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# Geographical Information Systems and Perceptual Dialectology: A method for processing draw-a-map data

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## Short title:

GIS and Perceptual Dialectology

## Abstract

This article presents a new method for processing data gathered using the 'draw-a-map' task (Preston 1982) in Perceptual Dialectology (PD) studies. Such tasks produce large numbers of maps containing many lines indicating non-linguists' perceptions of the location and extent of dialect areas. Although individual maps are interesting, and numerical data relating to the relative prominence of dialect areas can be extracted, the real value of the draw-a-map task is in aggregating data. This was always an aim of the contemporary PD method (Preston & Howe 1987:363), although the nature of the data has meant that this has not always been possible. Here, we argue for the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in order to aggregate, process and display PD data. Using case studies from the UK and Germany, we present examples of data processed using GIS, and illustrate the future possibilities for the use of GIS in PD research.

## 1.0 Introduction

Aggregating data in perceptual dialectology is something which has occupied researchers since the earliest research was undertaken in the field (Weijnen 1946; Mase 1999). Modern approaches to perceptual dialectology use methods designed to assess respondents' mental maps of language variation and "dig deeply into the conceptual world, not only for the concepts of dialect areas but for the associated beliefs about speakers and their varieties" (Preston 2010:11). Such methods, involving the use of hand-drawn maps (termed 'draw-a-map' tasks (Preston 1982)) have at their heart the aim of arriving at aggregate composite maps of dialect areas from respondents' maps (Preston & Howe 1987:363). Such aggregate maps can be used to give an account of where respondents perceive dialect areas to exist, along with the extent of these areas. In this way, the methods of PD extend our knowledge of speech communities (Kretzschmar 1999:xviii) by exploring the social space (Britain 2010:70) of these communities.

PD research can also play a role in looking afresh at the results of productions studies. Indeed, the ability of the discipline to challenge assumptions made from such studies has been noted as one of its strengths (Butters 1991:296). In order to do this effectively, data must be aggregated in order to produce composite maps of perceptual dialect areas. Perceptual geographers, who provided the impetus for contemporary approaches to PD, knew this (see Gould & White 1986). The power of an aggregate is that it gives a generalised 'picture' of perception which has more explicative power than single images of mental maps produced by individual respondents (cf. Lynch 1960; Orleans 1967; Goodey 1971).

Data from PD studies can be processed simply by counting the number of areas drawn on a number of maps in order to arrive at the recognition level for each area. However, to stop at this stage as some have done (e.g. Bucholtz et al. 2007) is to neglect much of the data supplied by respondents. This geographical data relating to the placement and extent of dialect areas is a valuable resource that once properly processed can be used to directly compare with data from other studies (linguistic and beyond).

Despite this, it is clear why some linguists have not attempted to produce aggregate maps. This is due to the lack of a stable and useable method for completing this type of analysis for maps from large numbers of respondents. This is in spite of this being one of Preston's aims for PD (Preston & Howe 1987:363). In Bucholtz et al's (2007) study, for example, maps were drawn by 703 respondents. Processing and aggregating data from

such a large number of respondents is simply not possible given that the most widely available technique is line tracing using overhead transparencies (see Montgomery 2007:61–68)).

In order to work with maps from large numbers of respondents there is a need for an up-to-date, portable, accessible, computerised method of processing and aggregating PD data. Attempts at creating such a method have been made in the past. The first was made by Preston and Howe (1987), who developed a technique involving the use of a digitising pad and bespoke software. This allowed the storage of digitised line information relating to a dialect area, along with the demographic data of the respondent who drew it. Many lines could be traced using the digitising pad with the result that aggregate maps of the dialect area could be displayed. These areas could also be queried on the basis of the demographic information. A map created using Preston and Howe's technique can be seen in Figure 1.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Preston and Howe's (1987) method ensured that there was a method for producing aggregate maps which also meant that they would be able to be queried. This is a major advantage over a non-computerised technique, as it did not require separate aggregation techniques for each social variable one wished to examine. This approach was built upon by Onishi and Long (1997) as they updated Preston and Howe's (1987) technique for use with Windows computers. The resulting software, entitled Perceptual Dialectology Quantifier for Windows (PDQ), processed data in the same way as Preston and Howe's (1987) technique. A digitising pad was again used to input area line data, and the software package did the rest of the data processing. Figure 2 shows an aggregate map produced using PDQ.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

Although the methods developed by Preston and Howe (1987) and Onishi and Long (1997) made working with draw-a-map data easier, there were problems with their approaches. The most pressing problem was the lack of 'future proofing' built into the technology. The technology used by Preston and Howe (1987) quickly became obsolete, as did the technology used by Onishi and Long (1997). Thus, although PDQ for Windows is still

functional to some extent, there are major problems with it. It is not portable and is only available for use in Japan (running on three increasingly elderly computers). A second issue is the low resolution of the maps produced by the programme (as can be seen in Figure 2), which renders them less suitable for publication. A third problem is the way in which the programme permits the display of only one area on a map, which makes it unsuitable for producing composite maps showing multiple perceptual areas on one map (i.e. Preston 1999a:362).

More recent studies (e.g. Purschke 2011) have used simple overlay techniques in vector (cf. section 3.1) graphics programmes (such as CorelDraw, Adobe Illustrator, etc.). Such programmes can yield quite impressive results and an example can be seen in Figure 3, which shows a summary of subjective dialect areas in Germany drawn by informants from Northern (left map) and Eastern (right map) Hessian informants.

INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE

The different colours in Figure 3 indicate aggregate perceptions of different dialect areas, and the colour densities show different degrees of agreement. This method clearly improves on the quality of visualisation, and the researcher is able to get an impression of which dialect areas are the most prominent and where they are located. However, the use of this type of technology does not allow any further analyses such as the exact calculation of agreement levels, area sizes, or distances (e.g. to the next political border). Also, due to an inability to ‘anchor’ the visualisation in the real world (cf. section 3.2), it is difficult to merge PD data with other kinds of data sets (such as streets, topography, etc.).

Given the difficulty of processing and aggregating geographical data from draw-a-map tasks without the use of a computer, and the general insufficiency of useable computerized techniques, there is a pressing need for new technology which can be used in this area. In this article we discuss the role Geographical Information Systems (GIS) may play in filling the gap.

After a short review of the use of the draw-a-map task in PD (section 1.1) we will introduce the surveys and methods of data collection our analyses are based on (section 2). Following that, the principles of GIS will be presented and how they can be applied to PD data discussed (section 3). We will then demonstrate some

examples of the possibilities of GIS to visualize and analyse geospatial data (section 4) before summarizing our findings and arguing for a more extensive use of this technology (section 5).

### 1.1 The draw-a-map task in Perceptual Dialectology

One of the aims of PD research, as mentioned above, is to assess where respondents believe dialect areas to exist (Preston 1988:475–6). The technique used to investigate this is the draw-a-map task (Preston 1982). Respondents undertaking the task are asked to "draw boundaries on a ... map around areas where they believe regional speech zones [to] exist" (Preston 1999b:xxxiv). An example of a completed draw-a-map task, from one of the studies considered here, can be seen in Figure 4.

INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE

Data gathered the task has a twofold usefulness (Garrett 2010:183): "Firstly, it provides some insight into what and where dialect regions actually exist in people's minds ... Secondly, the task generates attitudinal comment alongside more descriptive data". We are interested in this article in the first use of the data (the spatial aspect). We focus on how we might best process these data in order that we can better understand what respondents think of regional variation, as well as "how concentrated or extensive" (Garrett 2010:183) respondents think dialect regions are.

The draw-a-map task has been used in very large countries such as the United States (e.g. Preston 1986) and Canada (McKinnie & Dailey-O'Cain 2002), as well as in individual states (Bucholtz et al. 2007; Bucholtz et al. 2008; Anders 2010; Evans 2011) and smaller countries (Long 1999; Montgomery 2007). Whilst this PD research is interested mainly in the question of how non-linguists classify large-scale dialect areas, other studies focus on the subjective construction of local dialect areas in the speakers' immediate neighbourhood. Questions of this kind were especially of interest in the early years of PD (see studies conducted in the Netherlands (Weijnen 1946) or in Japan (Mase 1999; Sibata 1999)). Indeed, the draw-a-map task is based on those used by perceptual geographers in both small and large areas (see Gould and White (1986) for more discussion of such methods).

This paper uses data from two studies which took different approaches to the investigation of the perception of language variation. The first (Study 1<sup>ii</sup>) is a large-scale survey, whose aim was to look at the national ‘picture’ of language variation. The second (Study 2<sup>iii</sup>) took a small-scale approach, with the aim of investigating local perceptions of variation. In the next section we discuss the datasets we will consider in this article.

## 2.0 Methods

The two studies considered here used the draw-a-map task. Both gathered data in Europe, although in different countries, and therefore investigate perceptions of variation in different languages. Study 1 investigated the large-scale perceptions of dialects in Great Britain. The data presented from Study 2 deal with the subjective construction of local dialect areas in the southwest of Germany as well as in some places in Switzerland and in France (for first results see Stoeckle (2010; 2011)). Figure 4 shows a completed hand-drawn map from Study 1, whilst Figure 5 shows dialect areas drawn by a respondent from Study 2.

INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE

Study 1 took a large-scale approach, with the aim of gathering data relating to the national ‘picture’ of perception in Great Britain from five survey locations around the Scottish-English border. In this way, the study aimed to investigate the impact of the Scottish-English border on the perception of language variation in English (see Montgomery Forthcoming). Figure 6 shows each of the survey locations and the survey area (Scotland, Wales, and England).

INSERT FIGURE 6 HERE

Respondents in Study 1 were given a minimally detailed map containing country borders and some city location dots<sup>iv</sup>. In all locations, they were asked to complete the paper map with a pen or pencil by in the following fashion:



- 1) Label the nine well-known cities marked with a dot on the map.
- 2) Do you think that there is a north-south language divide in the country? If so, draw a line where you think this is.
- 3) Draw lines on the map where you think there are regional speech (dialect) areas.
- 4) Label the different areas that you have drawn on the map.
- 5) What do you think of the areas you've just drawn? How might you recognise people from these areas?  
Write some of these thoughts on the map if you have time.

A location map which contained a number of cities and towns in England, Scotland and Wales was projected for respondents (who completed the task as part of a class) for the first five minutes of the task, which lasted for 10 minutes overall. 151 respondents in total completed the fieldwork, 76 on the Scottish side of the border, and 75 on the English side. The mean age of the respondents was 16 years and 6 months. Respondents drew 970 lines delimiting 79 separate areas (an average of 6.4 areas drawn per map).

Study 2 is a small-scale survey dealing with the question of how non-linguists construct dialect areas on a local level. The data collection took place in the southwest of Germany as well as in some places in France and in Switzerland. Figure 7 gives an overview of research area and the 37 investigated locations.

INSERT FIGURE 7 HERE

As demonstrated in Figure 7, 32 survey locations are found in Germany, three in Alsace (France) and two in Switzerland. It was the aim in each location to interview six respondents, differentiated by the socio-demographic variables of age, sex, and profession. In some locations it was not possible to find speakers for all categories, and the total number of interviews was therefore 218 (instead of 222, the number originally aimed for).

As part of the interview, respondents were asked to complete a draw-a-map task where they were given a map and asked to draw:

- 1) their own local dialect area, and
- 2) all other surrounding dialect areas they knew of

Once they had completed the initial task<sup>vi</sup>, the map served as a starting point for further characterisations of the dialect areas. These concerned:

- 3) dialect features or stereotypes
- 4) similarities/differences with regard to the respondents' own dialect
- 5) evaluations of the dialectality degrees of the identified areas and
- 6) judgements about the most (and least) pleasant dialects

The data generated in the interviews were subject to both qualitative and quantitative analyses. In this paper we will focus on the latter.

Studies 1 and 2 take slightly different approaches to the study of large- and small-scale perceptions. However, their similar use of a draw-a-map task in order to gather spatial data relating to the mental maps of dialect area boundaries (seen in Figures 3 and 4) means that although the cognitive concepts may differ in each case, the data generated in both types of research are very similar and thus require the same type of digital processing.

### 3.0 What is a GIS, what does it do, and why should we use one?

In the following we present some characteristics of a Geographical Information System (GIS). Since these systems are very complex in nature, the literature contains many different approaches to the topic. Some deal with detailed explanations of the workings of the technology whilst others discuss specific aspects and tools provided by it. We wish to give a more basic outline here, focussing on what a GIS is and what it can be used for in relation to PD work.

A GIS is defined as a system which integrates the three basic elements of hardware, software, and data “for capturing, managing, analysing, and displaying all forms of geographically referenced information” (ESRI 2011b). In this article we use ArcGIS<sup>vii</sup> (cf. Evans 2011) to process and display our data, although we will attempt to

explain the steps undertaken in for data processing in a general fashion so that they can be adapted for other types of GIS software.

The main way in which a GIS works is by combining different types of data (see section 3.1) by linking them to the earth's surface. This technique is termed 'georeferencing' and it permits a GIS to "combine semantic and geometrical information" (Gomasasca 2009:481). Georeferencing uses coordinate systems in order to tie data to a set position on the earth's surface. It is important however to note that, due to spheroid nature of the earth, assigning a single coordinate system to the whole of the globe is fraught with difficulties. As a result of this, different coordinate systems (or projections) are used depending on the user's position on the globe. This can cause some confusion for users of GIS programmes, although in most cases the national grid projection of the users' home country should be in georeferencing. We discuss georeferencing in relation to PD data in more detail below.

