HANDBOOK OF **PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY**

HANDBOOK OF
PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY

VOLUME 1

Edited by

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This book is respectfully dedicated to Willem Grootaers,
Takesi Sibata, and Antonius Weijnen —
the pioneers of perceptual dialectology

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Preface

The general view would have it that the linguistics of speech should be concerned with what people actually say. Speech production surely has had the majority of the attention in empirical linguistics, whether under quantitative or qualitative analysis. However, there is not only room for study of the reception of speech, there is the necessity that we study it. Constraints on what we say are not only determined by accident of birth but to some degree are a matter of choice. We choose our words according to how we perceive them or how we believe that others will perceive them. Every conversation is to some extent an exercise in such psychological brinksmanship. And to understand more fully the words that people actually produce, we therefore need to understand how people perceive those words. Empirical linguistics here meets psychology, whether the social psychology of groups or the individual psychologies of the participants in a conversation, in that what people actually say is bound up with how people perceive and understand their choices in what to say.

Dennis Preston has done the field of empirical linguistics great service in his earlier work on perceptual dialectology, both to raise our consciousness of the phenomenon and to document some facts about the perception of English varieties. Now he has done it again in the *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology*, to expose the foundations of the study of perceptual dialectology and to extend our knowledge of it around the world. Especially in the Netherlands and in Japan, early work in the field looked for correspondences between speech production, dialect boundaries based on evidence of what people actually said, and speech perception, where people *thought* the dialect boundaries might be. The two were seldom found to correspond, and thus the authors of the early papers and their successors found it necessary to measure the degree of correspondence between evidence of production and perception with empirical methods parallel to those used for investigation of speech production and to consider possible reasons for the mismatch of production and perception. This mismatch, I would argue, is one of the most important basic facts about language, and its discovery is one of the most important findings of modern empirical linguistics. Where should we locate the basic agreement of speakers about what belongs in their language and what does not? Perceptual dialectology reveals that we each have less a contract with other speakers and more a set of cultural (or other kinds of) assumptions about our interlocutors, less an agreement among ourselves and

more a shared experience of incompletely fulfilled expectations. The mismatch between perception and production, which the *Handbook* documents in many of the world's languages, might be seen as subversive to our intuitive sense of linguistic systems. It does more to throw us back on the solipsism of idiolect than any other single aspect of language — and yet it also requires each speaker to escape from merely personal idiosyncrasy to form impressions of the speech of others and, presumably, to act on the most salient judgments in everyday conversation. The notion of perceptual dialectology greatly deepens our understanding of the dynamics of speech communities.

The *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* offers a detailed record of the development of the field and its modern extension. Of particular interest for empirical linguistics are the different methods that have been employed to document perceptions, for subtle differences in the questions asked of speakers can apparently have far-reaching effects in the results. And some of the earliest articles turn out still to be the most impressive in their grasp of the issues of speech perception in relation to speech production. The *Handbook* is a reference book, but its chapters also read well seriatim. It will stand as a basic text in empirical linguistics for years to come.

William A. Kretzschmar, Jr.
University of Georgia

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While I am on this personal note, I will point out that the studies presented in Part III of this volume nearly all come from scholars who have held my work in enough regard to carry it on, developing new approaches and methods and/or applying older ones to new

areas. I am honored by their confidence; I hope that this area of investigation has added in at least some small way to a sense of accomplishment in their linguistic research careers. I am very fortunate to be able to say that several joint enterprises in addition to the preparation of this volume have turned this group of scholars into friends as well as colleagues — Nik Coupland, Jennie Dailey-O'Cain, Mahide Demirci, Peter Garrett, Ton Goeman, Laura Hartley, Fumio Inoue, Brian Kleiner, Larry Kuiper, Don Lance, Danny Long, and Angie Williams. We've never all been in one room, but when subsets of us have, it ain't all been work.

Although I am flattered by the acknowledgment of my work in Part III, as can be seen in the first parts of this volume, it is, in fact, a continuation of a long and productive tradition (much of which, sadly, I was ignorant of when I began this research initiative). I hope the inclusion (and translation) here of some of this previously published work will expose it to a more general public and serve to strengthen what I believe can be an important contribution to an ever-expanding interdisciplinary approach to language structure, use, and regard. I have been lucky enough to meet Professors Grootaers, Mase, Sibata, and Weijnen and correspond with Professor Daan from that earlier group of distinguished scholars, and my own work has been inestimably enriched by that contact.

Finally, as readers of nearly everything else I have written will already know, who else but Carol Preston read every word of this work, straightened out the prose, and as always, gave the best advice and comfort possible.

Introduction

Dennis R. Preston

Why a "perceptual dialectology"?[1] There are many, many ways to skin a linguistic cat, but let's assume here that there are basically three: *a*, *b*, and *c* (see Figure 0.1). At the top of this triangle sits the vast majority of research on language. What people actually say not only provides ethnographic, conversational, and other studies of language performance with their raw data but also, by exposing how different groups say things differently, feeds (at least) historical linguistics, linguistic geography, and sociolinguistics. Lurking behind *a*, however, is *a'*; linguists seek not only to classify language use but also to account for it by determining the cognitive, social interactive, geographical, and other forces and conditions that explain its acquisition, shape, distribution, change, and employment. That ought to be enough.

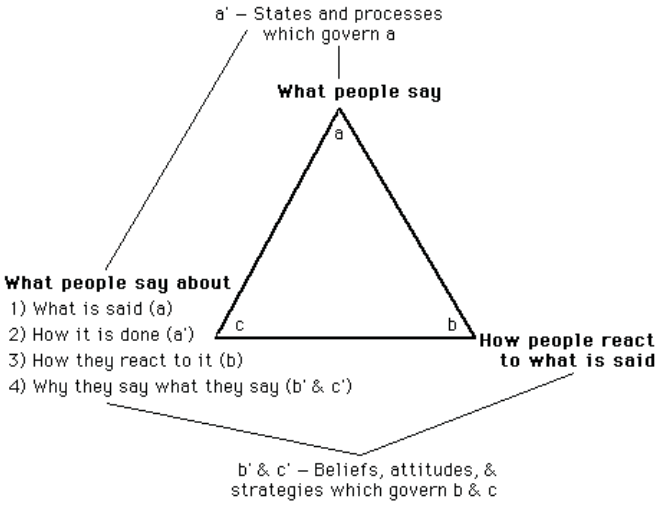

Figure 0.1. *Three approaches to language data*

But sociolinguists, ethnographers, social psychologists, and anthropologists (among others) notice that some of the underlying explanations at *a′* are related to the social regard that groups and individuals have for one another and that such regard seems to be strongly related to language use. They have fashioned, therefore, a separate approach to language study that has come to be known generally as the investigation of "language attitudes," situated in the triangle shown in Figure 0.1 at *b*. Like *a*, lurking behind such attitudes is an explanatory *b′*, which touches on facts such as historical relations among groups, psychosociological associations (and the mechanisms that account for them), and a host of other values, beliefs, and cultural stereotypes.

