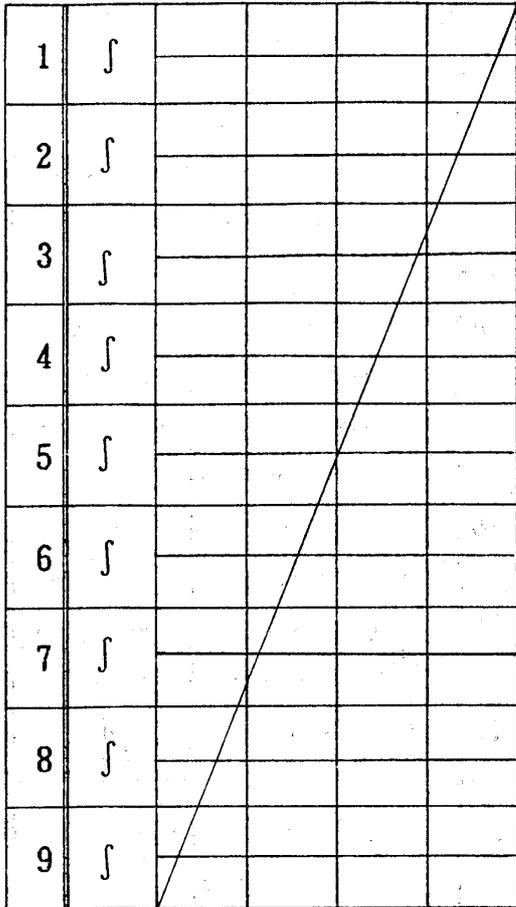
22	ɔ:				
		εə			
23	ɔ:				
		ε:			
24	εə				
		ɔ:			
25	ɔ:				
		εə	a:		
26	ɔ:				
27	εə				
28	ɔ:				
		a:	εə		
29	ɔ:				
30	ɔ:				
31	ɔ:				
32	ɔ:				
		e:			
33	e:				
		a:			
34	e:				
		e·ə			

6a Man:

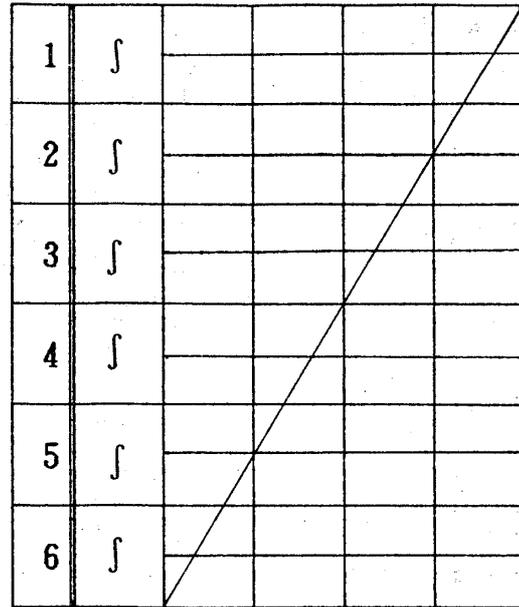
1	æ				
		æ·			
2	æ				
		ε·ə			

Table 1-3

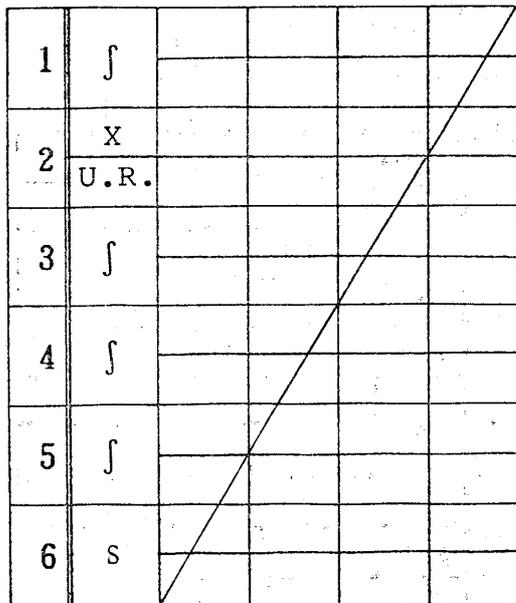
1 Nb:



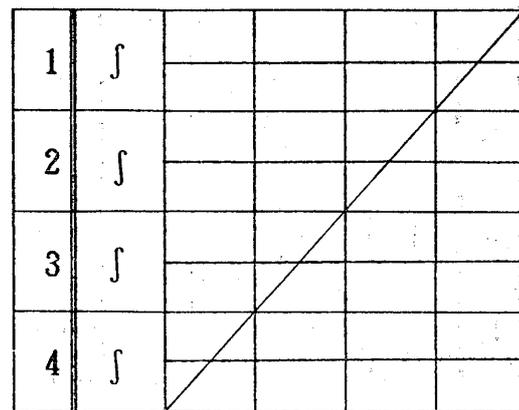
3 Du:



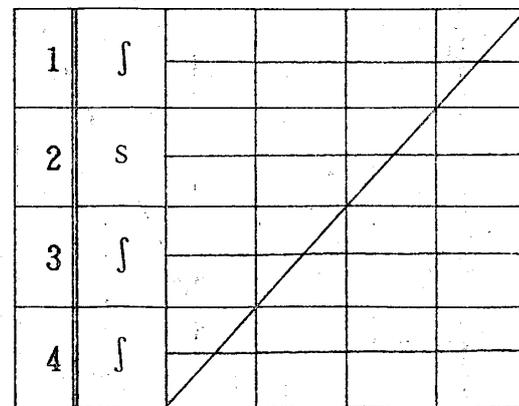
2 Cu:



4 We:



5 La (Part 1):



X = No mark is put on the map, because the fieldworker did not elicit the wanted form.

U.R. = Unwanted Response

Ph 228 (IX.7.12) sure

LAE  
Basic Material

5 La (Part 2):

5	∫				
6	s				
7	∫				
8	∫				
9	∫				
10	∫				
11	∫				
12	∫				
13	∫				
14	X U.R.				

6 Y (Part 2):

6	s				
7	s				
8	∫				
9	∫				
10	X N.A.				
11	X N.A.				
12	∫				
13	s				
14	X N.A.				
15	s				
16	X N.A.				
17	∫				
18	X N.A.				
19	s	∫			
20	X N.A.				
21	s	∫			

6 Y (Part 1):

1	X U.R.				
2	∫	s			
3	∫				
4	X N.A.				
5	s				

N.A. = Not Asked

Ph 228 (IX.7.12) sure

LAE  
Basic Material

6 Y (Part 3):

22	s	∫			
23	∫				
24	s				
25	X				
	N.A.				
26	s				
27	X				
	N.A.				
28	X				
	N.A.				
29	s				
30	s				
31	∫				
32	s	∫			
33	∫				
34	∫				

6a Man:

1	∫	s			
	∫j	sj			
2	∫				

Table 1-4

Ph 5

- (1)
- 1) æ<sup>ə</sup> -----> æ (1Nb:4, 8 / 6a Man:2)
  - 2) æ·<sup>ə</sup> -----> æ (1nb:5 / 6a Man:2)
  - 3) æ:<sup>ə</sup> -----> æ (1Nb:6)
  - 4) ə -----> ɒ (5La:7)
- (2)
- 1) æ· -----> æ (1Nb:2, 3, 5)
  - 2) æ -----> æ (6a Man:1, 2)
  - 3) æ· -----> æ (6a Man:1)
  - 4) ä -----> a (6Y:25)
  - 5) ʌ -----> a (6Y:34)
  - 6) ü -----> u (6Y:24, 28)