Once data has been georeferenced, a GIS offers many possibilities for advanced data processing (known as 'geoprocessing'). Many geoprocessing tools are designed for commercial or environmental ends, although they can also be used for other purposes such as working with linguistic data. In addition to various possibilities offered by geoprocessing tools a GIS also provides different ways of visualizing data or creating maps. Thus, maps are georeferenced and therefore spatially meaningful, unlike conventional maps which contain only visual information (i.e. they consist of pixels of different colours). Moreover, all geographical data can have or be linked to many different types of attributes (metrical, numerical, descriptive, complex (cf. Gomasasca 2009:484)).

In summary, a GIS enables a user to process, analyse and visualize all kinds of models of the earth's surface. This makes the technology attractive not only for geographers and geologists, but also for researchers of other disciplines (like archaeology, forestry, architecture, or civil engineering) as well as administrative applications (like urban planning or traffic control) (Saurer & Behr 1997:10). In (perceptual) dialectology however, such technologies have been used very rarely so far (exceptions being Kirk and Kretzschmar (1992), Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006), Lameli et al (2008), and Evans (2011)). This is despite the fact that dialectological questions and problems are by definition related to geographical space. Generally speaking, much simpler technologies have been used to create maps, the aims of which were not necessarily "spatially sensitive" (Britain 2009:144).

In dialect production studies, all necessary geographical information is selected by the researcher in advance (e.g. the survey locations). Geographical space then serves as a template (or “blank canvass” (Britain 2009:144)) onto which different linguistic features can be assigned to predefined places. In PD, however, geographical data do not only serve as background. They also present the object of study as they are the data given by the respondents through their completion of hand-drawn maps. The enormous advantage of GIS lies in its ability to process, analyse and visualize these data and to combine them with reference to other geography-related data such as topography, political boundaries, population statistics or dialect isoglosses (cf. section 4.1).

### 3.1 How a GIS works with data

Computers “require unambiguous instructions on how to turn data about spatial entities into geographical representations” (Heywood, Cornelius, & Carver 2006:77) and as a result a GIS works with data in specific ways. Understanding the different ways in which a GIS deals with data from the real world is important if we wish to use the technology to process data from PD (Heywood et al. 2006:77).

A GIS works with data in ‘layers’, overlaying them in order to produce composite maps. These layers of data can be queried and manipulated, and the relationships between them investigated. This makes GIS technology particularly attractive for multi-layered data such as that gathered in PD research. A GIS works with different types of data, and we wish to draw readers’ attention to the distinction between the two primary types of (spatial) data: raster data, and vector data.

Raster data can be imagined as a grid, or as consisting of cells. Each of these cells has a certain value which is “mirrored by an equivalent row of numbers in the file structure” (Heywood et al. 2006:79). A real-world object mapped as a raster will therefore ‘fill’ some of the cells in the grid, which will correspond to its shape in the real world. The way in which raster data is stored by a GIS means that attribute data cannot be attached to it (see below), which limits its usefulness if a user wishes to query the data at a later stage.

Vector data use co-ordinates to map real world objects, as opposed to the grid and cell method used by raster datasets. The file structure of a vector dataset is a series of co-ordinate points. These points can be connected in order to form lines or polygons. Unlike areas in raster datasets there is no information stored about surface

characteristics (so, the individual points within an area). Attribute data can be added to vector data. Figure 8 shows the different way in which vector and raster data are represented in a GIS.

INSERT FIGURE 8 HERE

Attribute data are a third type of data (Nash Parker & Asencio 2008:xvi), and they are also important for GIS processing. This data type provides descriptive information linked to the map data by the GIS. It can contain information about the name of an individual piece of the map data, for example, but can also contain a good deal more information about the map data (such as population size, statistical information etc.). We will demonstrate the use of both raster and vector datasets in this article, along with attribute data, which assists in querying processed data.

### 3.2 General steps involved in processing data from hand-drawn maps

The steps involved in processing data from hand-drawn maps described below do not differ significantly from those used by Preston and Howe (1987) or Onishi and Long (1997). Data relating to dialect areas still need to be extracted from maps, attribute data (in the form of demographic information) added, and the data processed. Only then can aggregate maps of dialect areas be displayed. The ArcGIS-based method we detail below follows these steps relatively closely, although it does not use technology designed specifically for the task. This means that what we describe can at first seem daunting, however the advantage of using a widely used and available 'off-the-shelf' programme will be demonstrated as we proceed.

Although a complete account of every data processing stage will not be possible here for reasons of space. It is worth noting at this point that the instructions below will require some basic familiarity with the ArcGIS environment (or the equivalent environment of the GIS you wish to use). This cannot be conveyed here, although there are several useful resources available online and elsewhere.<sup>viii</sup> We should also emphasise that the benefits of 'picking up' techniques by using the software should not be underestimated.

As we discuss above, the essential characteristic of a GIS is that it enables users to work with data which are georeferenced. The first data processing stage is therefore to scan all of the hand-drawn maps and to add them

to an ArcGIS 'project' (the term the programme gives to map documents). Georeferencing can then be done using the "Georeferencing" tool by adding 'control points'. 'Control points' are points that have been selected on a map which can be aligned with known points on another map. This means that if there is no information about a map's coordinate system, it can be georeferenced by using existing data (such as borders, rivers etc.) as reference points which can be associated with the map with the help of the control points. Figure 9 shows the principal behind georeferencing, in which three control points have been identified.

INSERT FIGURE 9 HERE

The remainder of this section will use data from Study 2, in order that a clear work flow can be observed. Figure 10 shows a sample of a map from this study which has been scanned, added to an ArcGIS project, and then georeferenced.

INSERT FIGURE 10 HERE

Once the map is georeferenced, the dialect areas drawn by the respondents must be digitized. In ArcGIS this can be managed by creating a polygon feature class (a vector data type (cf. 3.2)). After the creation of the polygon feature class, a file is created which as yet contains no data. Slots for attribute data can be created during this step, which will allow the user to input further data (such as demographic or attitudinal data) at a later stage.

In order to populate the new polygon feature class, the "Editor" tool is started and the tool "Create New Feature" used. This permits the dialect area indicated on the hand drawn map to be entered into the feature data set (here named "Mental Maps") by tracing around it. As we have discussed above, respondents in both studies were not only asked to draw maps, but were also requested to label the areas and to evaluate them according to different aspects (cf. section 2). GIS offers the possibilities to add any kind of attributes to the data sets (cf. section 4.1). In the case of Study 2, attributes relating to the respondents (place of origin, sex, age) and

the dialect area (name of dialect area, characteristics) were added to the attribute table. Figure 11 shows both the redrawn dialect area as well as the table containing different attributes relating to it<sup>ix</sup>.

INSERT FIGURE 11 HERE

The next stage of the processing method is the hand-drawn map aggregation. The first step of this process involves adding every redrawn area to one data set (using the same process as described above). Figure 12 shows the same dataset as in Figure 11, but now containing six different polygons (each representing perceptions of the same dialect area drawn by six different respondents) with their respective attributes in the table.

INSERT FIGURE 12 HERE

Up to this point, the different polygons are stored in one data set and as a result it is not possible to show different degrees of agreement, which is one of the aims of the method. This can be achieved by a two-stage process: first the self-union of the feature class containing all the polygons has to be calculated (by using the “Union” tool), and then the frequency of each of the polygons in the output has to be counted (by using the “Frequency” tool) and the output of this calculation added to the map. The frequency count of all the polygons, in this case ranging from one to six, gives the different degrees of overlap. Figure 13 shows a possible visualisation as a result of this process.

INSERT FIGURE 13 HERE

Above, we have outlined the steps which will produce a basic map displaying agreement about the placement and extent of a dialect area amongst a group of respondents. Data processing should not stop here however as this type of dataset (i.e. vector data) requires a large amount of memory space and is thus hard to handle. Secondly, it is difficult to either merge the dataset with other kinds of data sets (e.g. more polygons indicating a

dialect area, or neighbouring regions) or to perform further analyses on it. Thirdly, it displays all of the single values of overlap, which results in too much influence from single areas and many sharp borders. Conversion from vector to raster data is therefore helpful<sup>x</sup> as this data format permits these types of processing.

The process outlined below requires the use of a large dataset in order that the benefits become most apparent. To this end we have used data from Study 2 relating to the so-called 'Kaiserstuhl' [literally *emperor's chair*], a small mountain and former volcano very close to the French border which is very well known for its viticulture. This was the most readily recognised area amongst respondents in Study 2. Of the total of 218 respondents, 95 identified and drew this area. Using the same stage of the data processing technique as shown in Figure 13, Figure 14 shows the perceived 'Kaiserstuhl' dialect area. For comparison, Figure 15 shows a raster-based map of the perception of the same area.

INSERT FIGURE 14 HERE

INSERT FIGURE 15 HERE

Although containing the same data, the raster data set shown in Figure 15 gives a much better impression of respondents' perception of the 'Kaiserstuhl' dialect area than that displayed in Figure 14. The "Neighbourhood Statistics" tool has been used in Figure 15 in order to smooth the surface of the data, which makes any sharp edges between the different degrees of overlap disappear. A continuous scale has been used with contour lines added. The contour lines (unlike in topographic maps) do not indicate altitude, but degree of overlap.

The data processing technique described above can be summarised as the flow chart shown in Figure 16<sup>xi</sup>.

INSERT FIGURE 16 HERE

There is no doubt that, in addition to improving the processing and display of PD data, the use of GIS has numerous advantages over the other processing techniques discussed above. Chief amongst these is the ability to make PD data more useable alongside other datasets. Other advantages include the customisation of



aggregate data, the ability to combine individual areas on the same map, as well as the numerous possibilities to perform calculations and statistical analyses on the data. We will discuss this in more detail in the next section.

#### 4.0 Merging different datasets on one map

GIS allows us to examine the impact of many such factors on a much wider scale and in a much more efficient fashion by permitting us to merge many different datasets on the same map, as well as enabling us to interrogate these datasets using tools within the GIS. This ability permits spatially sophisticated analysis of (perceptual) dialectological data (Britain 2002:633). There are a vast number of additional datasets for Great Britain available via various sources such as data.gov (HM Government 2011), Digimap collections (Edina 2011), OS Open Data (Ordnance Survey 2011) and in the numerous collections gathered at census.ac.uk (UK Data Archive 2011). Datasets relating to Germany can be found at the GeoDatenZentrum (Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie 2011) or at Geofabrik (2011). Such datasets contain georeferenced data relating to a whole host of factors, and we will demonstrate some of these below.

We have already demonstrated merged datasets above in Figures 13 to 15. These figures show aggregate perceptual dialect areas overlaid onto non-linguistic datasets (like places, streets, political borders, or topography). This is of course the least that we would expect of the technology. Indeed, some of the visualisations presented in the last section (i.e. Figure 14 and a simplified version of Figure 15) can be achieved by using 'regular' vector graphics editors (such as Corel Draw, Adobe Illustrator, etc.). However, besides the fact that all information contained within such packages is purely visual (i.e. pixels of different colours), with no attributes associated to the data, another major disadvantage is that such data cannot be used for any further processing or analyses. Thus, such tools do not move us any further past the opportunities offered by previous or existing data display/processing tools. This necessitates the use of GIS in order to undertake Gomarasca's three different types of data analysis: "Spatial Data Analysis, [...] Attributes Analysis, [...] and Integrated Analysis of Spatial Data and Attributes" (Gomarasca 2009:498f).

Aggregate maps produced by perceptual dialectologists have always been examined alongside other maps in order to attempt to find correlations. Early perceptual work in Japan found that physical and political boundaries were important for respondents when completing perceptual tasks (Preston 1993:376; Grootaers 1999). Figure

17 shows perceptual areas in the Northern part of England and the Southern part of Scotland from Study 1 with the Scottish-English border and English county boundaries superimposed. Figure 18 shows aggregate data from Study 2, with confessional boundaries superimposed.

INSERT FIGURE 18 HERE

Both Figures 17 and 18 demonstrate that there is agreement between 'official' boundaries. As discussed in more detail in Montgomery (Forthcoming), the effect of the Scottish-English border is striking, with almost no crossing of the border for each perceptual area. The 'Cumbria' dialect area in the north west of England also fits almost entirely within the modern county of Cumbria. The 'Geordie' dialect area is less respectful of modern county boundaries, although it fits well within the boundaries of the older county of Northumberland (cf. Llamas 2000). A similar correlation between perceptual data and traditional boundaries can also be seen in Figure 18. Indeed, in the interviews from Study 2 it was a striking observation that in Protestant locations many respondents explicitly referred to the traditional confessional borders as the main influences on the current dialect structure (cf. Stoeckle 2010). The ability to test qualitative statements such as this in a GIS is another factor that should recommend the use of the technology.

The use of GIS can also allow us to interrogate data in order to investigate evidence of specific linguistic phenomena. For example, regional dialect levelling is said to be having a large impact on linguistic diversity in Great Britain (Kerswill 2003). This is underlined by maps drawn by Kerswill (The Economist 2011; Kinchen 2011) and Trudgill (1999:83). Such maps predict a future dialect landscape in England typified by large city-centred dialect areas. As non-linguists' perceptions could act as a bellwether for language change of this type, a comparison between urban areas and aggregate perceptual data is appropriate. Figure 19 shows this type of comparison.