Finally, although the tradition may be as old as Polle (1889), the *c* corner of the triangle was more recently defined for and recommended to modern linguists by Hoenigswald (1966): "[W]e should be interested not only in (*a*) what goes on (language), but also in (*b*) how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, they are put off, etc.) and in (*c*) what people say goes on (talk concerning language)" (20). What people say about what goes on (and what lies behind their statements), the *c* and *c′* of the above triangle, is the stuff of *folk linguistics*, and perceptual dialectology is a subbranch of that general area of investigation.[2]

I provide here only minimum justification for studying folk concepts, and it surely requires little justification for social scientists in general. What nonspecialists believe about any technical field has at least the following general values:

1. Such beliefs are a part of the folklore, ethnography, and cultural anthropology of groups; studying them is justified along this dimension quite independent of the separate scientific field to which the beliefs are related.
2. There may be interaction as well as simply contrast between folk belief (and practice) on the one hand and scientific or specialist knowledge on the other. For example, folk medicines have been found in the laboratory to be extremely effective. When folk knowledge relates to social facts, however, the interaction may be defining as well. The social-psychological truth of such interaction is so profound that it has become a part of our own folk belief: For example, "If children believe that they will not succeed, they won't." In such cases, knowledge of the folk belief is explanatory, scientific knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation. It seems obvious that instances of language change and so-called language attitudes, to take examples from the *a* and *b* corners of the triangle respectively, might be profoundly influenced by folk beliefs about language, particularly beliefs about the status of language varieties and the speakers of them.
3. Finally, although not at all least consequential, even when there is considerable contrast between scientific and folk information and when some scientists may find little of value in the folk facts, those who labor in applied fields will want to know what nonspecialists believe if they plan to intervene successfully. This is perhaps most important in language teaching — native as well as second or foreign — especially when different languages and/or varieties are held in different regard by

members of speech communities. To lack this information is surely as debilitating as a physician's not knowing the folk terms for and/or beliefs about diseases.

Perceptual dialectology, then, represents the dialectologist's-sociolinguist's-variationist's interest in folk linguistics. What do nonspecialists have to say about variation? Where do they believe it comes from? Where do they believe it exists? What do they believe is its function? Once linguists are in possession of these facts (satisfying Condition 1 above), they may go on to compare scientific and folk characterizations of dialect areas (or social class varieties or others), discovering, for example, that there may be perceived folk dialect areas where there are none scientifically and vice versa (satisfying Condition 2 above). Finally, a more intelligent approach to instruction, materials, teacher education, language and law, language and medicine, and a number of other applied matters that touch on language diversity may be taken once the folk as well as the scientific facts are known (satisfying Condition 3 above).

Once it has been decided that the folk facts of dialectology are worth knowing, it remains only to visit the folk and find them out. This book provides detailed accounts of how that has been done and the results of doing it. It, therefore, aims to provide the following for perceptual dialectology:

– A historical survey
– A regional survey, adding to the earlier preponderance of studies in Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States
– A methodological survey, showing, in detail, how data have been acquired and processed
– An interpretive survey, showing how these data have been related to both linguistic and nonlinguistic facts
– A comprehensive bibliography

In fulfilling these major aims, articles that have appeared in journals not accessible to a majority of scholars or in languages that may not be a part of every scholar's competence are made available. Although the major organization of the book is historical, there is some skipping around to keep regional and/or methodological concerns together.

1. Part I

In Part I, the earliest systematic technique for determining folk perceptions of dialect boundaries is surveyed.[3] The following two questions concerning respondents' beliefs about the degree to which surrounding communities were linguistically similar to or different from their own were included in a 1939 Dutch dialect survey:

1. In which place(s) in your area does one speak the same or about the same dialect as you do?

2. In which place(s) in your area does one speak a definitely different dialect than you do? Can you mention any specific differences? (Rensink 1955: 20; see Chapter 1, this volume)

Antonius Weijnen (see Chapter 9, this volume) devised a method to represent the information uncovered by the first question. This *Pfeilchenmethode* (little-arrow method or *pijltjesmethode* in Dutch) connects a respondent's home area to another that the respondent asserts to be linguistically similar. Groupings of these connected areas, representing the response of a single respondent at each location, are then identified as "unities" based on the dialect consciousness or "awareness" of the respondents.

The earliest of these maps (for the North Brabant) was first published in Weijnen 1946. Here, however, I will show (in Figure 0.2) only the westernmost portion of that map since it is not so intricately detailed as some other parts but will nevertheless allow an illustration of the method.

The thick lines are "traditional" dialect divisions ("bundles of isoglosses") in this area. Perceptual areas can be determined by encircling those community labels (letters) connected by arrows. For example, in the northwest of this section of the map, the respondent from W (Willemstad) has indicated that no nearby community sounds like W, and, therefore, no arrow is drawn from that site. Similarly, no surrounding community has identified W as sounding like it, so no arrow is drawn toward it. In contrast, the respondent from D (Dinteloord) believes that the variety in F (Fijnaart) is the same as the local one, and the respondent from F returns the favor; hence, an arrow from D to F and one from F to D. (Double-headed arrows replace this reciprocal identification in, for example, Chapter 3.) The F respondent also identifies K (Klundert) as the same, but unlike D, this perception is not reciprocal.

If there were a perfect match between perception (the arrows) and production (the area enclosed by the thick line), every site within the production boundary (W, D, F, and K) would be connected to every other one with two arrows (W to D, D to W, W to F, F to W, D to F, F to D, etc.). That is obviously not the case.

On the other hand, one must be impressed with the perceptual-production match here, for, although not all the sites are connected to one another, none identifies as similar a site outside the production boundary, nor is any identified as similar by a site outside the production boundary.

A more complex relationship exists in the area just to the east of this section. There Z (Zewenbergen) identifies M (Moerdijk, just to the north) as being the same (although reciprocal identification is not given), and Z itself is identified as the same by a respondent from one site rather far to its southwest. In both these cases, however, the thick line just to the east is not crossed. The respondent from Z, however, also asserts the similarity to Z of both ZH (Zevenbergschen Hoek) and L (Langeweg), both clearly across the production boundary, although the respondent at neither ZH nor L identifies Z as similar. In general, however, there are a relatively small number of "production boundary crossings" in Weijnen's research on folk perception in Dutch-speaking areas.

