

Examining the use of Definite Article Reduction (DAR) by speakers of a South Yorkshire dialect, and speakers' attitudes towards DAR.

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1. Introduction

This study considers Definite Article Reduction (DAR) usage in South Yorkshire, focusing on young speakers aged 18-24. Broadly, DAR is a form of the definite article (the), which has been reduced to sounds such as a glottal stop or voiced dental fricative, for example: 'going to /ʔ/ shop' or 'its /ð/ only way'. The study aims to determine speakers' DAR frequency and variation, and analyse participants' views towards the feature, focusing on gender, educational level, and identity. Six participants native to South Yorkshire were recorded: four from Rotherham, one from Sheffield, and one from Barnsley. Data collection involved three interviews with each participant. Interview one was one-on-one, aiming to determine the 'norms' of speakers' DAR usage. Second interviews were conducted with a group of people whose dialects closely resembled Standard English (SE), establishing whether the South Yorkshire speakers would change their speech to accommodate for those who do not use DAR, as Giles et al. (1991) accommodation theory would suggest. During interview three, participants were told what DAR is, and self-reported on their DAR usage, their perceptions of DAR, and opinions on whether gender and educational level would affect DAR usage. This study fills gaps in the existing literature in reflecting speakers' views on DAR, investigating DAR usage across South Yorkshire specifically, and exploring young people's speech; these aspects are unprecedented in current DAR research, as will be discussed in the literature review.

2. Literature Review

DAR has been studied in a variety of contexts, ranging from phonological and historical (Barry, 1972; Jones, 1999; 2002; 2007; Jones, 1952; Lodge, 2010; Roeder, 2012), to sociolinguistic contexts (Rácz, 2012; Rupp, 2007; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff, 2005; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009). There has been less sociolinguistic research into DAR than phonological or historical research, suggesting a gap in the literature. DAR is described as "the realization of the definite article in northern British English dialects in a range of vowel-less forms, usually written *t'* in

literature” Jones (2002: 325). DAR is most often associated with the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire (Rącz (2012: 62). While DAR is specific to particular geographies, there remain geographical deficits in DAR research: DAR in South Yorkshire has been investigated within larger studies of Yorkshire and the North (Barry, 1972; Jones, 1952), while specific focus on South Yorkshire has only been adopted by Jones (2007), who studied three speakers aged over 50.

2.1 History

DAR’s origin and development is greatly discussed amongst DAR researchers (Barry, 1972; Jones, 2002; Lodge, 2010; Roeder, 2012; Rupp, 2007; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff, 2005). The naming of the phenomenon as ‘DAR’ suggests that it is a reduction of the Standard Definite Article (SDA), and its history is associated with a development from the Middle English definite article (Jones, 2002). Jones (2002) rejects this development hypothesis, however, positing that the present-day distribution of fricative allomorphs does not indicate such an origin. Jones (2002), Rupp (2007), and Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005) argue that DAR and the SDA do not share the same origin.

Rupp (2007) posits that the SDA and DAR may both have developed through Scandinavian influence, agreeing with suggestions that they each emerged in the North of England following the arrival of the Vikings in Britain (Rupp, 2007; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff, 2005). Rupp (2007: 237) states that the “definite article *the* and DAR forms arose at similar times [...] in more or less parallel developments, but derived from different sources”.

Barry (1972) suggests that a series of phonological changes to the SDA took place alongside the loss of old article-less nouns: some regions failed to partake in these changes, leaving their dialects reflecting remnants of older forms of the SDA. These forms may have included variations of DAR and zero forms, and thus, the SDA and DAR share the same history (Barry, 1972). However, having studied four distinct phonological environments in which DAR can occur, Barry (1972) suggests a different history for what appears to be DAR preceding words such as ‘other’ and ‘one’. These cases are arguably not a reduction of the SDA; they are a reduction of the demonstrative ‘that’, leaving us with the final [t], and resulting in dialectal phrases such as ‘t’other’ and ‘t’one’ (Barry, 1972).

As with Jones (2002), Lodge (2010: 112) rejects the naming of DAR as a reduction, stating that “the modern-day [θ]- and [ʔ]-forms are not reductions of anything in a synchronic grammar, so DAR can only refer to a historical process, as yet not fully understood”. Lodge (2010) suggests that DAR may have derived from some combination of the Middle English definite article [θe], and the demonstrative [θat]; this seems to account for some issues

surrounding DAR's origins and development, incorporating Barry's (1972) final [t] of the demonstrative 'that' as being one realisation of DAR.

2.2 Geography

The geographical distribution of DAR studies to date have been spread across various areas in the North of England (Barry, 1972; Hollmann and Siewierska, 2011; Jones, 1952; Jones, 1999; 2002; 2007; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff, 2005; Tagliamonte, 1998; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009). What constitutes as 'the North of England' is debated amongst linguists; Upton (2012: 257) suggests that there are "transition zones where competing variants merge almost imperceptibly into one another in both geographical and social space", making it difficult to determine what constitutes as 'the North'. However, South Yorkshire and South Lancashire are noted as being southern areas of the North of England (Beal, 2008; Upton, 2012; Wales, 2006). Beal (2008:127) describes "the south-west corner of the North as ... from Liverpool and South Lancashire as far across as Sheffield".

Jones (1952) studies DAR usage in elderly speakers across Yorkshire, creating a map of areas within Yorkshire which use DAR, and the phonological environments used. Barry (1972) investigates DAR usage across areas of Yorkshire and the North, while Jones (2007) focuses on the areas of Barnsley and Doncaster, within South Yorkshire. Tagliamonte (1998) and Tagliamonte and Roeder (2009) researched DAR usage in York, while Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005) look at DAR usage at the North Yorkshire/Lancashire border, and Hollmann and Siewierska (2011) investigate Lancashire speakers' DAR frequency.

2.3 Phonology

Jones' (2007) considers that the glottal stop as a DAR variant, and as a realisation of /t/, may differ from one another: the production of the DAR glottal stop is shorter, possessing both word and morphological boundary, whilst as a realisation of /t/, it has neither. Jones (2007: 61) reports that "variation between the DAR forms and the Standard English article 'the' is common in speech". Such variations in usage can be attributed to certain influences, such as disfluencies of speech, idioms, and reported speech (Jones, 2007).

Jones (1952) looks at various phonological contexts, for example, the definite article before a vowel, and before a consonant, finding that a range of forms of DAR were used. South Yorkshire's most commonly used DAR variants were: glottal stop, [t], [θ], and [tθ] (Jones, 1952). Jones (1952) and Barry (1972) both consider the following segment as a conditioning factor to DAR realisations.

Barry (1972) investigates the definite article before: initial vowel, initial consonant, initial [t], and 'other', and phonological environments were elicited through questions adopted from The Survey of English Dialects (SED) (Upton et al, 1994). Barry (1972) suggests that the greatest variation occurs across Yorkshire, and finds regional variation in DAR realisations, for example, Yorkshire speakers tended to use [t] preceding an initial vowel, whereas Lancashire speakers favoured [θ], occasionally using [ð].

Tagliamonte and Roeder (2009: 462) suggest that "the classic Yorkshire DAR forms are not 'fading into antiquity,'" and that most DAR variants are still in use, with the exception of [t], which, as Tidholm (1979: 125) predicted, is becoming obsolete.

2.4 Frequency and Inter- and Intra-speaker Variation

Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005: 325) investigate variation between DAR and the SDA, finding that dialect speakers use DAR most frequently "when they refer to something (i) that is in their immediate environment (situational reference), (ii) that was just mentioned in the conversation (anaphoric reference), or (iii) that is known to the hearer (shared knowledge)". DAR usage follows a clear pattern, as speakers' DAR frequency and variation appear to depend upon specific criteria (Rupp and Page-Verhoeff, 2005).

DAR's frequency of usage is debated, with corpora suggesting that DAR occurs in 13.8% of Yorkshire's total definite article usage (Kortmann et al, 2005; Rącz, 2012). This relative infrequency is contested by Jones (2007), who suggests a much higher usage. Rącz (2012: 64) argues this percentage to be reasonably sizeable, as "usage varies between the reduced articles and the standard ones, even in the production of one speaker – largely, but perhaps not exclusively, depending on the formality of the register". This intra-speaker variation could account for the seemingly low recorded DAR usage: not even dialect speakers would solely use DAR forms, but some speakers only use the SDA (Rącz, 2012).