INSERT FIGURE 19 HERE

Figure 19 does appear to demonstrate that urban areas were important when completing draw-a-map tasks. Despite the predications made others, (Trudgill 1999; Kinchen 2011) these areas have not yet been identified by dialectologists (Montgomery Forthcoming). The ability to combine PD data with that from other sources (be they datasets relating to urban areas as in Figure 19 or georeferenced linguistic data) is important if we are to continue to test theories of language change.

This section has demonstrated the capabilities of a GIS in overlaying many different datasets in order to answer specific questions about the perception of dialect areas. This has underlined the possibilities for combining large amounts of data in the same place at the same time.

#### 4.1 Querying and customising the display of aggregate data

As we discussed above, the ability to query the aggregate dataset was one of the main motivations for Preston's shift to a computer-based method of working with draw-a-map data (Preston & Howe 1987:369). The advantage of using a computer to query data and display the result is clear: the data only need to be entered once. To re-draw areas by hand for each variable the researcher wishes to examine is neither desirable nor practical. To this end, query functions were built into both Preston and Howe's method (1987) as well as PDQ (1997). PDQ's query facilities were limited to age, sex, and informant number (which could then be used for isolating a group of respondents from a particular location) (Montgomery 2007:95). The ability to query data entered into a GIS is, on the other hand, practically unlimited, dependent on what that attribute table has been set up to contain (step 4 of the workflow in Figure 16).

The attribute table could contain information about basic biographical data of the type we might expect of modern sociolinguistic approaches to speech communities (so, social variables such as sex, age, gender, social network score etc.). As (perceptual) dialectologists are interested in spatiality in addition to these factors, other attributes might also be important, such as travel history, or postcode (ZIP code) information relating to each respondent. We might also be interested in those dialect areas characterized as 'rough', 'posh', or 'friendly' areas (or other labels of this sort). Details of all such variables can be added to the attribute table and then used to query the data. Figure 20 shows the result of a query from Study 2 in which polygons drawn only by the male and female respondents are indicated.

INSERT FIGURE 20 HERE

Querying the datasets in a GIS need not only rely on information contained within the attribute table, and it is possible to use the geoprocessing tools which we have previously discussed (e.g. for the calculation and display of unions, frequencies, and contours etc.) to further interrogate processed data. In a similar fashion, GIS programmes contain different kinds of measuring functions which allow calculations of distances, areas and lengths (Gomasasca 2009:500). Common questions that perceptual dialectologists may want to ask are: *How large is perceived area A in comparison to perceived area B? Which people draw the largest dialect areas?* (cf. Figure 20, where female respondents appear to draw larger areas than male respondents) *How big is the distance between a subjective dialect area and the national border?* Of course it is also possible to combine different types of dialect areas, e.g. “subjective” and “objective” dialect areas, and examine where they intersect and how much they overlap.

Although the primary function of PD research is to examine perceptions of dialect areas through aggregation of hand-drawn maps, in some contexts it can be interesting to determine where subjective *borders* are particularly stable (cf. Preston 1986). Figure 21 shows a summary of all dialect areas drawn by the respondents from Study 2. At first glance the image looks quite confusing, although it already gives an idea of where lines occur at a higher frequency.

INSERT FIGURE 21 HERE

For a more sophisticated insight it is possible to calculate the line density of the subjective dialect borders using a GIS (using the “Line Density” tool). The result is the raster map shown in Figure 22 which displays the number of lines that occur within a certain research radius for each cell.

INSERT FIGURE 22 HERE

This technique gives a much clearer idea of where mental borders accumulate. There are certain correlations that are immediately apparent, most significantly the coincidence of mental and political borders.

GIS tools also permit the customisation of the display of aggregate data, something that the techniques used by Preston and Howe (1987) and Onishi and Long (1997) were not able to accomplish. In many cases it is useful to show percentages of agreement instead of absolute values (cf. Long 1999; Montgomery 2007). This can easily be achieved using raster data sets by using interval shading instead of continuous visualisation scales (such as that seen in Figure 15 above). Figure 23 shows the use of interval shading.

INSERT FIGURE 23 HERE

Figure 23 shows the hand drawn maps from the 95 respondents who drew the 'Kaiserstuhl' dialect area. The interval size to display steps of 10% is therefore 9.5. Of course, PDQ permitted such a display of percentage agreement, as demonstrated in Figure 2. However, what PDQ did not allow was the customisation of the percentage display, for which there were fixed intervals (either 5 or 7 percentage boundaries). In addition, all of the data is shown on the composite map. There is no possibility of making some of the lower agreement level transparent, for example, in order to present the 'best fit' data.

The approach that we describe here enables the user to control the amount of information presented in the aggregate map. Percentage agreement levels can be customised, with low levels of agreement made transparent. Solid blocks of colour without percentage shading can also be created in order to compare PD data with other raster datasets. Figure 24 demonstrates this functionality, with all examples taken from data gathered as part of Study 1 indicating a Geordie [Newcastle upon Tyne] dialect area.

That a GIS divides datasets into layers means that it is very easy to change the order in which layers appear in a map projection. This is especially when the impact of various extra-linguistic (or linguistic) factors on subjective dialect perception is considered (cf. section 4.0). It is also possible to modify the transparency of layers in the GIS in order to examine the possible effects of other factors more clearly. In Figure 25 roads, places and political borders have been placed on top of the hand-drawn maps, and transparency has been used. In this way multiple

possible influences, such as the political border between Germany and France, or topography, become more apparent

INSERT FIGURE 25 HERE

#### 4.2 Combining aggregates of individual areas on the same map

Preston (1999a:326) pioneered the approach which saw the combination of aggregate data for individual dialect areas on the same map, resulting in maps similar to that shown in Figure 26. This approach has generally been used to display results from large-scale dialect studies, although its utility is also clear for small-scale research projects.

INSERT FIGURE 26 HERE

Such composite maps are helpful as they can be compared with other maps indicating boundaries arising from production-based studies (see Montgomery 2007:242). They also give a useful overview of the perception of dialectal variation in a particular country (or area of a country). Hitherto however, they have not been straightforward to create. PDQ for Windows does not easily allow the creation of such maps. Instead, in order to compile such a map the researchers must trace around the edge of an agreement level for each of the aggregate dialect areas. Each of these lines is then placed back onto a map and labelled manually. This is a relatively laborious process, and it introduces another level of error into the data. This is not the largest issue with the technique, but the loss of the agreement data for each of the areas is a more substantial problem. This means that for each area, the map reader is left with outline data only and as such has no idea where the perceptual 'cores' of each area are to be found, nor where the lowest levels of agreement can be seen.

The GIS method we advocate here removes the need to undertake an additional stage of data processing. Instead the GIS can work with all of the aggregate areas together in one map. Figure 27 shows the type of map that can be achieved using this method.

The resulting composite map loses none of the agreement data, whilst also permitting the display of overlapping dialect areas.

## 5.0 Summary: The benefits of the use of GIS for PD Study

The ability to offer improved visualisation quality, to customise aggregate data, to combine individual areas on the same map, and to perform calculations and statistical analyses are all steps forward in the processing and aggregation of PD data. The use of GIS improves the quality of visualisation tools available to researchers. This is a persuasive reason for us to move towards the wholesale adoption of the technology, although the way in which a GIS can work with data presents an even more appealing proposition. Thus, the ability to use the functionality of GIS technology to make PD data more comparable with that from elsewhere, as well as to subject them to all kinds of geoprocessing makes the case for using GIS very strong, and this will be our focus below.

We hope to have demonstrated above that the use of GIS for processing PD data can result in a good many benefits. Although the processing techniques can be labour intensive and time consuming, they are no more so than the alternatives that have been used in the past (such as Onishi & Long 1997). The time and effort spent processing data in a GIS is also not to be seen as an end in itself, as we have mentioned above. The ability to display PD data in a more readily accessible and visually more appealing manner is not the main benefit of the approach we outline in this article. Instead, the huge possibilities of working with PD data in a truly “spatially sensitive” (Britain 2009:144) fashion should open up the use of this technology to others in the fields of dialectology and sociolinguists. We urge that GIS be seen as an exciting new tool that can be used to integrate and interrogate data. In this way we echo van Hout (2008), who has stated that this type of approach “opens up new vistas for doing research” by giving us “opportunities to open up, combine and integrate various rich data sources (e.g. historical, geographical, social, political, linguistic), again and again” (van Hout in Nerbonne et al. 2008 p.25).

The processes we have detailed above mean that the datasets created within the GIS are useable in a widely supported format, permitting further use of them by other interested parties. The use of georeferenced datasets in other areas of geolinguistics (Lameli, Giessler, et al. 2010) means that similarly references datasets from PD

research can be used in conjunction with these data in order to further query data we already know well. In addition to this, the processing techniques we outline here mean that we can move beyond the static representation of perceptions of dialect areas, and instead use the tools present within GIS programmes to perform sophisticated analyses on the data. This was always the aim of Long , who adapted parts of the PDQ programme to do just this, and continuing along this path should make the use of GIS essential for accessing some of the hitherto 'hidden' aspects of PD data.

### 5.1 Possibilities of GIS for general linguistic study

Having demonstrated some of the advantages of GIS for PD research, we do not think that this is all that can be said about this technology. Although the possibilities offered by GIS may be essential for processing and analysing hand-drawn map data, there are also many benefits for other types of linguistic research. Many of the questions and research referring to the relationship between language and space (cf. Auer & Schmidt 2010; Lameli, Kehrein, & Rabanus 2010) could profit from the opportunities outlined in this paper.

Among their observations concerning the digitisation of language mapping Kehrein, Lameli, and Rabanus (2010) state that mappings of linguistic data often are "subject to all kinds of limitations" (2010:xvii), i.e. large parts of the data are not displayed and thus not accessible for other linguists. The use of GIS could contribute to overcome this lack of information, since the outcomes of linguistic studies could be presented as data sets (cf. section 5.3) rather than just as images. Even more important seems to be another aspect which Kehrein, Lameli, and Rabanus (2010) observe: "Linguistic maps are often difficult to compare because they all use their own (idiosyncratic) symbolization, map projection, scale, etc." (2010:xvii). In a GIS, all of these factors can be handled freely, which would enhance the comparability of different data.

### 5.2 Use of the technology: Future directions

This article has focussed on PD data and the benefits of working with it in a GIS. However, we do not wish to claim that this is the only area of sociolinguistic investigation that can benefit from the use of the technology. Scholars working in neighbouring disciplines, such as those who deal with questions about language and space, can also benefit greatly from the use of GIS. Georeferenced data is all that is needed for such scholars to start



using the technology, and all that is required for this is the collection of postcode/ZIP code data. Once such data is captured, results of these studies can be worked with in a GIS.

In PD, however, the use of this technology is not only helpful but instead it seems vital. Not only does it improve the quality of visualization of data, but it also permits spatial analyses of linguistic data which would not be possible with other types of computer software. Besides the gains that could be made in PD research, more extensive use of GIS by a greater number of linguists would lead to a good deal of progress in many respects. Comparable to other databases (such as the 'Archiv für Gesprochenes Deutsch' [Archive for spoken German] (Institut für Deutsche Sprache 2011), the Digital Wenker Atlas (Lameli, Giessler, et al. 2010), and the Linguistic Atlas Projects webpages (Kretzschmar 2005)), data and outcomes from studies in PD could be available for other linguists. As we have argued, they could also be compared to and merged very easily with other data sets, be they linguistic or non-linguistic. Moreover, like any other kinds of statistical data published on the web (e.g. population density, demographic factors, education, etc.) linguistic data could make up databases available for other linguists, but also accessible for the interested public (cf. Lameli, Kehrein, et al. 2010; Evans 2011).

As GIS is used in many fields, it is subject to constant development and improvement. More users dealing with linguistic topics would promote academic exchange and lead to more ideas, more forums, and more progress in answering questions related to language and space. Kehrein, Lameli, and Rabanus (2010) predict that the connection between linguistics and GIS "will be of increasing importance in the coming years" (2010:xviii). We hope to have established some of the most important uses of GIS in PD and delivered some of the decisive arguments for the use of GIS.

## Endnotes

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<sup>i</sup> Trace-and-overlay techniques can be useful for ‘quick and dirty’ analyses, and should not be dismissed out of hand as they can be instructive as to the general patterning of perceptual areas. In such a technique, lines are compiled using an overhead transparency onto which can be traced all instances of a particular dialect area. The same can be done by scanning maps and manually overlaying them in a graphics program. Producing very detailed composite maps using this type of technique is however almost impossible, as is working with data from more than a limited sample (around thirty respondents). Therefore, a trace-and-overlay technique should only be used for small-scale or preliminary studies, or where the aim is to find broad general patterns from a limited cohort.

<sup>ii</sup> The research in Study 1 was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, Grant number PTA-026-27-1956.

<sup>iii</sup> The survey was part of a larger project called “Regional Dialects in the Alemannic Border Triangle” (together with Sandra Hansen). The investigation aims at analysing dialectal variation from both linguistic and folk perspectives and to combine the outcomes of the two approaches.

<sup>iv</sup> The decision to include these city location dots was made to ensure that respondents’ geographical knowledge was consistent and the spatial data they provided could be treated as accurate (cf. Preston 1993:335)). Further details relating to this methodological decision can be found in Montgomery (2007).