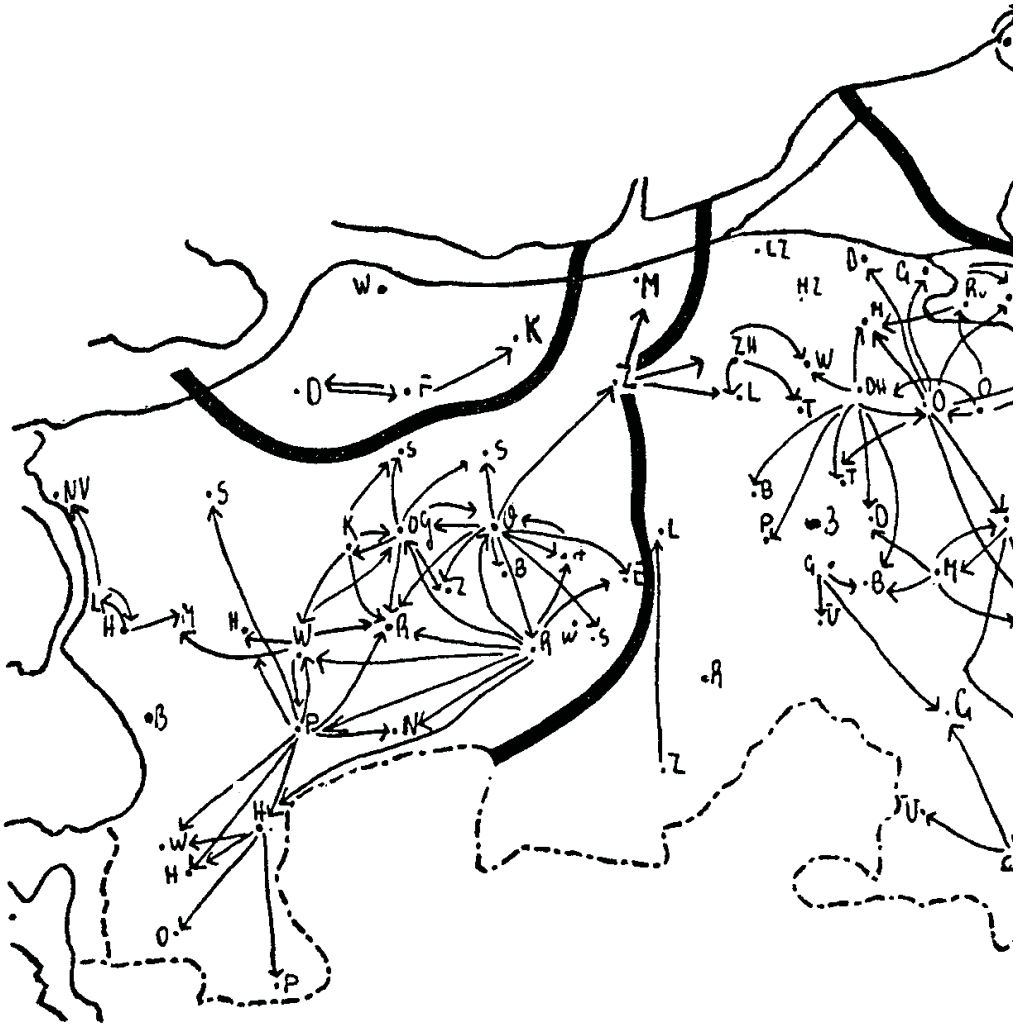

Figure 0.2. *Westernmost section of the North Brabant, showing isogloss boundaries (thick lines) and the "little arrows" of respondent similarity perceptions (enlarged from Weijnen 1946)*

In Figure 0.3, I show my attempt to combine the results of the little-arrow method with traditional production boundaries. Where the shaded and solid thick lines run together, there is agreement between the two; where there is only one line or another, of course, there is only a perceptual or production boundary. As Figure 0.3 shows, the major mismatches between the two methods are perceptual "isolates," all but one of which are single communities, and all of which, interestingly enough, with perhaps only one exception, lie on or near dialect or other natural or political boundaries.

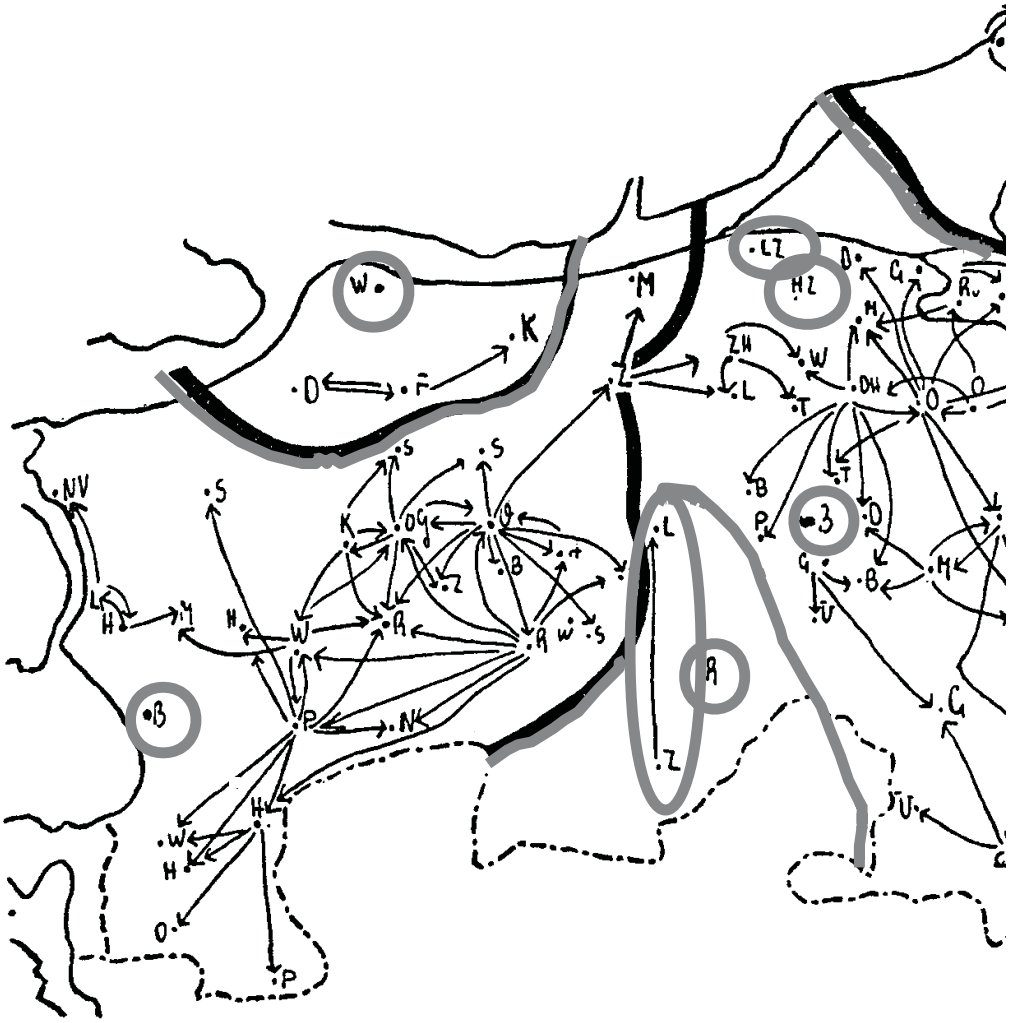

Figure 0.3. *Westernmost section of the North Brabant, showing traditional isogloss boundaries (solid thick lines) and respondent similarity perception boundaries (shaded thick lines) (enlarged and modified from Weijnen 1946)*

Evaluations of Weijnen's and his followers' approach have not all been favorable. Peeters (1952) criticizes the enterprise by noting that since it relies on subjective factors, it is difficult to control the "psychological" elements that enter into the respondents' judgments. As Goeman (Chapter 10, this volume) points out, however, this criticism seems a bit odd since Weijnen admits from the outset the subjective nature of his respondents' judgments and hopes only to correlate such responses with the objective results of

traditional dialect study. Goossens (1970) is critical that respondent judgments do not always correspond to production boundaries and worries that such consideration might impede the progress of dialect study in general. Again, however, as Goeman (Chapter 10) notes, this rejects the validity of the study of the psychological reality of the respondents' regard for language variation and ignores Weijnen's insistence on the necessary consideration of traditional boundaries in any study, as he asserts, for example, in the final sentence of Chapter 9.

In fact, once such data are recorded, other interpretations than those that correlate folk perception and actual production boundaries may be offered. On the one hand, one might ask what linguistic facts (or even what sort of fact — i.e., phonological, lexical, grammatical) of those that are "bundled" into the production isoglosses are most salient to the folk. Weijnen, in fact, believes they are phonological ones, since, according to him, they are "sharper" than syntactic and morphological boundaries and less specific than those that arise as the result of the difference of a single lexical item; they are therefore more "locally noticeable" (e.g., 1961: 5–6; 1966: 194–95).

As a corollary to that search, of course, one might ask what linguistic facts *not* uncovered in production dialect studies might play a role in folk perception, and Daan reflects on this question in Chapter 2, pointing out that intonation, for example, might play an important role in folk awareness but is rarely studied in the construction of production maps. (One might add, of course, vocal quality, speech rate, and a number of other factors.)

One might also ask what sorts of sociohistorical (or other "nonlinguistic") facts influence perception. For example, in Figures 0.2 and 0.3, what makes the respondent from Z look north and east rather than south and west in identifying similar areas, causing the most significant production "boundary breaking" in the comparison between results based on the two procedures. As Daan shows in Chapter 2, a religious boundary may account for respondents' strong feelings that there is also a linguistic one there (when, in fact, none exists).

As we shall see, these questions, the very ones suggested in these earliest investigations, will be the concern, in one way or another, in all the studies included here, in spite of the fact that different methodologies have been employed.