Hollmann and Siewierska (2011) suggest that DAR usage is most influenced by the preceding word or phrase, as opposed to the following word or phrase. Analysing the Yorkshire part of the FRED Corpora, Rącz (2012: 68) finds no correlation between DAR usage and following phonological environments. Roeder (2012), too, notes the significance of the preceding phonological environment, indicating that DAR is not affected by the following phonological environment (Roeder, 2012; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009).

2.5 Identity: Age, Gender, Education

This section explores sociolinguistic DAR studies (Rącz, 2012; Rupp, 2007; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff, 2005; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009), and the links between DAR, and identity,

age, and gender. Rupp (2007) looks at definite article variation, proposing that phonological context affects DAR usage less than the speaker's geographical context. Suggesting that social identity is integral to DAR usage, Rupp (2007: 215) posits that "reduced forms do not seem to be disappearing but rather to take on social meaning".

Tagliamonte and Roeder (2009) examine the extent to which age, gender, and educational level influence definite article realisations in York English. Roeder (2012: 239) describes DAR in York as "a rich and complex phenomenon that demonstrates the influence of both external and internal conditioning factors". Tagliamonte and Roeder (2009) report four definite article realisations: SDA, glottal stop, [t], and the zero variant, with substantial variation between each one. DAR usage is accelerating among younger males, "suggesting that DAR is being recycled as an identity marker of the local vernacular" (Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009: 435). Less educated older men and women used DAR more than their educated counterparts, whilst within younger speakers aged 20-30, educated women used DAR more than uneducated women (Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009). Commenting on these findings, Rupp (2007: 232) posits that "DAR affirms a positive new attitude toward local identity in the developing prestige for Northern Englishes more generally", which is congruent with prior findings of covert prestige (Labov, 1990; 2001).

Rupp (2007) and Tagliamonte and Roeder (2009) find DAR to be an identity marker for Northern English dialect speakers, and Rácz (2012) also affirms that DAR is a salient property of Northern dialect speech. Saliency is "the property of a variable which makes it cognitively or perceptually prominent both for speakers of the dialect and for speakers of other dialects" (Rácz, 2012: 57). DAR is regarded amongst the most stereotypical features of Northern dialects, particularly Yorkshire and Lancashire dialects (Jones, 2002). Rácz (2012) draws upon Labov's (1972) distinction between 'indicators' and 'markers' to show that DAR is salient; while 'indicators' are not socially recognised, and have no judgement attached to them, 'markers' have social judgement attached to them, often representing individuals' sociolinguistic identity. Thus, "DAR is a salient marker inasmuch as it shows variation and style shifting, can be an identity marker, and has long been recognised by layperson and linguist alike as a typical feature of Northern speech" (Rácz, 2012: 57).

Rácz's (2012) position seems to account for variations in DAR usage, such as the deviation away from DAR towards the SDA in more formal settings (Lodge, 2010). Markers of saliency can be purposefully omitted from speech; as DAR belongs in this category, it "can consequently be avoided in more formal situations" (Rácz, 2012: 65). Sociolinguistic interviews can be interpreted as a more formal situation, and so, findings deriving from this context may not be entirely representative of actual DAR usage (Rácz, 2012).

The Tagliamonte York Corpus (Tagliamonte, 1998) consists of fifty speakers – later condensed to eight speakers, whose speech exhibited the most zero articles. Despite the small speaker sample, Roeder (2012) notes numerous differences across gender, age, and educational level. Based on the corpus data, Roeder (2012) finds that men favour DAR, supporting claims that while both genders use DAR, it is more frequently used in informal settings, by older working-class males. Tagliamonte and Roeder (2009) find that lesser educated young men used more reduced forms, while young women used DAR regardless of educational level, and that young women had a lower DAR usage than young men. Roeder (2012: 239) posits that York speakers asserting local identity through dialect is consistent with the tourist appeal of the town; thus, “both men and women may be recycling older features for the purposes of maintaining local identity, but the two groups may be going about it in different ways, using slightly different features”. While the young women in the group largely tended to use the SDA, the young men exhibited speech similar to the older speakers; Roeder (2012) argues that this variation may be due to the young women having a different grammar to the male speakers. Largely, variation in DAR usage seems to be influenced by speakers’ sociological background, lessening the importance of preceding phonological contexts, as here, the phonological environment conditions zero variant realisations in males only (Roeder, 2012; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009). Roeder (2012: 238) comments upon young females using zero articles, which may not necessarily reflect DAR, instead, perhaps, reflecting “the absence of a definite article for other syntactic and discourse-pragmatic reasons”. Roeder (2012) posits that this represents a form of linguistic recycling which is viewed as more socially favourable than DAR.

Investigating non-standard speech forms in Norwich, Trudgill (1972) looks at speakers’ attitudes towards linguistic variables. Trudgill (1972: 194) discusses covert prestige, describing it as a phenomenon whereby, “for male speakers, and for female speakers under 30, non-standard [working-class] speech forms are highly valued, although these values are not usually overtly expressed.” Women over 30 reportedly use linguistic forms which are closer to the standard, or which have higher prestige; males, however, favour ‘working-class’ speech, using more non-standard linguistic forms (Trudgill, 1972). However, Tagliamonte and Roeder’s (2009) conclusions that educated females aged 20-30 use DAR more than less educated women of the same age would seem to suggest greater variation in the use of non-standard speech forms amongst females. Despite this, Roeder’s findings that women tend to prefer the SDA over DAR in speech would seem to align with Trudgill’s (1972) position.

3. Methodology

This study investigates the speech of six participants from three of the four boroughs of South Yorkshire: Rotherham, Sheffield and Barnsley. Gender distribution was even, participants were all from a working-class background, and native to South Yorkshire. Young speakers aged 18-24 were chosen to fill a gap in the existing literature: Jones (2007) conducted the only other study to date on DAR in South Yorkshire specifically, with his research based upon three South Yorkshire speakers over 50.

3.1 Data Collection

Three interviews were conducted with each participant. All interviews were recorded using an Olympic Digital Voice Recorder DM-670. Precautions were taken to avoid observer's paradox: recordings took place in convenient and comfortable settings, with casual conversation encouraged. Each interview took place in a quiet café in Sheffield, and/or somewhere comfortable for the participant.

For the first and second recordings, to ensure that participants' speech resembled the vernacular as closely as possible, participants were told that their interviews involved discussing topics relating to gender and the media, rather than that a feature of their speech was the focus of the investigation. Interviews largely involved participants answering questions relating to the given topic. The questions asked aimed, where possible, to elicit DAR in four phonological environments, as studied by Barry (1972):

- The definite article preceding an initial vowel;
- The definite article preceding an initial consonant;
- The definite article preceding an initial [t];
- The definite article preceding 'other'.

While Barry (1972) used questions such as "Where do you bake the bread" to elicit predictable responses, such as "In the oven" (Jones, 1999), this study did not use questions of this nature. Instead, questions were topical, allowing for a more natural representation of speech, with responses occurring within conversation, rather than as individual utterances.

The first interviews were one-on-one, with participants answering questions in casual conversation. These were conducted by the researcher, who is also native to South Yorkshire, ensuring that the participants' speech was uninfluenced by another accent or dialect, reflecting the vernacular as closely as possible. The purpose of the first interviews was to establish the 'norms' of participants' DAR usage.

During the second interviews, South Yorkshire speakers were in a group setting with three SE speakers, also aged 18-24. The purpose of the group interview was to analyse changes to the

'norms' of the South Yorkshire participants' DAR usage. Group speakers were chosen in order to test Giles et al. (1991) accommodation theory, which suggests that speakers will adapt their speech depending on who they are speaking with, accommodating for the linguistic and non-linguistic outputs of the other person/s by 'converging' or 'diverging'. The group interviews tested whether participants' DAR frequency would be unchanged, or whether these would suggest convergence towards or divergence from the group speakers.