<sup>v</sup> A question relating to the ‘north-south’ divide was included as it is an important concept in the United Kingdom (although it is perhaps of most importance in England). Barely a month goes by without media outlets reporting on the existence of the divide (or its ‘widening’ or ‘shrinking’) (e.g. Wachman 2011). In this sense, the concept is convenient shorthand for a complex situation. Although often thought of as a modern or recent concept, Jewell has stated that it is ‘literally, as old as the hills’ (Jewell 1994:28). The preoccupation with a countrywide ‘divide’ is perhaps not as surprising as one might think, as implicit or explicit contrasts have been shown to be important in creating a sense of ‘social self’ (Cohen 1985:115). Despite this, the divide is not an official boundary and, as such, there is a great deal of disagreement about where the dividing line falls (Montgomery 2007:1–4). This question was included for the reason that the north-south divide is: a) consistently mentioned, b) a persistent concept, c) potentially important for a sense of ‘social self’, and d) undefined.

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<sup>vi</sup> All interviews were attended by at least one of the researchers, which made it possible to resolve confusions concerning the task immediately.

<sup>vii</sup> There are various other pieces of GIS software, such as MapInfo (MapInfo Corporation 2011). Some GIS platforms have a free license (such as Quantum GIS (QGIS 2011) and GRASS GIS (GRASS Development Team 2011))

<sup>viii</sup> General introductions to GIS can be found in Gomarasca (2009) or Wise (2002). Moreover, there are individual information sites and tutorials for different GIS software providers (such as QGIS (2011), GRASS (2011), or ESRI (2011a)).

<sup>ix</sup> It is worth noting here that the red colouring of the area is totally at random and that the visualisation, as will be shown in section 4.2, can be performed at will.

<sup>x</sup> If following this process make sure to use the frequency count given by the use of the 'Frequency' tool as value field for the raster.

<sup>xi</sup> It should be noted that the only way of producing aggregate maps in GIS. For example it is also possible to convert each single hand-drawn map into a raster data set and then calculate the sum of all data sets. Since with this method data queries are much more laborious (step 7/8), we follow the scheme presented here.

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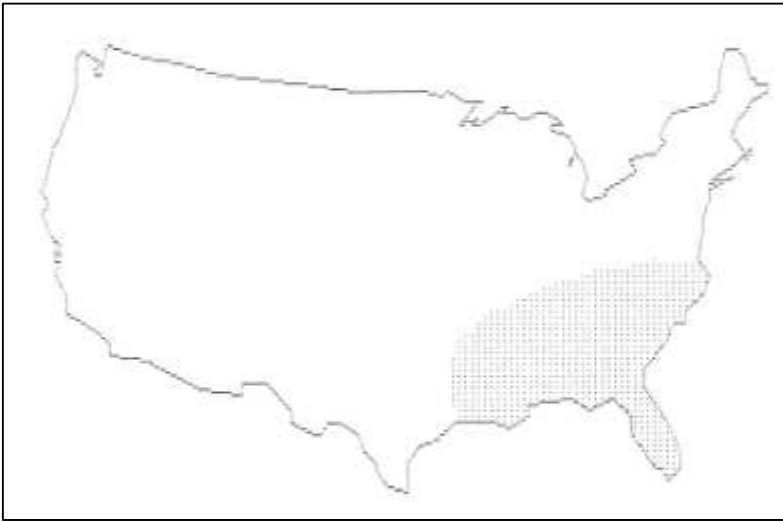


Figure 1: Preston and Howe's map aggregation technique – map shows southern Indiana-based respondents perception of a 'South' dialect area (1987:373)



Figure 2: 'Tohoku-ben' area, data processed in PDQ (Long 1999:183)

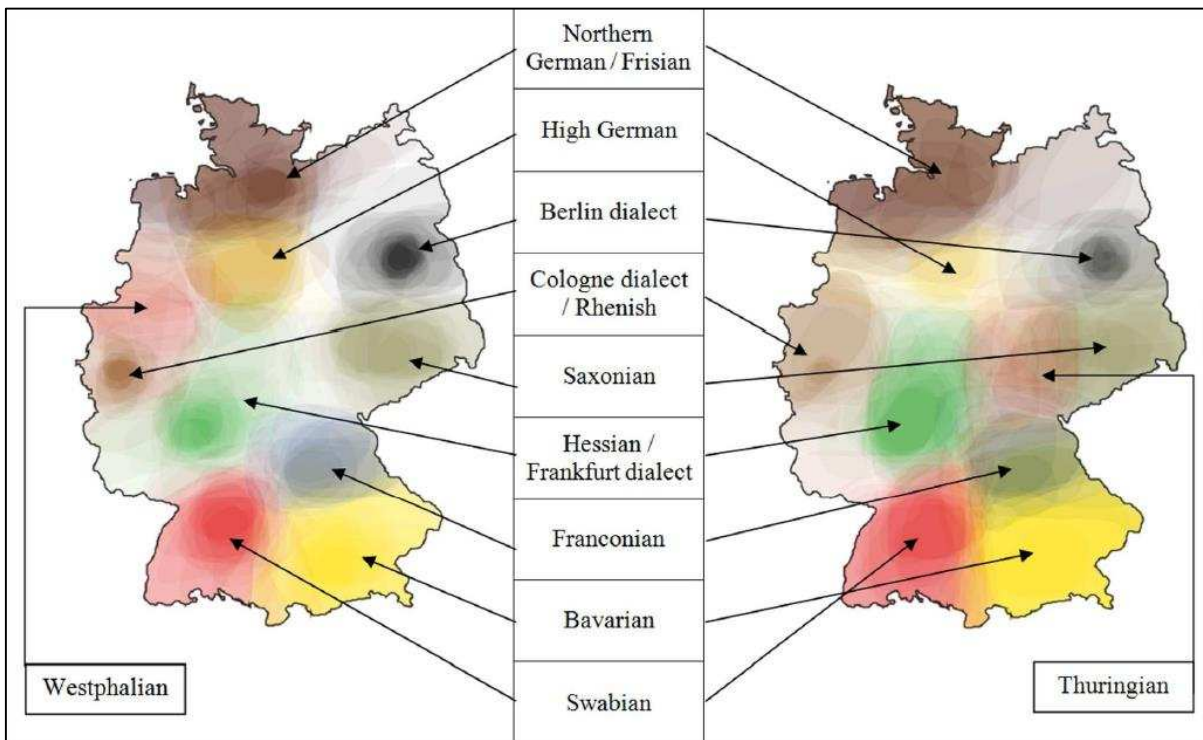


Figure 3: Prominent large-scale regional language areas for Northern Hessian (left) and Eastern Hessian (right) informants (Purschke 2011:99)

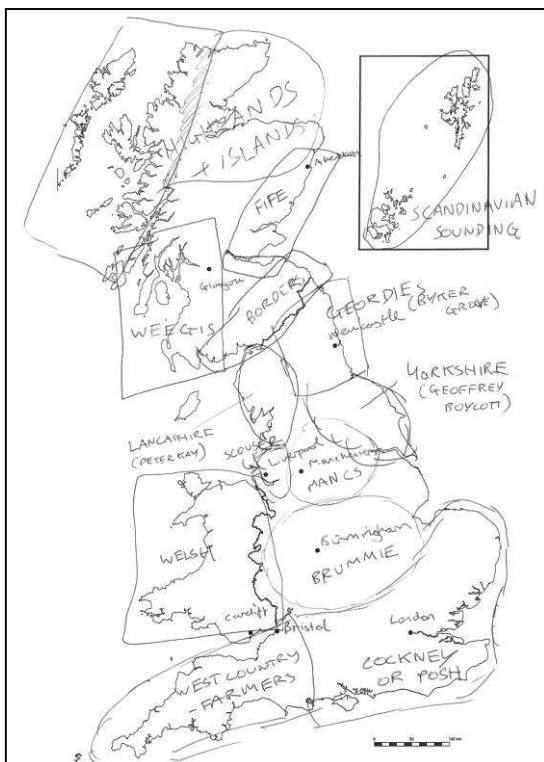


Figure 4: Completed draw-a-map task (Montgomery 2011)

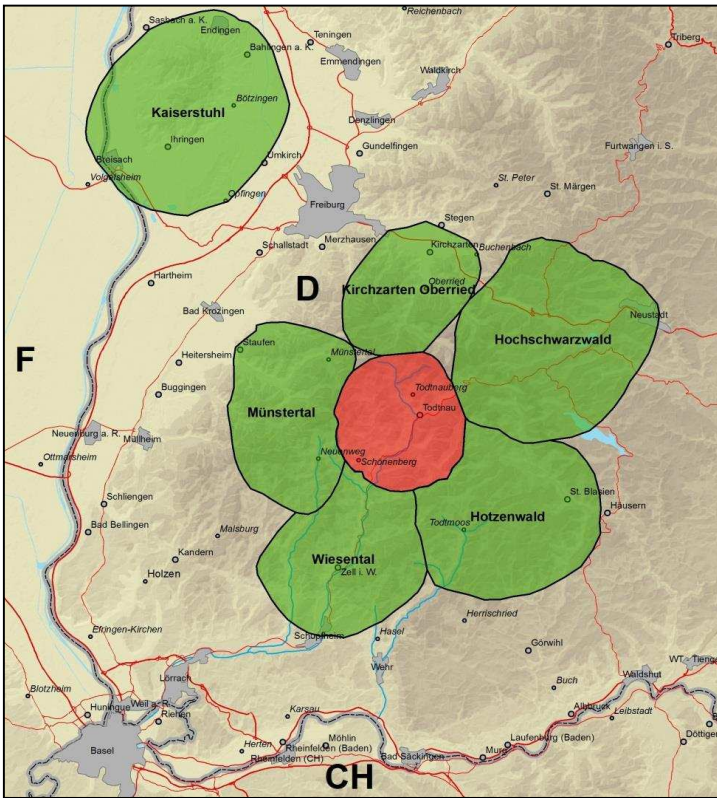


Figure 5: Hand-drawn local dialect areas by a respondent from Todtnauberg from Study 2