Chapter 1 (Rensink), although it does not directly show the little arrows, provides a generalized map of Dutch-speaking areas based on those perceptions gathered in the 1939 survey (in which the thick lines are boundaries drawn around the bundles of interconnected little arrows), and Chapter 2 (Daan) is an ambitious study of all contiguous Dutch-speaking areas, one that combines the perceptual information with that of the usual production dialect data in representing dialect divisions. Daan provides a detailed account of both the justification for the use of subjective material and the explanation of divergences between subjective and objective results.[4] In Chapter 3 (Kremer), a map that actually shows the little arrows supports a study that asks to what degree perceptual dialect areas may or may not cross national boundaries, where dialect similarity from a purely linguistic point of view across such a boundary may be great.

In general, although in this research program respondents were also asked to mention areas that were different and linguistic features that divided them from their neighbors,

the principal motivation seemed to be a desire to give dialect boundaries greater (or lesser) weight by establishing their folk validity on the basis of perceived similarity at very local levels. This is most directly and thoroughly discussed in a great deal of the work of Weijnen (e.g., 1966 and Chapter 9, this volume). On the other hand, as Chapter 3 (Kremer) shows, use has also been made of this method to simply characterize folk information and see how it patterns with nonlinguistic facts (here, the Netherlands-German political border).

2. Part II

In Part II, a series of articles that includes responses and counterresponses introduces both the study of and controversy over subjective boundaries of dialects in Japan and in general. In Chapter 4, Sibata acknowledges that the survey of the Itoigawa region (in western Japan) included perceptual questions that were partially inspired by the work in the Netherlands, specifically by a summary of Rensink 1955 (see Chapter 1, this volume). It is also noted, however, that the Japanese interest in where boundaries are to be drawn (and if folk information should be included) was reflected in the earlier work of Misao Tôjô, whose reaction to the work of Sibata and others is included in Chapter 8.

Sibata explains both how his team conducted the perceptual part of the research and how they came up with the generalized maps that reveal the findings. Respondents were asked to indicate which nearby villages were (1) not different, (2) a little different, (3) quite different, or (4) mostly incomprehensible.

The question from which maps for Dutch perceptual dialects were derived (which asked where dialects were similar, presumably the equivalent to Question 1 just above) was found to be of little or no value in the Japanese research. In fact, Grootaers, a coworker on this project, notes that for the Japanese research "the first one 'no difference' and the second 'slight difference' proved to be superfluous" (1959c: 356). Therefore, the results of Question 1 above were ignored, the results of Questions 2 and 3 were combined for one mapping effort, and those for Question 4 were treated separately. At first glance, therefore, one might suggest that the Dutch area maps are ones of similarity and that the Japanese maps are ones of difference (but see Chapter 9 and comments on it later in this introduction).

The Japanese team did not know the little-arrow method developed by Weijnen, and instead, they indicated, by increasingly thick lines, those areas that formed the "difference boundaries" for groups of respondents. When respondents performed similarly in stating where differences began, they were grouped into a subjective "speech community" (e.g., Figure 4.1). Sibata (in Chapter 4) and Grootaers (in Chapter 8) claim that the resulting subjective dialect boundaries are of little or no interest to linguists since they do not generally correspond to traditional dialect boundaries.

In further work in Japan, Nomoto (Chapter 5) and Mase (Chapters 6 and 7) carry out studies on the role that dialect boundaries based on linguistic features, not just political and other boundaries, play in subjective boundaries, but Grootaers (Chapter 8) continues

his and Sibata's claim that, except for incidental overlap, the value of folk perceptions is minimal to the scholar interested in drawing dialect maps. In this controversy in general, there is little or no reflection on the value of the folk knowledge itself, a theme that was to play a much larger role in later, more sociolinguistically oriented studies.

Nomoto (Chapter 5) is able to calculate perceptual and production divisions very straightforwardly since he deals with a "straight line" of flat seacoast villages and simply tallies the number of distinctions (whether of perception, production, awareness of production, or accuracy of awareness of production) made. He finds an interesting greater awareness of features that support actual dialect boundaries among better-educated respondents, although his general findings do not show such good matches between perception and production as those of Weijnen's.

Mase, in Chapter 6, provides the first "calculus" for drawing perceptual maps. Although the little-arrow method provides graphically clear evidence for such boundaries, one feels somewhat uneasy that even one respondent may link two large, otherwise fully differentiated regions by simply naming one village in the other region as similar. (Note, for example, how the one respondent from Z in Figure 0.2 "ruins" the perceptual unity of the largest, western dialect area of the North Brabant.) Nomoto's boundaries do away with this possibility in a straightforward numeric way, and Mase's is even more quantitatively sophisticated. He not only requires a numerical standard (two-thirds) for isolating a group of sites as "perceptually similar" but employs a second (one-third) to identify subregions of perceptual similarity within major ones.

On the nonlinguistic side, both Mase and Nomoto find school districts rather than feudal and other political administrative zones to be very similar to perceptual boundaries. Grootaers, however (Chapter 8), finds that school boundaries are not a factor in another area and concludes that dialect consciousness plays the same role as other nonlinguistic factors in accounting for the distribution of dialect features, but he is adamant that only dialect features themselves be used in constructing dialect maps. In Chapter 8, Grootaers also translates and quotes liberally from Hammarström, an advocate of perceptual considerations in dialect study.

Weijnen (Chapter 9), who devised the little-arrow method for the Dutch perception data (Part I), criticizes the Japanese approach to perceptual studies in Itoigawa by noting what he considers to be a fatal flaw: The Sibata-Grootaers team asked people if there were differences (which, according to Weijnen, always exist) rather than asking people where others spoke the same. Not surprisingly, Weijnen praises Mase, who found a greater parallel between perception and production, for his use of the "more appropriate" question.[5]

It is clear that the two questions may lead to radically different maps. For example, Figure 4.1 shows (inside "toothed" boundaries) two different subjective dialect areas in Japan (on the left and right sides of the map, which duplicate the same geographical area). These boundaries, however, are based exclusively on the similarity of responses given within them at a number of sites concerning other sites that are thought of as different. In Figure 4.1, areas that have been mentioned as different have had lines (of varying thicknesses, representing frequency of mention) drawn in front of them (with thin lines

pointing back to the individual sites that mentioned them, which, in turn, have small dark squares on the circles around them pointing to the area mentioned as different). If we look only at the sites enclosed within the two toothed boundaries on the left and right of Figure 4.1, it should be immediately apparent that only Sites 20, 92, 24, 48, and 15 were mentioned by any other sites within either zone's boundary as different (and only 20 and 48 by more than two respondents).

If, on the other hand, we were to assume a sort of negative evidence — that is, that nearby areas *not* mentioned as different might be regarded as similar — we could, in effect, draw little arrows and connect those (local) sites that did not mention one another as different. If we apply this technique, all the sites in both of these areas (seen as distinct by the Japanese research team) would be interconnected by a massive pattern of little arrows and would constitute a single perceptual area. In Chapter 6, as noted earlier, Mase's more quantitatively oriented technique considers both similarity and difference ratings in calculating subjective boundaries.

Interestingly, Sibata's work on Shimo-kita peninsula (which Grootaers summarizes in Chapter 8) asks where villages are similar (as well as different), and the map that results from this work (Figure 8.1) is based on similarity judgments rather than on the more complex consideration of "difference rating similarities" shown in Chapter 4. In spite of having used the method that Weijnen would have approved of, Grootaers finds that this more recent work of Sibata's still does not show the close correspondence between subjective boundaries and objective boundaries that he would like to find in establishing the value of the former.

The last word in this controversy may have to do with ends rather than means. If one seeks to supplement the details of production dialect maps with "awareness weights" from local ratings (telling the reader which dialect boundaries have and do not have greater folk significance), then subjective maps that result in boundaries that do not generally correspond to production boundaries will be of little help. Although that appears to be Weijnen's opinion, Daan (Chapter 2) seems to be more interested in what one might learn from the mismatches (as well as from the matches) in the two methods.