---

Table 2-1

Ph 9

- (1)
- 1) æ<sup>ə</sup> -----> æ: (1Nb:4)
  - 2) æ:<sup>ə</sup> -----> æ: (1Nb:6)
  - 3) ä: -----> æ: (6a Man:2)
  - 4) ʌ·<sup>ə</sup> -----> a: (1Nb:3)
  - 5) ü: -----> u: (6a Man:1)
  - 6) ɔ:<sup>ə</sup> -----> ɔ: (3Du:4)
- (2)
- 1) a· -----> a: (1Nb:2, 5)
  - 2) ɔ: -----> ɔ: (1Nb:9)

---

Table 2-2

Ph 10

- (1) 1) e·ə -----> e: (2Cu:6 / 5La:4 / 6Y:5)  
 2) e:ə -----> e: (2Cu:3)  
 3) æə -----> æ (1Nb:4)
- (2) 1) e·ə -----> e: (6Y:34)  
 2) æ· -----> æ (6a Man:1)  
 3) a· -----> a (1Nb:3, 5)
- (3) 1) e: (5La:5, 6 / 6Y:17, 18, 19, 32)  
 2) eə (5La:6 / 6Y:14)  
 3) e·ə(5La:6) 4) eə (5La:6)  
 5) e: (6Y:12, 17)  
 6) eə (5La:6 / 6Y:3, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25, 28)  
 7) e: (6Y:13, 23)  
 8) e·ə(6a Man:2) 9) e·ə (2Cu:6)  
 10) æ·ə(1Nb:6)  
 11) a: (6Y:3, 6, 7, 11, 14, 16, 21, 25, 28, 33)  
 12) ə: (1Nb:7 / 2Cu:3 / 5La:3, 7, 12 / 6Y:3, 5, 18, 24)

---

Table 2-3

Ph 228

- (2) 1) ∫j -----> ∫ (6a Man:1)  
 2) sj -----> s (6a Man:1)

---

Table 2-4

Ph	(1)	(2)	(3)		
5	4	6	0	10	③
9	6	2	0	8	②
10	3	3	12	18	④
228	0	2	0	2	①
	13	13	12		

Table 3

The judgement of the maps according to the Description Tables 2-1, -2, -3, and -4 (pp. 106-7) and Evaluation Table 3 is made as follows:

Regarding (1), the number of the explicitly stated items affects the evaluation neither positively nor negatively.

Regarding (2), a small number of items which the LAE does not explicitly interpret but seem to implicitly interpret as a certain standard sound is demanded for higher estimation. The smaller the number, the higher the judgement.

Regarding (3), which is the most substantial factor to determine quality, the larger the number gets, the lower the quality becomes.

Referring to the Table 3, one concludes that one can place the four maps in order of accuracy as

Phs 228 → 9 → 5 → 10.

It is to be deplored that a map like Ph 10 is included in the LAE. Southard (1981 : 62) benevolently commented on the Phs 9 and 10, saying "I presume that the inaccuracies are atypical of LAE." I do hope so, too.

### 3.9 Criticism 7: Few Shared Items with the US Counterpart

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 [Mc-David (1968 : 214)]

Dieth frequently rejected items included in the American questionnaire and this greatly reduces the comparability between the English question-

naire and the data collected with the American worksheets, a fact which is also deplored by Orton. [Viereck (1973 : 77)]

It is undeniable that, if there were more shared items for investigation between the LAE and its U. S. counterpart, it would have more greatly benefited the history of the English language. Kurath (1970 : 68) shows a possibility of reconstructing a richer history of the language.

New England's *whipple-tree*, *cosset*, *cade*, *eave-trough*, *teeter-totter* have their counterparts only, or chiefly, in the East Midland, especially in East Anglia. Pennsylvanian *swingle-tree*, *eave-spout*, and *hay-mow*, on the other hand, point to the North of England, for which the considerable Scotch-Irish element in this area may be partly responsible.

[Kurath (1970 : 68)]

I sought shared words not in the items of the Basic Material (SED) on the one hand and PEAS (= [Kurath et al (1982)]) (phonological) and WG (= [Kurath (1977)]) (lexical, morphological, and syntactical) on the other hand, but in the (C) LAE on one hand and PEAS and WG on the other hand. To put differently, I sought mapped words shared on both sides of the Atlantic. For the result you are referred to Table 4 on the next page.