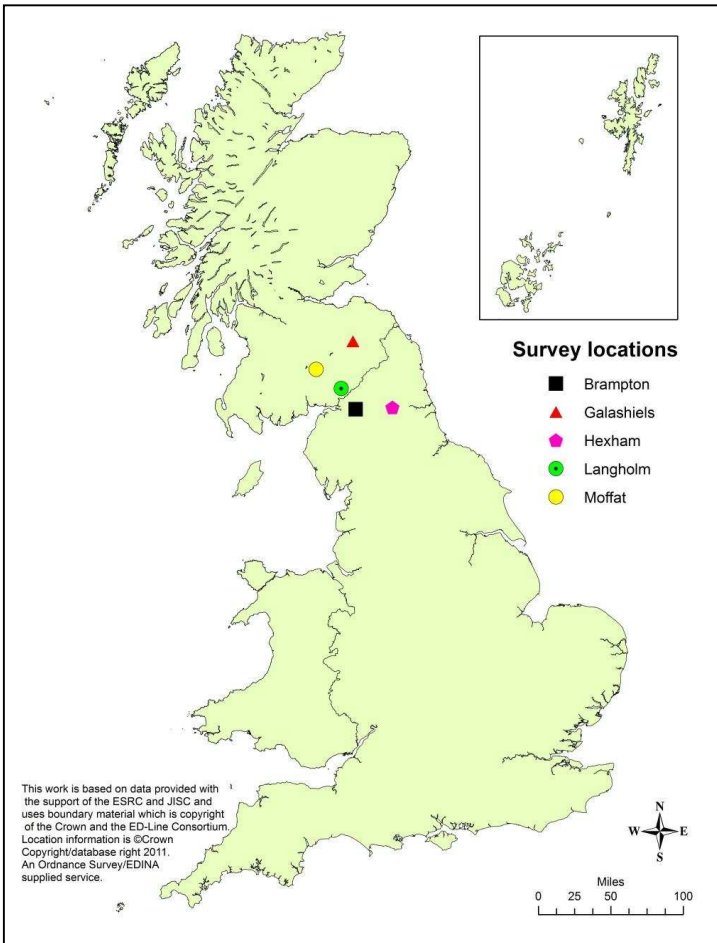


Figure 6: Map of research area – Study 1

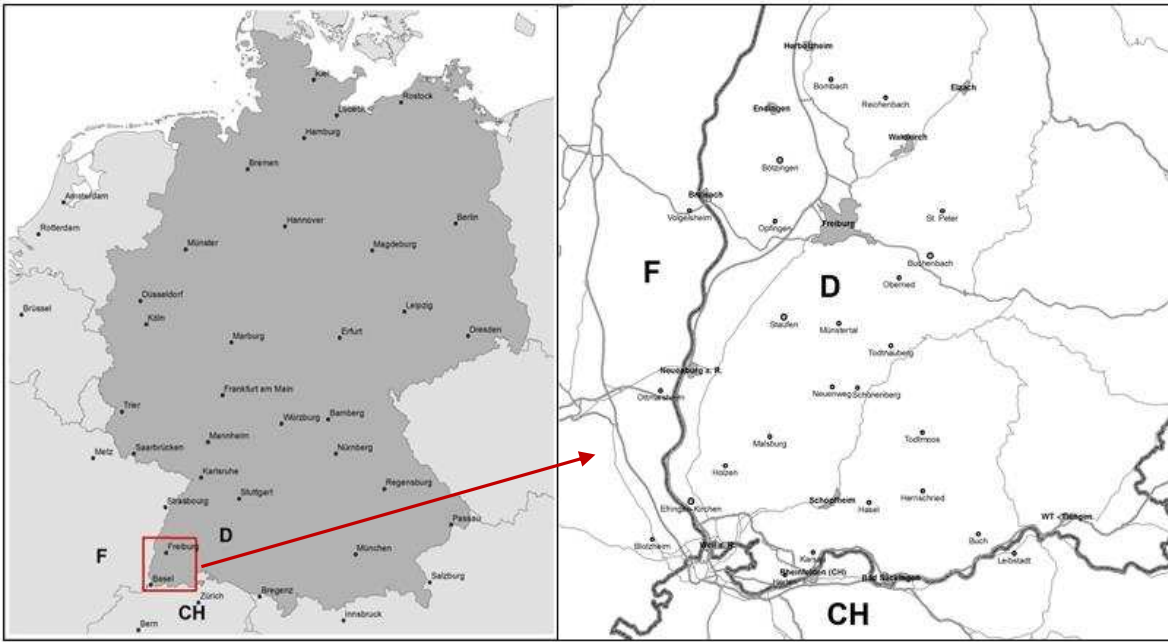


Figure 7: Map of research area – Study 2

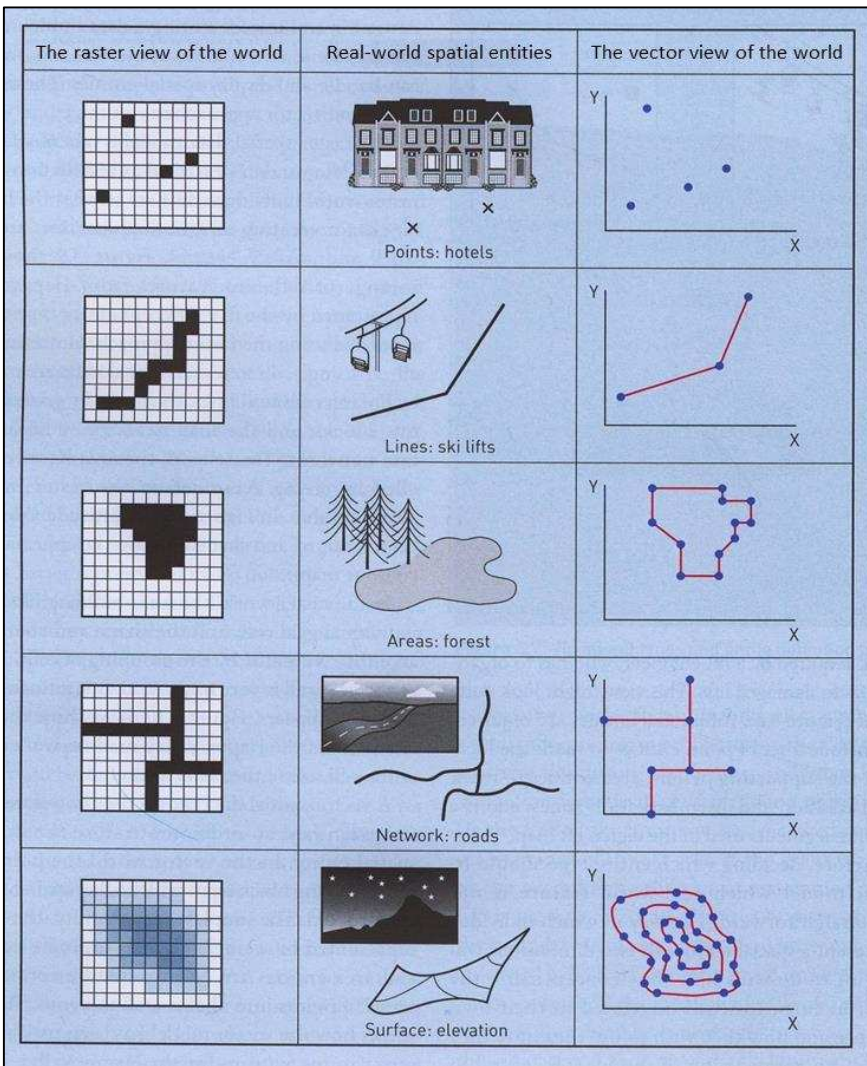


Figure 8: Vector and raster data (adapted from Heywood et al. 2006:78)