If one seeks a general approach to dialect mapping, apparently the general Japanese motivation, then, like Sibata and Grootaers, one may be disappointed that subjective boundaries do not provide a ready-made way to offer a succinct (perhaps even guiding) picture of language distribution.

If, however, one seeks corroborating and explanatory evidence for dialect distribution (as Grootaers himself concludes in Chapter 8), one should not ignore the voice of the folk in this matter. That this voice would have independent value (and applications) does not seem to be a conclusion reached in this early work.

Finally, in Chapter 10 Goeman reviews much of the Dutch and Japanese work presented in Parts I and II, identifies (and illustrates) some interesting precursors, and provides both dialectological and general theoretical criticism of much of this early enterprise.

3. Part III

Part III is devoted to what one might call the sociolinguistic (or "modern") trend in perceptual dialectology. It begins with a sample of the work of Fumio Inoue, a scholar whose main concern has not been with the correspondence between perceptual and production boundaries (although he carried out such studies in northern Japan, the results of which are very briefly summarized in Chapter 12). Inoue was convinced of the value of folk knowledge, and he has devised a technique that identifies the attributes of speech regions on the basis of what he calls "dialect image." His method is inventive, sensitive to language attitude concerns, and statistically sophisticated.

Chapter 11 illustrates the foundation for much of Inoue's subsequent work. He identifies (through evaluative words associated with predetermined regions) the two principal characteristics associated with dialect image in Japan as "intellectual" and "emotional." These correspond closely to the "status" versus "solidarity" factor groups that emerge from most quantitative work done on language attitudes by social psychologists of language (e.g., Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian 1982) and to the "correct" versus "pleasant" characteristics of varieties assessed in much of the work reported in Part III. In plotting these dialect images, Inoue relies on a Japanese version of multidimensional scaling known as Hayashi 3. It allows a researcher to group together both the evaluative labels assigned to varieties and, later, the varieties themselves. Inoue goes on to illustrate an application of this technique in Great Britain with a resulting dialect image map. Interestingly, the components selected in the statistical treatment of labels used in Great Britain were not emotional and intellectual but "rural" and "standard."

In Chapter 12, further information about the treatment of variety perception in Great Britain is detailed, and Inoue shows more directly how the multidimensional scaling approach is applied both to the evaluative labels and to the regions evaluated. He also displays a technique for determining the perceptual dialect areas of the country based on hand-drawn maps, a theme that will be returned to several times in Part III, although like Sibata and Grootaers, he believes that nonlinguistic factors determine folk perceptions of the extent of regional varieties.

In Inoue's work and in the rest of Part III, the reader will see the more recent concern with multiple responses from one area. In short, in the majority of these remaining studies, the researchers are more concerned with averages and other generalizations that can be drawn from a number of respondents from the same area. In some of these studies, therefore, internal demographics among the respondents will play an important role in the analysis as they could not in single-respondent studies, which are typical of much older work in traditional dialectology (in which the respondents were referred to as "NORMs" — *nonmobile, older, rural, males* — in Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 33).

The remainder of Part III contains a number of articles that use and elaborate on techniques that I devised and reported on in a series of publications in the 1980s and 1990s (listed under Preston in the bibliography). None of that work is included here since much of the early stages of it was collected and summarized in a monograph (Preston 1989), and most of the newer items are readily available in English-language journals and

anthologies. In addition, it is important here to give ample space to new approaches (and approaches to new areas) being carried out by other scholars.

The principal techniques that I developed for perceptual dialectology in the 1980s were the following:

1. *Draw-a-map.* Respondents draw boundaries on a blank (or minimally detailed) map around areas where they believe regional speech zones exist; a technique developed by Preston and Howe (1987) allows computerized generalizations to be compiled from individual responses to this task. Although respondent hand-drawn maps were well-known in cultural geography (e.g., Gould and White 1986), there does not appear to be a long-standing tradition for the use of this technique in the study of dialect perceptions.
2. *Degree of difference.* Respondents rank regions on a scale of one to four (1 = *same*, 2 = *a little different*, 3 = *different*, 4 = *unintelligibly different*) for the perceived degree of dialect difference from the home area. Versions of this technique are long-standing in perceptual dialect study and are reported in Parts I and II of this volume (e.g., Chapters 1 and 4).
3. *"Correct" and "pleasant."* Respondents rank regions for correct and pleasant speech; such ratings are common in other areas of cultural geography (e.g., Gould and White 1986) and reflect principal findings from language attitude studies (e.g., Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian 1982), although in the latter, respondents judge actual voice samples rather than their internal representation of speech differences when confronted simply with a regional label.
4. *Dialect identification.* Respondents listen to voices on a "dialect continuum," although the voices are presented in a scrambled order. The respondents are instructed to assign each voice to the site where they think it belongs.[6]
5. *Qualitative data.* Respondents are questioned about the tasks they have carried out and are engaged in open-ended conversations about language varieties, speakers of them, and related topics.

The principal generalizations that emerged from those earlier works include the following:

1. *Draw-a-map.* Respondents first draw stigmatized and then local areas most frequently.
2. *"Correct" and "Pleasant."* Respondents from areas with a great deal of linguistic security rate the local area as uniquely correct, but they include a larger region in the area they consider most pleasant; respondents from areas of linguistic insecurity rate the local area as most pleasant, but they rate a number of areas as most correct. Respondents from areas of high linguistic security often find the same areas to be least correct and least pleasant; respondents from areas of high linguistic insecurity often find different areas least pleasant and least correct.
3. *Degree of difference.* Respondents from areas of linguistic security find regions of least correctness and pleasantness also most different (often ranking them as even

unintelligible). Respondents from areas of linguistic insecurity may find areas of either high or low correctness and pleasantness maximally different from the local area.

4. *Dialect identification.* Nonlinguists are surprisingly good at distinguishing voices along a dialect continuum, even at sites where traditional dialect geography has not posited an isogloss. Respondents from different areas, however, "hear" boundaries at different places and with different degrees of intensity, more often making more distinctions closer to the local area and fewer in areas farther from the local area.

Conversational data are, of course, not so easy to summarize. One might, however, note the following trends:

1. Face-to-face contacts are much more frequently mentioned than popular culture vehicles in accounting for familiarity with other varieties.
2. Overt identification of details of other varieties is very weak (perhaps particularly at phonological levels), but imitations of the varieties are often convincing (at least to nonlinguists) and contain accurate as well as inaccurate representations of linguistic elements of the varieties (Preston 1992, 1996a).
3. Concerns with correctness are more frequently mentioned than any others in overt discussions of language and variety.

Preston (1993a, 1993e, 1996a, 1997) and Niedzielski and Preston (forthcoming) present a great deal of such conversational data concerning language, much of it focused on variety.

The remaining articles in Part III expand on these methods, introduce others, apply newer statistical techniques to the results, offer alternative interpretations of findings, and extend the program of research to new areas.

In Chapter 13, Long fine-tunes the use of computerized generalizations of hand-drawn maps in a study of the perception of dialect areas in Japan. He shows how respondent hand-drawn maps are converted into numeric data and used to produce computer generalizations of a large number of responses. Long shows both the value of studying the names given to dialect regions by the respondents (including, of course, evaluative names such as "standard") and the value of looking at the intensity with which respondents identify parts of a region as belonging to it or not. Although Long shows that some perceptual boundaries correspond to administrative districts (Sibata and Grootaers's complaint, Chapter 4), he finds other boundaries that do not and concludes that a variety of influences are at work, some difficult to distinguish from one another.