Ensuring that participants' speech would not be affected by other variables, the gender distribution of group interviews was controlled so that, including the South Yorkshire speaker, each interview consisted of two males and two females. In each group interview, the South Yorkshire speaker read questions aloud, ensuring a consistent minimum amount of speech from each participant in this setting. The group interview questions differed slightly from those in the first interviews, which aimed to elicit specific phonological environments, while the group interviews aimed to both elicit and use those phonological environments. Thus, questions in the second interviews were worded such that each following phonological environment was written at least once, for example:

___initial consonant	<i>'Can you think of a newspaper which reflects roughly the middle of the political spectrum?'</i>
___initial vowel	<i>'How much of the information on the internet do you trust?'</i>
___initial [t]	<i>'Do you think that now is the time of gender equality?'</i>
___'other'	<i>'Do you think these stereotypes account for the other gender identities like gender-fluid and agender?'</i>

Providing that participants read the questions aloud as they were written, this ensured a minimum quota, not only for the South Yorkshire speakers' speech, but also for their definite article usage.

In the third interviews, participants were given an explanation of DAR, followed by questions relating to participants' own DAR usage, their perceptions of the linguistic variable, and their opinions on whether factors such as gender and education affect DAR usage.

3.2 Data Analysis

Definite article tokens throughout all interviews were impressionistically transcribed; DAR frequency and intra-speaker variation were determined from these transcriptions. Broad phonemic transcription was employed, as the thorough detail of narrow phonetic transcription was deemed unnecessary.

Each token was coded for one of Barry's (1972) four phonological environments, and the frequency of each environment' usage was determined as a percentage within speakers'

overall DAR usage. Intra-speaker variation was determined by whether speakers' DAR frequency increased, decreased, or remained the same throughout each context, and whether DAR usage varied across phonological environments. Speakers' DAR usage across contexts, across phonological environments, and DAR variants employed, were analysed across gender and educational level, to determine inter-speaker variation. Participants' third interviews were analysed, considering actual DAR usage in each interview, relative to self-reported usage.

4. Results

This section outlines the results, focusing on speakers' DAR frequency and inter- and intra-speaker variation. Speakers' attitudes towards DAR, and self-reported DAR usage will then be discussed. Implications of these results will be noted in the Discussions section.

4.1 Frequency

Overall, females used DAR more than males: females used DAR in 12.6% of their total definite article usage, whereas males used DAR 9.4% of the time. Within this study's sample, university educated females used DAR more than less educated males. The average DAR usage was 11.1%. All speakers used DAR the most in the third interview; females used DAR the least in the second interview, and males used DAR the least in the first interview.

Participants' definite article frequency is shown in the following tables. Table 1 shows the data for female speakers, and table 2 shows the data for male speakers.

Frequency (Females)						
Speaker/ recordin g number	Phonological environment	DAR	SDA	Total	% DAR	% SDA
B.P 1	___initial consonant	18	171	189	9.5%	90.5%
	___initial vowel	2	15	17	11.8%	88.2%
	___initial [t]	1	11	12	8.3%	91.7%
	___'other'	0	6	6	0%	100%
B.P 1 Totals (all environments)		21	203	224	9.4%	90.6%
B.P 2	___initial consonant	1	31*	32*	3.1%	96%
	___initial vowel	0	4	4	0%	100%
	___initial [t]	0	5*	5	0%	100%
	___'other'	0	4*	4	0%	100%
B.P 2 Totals (all environments)		1	44	45	2.2%	97.8%

B.P 3	___ initial consonant	14**	25	39**	35.9%	64.1%
	___ initial vowel	3**	2	5**	60%	40%
	___ initial [t]	1	0	1	100%	0%
	___ 'other'	1**	1	2**	50%	50%
B.P 3 Totals (all environments)		19	28	47	40.4%	59.6%
B. P Totals (all contexts)		41	275	316	13%	87%
G.B 1	___ initial consonant	26	97	123	21.1%	78.9%
	___ initial vowel	2	16	18	11.1%	88.9%
	___ initial [t]	3	6	9	33.3%	66.7%
	___ 'other'	0	5	5	0%	100%
G.B 1 Totals (all environments)		31	124	155	20%	80%
G.B 2	___ initial consonant	3*	43*	46*	6.5%	93.5%
	___ initial vowel	0	11*	11*	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	1	8*	9*	11.1%	88.9%
	___ 'other'	0	4*	4*	0%	100%
G.B 2 Totals (all environments)		4	66	70	5.7%	94.3%
G.B 3	___ initial consonant	5	13	18	27.8%	72.2%
	___ initial vowel	1	2	3	33.3%	66.7%
	___ initial [t]	1**	2**	3**	33.3%	66.7%
	___ 'other'	0	1	1	0%	100%
G.B 3 Totals (all environments)		7	18	25	28%	72%
G.B Totals (all contexts)		42	208	250	16.8%	83.2%
H.T 1	___ initial consonant	11	151	162	6.8%	93.2%
	___ initial vowel	1	24	25	4%	96%
	___ initial [t]	5	20	25	20%	80%
	___ 'other'	1	9	10	10%	90%
H.T 1 Totals (all environments)		18	204	222	8.1%	91.9%
H.T 2	___ initial consonant	0	26*	26*	0%	100%
	___ initial vowel	0	5*	5*	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	1	5*	6*	16.7%	83.3%
	___ 'other'	0	5*	5*	0%	100%
H.T 2 Totals (all environments)		1	41	42	2.4%	97.6%
H.T 3	___ initial consonant	0	4	4	0%	100%
	___ initial vowel	0	0	0	0%	0%
	___ initial [t]	0	2	2	0%	100%
	___ 'other'	4**	0	4**	100%	0%
H.T 3 Totals (all environments)		4	6	10	40%	60%
H.T Totals (all contexts)		23	251	274	8.4%	91.6%
Female Totals – recording 1		70	500	570	12.3%	87.7%
Female Totals – recording 2		6	151	157	3.8%	96.2%

Female Totals – recording 3	30	52	82	36.6%	63.4%
Female Totals (all contexts)	106	734	840	12.6%	87.4%

Table 1: Frequency of female speakers' definite article usage in all recordings.

* Second recordings only: Totals include at least one instance where participants used DAR and/or the SDA whilst reading written questions aloud to the group.

** Third interviews only: Totals include at least one instance where participants used DAR and/or the SDA consciously (i.e. through imitation of the dialect feature) after having been made aware that this element of their speech was the focus of the study.

B.P used DAR in 13% of her total definite article usage throughout all recordings. Much of B.P's DAR usage in her third recording was conscious imitation. B.P used DAR at least once in all phonological environment considered, although in her second recording, she only used 'DAR ___ initial consonant', and not at all in any other phonological environment.

Overall, G.B used DAR in 16.8% of her total definite article usage. G.B's DAR frequency was the highest of all speakers, and G.B was the only speaker to use DAR when reading a question aloud in the second interview. G.B used DAR at least once in three phonological environments but did not use 'DAR ___ 'other"' at all.

H.T's DAR usage was the lowest of all female speakers: she used DAR in 8.4% of her total definite article usage. H.T used DAR at least once in each phonological environment: DAR was used in all four phonological environments in H.T's first interview; only 'DAR ___ initial [t]' was used in her second interview; and only 'DAR ___ 'other"' was used in her third interview. All four instances of DAR in H.T's third interview were conscious imitations.

Male speakers' DAR frequencies will now be considered, using data from table 2.