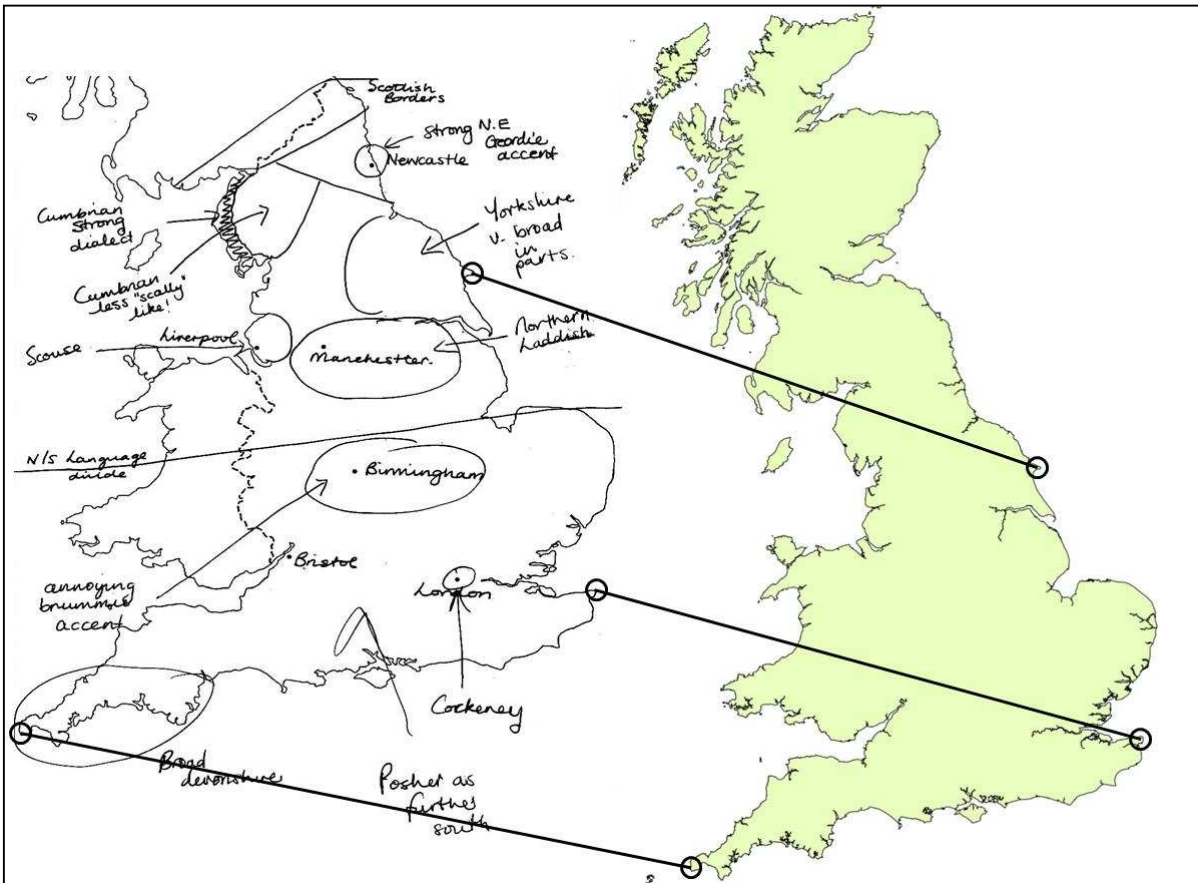


Figure 9: Georeferencing and control points

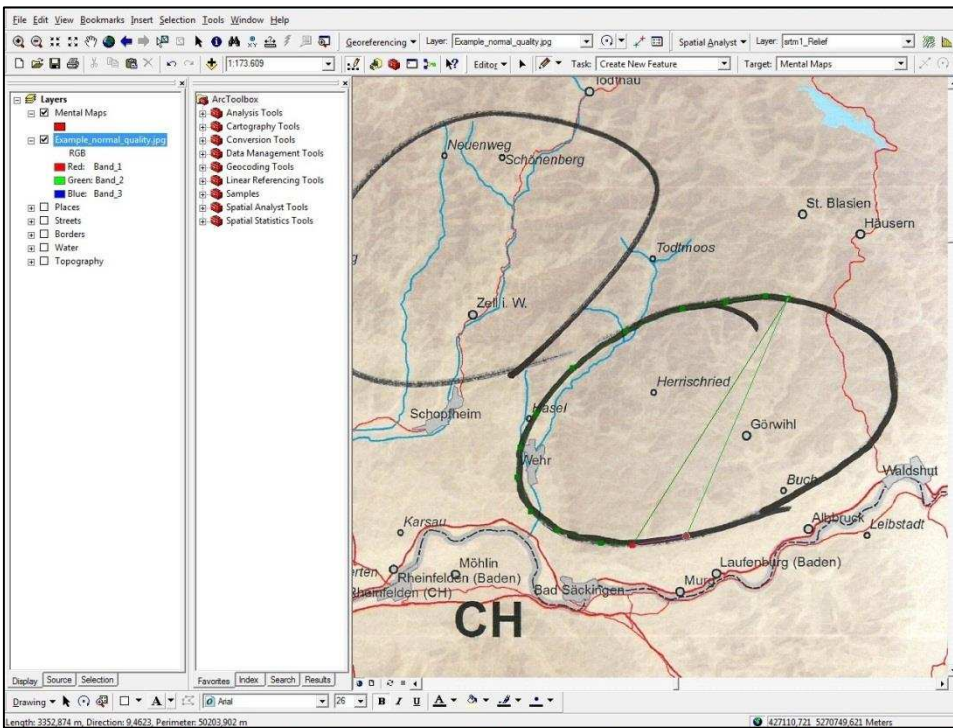


Figure 10: Redrawing of mental map

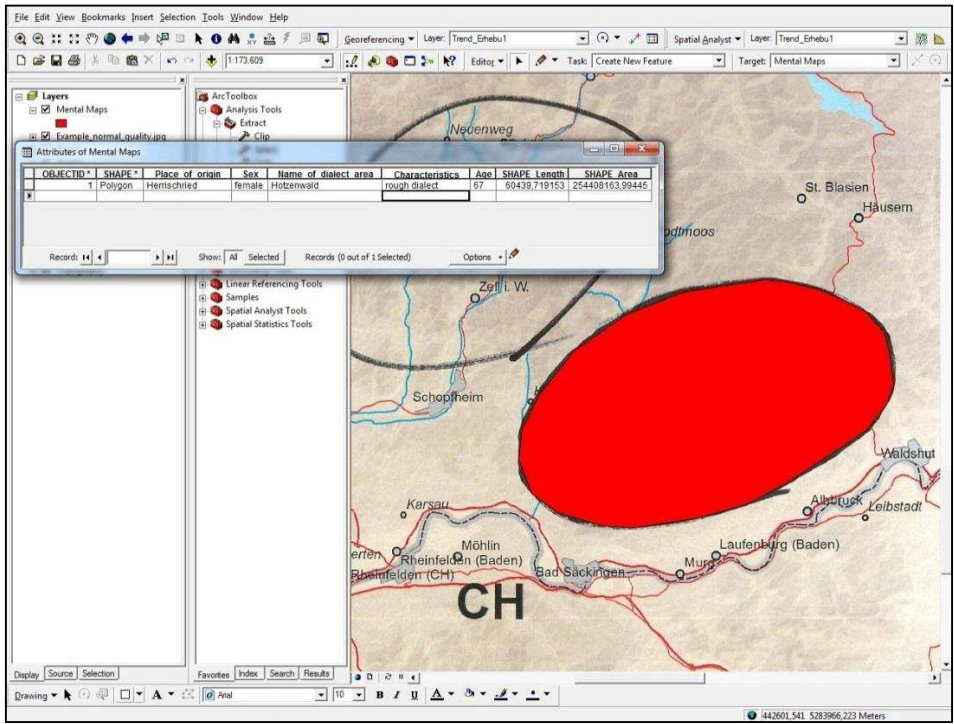


Figure 11: Redrawn dialect area (red oval) and attributes table

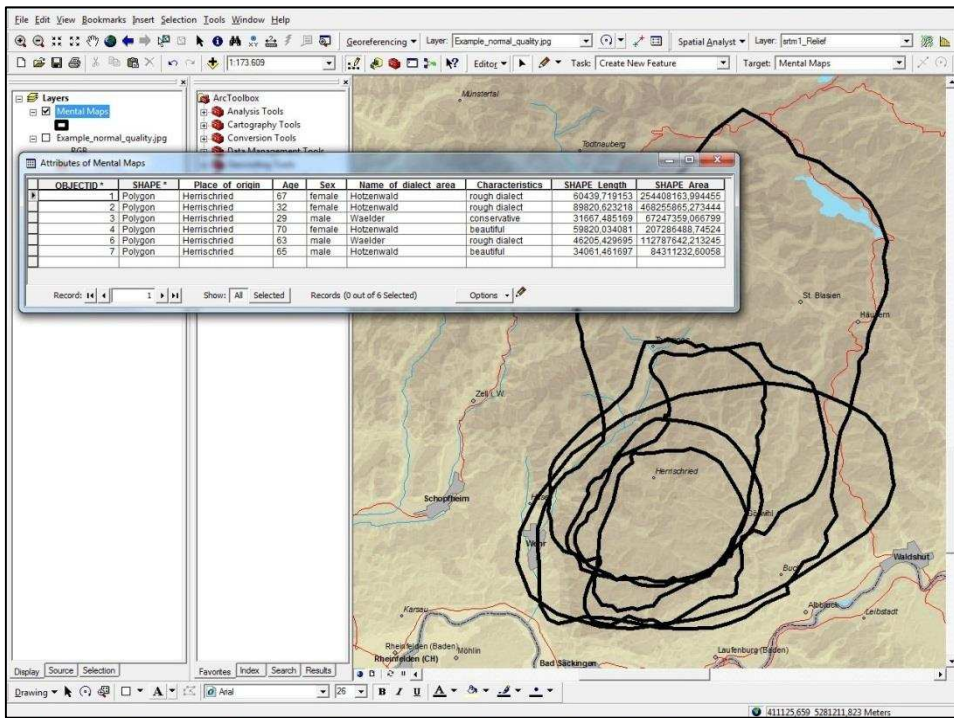


Figure 12: Several data added to one data set



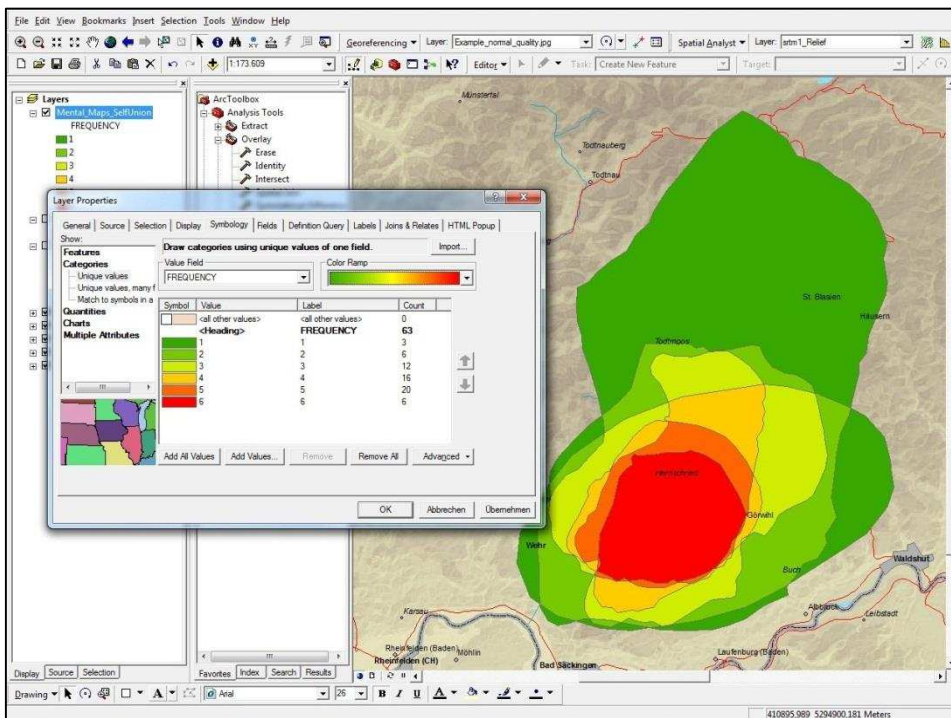


Figure 13: Map showing different degrees of overlap

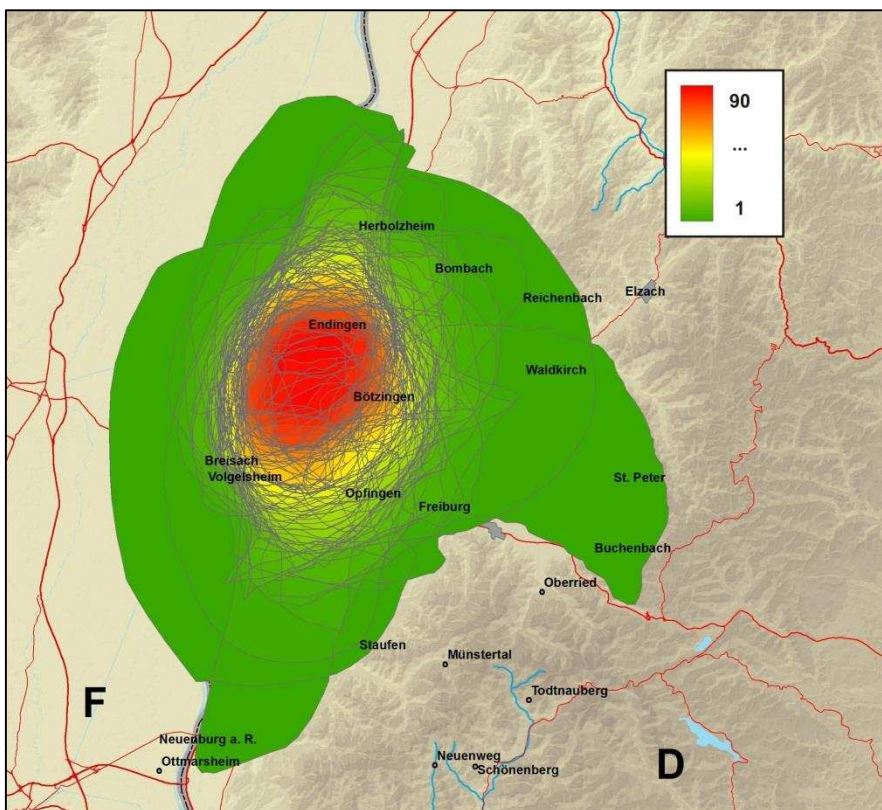


Figure 14: Self union of hand-drawn maps indicating agreement rates (vector data)

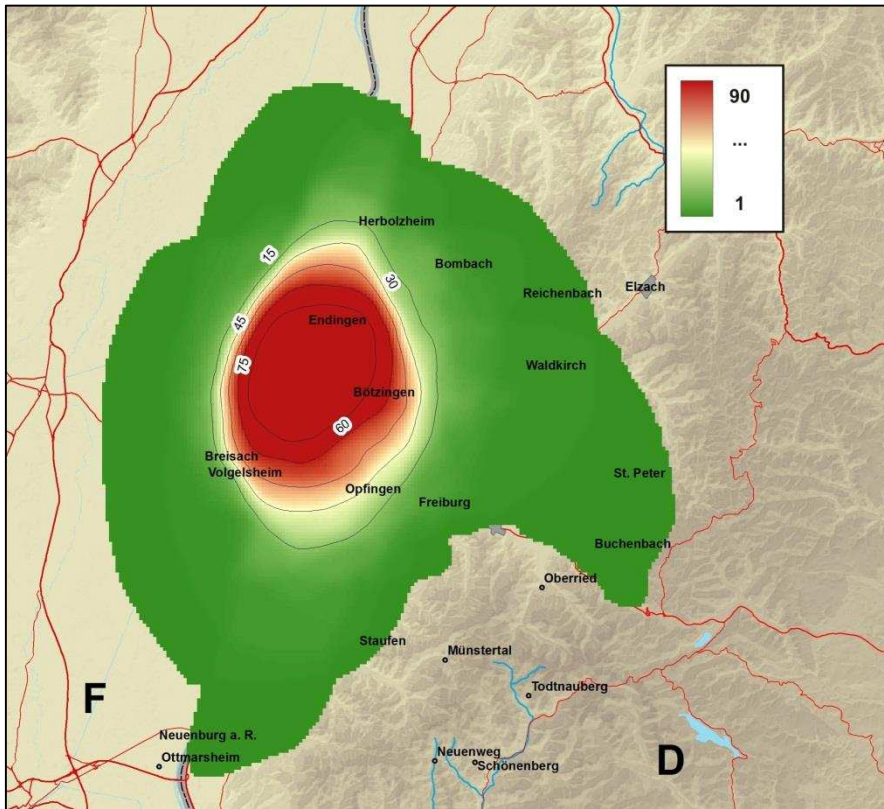


Figure 15: Rasterized version of hand-drawn maps (with contours)



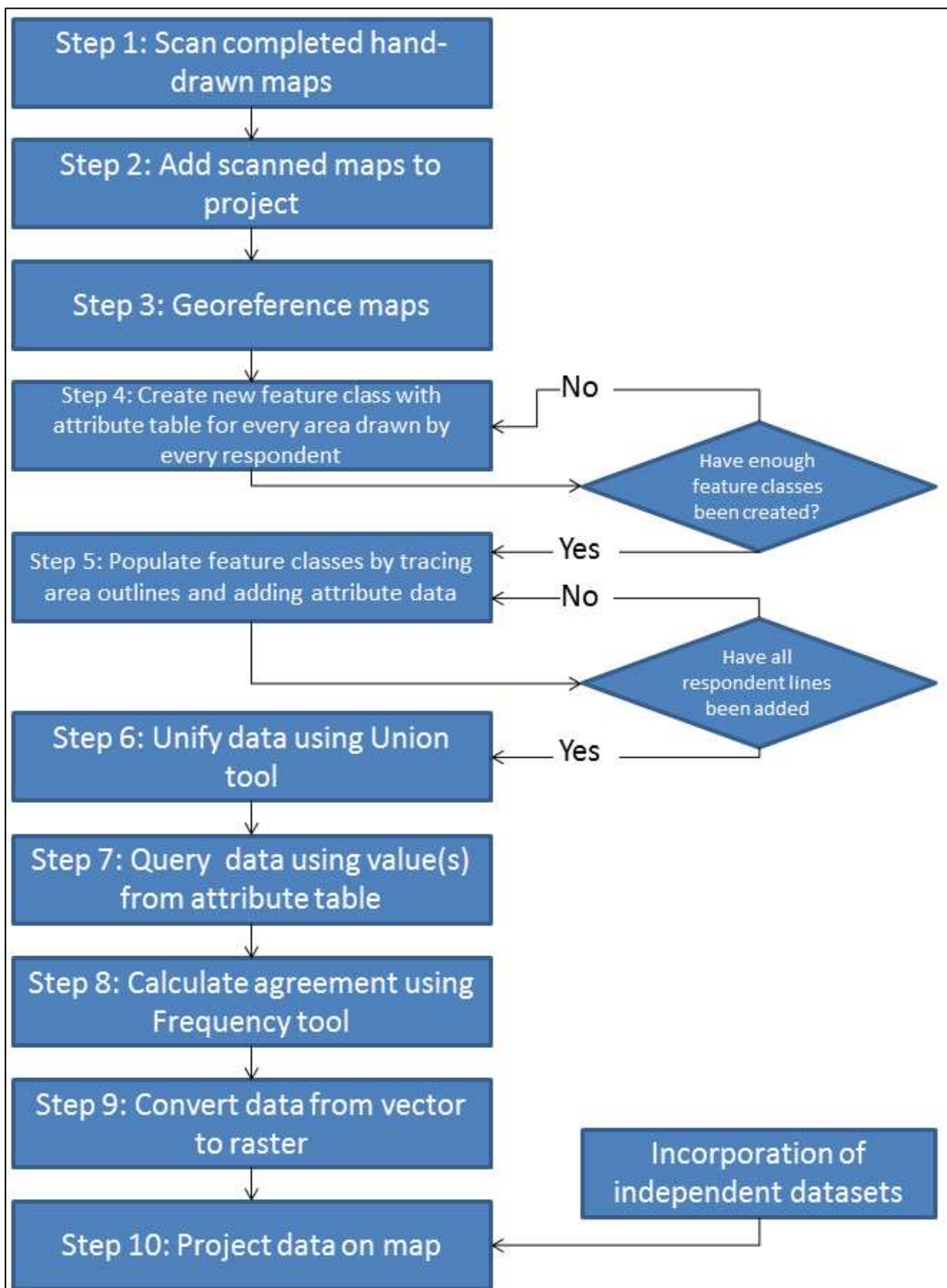


Figure 16: Work-flow for processing draw-a-map data and projecting onto a map in ArcGIS

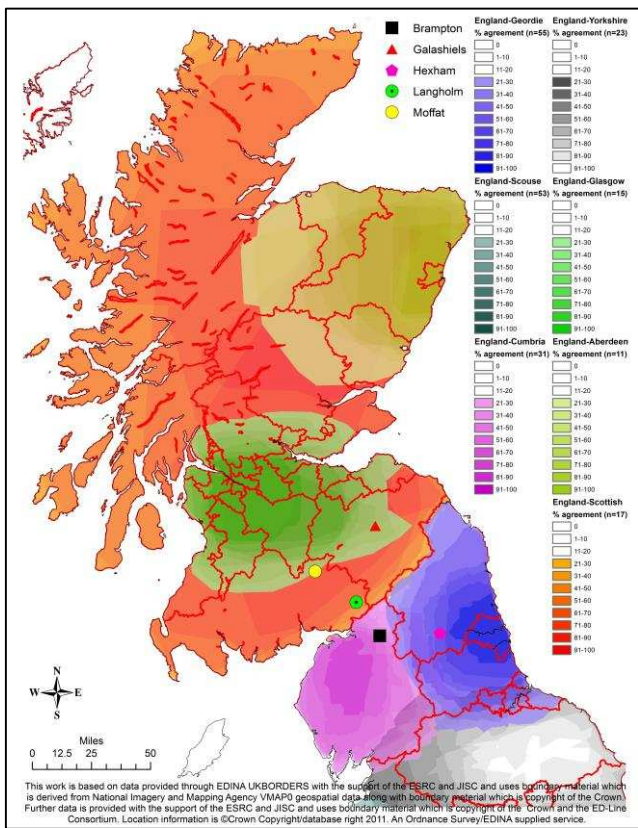


Figure 17: English respondents perceptions of dialect areas and Northern England and Southern Scotland, with national and county boundaries superimposed