In Chapter 14, Long continues to apply perceptual techniques to Japanese varieties but this time studies the idea of "most pleasant" spoken Japanese. Rather than applying typical factor-analytic techniques to the results of a questionnaire that asked respondents to rank areas along this dimension, Long standardizes scores and directly represents respondents' judgments of the most pleasant speaking areas of Japan on a map. In a series of such maps, he isolates those characteristics associated with most pleasant (both linguistic and nonlinguistic). Finally he compares his findings with those of Sibata and

Grootaers (e.g., Chapter 4) and Inoue's "dialect image" (e.g., Chapter 11), and with the bulk of my work (outlined above).

Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain's work in Chapter 15 is a part of her larger study of perceptual dialectology with a special focus on the former east-west political division of Germany. In some ways, her work is a combination of older and newer approaches since she has representative data from a large number of sites all over the country. She finds echoes of the earlier political division in her respondents' assessments of both pleasant and correct spoken German and in their hand-drawn maps. Her technique of combining responses for hand-drawn maps is the one more commonly used in these studies. That is, predetermined areas are referred to and represented as part (or not part) of a respondent groups' perceptual dialect area identification.

In Chapter 16, Larry Kuiper focuses on an area of France with "high linguistic security" (Ile-de-France) and asks for the "full range" of perceptual reactions — degree of difference, hand-drawn maps, and pleasant and correct assessments. Like some other recent work (and like Inoue's use of the Hayashi 3 technique), Kuiper uses multidimensional scaling combined with cluster analysis to assess both degree of difference and evaluative ranking tasks, showing that the linguistically secure indeed think very well of themselves for correctness but, as in earlier work, not exclusively well of themselves for pleasantness. In fact, for these respondents, Provence wins over the local area, even though only slightly, for pleasantness. Kuiper's work is also enhanced by ample quotation from and analysis of respondent interviews.

In Chapter 17, Demirci and Kleiner also conduct a one-site (Bursa) high-linguistic security survey of an entire country (Turkey). Again using sophisticated statistical treatments of ranking data (multidimensional scaling with cluster analysis and analysis of variance [ANOVA]), they show a relatively even (declining) west-to-east pattern in the ratings of spoken Turkish (by these western respondents), although there are interesting "islands" or "pockets" of disruption of this flow. Most interesting in this report, however, are the significant differences among respondents in their ratings. For example, men rate numerous areas higher for both pleasantness and correctness than women do; older respondents also gave higher ratings in general, but middle-aged (not youngest) respondents gave the lowest ratings (perhaps a parallel to the sociolinguistic phenomenon of "age-grading").

Donald Lance, in Chapter 18, provides a multi-area picture of perceptual maps from numerous regions of the United States. Like Inoue and others, Lance takes "pre-set" regional areas as the background from which to figure the intensity of perceptual regions. Although the most striking feature of Lance's study is clearly the variation in regional identification offered by his regionally various respondents, he also offers interesting comparisons of his respondents' representations with "traditional" production studies.

Chapter 19, Laura Hartley's contribution, again focuses on the responses from a smaller area (Oregon) that also has a reputation for high linguistic security. Unlike earlier findings in Michigan (and France), for example, Hartley shows that Oregon respondents rate themselves highest for both pleasantness and correctness but are, in many cases, unwilling to negatively rank other areas. Again, sophisticated statistical techniques

(multidimensional scaling with cluster analysis and chi-square treatments to avoid parametric analyses of data that do not fit normal distributions) are used to show the interesting patterns of area rankings that emerge in this study, although unlike the Turkish study, internal patterns (e.g., between men and women or age groups) were not found.

In Chapter 20 Coupland, Williams, and Garrett study language perception and attitude in Wales. Asking teachers all over the country to draw in variety differences and evaluate them, they show that the labels given to regions correspond quite directly with a dialect assessment task (in which "described" varieties rather than actual samples are presented). The rankings show a typical language attitude grouping of the ranking tasks into "pleasant," "dynamic," and "prestigious" factor groups, but a factor identified as "Welshness" did not correlate highly with any of these groups. The principal finding of this study is that varieties of Welsh English that are viewed as more or less Welsh cannot be linked to any other specific affective or prestige dimension of dialect.

In a further study (Chapter 21), Williams, Garrett, and Coupland asked Welsh school-age children to tell them where dialects (actual samples) were from, a response to a criticism leveled against language attitude surveys in my earliest work in perceptual dialectology (e.g., Preston 1989). Interestingly, although dialect identification was not particularly good, evaluations of speakers (all telling short narratives) were quite varied and appeared to have as much to do with content and narrative style as with dialect itself.

In Chapter 22, I try to come full circle in language attitude studies by submitting the perceptual areas that resulted from an earlier study of hand-drawn Michigan maps for a semantic differential rating. The labels used were elicited from similar respondents, and university-age respondents used them to evaluate several perceptual dialect areas. I report here only on the rankings for South and North Central (the local area) and show corroborating evidence for earlier findings concerning pleasant and correct varieties from this part of the United States.

4. What Next?

I believe the many scholarly perspectives presented in this volume that have been taken on the folk identity of and regard for language varieties should attract the attention of dialectologists, sociolinguists, and students of the social psychology of language, and perhaps that is a foregone conclusion.

I also believe, however, that there is a more general interest among social and cognitive scientists (including those who would like to apply their knowledge to public venues such as law, medicine, and education) in knowing what the folk believe about this most human of enterprises. If folk linguistics is of any value to such scholars, then this volume surely shows that one of the dominating folk concerns in language is variety and pre- (and pro-) scription.

Much of this work might continue as it has above, refining the methodologies and applying them to new situations. I also believe, however, that these findings will engage the interests of those who more centrally locate their practice in linguistics. To take only

one example, I believe that future work in the perception of variety might focus more specifically on the exact linguistic elements that give rise to perception rather than on the global presentation of varieties (or variety or area labels) in eliciting responses. Although folk imitations are one way of approaching this problem (e.g., Preston 1992), the presentation of specific elements (by name, by actual sample, or by computer-modified samples) for identification, placement, and evaluation by respondents is surely one way to grasp even greater details of the triggering mechanisms of language regard among the folk and, through such study, the potential influence of such regard on the more general processes of variation and change. Of course, one might argue that the presentation of actual speech samples makes these techniques a part of the language attitude tradition, and of course, the boundaries between that tradition and perceptual dialectology are difficult to draw. In many cases, it is hard to determine when the principal concern of a piece of research has been with the determination of folk sensitivity to regional speech boundaries or with an assessment of the respondents' attitudes toward regional speech. Admittedly, when attitudes to regional labels rather than actual samples are given, I have given studies using this technique "full status" in the perceptual dialectology enterprise. From one point of view, of course, the presentation of labels rather than actual speech samples for judgment is simply an alternative technique in the study of language attitudes. From another, however, since attitudinal factors have been shown to be strong determiners of the salience of areas themselves, any study of responses to regional speech is an integral part of the perceptual dialectology enterprise.

If we include social dialectology as a part of our regular definition of dialects (and I obviously believe we should, e.g., Preston 1993d: 2–3), there is an even greater risk of perceptual dialectology's growth. It is clear, for example, that studies such as Labov (1966), which asked respondents in New York City to evaluate the social status of speakers on the basis of the frequency of nonprevocalic /r/ deletion or stop substitution for the interdental fricatives, were, according to the above definition, early examples of "perceptual social dialectology." When Graff, Labov, and Harris (1986) instrumentally manipulated the onset of the /aw/ diphthong of an African American speaker from Philadelphia (in which the /a/ portion was "fronted" to a position nearer /æ/), they succeeded in showing that this fronting alone (with no other alteration of the speaker's performance) was enough to signal "white" ethnicity to both African and European American respondents. This was, as well, a case of perceptual social dialectology, with ethnicity as its principal target.