It is too late to regret the scarcity of the shared items, but this failure must have given a precious lesson to any future dialect survey.

### 3.10 Criticism 8: Modification of Field-Recordings by H. Orton

On completion, the field-recordings were sent to me [= H. Orton] for scrutiny and then returned as soon as possible to the fieldworker, who, at his discretion, made additions and corrections, always in red ink, in the light of my comments and queries. [Orton (1962 : 18)]

In brief, the editors were chiefly concerned with treating the primary responses to the questionnaire, supplementing them by reference to the incidental material, which is quoted where critically relevant, and to the sound-recordings, which provide precise evidence for the evaluation of the transcriptional practices of the individual fieldworkers. Any editorial modifications of the transcriptions in the recording books are fully noted in the *Basic Material* volumes, and simply

Phonological:

	LAE (Ph No.)	PEAS (description sect) (Map No.)
1) bristles	29	5.1 59
2) calf	9	5.3 68
3) chair	169	4.5 40
4) coat	136	3.13/3.19 21/30
5) daughter	194	5.11 129
6) deaf	89	5.2 62
7) dog	40	3.14/5.11 24
8) door	146	5.20 156
9) drain	86	5.8 101
10) drought	153/249	5.14 142
11) father	237	3.20/5.18 32/151
12) four	193	4.7 43/44
13) furrow	57/215	4.18 55
14) grease	74	3.10 16
15) half	10	3.7 14
16) home	129	5.10 123
17) hoof(s)	142	5.9/5.22 112
18) house(s)	149	5.16 148
19) kettle	14	5.2 ***
20) meadow	206	5.19 ***
21) once	127	5.23 179
22) roof	141	5.9 111
23) squirrel	32	4.19 56
24) Tuesday	200	5.21 165
25) two	131	3.11 17
26) wool	54	3.4 6
27) yellow	207	5.2/5.19 ***
28) yesterday	202	5.2 66
29) yolk	43	5.4 82

Ph=Phonological Map

Lexical, Morphological, and Syntactical:

	LAE (L No.)	CLAE (LMS No.)	WG (description page)	(F No.)
1) at home	62	S 29	17	***
2) bellow(s)	***	M 9	19/62	***
3) carting (dung, wood)	14	L 22	17/19/26/57/58	76
4) cock(s)	***	L 29	40/54	58
5) cock(-)house	***	L 5	41	31
6) granny	***	L 62	48/77	149
7) hay(-)stack	***	L 30	54	***
8) ram	***	L 36	49/62	***
9) shafts	6	L 21/M 6	17	***
10) trough(s)	***	L 11	40/53	***

L=Lexical M=Morphological S=Syntactical F=Figure

\*\*\*=no corresponding map

Table 4

represent the accommodation of the transcriptional practices of all the fieldworkers to a consistent phonetic model. In this sense the *Basic Material* volumes are, in Orton's description, 'factual'.

[LAE (1978: Introduction 3-4)]

H. Orton, chief director of the SED, edited all field-recordings. This is a possible criticism of mine on the *Basic Material* of the SED, but on the contrary

this might be an evidence for its high quality. This procedure was not done to the LANE (*Linguistic Atlas of New England*), for example. Furthermore I have never heard officially about this sort of editing in other representative dialect surveys in the world. He, however, seems to have tried to make his modifications of the fieldworkers' original recordings as unbiased as he could. I can give three grounds which have made me think so.

- (1) H. Orton let the fieldworkers alter part of their recordings after he had consulted the other evidence (incidental material and sound-recordings).
- (2) He left the final judgment for any alterations to the original fieldworkers.
- (3) He fully noted his alterations in the Basic Material.

His intention to accommodate original recordings to the linguistic facts is always exposed to the danger of distorting linguistic facts. He himself must have felt the danger of being unjust in editing like that. It was probably in order to reduce the possibility of the danger that he devised the above procedure. I shall reserve final judgement until I get to know more about the way H. Orton actually did it.