Frequency (Males)						
Speaker/ recording number	Phonological environment	DAR	SDA	Total	% DAR	% SDA
C.L 1	___initial consonant	13	139	152	8.6%	91.4%
	___initial vowel	1	25	28	10.7%	89.3%
	___initial [t]	1	10	11	9.1%	90.9%
	___'other'	1	4	5	20%	80%
C.L 1 Totals (all environments)		16	178	194	8.2%	91.8%
C.L 2	___initial consonant	2	49*	51*	3.9%	96.1%
	___initial vowel	1	9*	10*	10%	90%
	___initial [t]	0	6*	6*	0%	100%
	___'other'	0	4	4	0%	100%
C.L 2 Totals (all environments)		3	68	71	4.2%	95.8%
C.L 3	___initial consonant	10**	19**	29**	34.5%	65.5%
	___initial vowel	1**	3	4**	25%	75%
	___initial [t]	3**	0	3**	100%	0%

	___ 'other'	0	0	0	0%	0%
C.L 3 Totals (all environments)		14	21	35	40%	60%
C.L Totals (all contexts)		33	268	301	11%	89%
J.D 1	___ initial consonant	6	128	134	4.5%	95.5%
	___ initial vowel	0	27	27	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	0	6	6	0%	100%
	___ 'other'	2	3	5	40%	60%
J.D 1 Totals (all environments)		8	164	172	4.7%	93.3%
J.D 2	___ initial consonant	3	13*	16*	18.8%	81.2%
	___ initial vowel	0	5*	5*	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	0	3*	3*	0%	100%
	___ 'other'	0	3*	3*	0%	100%
J.D 2 Totals (all environments)		3	24	27	11.1%	88.9%
J.D 3	___ initial consonant	3	21**	24**	12.5%	87.5%
	___ initial vowel	1	5	6	16.7%	83.3%
	___ initial [t]	1	3	4	25%	75%
	___ 'other'	1	1	2	50%	50%
J.D 3 Totals (all environments)		6	30	36	16.7%	83.3%
J.D Totals (all contexts)		17	218	235	7.2%	92.8%
M.W 1	___ initial consonant	7	88	95	7.4%	92.6%
	___ initial vowel	0	22	22	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	2	12	14	14.3%	85.7%
	___ 'other'	0	4	4	0%	100%
M.W 1 Totals (all environments)		9	126	135	6.7%	93.3%
M.W 2	___ initial consonant	6	42*	48*	12.5%	87.5%
	___ initial vowel	0	9*	9*	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	0	6*	6*	0%	100%
	___ 'other'	0	7*	7*	0%	100%
M.W 2 Totals (all environments)		6	64	70	8.6%	91.4%
M.W 3	___ initial consonant	4	6	10	40%	60%
	___ initial vowel	0	1	1	0%	100%
	___ initial [t]	2**	2**	4**	50%	50%
	___ 'other'	0	0	0	0%	0%
M.W 3 Totals (all environments)		6	9	15	40%	60%
M.W Totals (all contexts)		21	199	220	9.5%	90.5%
Male Totals – recording 1		33	468	501	6.6%	93.7%
Male Totals – recording 2		12	156	168	7.1%	92.9%
Male Totals – recording 3		26	60	86	30.2%	69.8%
Male Totals (all contexts)		71	685	756	9.4%	90.6%

Table 2: Frequency of male speakers' definite article usage in all recordings.

* Second recordings only: Totals include at least one instance where participants used DAR and/or the SDA whilst reading written questions aloud to the group.

** Third interviews only: Totals include at least one instance where participants used DAR and/or the SDA consciously (i.e. through imitation of the dialect feature) after having been made aware that this element of their speech was the focus of the study.

C.L used DAR in 11% of his total definite article usage across all contexts; this was the highest male DAR usage. C.L used DAR at least once in all four phonological environments. During C.L's third interview, some tokens of DAR were conscious imitations.

Overall, J.D used DAR in 7.2% of his total definite article usage; this was the lowest DAR usage across all speakers. J.D used DAR at least once in all phonological environments. 'DAR ___ initial vowel', and 'DAR ___ initial [t]', were each only used once in J.D's third recording, and not at all in the first two interviews.

M.W used DAR in 9.5% of his total definite article usage across all contexts. M.W did not use 'DAR ___ initial vowel', or 'DAR ___ other' at all. Both examples of 'DAR ___ initial [t]' in M.W's third interview were conscious imitations of the phenomenon.

4.2 Variation: DAR Variants

Females used the following variants of DAR: glottal stop /ʔ/; voiced dental fricative /ð/; voiceless alveolar stop /t/; zero article. Males used: glottal stop /ʔ/; voiced dental fricative /ð/; and voiceless dental fricative /θ/. All speakers favoured the glottal stop /ʔ/, which accounted for 84.7% of all DAR usage.

Females used the glottal stop /ʔ/ as a DAR variant in 11% of the total female definite article usage, and in 87.6% of the total female DAR usage. The second most frequent DAR variant was the voiced dental fricative /ð/, which occurred in 1.2% of the total female definite article usage, and 9.5% of the total female DAR usage. The following table details female speakers' variation of DAR variants.

Intra-speaker variation: DAR variants (Females)												
Speaker/ recordin g number	Phonological environment	Total	SDA		DAR variants							
					/ʔ/		/ð/		/t/		zero	
			Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
B.P 1	___ initial consonant	189	171	90.4%	14	7.5%	3	1.6%	0	0%	1	0.5%
	___ initial vowel	17	15	88.2%	1	5.9%	1	5.9%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ initial [t]	12	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ 'other'	6	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

B.P 1 Totals (all environments)		224	203	90.6%	16	7.1%	4	1.8%	0	0%	1	0.5%
B.P 2	___initial consonant	32	31	96.9%	0	0%	1	3.1%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	4	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	5	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	4	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
B.P 2 Totals (all environments)		45	44	97.8%	0	0%	1	2.2%	0	0%	0	0%
B.P 3	___initial consonant	39	25	64.1% %	14	35.9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	5	2	40%	2	40%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	1	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	1	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
B.P 3 Totals (all environments)		46	28	60.9%	17	36.9%	1	2.2%	0	0%	0	0%
B.P Totals (all contexts)		315	275	87.3%	33	10.5%	6	1.9%	0	0%	1	0.3%
G.B 1	___initial consonant	125	97	77.6%	23	22.4%	3	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	18	16	88.9%	2	11.1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	9	6	66.7%	3	33.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	5	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
G.B 1 Totals (all environments)		155	124	80%	28	18.1%	3	1.9%	0	0%	0	0%
G.B 2	___initial consonant	46	43	93.5%	3	6.5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	11	11	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	9	8	88.9%	1	11.1	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	4	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
G.B 2 Totals (all environments)		70	66	94.3%	4	5.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
G.B 3	___initial consonant	18	13	72.2%	5	27.8%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	3	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	3	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	1	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
G.B 3 Totals (all environments)		25	18	72%	7	28%	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
G.B Totals (all contexts)		250	208	83.2%	39	15.6%	3	1.2%	0	0%	0	0%
H.T 1	___initial consonant	162	151	93.2%	10	6.2%	1	0.6%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	25	24	96%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	25	20	80%	5	20%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	10	9	90%	1	10%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
H.T 1 Totals (all environments)		222	204	91.9%	17	7.7%	1	0.4%	0	0%	0	0%
H.T 2	___initial consonant	26	26	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	5	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%

	___initial [t]	6	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	5	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
H.T 2 Totals (all environments)		42	41	97.6%	1	2.4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
H.T 3	___initial consonant	4	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	0	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	2	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	4	0	0%	2	50%	0	0%	2	50%	0	0%
H.T 3 Totals (all environments)		10	6	60%	2	20%	0	0%	2	20%	0	0%
H.T Totals (all contexts)		274	251	91.6%	20	7.3%	1	0.4%	2	0.7%	0	0%
Female Totals – recording 1		600	531	88.5%	60	10%	8	1.3%	0	0%	1	0.2%
Female Totals – recording 2		157	151	96.2%	5	3.2%	1	0.6%	0	0%	0	0%
Female Totals – recording 3		82	52	63.4%	27	32.9%	1	1.2%	2	2.5%	0	0%
Female Totals (all contexts)		839	734	87.5%	92	11%	10	1.2%	2	0.2%	1	0.1%

Table 3: Variation of female definite article usage in all recordings, considering speakers' context and phonological environment, and highlighting the variants actually used: glottal stop /ʔ/, voiced dental fricative /ð/, voiceless alveolar stop /t/, zero article reduction.

B.P used the following DAR variants: glottal stop /ʔ/, voiced dental fricative /ð/, and zero article. B.P favoured /ʔ/, using this variant in 10.5% of her total definite article usage, and 82.5% of her total DAR usage. B.P did not use /ʔ/ as a realisation of DAR in her second recording, during which she only used /ð/, in one instance. B.P used /ð/ in 1.9% of her total definite article usage, and 15% of her total DAR usage. Zero article reduction was employed once in B.P's first recording, in the environment 'DAR ___initial consonant'; this was 0.3% of B.P's overall definite article usage, and 2.5% of her total DAR usage. B.P was the only speaker to use zero article reduction, and B.P's variation of DAR variants used was higher than all speakers other than J.D.