In the long run, I doubt if we will be successful in showing in any ironclad way what linguistics is (at least a linguistics that includes the study of language variation and change) and what the "social psychology of language" is. Perhaps linguists will be more interested in isolating the specific language features that trigger attitudinal responses and identifications, and social psychologists will be more interested in isolating the socio-cultural forces that form and maintain the set of predispositions responsible for attitudes, but I am not at all surprised (nor disheartened) by the prospect of a great deal of interdisciplinary poaching.

Whatever the boundaries of this enterprise (and whatever directions it takes), I am delighted and honored to be able to present this feast of both past and present studies of the folk perceptions of language varieties.

5. How to Read This Book

In the new as well as older material, I and the various authors have provided extensive cross-referencing (which ought to allow the reader considerable opportunity to compare specific techniques and interpretations). Although I have tried to be faithful to the originals (whether translations or not), I have "normalized" references, no longer leaving as footnotes, for example, items in earlier works that simply referred to bibliographical matters. In some cases, the translators and I have inserted editorial and/or translation comment, directly in the text when brief, in notes when more extensive. For that reason, the note or footnote numbers of the originals will not be the same as those given here. Such material is either given in square brackets or clearly identified as editorial or translator comment. In reprinting previously published work, I have left many of the authors' typographical conventions intact (e.g., small caps, italics, bold), but I have standardized the heading and subheading style.

Finally, I have gathered the references into a final section, since there would have been considerable overlap if this had not been done. I have also tried to include a comprehensive list of references having to do with perceptual dialectology. That is, in a separate bibliography, I have included everything I know of on perceptual dialectology, whether the item was referred to in any of the chapters of this work or not. I would appreciate hearing from anyone who has any additional information about publications in this area that I have inadvertently omitted.

Notes

1. The term *perceptual dialectology* in relation to these studies was first used, so far as I know, in Preston (1981). If it were not for the common and unfortunate misunderstanding of *folk* as "false," I would now prefer *folk dialectology*, and that use would make it clear that this initiative is but one of any number of subareas of investigation in "folk linguistics."
2. A more detailed characterization of folk linguistics is given in Niedzielski and Preston (forthcoming) and Preston (forthcoming), and the former contains a number of such investigations outside the area of dialectology.
3. According to Goeman (Chapter 10), the first systematic investigation of dialect perception by nonlinguists was carried out by Willems (1886); although the data are unpublished, Goeman represents Willems's findings in a little-arrows map (Figure 10.1).
4. Unfortunately, the color-coded map that results from Daan's work is too detailed to include in this volume. I have reworked it (Figure 2.2) to show the main results, but those interested in the details of the characteristics on which it is based should, of course, consult the original.
5. Weijnen (1961) also evaluated a 1939 work by Büld that attempted to determine dialect boundaries on the basis of humorous folk caricatures of speech. After attempting to carry out Büld's technique in a Dutch

dialect setting, Weijnen found it unsatisfactory. There is a brief summary of Weijnen's criticism of this approach in Kremer (Chapter 3).

6. A similar technique is suggested in the most outspoken proponent of the need for perceptual data in drawing dialect boundaries. Jernudd (1968) simply contends that folk knowledge is an integral part of the scholarly representation of dialect divisions. He outlines a "program" for such research in which he recommends eliciting folk responses to actual dialect features, a procedure used in very little of the previous work in Dutch-speaking areas or in Japan (but see Nomoto, Chapter 5, and Mase, Chapters 6 and 7). A similar strategy is used in the Welsh studies reported in Chapters 20 and 21, and Diercks (1988) uses actual voice samples in determining regional speech awareness in a small area of northern Germany.

PART I

The Dutch Contribution

‘Little Arrows’

Chapter 1

Informant Classification of Dialects

W. G. Rensink
Translated by Dennis R. Preston

Among the questions asked in "Questionnaire #8" in 1939 were the following two: "(1) In which place(s) in your area does one speak the same or about the same dialect as you do? (2) In which place(s) in your area does one speak a definitely different dialect than you do? Can you mention any specific differences?"[1] We tried to construct a map [i.e., Figure 1.1] of the classification of dialects using the answers given to these two questions. In spite of the map presented here, the attempt was only partially successful due to the following reasons: (1) In many sites there are no informants, so there is missing data. (2) The data gathered are often contradictory. (3) There are often no clear boundaries. One should see this map as a tentative sketch, a sample of what the informants know. If there are errors or omissions on the map in your own area or if you have suggestions or additions, please write us or draw a map in which you show your ideas of the boundaries and explain why. We would appreciate this.

Following are some examples of districts in Holland which provide examples of answers to the questions and the difficulty in interpreting them.

An informant from Groningen Province (Wagenborgen) answered Question 1 (above) as follows: "Nieuwolda, Termunten, Termunterzijl, 't Waar, Noordbroek, Siddeburen, Oterdum, Heveskes, Woldendorp and all other villages in far surroundings." The answer to Question 2 (above) was "None." Another informant from Woldendorp noted that a variety of the local dialect was spoken in Oterdum and Heveskes. There they say "tweide" [Tuesday] and "vrijdag" [Friday] for the local (i.e., Woldendorp) "twaide" and "vraidag." It is clear that both informants did their best in filling out the questionnaires but used very different standards. The first noticed large differences, the second, small. Both ways involve certain risks. If one looks too broadly over a wide area, important differences may be missed. If one is too detailed, it will turn out that no two villages speak the same dialect. In actual practice, however, most informants find a good middle ground for responding.

In Friesland there are actually more dialects than indicated on the map. Some, for example the dialect of Hindeloopen, are restricted to one site; for others, we were unable

to define boundaries based on our data. There will always be borderline cases. For example, informants from Oldeboorn indicate that they speak the same dialect as in Akkrum but that Beets and Tijnje have the same dialect as in Eastern Friesland (“Woudfries”). Grouw is said to have such differences as “waansdei” [Wednesday] for Oldeboorn’s “wèènsdei.” Of course, Frisian spoken in the city should not even be referred to this way. An informant from Leeuwarden, with a guilty conscience, answered the question about different speech by saying, “Around Leeuwarden — they speak Frisian.”

The dialect in Drenthe is sharply separated from that of Groningen by the peat colonies. According to answers given in Drenthe, “corruption” of speech was a large concern. The informants there provided a greater number of boundaries than are actually given on the map. “’t Hoogeveen” stands apart, and around Dwingeloo there is a special pronunciation of “aa” as “èè,” so that one “met de wèègn deur ’t wèèter jèègt dat zo klèètert teegn de glèèzn” [“drives his wagon so fast through the puddles that the water splashes on the windows,” a sentence constructed to illustrate multiple substitutions of “èè” for “aa”]. A respondent from Zuidwolde concludes: “In every village certain words have a different pronunciation, but to write down the differences is out of the question.”

From the data there appears to be a clear boundary between Drenthe and Overijssel, but the boundary was drawn with some misgivings since there was contradictory evidence. Informants in Nijverdal indicate that the dialects of Hellendoorn, Wierden, and Rijssen are the same as theirs (that is, in Nijverdal). A Hellendoorn informant writes, however, that “The dialects spoken in Vriezenveen, Rijssen, and Wierden are so exceptional that they cannot be written about in a few lines.” This is true for Vriezenveen, but for the other two as well?

The job of drawing boundaries in Gelderland has been especially difficult due to a lack of data, specifically from Veluwe. The area between the big rivers creates problems due to such responses as these: “The Upper Betuwe has different sounds, but I wouldn’t say that it is a different dialect” (from Kesteren) and “The further away from a place, the bigger the difference in language gets. I’m not able to draw a fixed boundary or line” (from Opheusden).