#### 4 Epilogue

R. K. S. Macaulay felt awfully regretful when he was given a moderate space for his review of the LAE in *Language*. The space was, to be strict, for Book Notice, not for Book Review. It meant that the LAE was treated even more lightly than it should have been, by the most authoritative American linguistic journal. His sincere respect for H. Orton surely gave a profound impression to the readers.

His name [=H. Orton] will live much longer than many whose work has been more generously reviewed in the leading journals.

[Macaulay (1980 : 230)]

I am also sure that the name of H. Orton along with that of the SED will live forever.

#### Acknowledgement

It is my pleasant duty to deeply thank Prof. W. A. Grootaers for his kindnesses and generosity. It was fortunate for me to talk with him about the topic common to both of us, the LAE, because he was just writing a paper about some representative atlases of dialect grammar abroad for a monthly journal of Japanese linguistics. It goes without saying, however, that any faults are mine.

#### NOTES

- 1 See the citation of the year 1939(1) in 1 Chronology of the SED below.

- 2 Based on his later works listed below, Eugen DIETH can be considered to have been a phonetician of Zürich dialect.

#### E. DIETH'S WORKS

DIETH, Eugen (1936) Schweizerdeutsch und wir Deutschschweizer, In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 7. und 8. Juni.

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—— (1937) De schwyzerisch Schriftsteller und sini Mueterspraach, In: *Der Geistesarbeiter* 16 : 5-9/20-25.

—— (1937) Der Sinn des Schwyzertütsch-Unterrichts, In: *Der pädagogische Beobachter im Kanton Zürich* (Beilage zur *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* 82 : 853-8559

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—— und Rudolf BRUNNER (1943) Die Konsonanten und Geminaten des Schweizerdeutschen experimentell untersucht. In: *Sache, Ort und Wort. Festschrift Jakob Jud.* (= *Romanica Helvetica* 20), S. 737-762.

(according to [Wiesinger (1982)] and [Weber (1984 : 224-5)])

- 3 I would like to stress that the contrast between the LANE and the LAE in this respect is striking: The former is a cooperative project of universities and colleges in New England, and the latter can be said to be an individual project of the University of Leeds.
- 4 In a word, the "oldest stratum of the rural population" [Kirk et al (1985b : 2)]
- 5 1) Instead of the term "isoglosses", "heteroglosses" is sometimes employed (for example, Kurath (1972)). I consider the latter to be more appropriate.  
2) Isoglosses are inherently arbitrary in nature. They are not necessarily suitable for the actual representation of geographical distribution.
- 6 "a type of lavatory in which earth is used to cover excreta." [Collins (1979) s. v. "earth-closet"]
- 7 In Map 1 you can see no other distribution areas than the two ones for economy of space.
- 8 In his personal talk with me, Prof. W. A. Grootaers commented on the "isogloss" method, as contrasted with "marking of each locality" method, saying it is liable to give the readers some false impressions —
- 1) that the whole area circumscribed by an isogloss is occupied by a specified form, and
  - 2) that all localities of the area under investigation have been completed, because the method less explicitly discriminates between the actually surveyed areas and the unsurveyed ones.
- In spite of his remarks, the LAE seems to the writer of the present paper to have tried to compensate for the defects in some ways.
- 9 You are referred to [Juillard et al (1972)] and [Hammarström (1976)] for the topics.
- 10 Though this is by the way, an American dialectologist ascribed this saying to a well-known American linguist Hans Kurath, who is celebrating his 100th birthday now in 1991, and called it a Kurathism.  
"As Hans Kurath has classically put it, the ideal time to make a questionnaire is after all the fieldwork has been done."  
[Cassidy (1970 : 3)]
- 11 See 2.5 : tape-recordings, above. On the problem mentioned in the text you are referred to [Ogura

(1990 : 15-17 & 78 (note 3))].

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REST IN PEACE!

To the late Mr. Nobuaki KATO this paper of mine is dedicated, with my profound gratitude and deepest regret.