G.B used the following DAR variants: glottal stop /ʔ/, and the voiced dental fricative /ð/. G.B used /ʔ/ the most frequently throughout, using it in 15.6% of her total definite article usage, and 92.9% of her total DAR usage. This was the highest use of any DAR variant across all participants. In G.B's first two interviews, the only DAR variant used was /ʔ/. In G.B's third interview, she used /ð/ three times, equating to 1.9% of G.B's total definite article usage, and 7.1% of her total DAR usage. As such, G.B demonstrates the lowest variation in DAR variants used out of all speakers.

H.T used the following DAR variants: glottal stop /ʔ/, voiceless alveolar stop /t/, and voiced dental fricative /ð/. H.T favoured /ʔ/, using this variant in 7.3% of her total definite article usage, and 87% of her total DAR usage. DAR was realised as /t/ twice in H.T's third interview, which

was 0.7% of her total definite article usage, and 8.7% of her total DAR usage. H.T used /ð/ once in her first interview, which was 0.4% of her total definite article usage, and 4.3% of her total DAR usage. Thus, H.T demonstrates little variation in her DAR variants used.

Male speakers' variation of DAR variants will now be considered, drawing on the results as presented in table 4 below.

Intra-speaker variation: DAR Variants (Males)										
Speaker/ recording number	Phonological environment	Total	SDA		DAR variants					
					/?/		/ð/		/θ/	
			Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
C.L 1	___initial consonant	150	137	92.7%	11	7.3%	2	1.3%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	28	27	96.7%	1	3.6%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	11	10	90.9%	1	9.1%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	5	4	80%	1	20%	0	0%	0	0%
C.L 1 Totals (all environments)		194	178	91.8%	14	7.2%	2	1%	0	0%
C.L 2	___initial consonant	51	49	96.1%	2	3.9%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	10	9	90%	1	10%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	6	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	4	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
C.L 2 Totals (all environments)		71	68	93.8%	3	4.2%	0	0%	0	0%
C.L 3	___initial consonant	28	18	64.3%	9	32.1%	1	3.6%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	4	3	75%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	3	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	0	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
C.L 3 Totals (all environments)		35	21	60%	13	37.1%	1	2.9%	0	0%
C.L Totals (all contexts)		300	267	89%	30	10%	3	1%	0	0%
J.D 1	___initial consonant	134	128	95.5%	2	1.5%	1	0.8%	3	2.2%
	___initial vowel	27	27	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	6	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	5	3	60%	2	40%	0	0%	0	0%
J.D 1 Totals (all environments)		172	164	95.4%	4	2.3%	1	0.6%	3	1.7%
J.D 2	___initial consonant	16	13	81.3%	2	12.5%	1	6.2%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	5	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	3	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___'other'	3	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
J.D 2 Totals (all environments)		27	24	88.9%	2	7.4%	1	3.7%	0	0%
J.D 3	___initial consonant	24	21	87.5%	1	4.2%	2	8.3%	0	0%
	___initial vowel	6	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	0	0%	0	0%
	___initial [t]	4	3	75%	0	0%	0	0%	1	25%

	___ 'other'	2	1	50%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%
J.D 3 Totals (all environments)		36	30	83.3%	3	8.3%	2	5.6%	1	2.8%
J.D Totals (all contexts)		235	218	92.8%	9	3.8%	4	1.7%	4	1.7%
M.W 1	___ initial consonant	95	88	92.6%	7	7.4%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ initial vowel	22	22	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ initial [t]	14	12	85.7%	2	14.3%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ 'other'	4	4	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
M.W 1 Totals (all environments)		135	126	93.3%	9	6.7%	0	0%	0	0%
M.W 2	___ initial consonant	48	42	87.5%	3	6.25%	3	6.25%	0	0%
	___ initial vowel	9	9	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ initial [t]	6	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ 'other'	7	7	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
M.W 2 Totals (all environments)		70	64	91.4%	3	4.3%	3	4.3%	0	0%
M.W 3	___ initial consonant	10	6	60%	4	40%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ initial vowel	1	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ initial [t]	4	2	50%	2	50%	0	0%	0	0%
	___ 'other'	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
M.W 3 Totals (all environments)		15	9	60%	6	40%	0	0%	0	0%
M.W Totals (all contexts)		220	199	90.4%	18	8.2%	3	1.4%	0	0%
Male Totals – recording 1		501	468	93.4%	27	5.4%	3	0.6%	3	0.6%
Male Totals – recording 2		168	156	92.8%	8	4.8%	4	2.4%	0	0%
Male Totals – recording 3		86	60	69.8%	22	25.6%	3	3.5%	1	1.1%
Male Totals (all contexts)		755	684	90.6%	57	7.6%	10	1.3%	4	0.5%

Table 4: Variation of male definite article usage in all recordings, considering speakers' context and phonological environment, and highlighting the variants actually used: glottal stop /ʔ/; voiced dental fricative /ð/; voiceless alveolar stop /t/; zero article reduction.

C.L used the following DAR variants: glottal stop /ʔ/ and voiced dental fricative /ð/. C.L favoured /ʔ/, using this variant in 10% of his total definite article usage, and 90.9% of his total DAR usage. /ð/ was used twice in C.L's first interview, and once in his third interview; collectively, this accounted for 1% of C.L's total definite article usage, and 9.1% of his total DAR usage. As such, C.L also exhibits little variation in his DAR variants used.

J.D used the following DAR variants: glottal stop /ʔ/, voiced dental fricative /ð/, and voiceless dental fricative /θ/. J.D used /ʔ/ the most frequently throughout, using this variant in 3.8% of his total definite article usage, and 53% of his total DAR usage. This was the lowest use of /ʔ/ across all participants. J.D used /ð/ throughout all contexts, four times overall, and /θ/ in his first and third interviews, also a total of four times. Respectively, each of these variants account for 1.7% of J.D's total definite article usage, and 23.5% of his total DAR usage. Thus, J.D exhibits the highest variation in DAR variants used out of all speakers.

M.W used the following DAR variants: glottal stop /ʔ/ and voiced dental fricative /ð/. M.W favoured /ʔ/, using this variant in 8.2% of his total definite article usage, and 85.7% of his total DAR usage. Throughout M.W's first and third interviews, /ʔ/ was the only DAR variant used. M.W used /ð/ three times in his second interview, accounting for 1.4% of his total definite article usage, and 14.3% of his DAR usage. As such, M.W also displays little variation in his DAR variants used.

Overall, all speakers favoured /ʔ/. Zero article reduction was used once by one female speaker (B.P), and not at all by male speakers. One male speaker (J.D) used /θ/, which was not used at all by female speakers. Four out of six speakers demonstrated little variation in their DAR variants used, with one male (J.D), and one female (B.P) demonstrating a slightly higher variation in their realisations of DAR. J.D exhibited the highest variation, using over two variants in each context, and using /ʔ/ 53% of the time, while all other speakers used /ʔ/ over 82.5% of the time.

4.3 Variation: Phonological Environments

All speakers used 'DAR ___ initial [t]' the most, and 'DAR ___ initial vowel' the least. As shown in Figure 1 below, male and female speakers exhibited similar patterns of DAR usage across the four phonological environments. Females used DAR in 18% of all instances of females using the definite article '___ initial [t]', and males used DAR 17.6% of the time. The second most frequent phonological environment used was '___ other', in which females used DAR 14.6% of the time, and males used DAR 13.3% of the time. Females used 'DAR ___ initial consonant' 12.2% of the time, and males used DAR in this environment 9.7% of the time. Lastly, females used 'DAR ___ initial vowel' 10.2% of the time, and males used DAR in this environment 3.6% of the time.