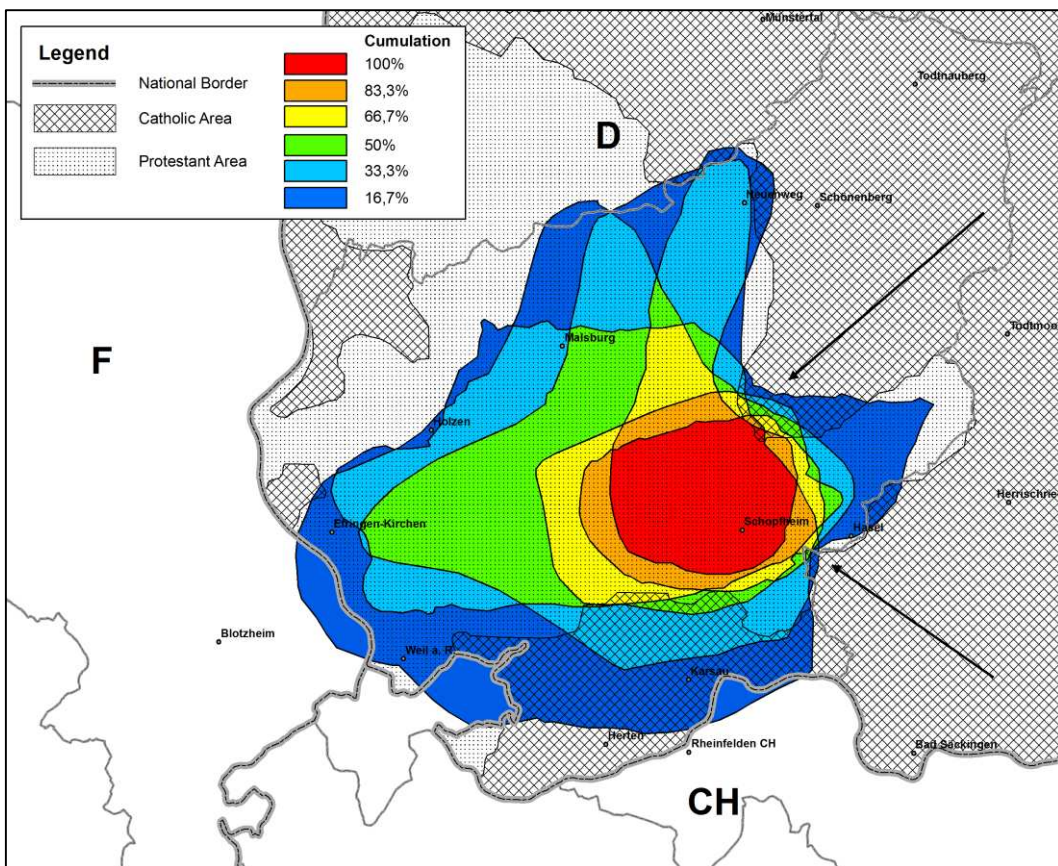


Figure 18: Mental maps from Schopfheim respondents and traditional confessional structuring