This latter comment is, of course, often true, and there is no fixed boundary. The map, with its fixed, sharp boundaries creates the wrong impression. The reader should have a map with all the responses separated and be allowed to see the overlapping of the areas. Such a map seems, however, impractical. There is a gradual transition from North Holland to South Holland, from West Friesland to the islands of South Holland. Only the “Zaans” [a highly industrialized area just north of Amsterdam] seems to deviate strongly.

According to the informants, most southwesterly islands are seen as separate dialect areas. Goeree-Overflakkee and Schouwen-Duiveland fall into two separate areas as do such cities as Bruinisse and Zierikzee. The villagers in the area know to say that in Bruinisse the “zunne in de tunne” shines, not the “zonne in de tonne” (sun in the barrel). On Walcheren, the towns of Westkapelle and Arnemuiden are in exceptional positions compared to the usually homogeneous Walcheren. Several informants said that in Arnemuiden “they sing as they speak their dialect.”

From North Brabant Dr. A. Weijnen provided the material and had already prepared a map which showed lines connecting any two places with the same dialect [see Figure 0.2]. Lines showing major areas were also placed on his map as on the one presented here. We copied several of these, but he provided even greater detail due to his knowledge of the area. We left these out since they would have given much more detail than in the rest of our map.[2]

The dialects of Limburg differ considerably from place to place, but we were unable to distinguish major areas. For example, we got a map from Vaals which had some lines helpful to us, and we hope to get more like it.[3]

On a map, not shown here, the sites which were mentioned as having the same (or about the same) dialect were connected to the informant's local area. Lines were drawn between the groups of connected sites to prepare the map below.[4]

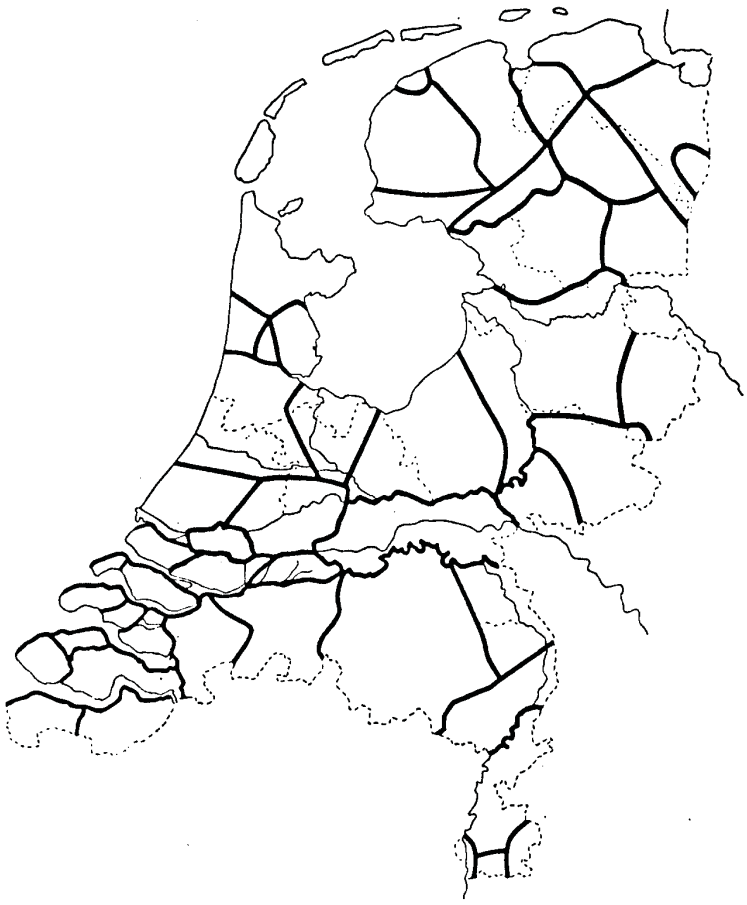

Figure 1.1. *Respondent classifications of Dutch dialects*

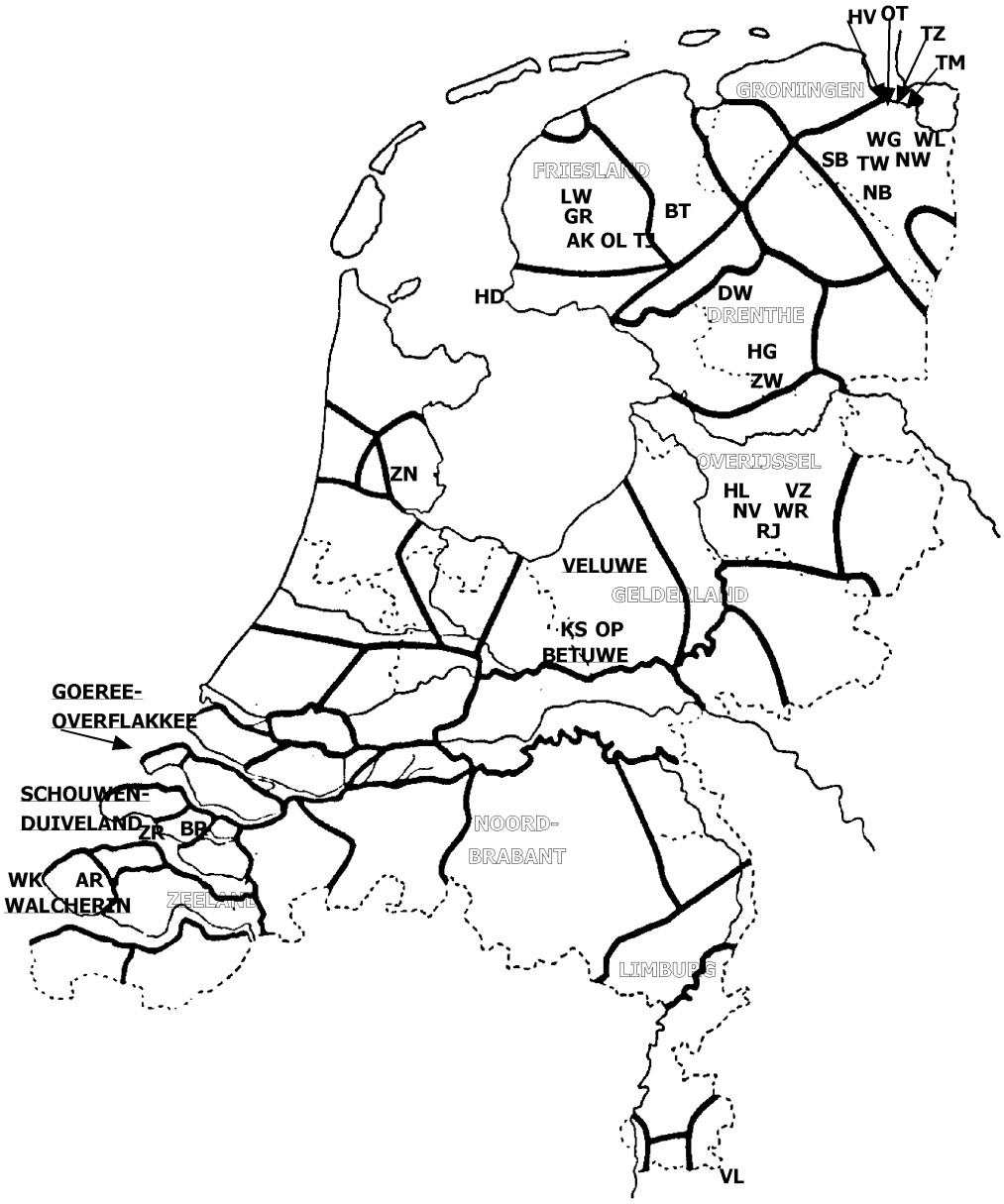

Figure 1.2. *Sites in The Netherlands referred to in Chapter 1*