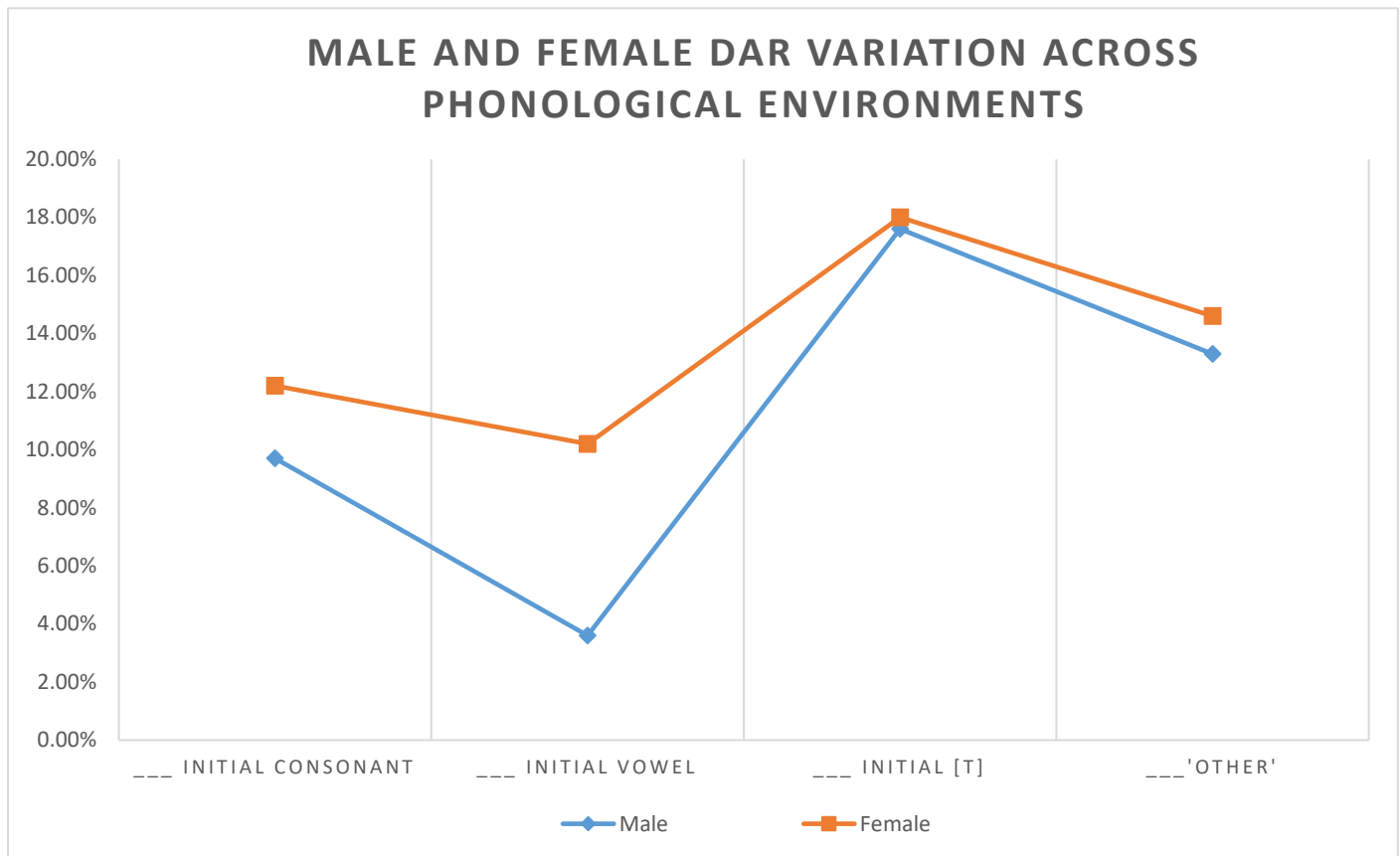


Figure 1: Male and female DAR usage across all phonological environments studied.

Table 5 presents female speakers' variation in DAR usage across phonological environments; table 6 presents findings for male speakers. DAR usage across phonological environments is presented as percentages of the speaker's definite article usage within the particular phonological environment.

B.P used 'DAR ___ initial vowel' the most frequently across all contexts, using DAR in 19.2% of all definite article usage in this environment. B.P used 'DAR ___ 'other"' the least frequently, employing DAR 8.3% of the time. 'DAR ___ initial consonant' was used 13.7% of the time, and 'DAR ___ initial [t]' was used 11.1% of the time. Throughout all contexts, 'DAR ___ initial consonant' had the highest number of occurrences in B.P's speech, however, this did not always equate to the highest percentage of usage, due to a higher still definite article usage. During B.P's first interview, 'DAR ___ initial vowel' was used the most, 11.8% of the time. In her second interview, 'DAR ___ initial consonant' was used 3.1% of the time, as DAR was not used in any other phonological environment. During B.P's third interview, 'DAR ___ initial [t]' was used in 100% of all instances of DAR in this phonological environment. B.P exhibits relatively high variation in DAR usage across phonological environments, as in every context, a different environment had the highest percentage of use.

Intra-Speaker Variation: Phonological Environments (Females)											
Phonological environment		Speaker/ recording number									Female Totals (all contexts)
		B.P			G.B			H.T			
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	
___initial consonant	DAR	18	1	14	26	3	5	11	0	0	78
	DAR %	9.5%	3.1%	35.9%	21.1%	6.5%	27.8%	6.8%	0%	0%	12.2%
	SDA	171	31	25	97	43	13	151	26	4	561
	SDA %	90.5%	96.9%	64.1%	78.9%	93.5%	72.2%	93.2%	100%	100%	87.8%
	Total	189	32	39	123	46	18	162	26	4	639
___initial consonant totals		260			187			192			
___initial vowel	DAR	2	0	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	9
	DAR %	11.8%	0%	60%	11.1%	0%	33.3%	4%	0%	0%	10.2%
	SDA	15	4	2	16	11	2	24	5	0	79
	SDA %	88.2%	100%	40%	88.9%	100%	66.7%	96%	100%	0%	89.8%
	Total	17	4	5	18	11	3	25	5	0	88
___initial vowel totals		26			32			30			
___initial [t]	DAR	1	0	1	3	1	1	5	1	0	13
	DAR %	8.3%	0%	100%	33.3%	11.1%	33.3%	20%	16.7%	0%	18%
	SDA	11	5	0	6	8	2	20	5	2	59
	SDA %	91.7%	100%	0%	66.7%	88.9%	66.7%	80%	83.3%	100%	82%
	Total	12	5	1	9	9	3	25	6	2	72
___initial [t] totals		18			21			33			
___'other'	DAR	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	6
	DAR %	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	10%	0%	100%	14.6%
	SDA	6	4	1	5	4	1	9	5	0	35
	SDA %	100%	100%	50%	100%	100%	100%	90%	100%	0%	85.4%
	Total	6	4	2	5	4	1	10	5	4	41
'other' totals		12			10			19			

Table 5: Female definite article variation in all recordings, highlighting speakers' three recording contexts, and the four phonological environments considered in this study: DAR ___initial consonant; DAR ___initial vowel; DAR ___initial [t]; DAR ___'other'.

G.B exhibited the highest DAR usage throughout all contexts in the environment '___initial [t]', at 23.8% of her total 'definite article ___initial [t]' usage. G.B did not use 'DAR ___'other'' in any contexts. 'DAR ___initial consonant' was used 18.2% of the time across all contexts, and DAR before an initial vowel was used 9.4% of the time. 'DAR ___initial consonant' had the highest number of occurrences, which again did not equate to the highest percentage of usage. G.B used 'DAR ___initial [t]' with the highest frequency in her first and second interviews, at 33.3% and 11.1% of her total 'definite article ___initial [t]' usage, respectively. In G.B's third interview, 'DAR ___initial [t]', and 'DAR ___initial vowel' were both used the most, each accounting for 33.3% of her total definite article usage in these phonological environments. As G.B used 'DAR ___initial [t]' the most frequently across all contexts, G.B shows little variation in DAR usage across phonological environments.