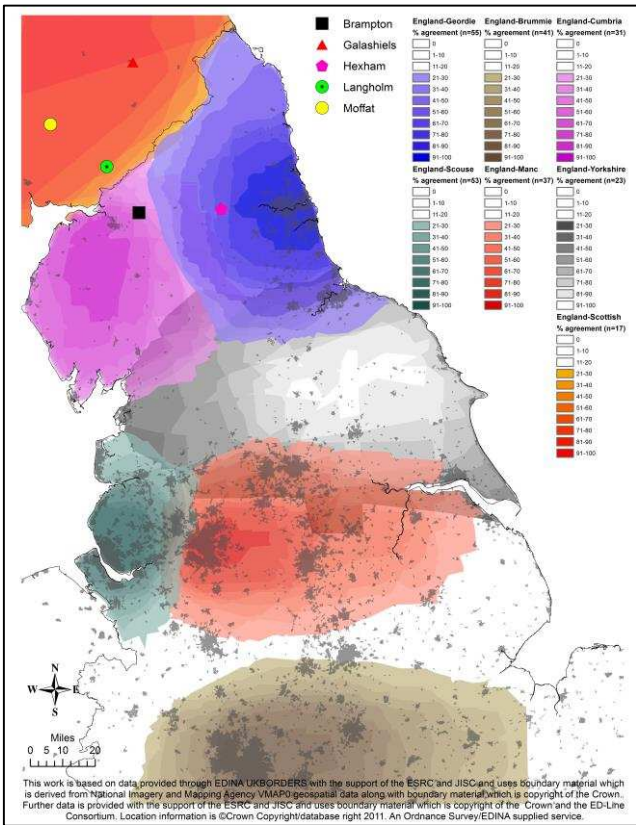


Figure 19: English respondents perceptual areas, with urban areas superimposed

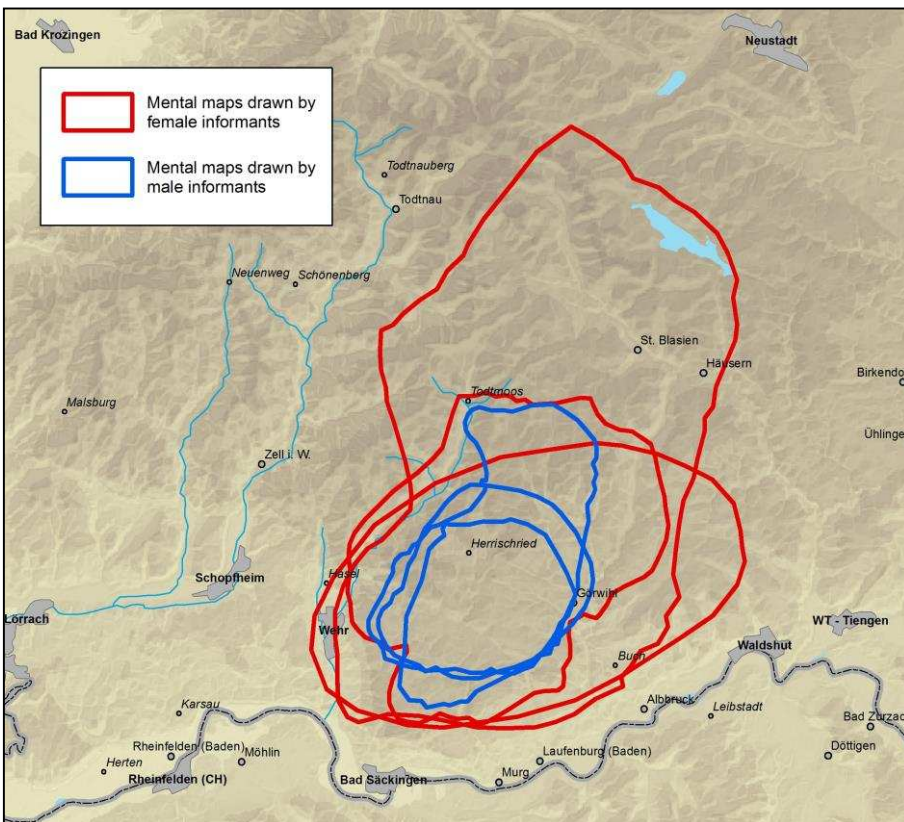


Figure 20: Mental maps drawn by female and male respondents



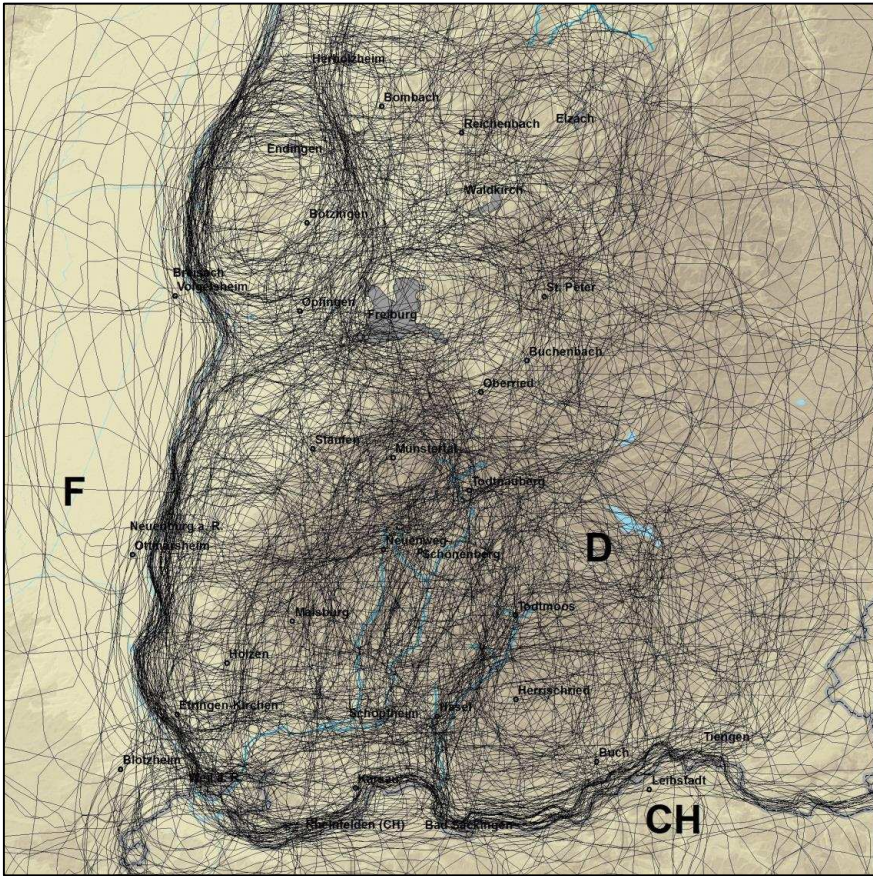


Figure 21: Summary of all dialect areas drawn by the respondents from Study 2

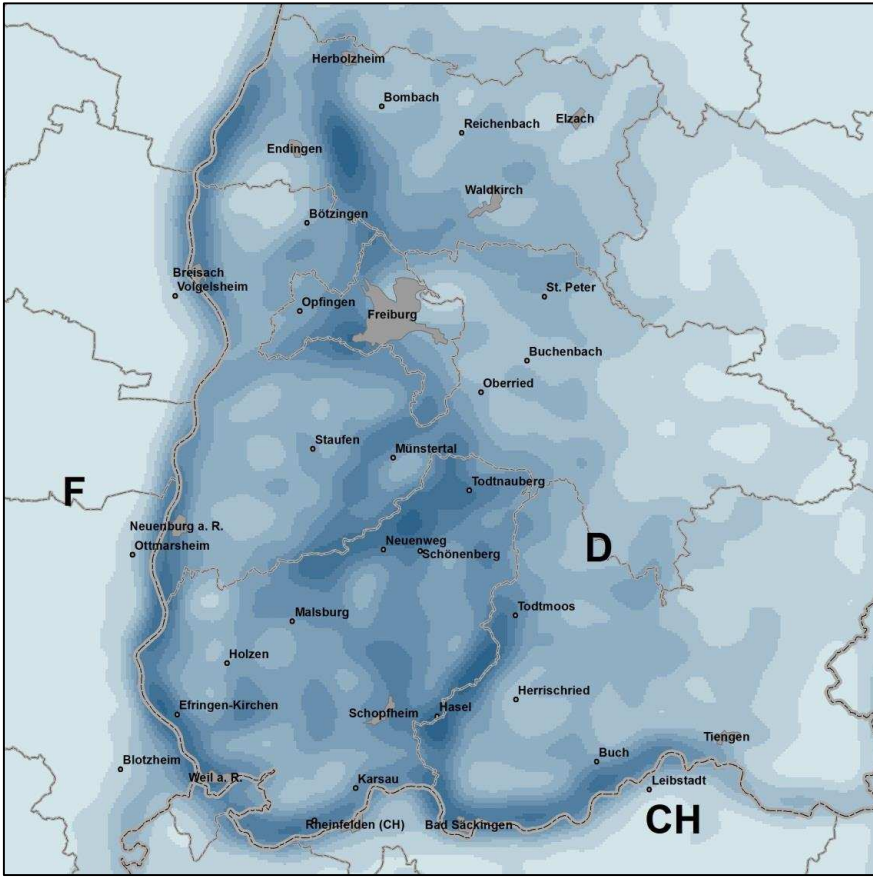


Figure 22: Line density of mental dialect borders

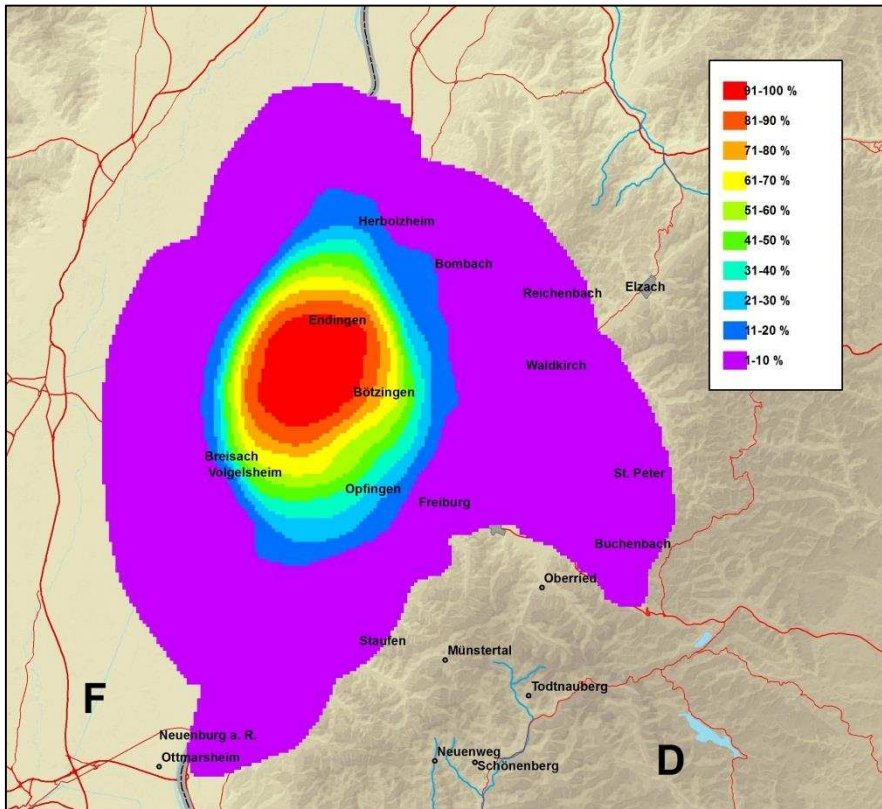


Figure 23: Rasterized version of hand-drawn maps displaying percentages

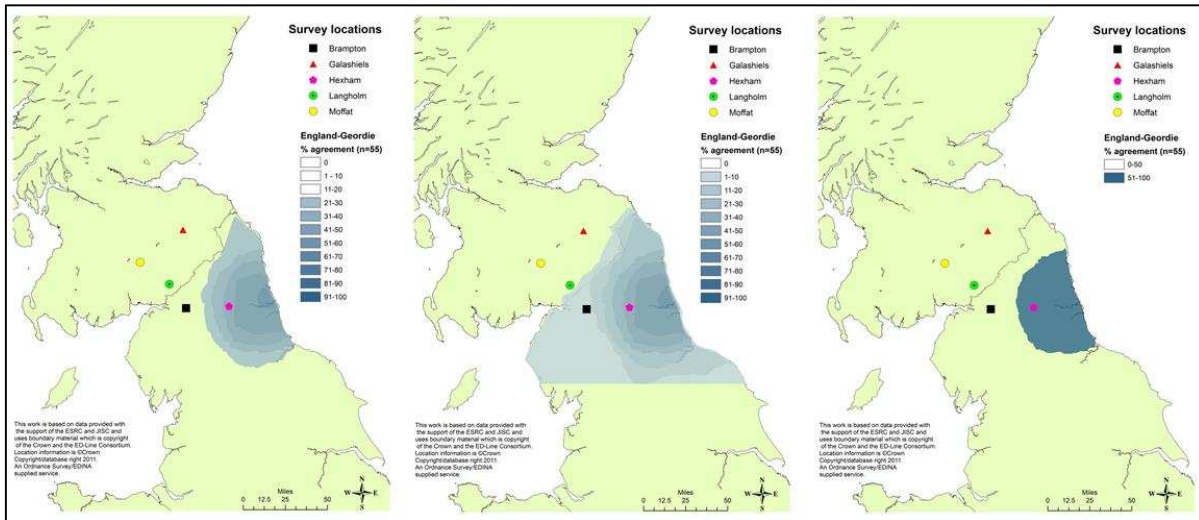


Figure 24: Differences in map display as a result of customising aggregate data display



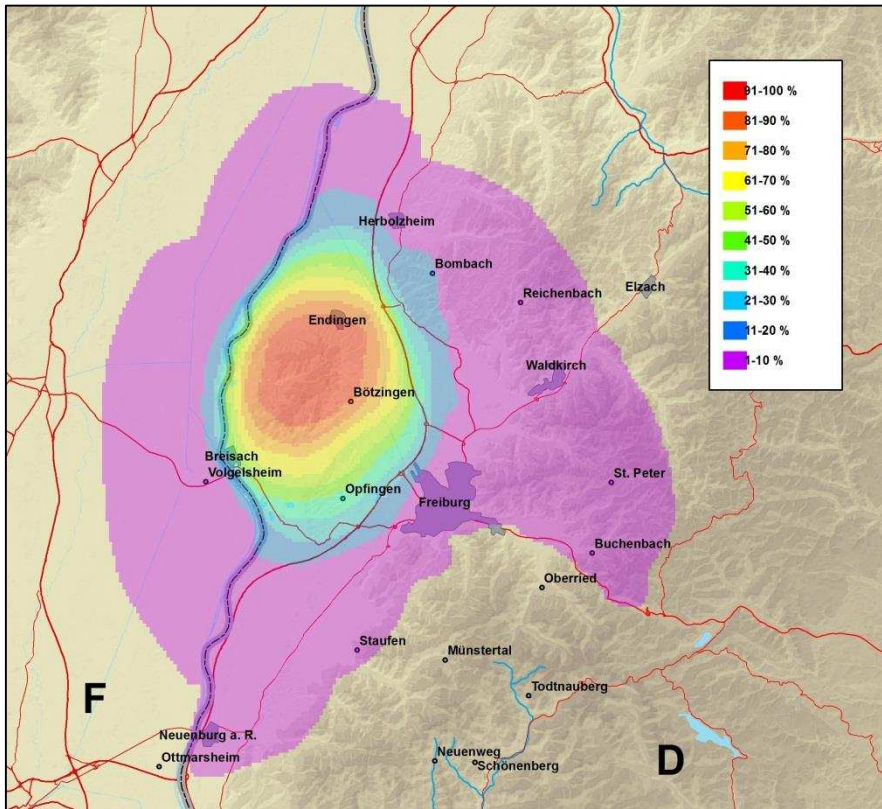


Figure 25: Transparent rasterized version of hand-drawn maps

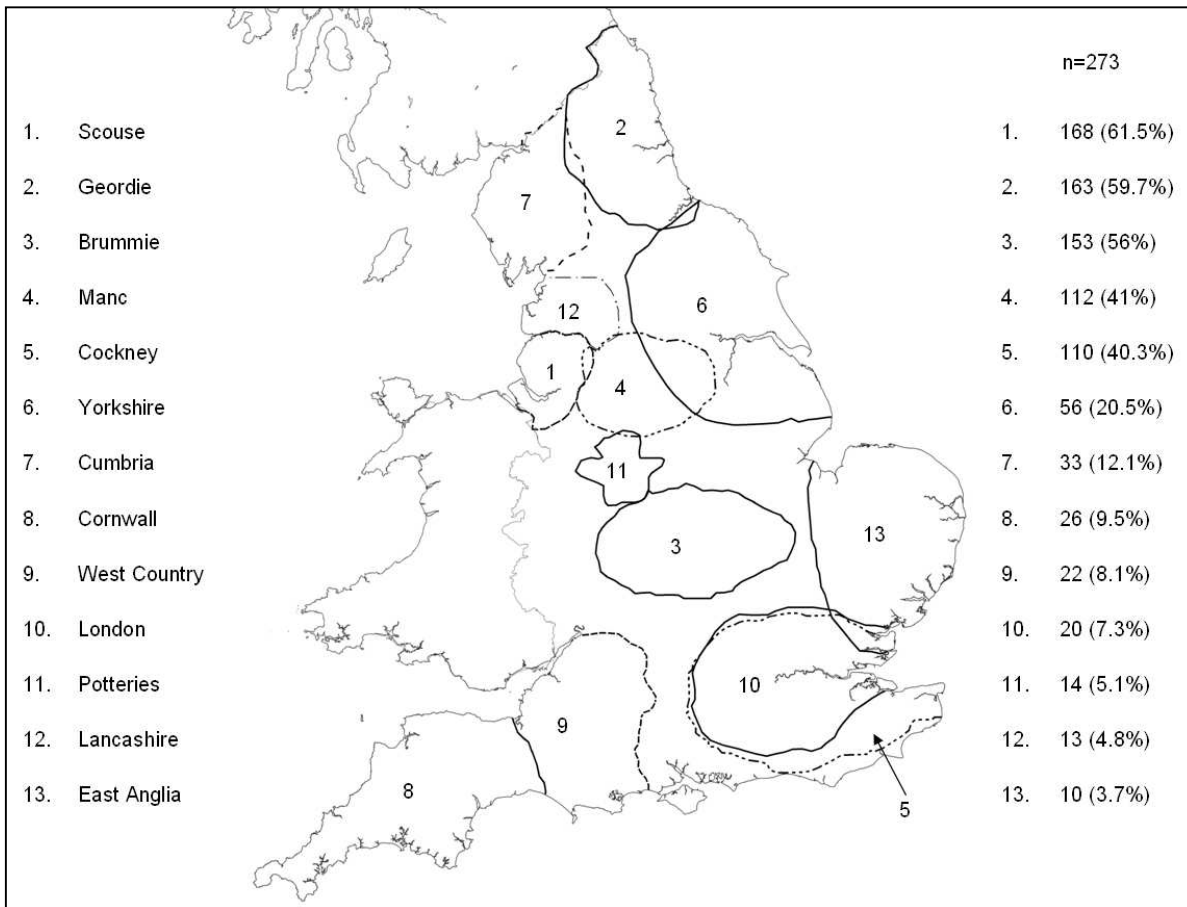


Figure 26: Composite perceptual map of England (Montgomery 2007:237)

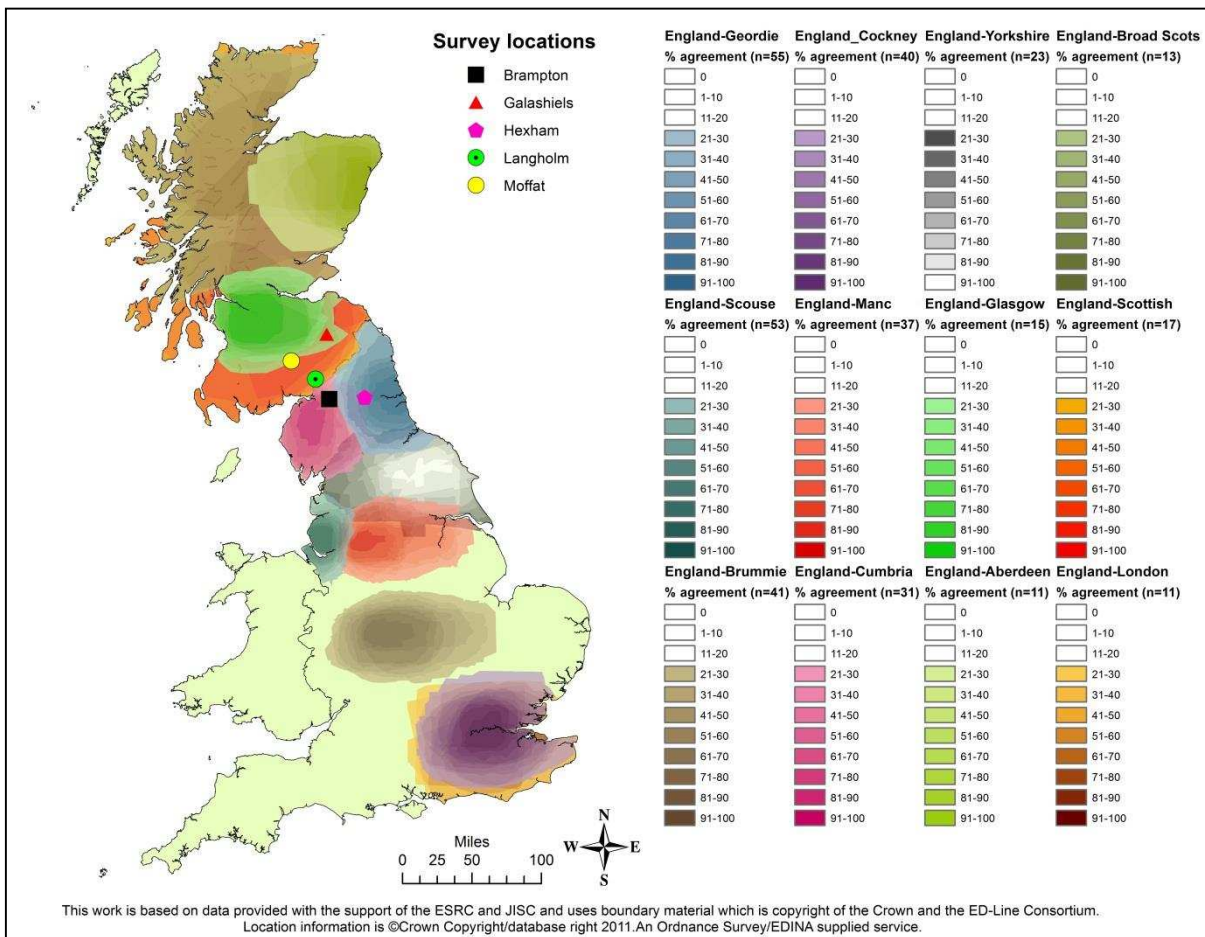


Figure 27: Composite perceptual map of Great Britain, showing aggregated dialect areas drawn by English respondents