Across all contexts, H.T used 'DAR ___'other'' the most, at 26.3% of her total definite article usage in this phonological environment. H.T used 'DAR ___initial vowel' the least frequently

across all contexts, using DAR 3.3% of the time. 'DAR ___ initial [t]' was used 18.2% of the time, and 'DAR ___ initial consonant' was used 5.7% of the time. During H.T's first and second interviews, 'DAR ___ initial [t]' was used the most frequently, at 20% and 16.7% of all of her definite article tokens in this phonological environment, respectively. During H.T's third interview, she only used 'DAR ___ other', and DAR was used in every instance of the definite article in this interview. As H.T used 'DAR ___ initial [t]' the most in two out of three contexts, H.T exhibits little variation in DAR usage across phonological environments.

Male speakers' variation of DAR usage across phonological environments will now be considered, drawing on the results as presented in table 4 below.

Intra-speaker variation: Phonological environments (Males)											
Phonological environment		Speaker/ recording number									Male Totals (all contexts)
		C.L			J.D			M.W			
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	
___ initial consonant	DAR	13	2	10	6	3	3	7	6	4	54
	% DAR	8.6%	3.9%	34.5%	4.5%	18.8%	12.5%	7.4%	12.5%	40%	9.7%
	SDA	139	49	19	128	13	21	88	42	6	505
	% SDA	91.4%	96.1%	65.5%	95.5%	91.1%	87.5%	92.6%	87.5%	60%	90.3%
	Total	152	51	29	134	16	24	95	48	10	559
___ initial consonant totals		232			174			173			
___ initial vowel	DAR	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
	% DAR	10.7%	10%	25%	0%	0%	6.7%	0%	0%	0%	3.6%
	SDA	27	9	3	27	5	5	22	9	1	108
	% SDA	89.3%	90%	75%	100%	100%	93.3%	100%	100%	100%	96.4%
	Total	28	10	4	27	5	6	22	9	1	112
___ initial vowel totals		42			38			32			
___ initial [t]	DAR	1	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	2	9
	DAR %	20%	0%	100%	0%	0%	25%	14.3%	0%	50%	17.6%
	SDA	4	6	0	6	3	3	12	6	2	42
	SDA %	80%	100%	0%	100%	100%	75%	85.7%	100%	50%	82.4%
	Total	5	6	3	6	3	4	14	6	4	51
___ initial [t] totals		14			13			24			
___ 'other'	DAR	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	4
	DAR %	20%	0%	0%	40%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	13.3%
	SDA	4	4	0	3	3	1	4	7	0	26
	SDA %	80%	100%	100%	60%	100%	50%	100%	100%	100%	86.7%
	Total	5	4	0	5	3	2	4	7	0	30
___ 'other' totals		12			10			19			

Table 6: Male definite article variation in all recordings, highlighting speakers' three recording contexts, and the four phonological environments considered in this study: DAR ___ initial consonant; DAR ___ initial vowel; DAR ___ initial [t]; DAR ___ 'other'.

C.L used 'DAR ___ initial [t]' the most frequently across all contexts, using DAR in 28.6% of all definite article usage in this environment. C.L used 'DAR ___ initial vowel' the least frequently across all contexts, at 7.5% of the time. 'DAR ___ other' was used 11.1% of the time, and

DAR before an initial consonant was used 9.4% of the time across all contexts. C.L used both 'DAR ___initial [t]' and 'DAR ___'other"' with the highest frequency in his first interview, at 20% of his total definite article usage in each respective phonological environment. C.L used neither 'DAR ___initial [t]' nor 'DAR ___'other"' in his second interview. 'DAR ___initial vowel' was used 10% of the time, which was C.L's most frequently used phonological environment in this context. In C.L's third interview, 'DAR ___initial [t]' accounted for 100% of his definite article usage in this phonological environment. C.L used 'DAR ___initial [t]' the most frequently across two out of three contexts, showing little variation in DAR usage across phonological environments.

Across all contexts, J.D used 'DAR ___'other"' in 30% of his total definite article usage in this phonological environment, making this his most frequently used phonological environment. J.D used 'DAR ___initial vowel' the least frequently across all contexts, using DAR 2.6% of the time. J.D used 'DAR ___initial [t]' 7.7% of the time, and 'DAR ___initial consonant' 6.9% of the time. In J.D's first interview, his highest percentage of DAR usage was 40%, in the environment ' ___'other"'. J.D did not use 'DAR ___initial vowel' or 'DAR ___initial [t]' in his first interview. J.D used only 'DAR ___initial consonant' in his second interview, representing 18.8% of his definite article usage. During J.D's third interview, 'DAR ___'other"' was used the most, 50% of the time. J.D used 'DAR ___'other"' the most frequently in two out of three contexts, exhibiting little variation in his DAR usage across phonological environments.

M.W used 'DAR ___initial [t]' the most frequently across all contexts, in 16.7% of his total definite article usage in this environment. M.W did not use 'DAR ___initial vowel', or 'DAR ___'other"' at all in his speech. 'DAR ___initial consonant' was used in 11.1% of M.W's total DAR usage in this environment. During M.W's first interview, 'DAR ___initial [t]' elicited the highest percentage, at 14.2% of all instances of the definite article ' ___initial vowel'. In the second interview, the only phonological environment in which M.W employed DAR was ' ___initial consonant'; DAR was used in this environment in 12.5% of M.W's 'definite article ___initial consonant' usage in his second interview. During M.W's third interview, 'DAR ___initial [t]' again had the highest percentage of usage, at 50% of his total 'definite article ___initial [t]' usage in this context. M.W exhibits little variation in his DAR usage across phonological environments, as 'DAR ___initial [t]' had the highest percentage of M.W's DAR use in two out of three contexts.

4.4 Third Interviews: Self-reported Usage, Opinions, and Identity

This section will outline speakers' self-reported DAR usage, views on DAR usage as positive or negative, as an identity marker, and as affected by gender or educational level. Implications

in relation to actual DAR usage will be considered in the Discussions section. Participants were asked fifteen questions during their third interviews. Some responses have been shortened for brevity and relevance.

Female speakers' responses in their third interviews will be shown and discussed below. B.P.'s responses were as shown in figure 2:

Do you use DAR?	"Probably, yeah"
How often do you use DAR?	"Probably a lot"
Do you use DAR before an initial consonant?	"I'm pretty sure I said 'It's [?] media's fault' during this, so yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial vowel?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial [t]?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before 'other'?	"Yeah, I'm pretty sure I've said 't'other day' before"
Do you vary your definite article usage, for example, sometimes saying '[?] media', sometimes '[t] media', and sometimes 'the media'?	"Yeah, definitely"
Do you change your speech in different environments and circumstances?	"When I'm at uni or if I'm at placement ... I definitely speak a lot better ... I think it's more of a professional thing ... in a professional situation ... I try and speak properly" "I think I probably have talked better on your recordings, when I'm answering your questions, because if it's a serious thing, I feel like I talk better when it's ... serious"
Do you change your speech around people with different accents and dialects?	"I would, if they told me they didn't understand me ... I think I would talk slower, and I think I'd talk more proper, instead of [using DAR]" "When I'm with my other family, I feel like I do become more Yorkshire, because ... they have a really strong [Yorkshire accent and dialect]"
Do you think that DAR marks identity for people?	"Yeah ... they're proud to be Yorkshire, aren't they?"
Does DAR mark identity for you?	"I wouldn't think about it"
How strong of a Yorkshire identity do you have on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the strongest?	"I don't think I'm that Yorkshire"
Do you think that DAR is positive or negative?	"I think as long as someone understands what you're saying, it shouldn't matter"
Do you think that DAR is used differently across genders?	No – "I've never noticed a gender difference ... I think it's ... just your upbringing and things like that [which affect DAR usage]"
Do you think that educational level affects whether DAR is used?	"I think people who are more educated like to speak more proper ... [but,] I'm more educated than my nan is, and ... I speak worse than her. So, I think once again, it's to do with upbringing and stuff"

Figure 2: B.P.'s third interview responses: her self-reported DAR usage, opinions on DAR, DAR usage, and DAR as an identity marker.

G.B's responses were as shown in figure 3 below:

Do you use DAR?	"I think so, yeah. Yeah"
How often do you use DAR?	"Quite often, I think ... Most of the time"
Do you use DAR before an initial consonant?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial vowel?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial [t]?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before 'other'?	"Yeah, I think I use them all"
Do you vary your definite article usage, for example, sometimes saying '[?] media', sometimes '[t] media', and sometimes 'the media'?	"I've just said 'the' then, like sometimes I'll say, 'most of the time', sometimes I'll say 'most of [?] time'"
Do you change your speech in different environments and circumstances?	"I'd change my accent ... not consciously as much, but you just do ... [when] you're in a professional situation"
Do you change your speech around people with different accents and dialects?	"I change ... I deal with a lot of different people ... with different accents"
Do you think that DAR marks identity for people?	"It is an identity, cos people can tell where you're from, and it's part of the Yorkshire accent"
Does DAR mark identity for you?	"Yeah, in a way ... I wouldn't personally change it, thinking it's something I should get rid of"
How strong of a Yorkshire identity do you have on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the strongest?	"I'd say like seven or eight ... I am proud of where I'm from, but I don't think it's the most important thing to my identity"
Do you think that DAR is positive or negative?	"Neither"
Do you think that DAR is used differently across genders?	"I think more females try to speak more eloquently sometimes but no, a lot of guys do it as well ...most of the guys [at college] ... tried to sort of dull down their accent"
Do you think that educational level affects whether DAR is used?	Yes – "In education, you're dealing with a wider range of people, so you have to sort of dull your accent down a little bit ... so more people can understand you"

Figure 3: G.B's third interview responses: her self-reported DAR usage, opinions on DAR, DAR usage, and DAR as an identity marker.

H.T's responses were as shown in figure 4 below:

Do you use DAR?	"Yeah"
How often do you use DAR?	"I do it a lot ... in general speech, all the time"
Do you use DAR before an initial consonant?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial vowel?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial [t]?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before 'other'?	Yes – "I just say ... like '[?] other day', maybe like a glottal stop ... But I wouldn't say 't'other"
Do you vary your definite article usage, for example, sometimes saying '[?] media', sometimes '[t] media', and sometimes 'the media'?	"It's quite consistent. I'm not sure, I've never really thought about it"
Do you change your speech in different environments and circumstances?	"Yeah"
Do you change your speech around people with different accents and dialects?	"I think sometimes I get a little bit broader when I'm with people who aren't from Yorkshire, like I show my accent off a little bit more ... I'm quite proud of my accent"
Do you think that DAR marks identity for people?	"Yeah I think so. It marks my identity"
Does DAR mark identity for you?	"Yes it does"
How strong of a Yorkshire identity do you have on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the strongest?	"Eight or nine"
Do you think that DAR is positive or negative?	"I think it's a good thing"
Do you think that DAR is used differently across genders?	No – "I wouldn't say I've ever noticed ... I'd say it's the same"
Do you think that educational level affects whether DAR is used?	Yes – "It might do a little bit, but... when people ... are educated a lot more, they ... start trying to talk a little less dialectically ... to make people understand you a little better. People think you're not as clever if you've got a really strong accent sometimes, which isn't true ... We're just as clever."

Figure 4: H.T's third interview responses: her self-reported DAR usage, opinions on DAR, DAR usage, and DAR as an identity marker.

All females reported frequent DAR use, and to vary their speech depending on context. Two out of three reported using overt prestige, either consciously or subconsciously, around non-Yorkshire speakers, while H.T reported that she would use covert prestige, diverging away from non-Yorkshire speakers. Two out of three females reported DAR as marking identity for them, while B.P was uncertain Two out of three females thought of DAR as neither positive nor negative, while H.T thought of DAR as positive. A strong Yorkshire identity was reported by G.B and H.T, whereas B.P self-reported a low Yorkshire identity. Minimal variation of DAR variants was reported by two out of three females; B.P, however reported using varying DAR variants. All females self-reported using DAR in all four phonological environments. All females considered that DAR would be used the same across gender. Two out of three females thought that more educated people would use more standard forms, while B.P suggested that factors such as upbringing are most influential.

Male speakers' responses in their third interviews will be shown and discussed below. C.L.'s responses were as shown in figure 5:

Do you use DAR?	"I do, a lot"
How often do you use DAR?	"Every day of my life"
Do you use DAR before an initial consonant?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial vowel?	"It's [ʔ] only way'. Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial [t]?	"All [ʔ] time'. Yeah, that's nice"
Do you use DAR before 'other'?	"Yeah ... but I do not ... say 't'other'"
Do you vary your definite article usage, for example, sometimes saying '[ʔ] media', sometimes '[t] media', and sometimes 'the media'?	"It depends on the environment ... it depends on who I'm with, but most of [ʔ] time, I'll opt for the [glottal] stop"
Do you change your speech in different environments and circumstances?	"It depends ... If you go for a job interview ... you'd try and talk more proper, 'cos you're trying to impress them ... It just feels natural ... if you're in a different environment, to change how you speak"
Do you change your speech around people with different accents and dialects?	Yes – "You'd say it more neutral ... there's probably a chance that I said [the SDA] more [in these interviews], 'cos I normally don't say it"
Do you think that DAR marks identity for people?	"I can imagine it being a mark of identity for other people"
Does DAR mark identity for you?	"I dunno ... not really for me"
How strong of a Yorkshire identity do you have on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the strongest?	"Maybe about a seven"
Do you think that DAR is positive or negative?	"Positive, obviously. It's a sign of being from [ʔ] North ... It could be seen negative from people who don't understand"
Do you think that DAR is used differently across genders?	No – "I grew up with my mum and dad both using it at [ʔ] same time ... it's not like there's a gender role to it, I don't think"
Do you think that educational level affects whether DAR is used?	No – "You just get the accent of the people that are around you, ... intelligence is separate"

Figure 5: C.L.'s third interview responses: his self-reported DAR usage, opinions on DAR, DAR usage, and DAR as an identity marker.

J.D's responses were as shown in figure 6 below:

Do you use DAR?	"Yeah"
How often do you use DAR?	"Every day, just in general conversation ... I'd say that I use it less than a lot of people that I've met"
Do you use DAR before an initial consonant?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial vowel?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial [t]?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before 'other'?	"Yeah"
Do you vary your definite article usage, for example, sometimes saying '[?] media', sometimes '[t] media', and sometimes 'the media'?	"I think I usually stick to the same sort of things ... but then again, I also don't always pick up on it, I just know that I do it"
Do you change your speech in different environments and circumstances?	"Yeah, definitely ... in an interview, I'd try and stop myself from ... using colloquial terms ... it's just seen as not being professional, ... it's a dialect that might not be understood by someone else"
Do you change your speech around people with different accents and dialects?	"I don't think so"
Do you think that DAR marks identity for people?	"I guess ... It's sort of a more Northern England thing"
Does DAR mark identity for you?	"Yeah ... for me to be able to identify it, it ... kind of has to a bit"
How strong of a Yorkshire identity do you have on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the strongest?	"People can definitely tell I'm from Yorkshire ... I wouldn't say too high ... Seven? Maybe six?"
Do you think that DAR is positive or negative?	"The term itself sounds quite clinical, so it's sort of a negative sort of thing, but ... when I hear it used, it's more comfort than anything else. It's like 'oh yeah, I speak like that'"
Do you think that DAR is used differently across genders?	No – "I've heard more men say it, but that's probably because in my line of work, I've spoken to more men ... I wouldn't say that one gender used it more than the other"
Do you think that educational level affects whether DAR is used?	"On one side, there's the fact that they sound more intelligent if they don't use it, but ... I've also met people that know exactly what they're talking about ... when they speak that way ... I've had Yorkshire teachers as well and they've always [used DAR]"

Figure 6: J.D's third interview responses: his self-reported DAR usage, opinions on DAR, DAR usage, and DAR as an identity marker.

M.W's responses were as shown in figure 7 below:

Do you use DAR?	"Yes"
How often do you use DAR?	"Every conversation"
Do you use DAR before an initial consonant?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial vowel?	"Yeah"
Do you use DAR before an initial [t]?	"Gonna [ʔ] tahn'. Yeah"
Do you use DAR before 'other'?	"Yeah ... I probably use them all"
Do you vary your definite article usage, for example, sometimes saying '[ʔ] media', sometimes '[t] media', and sometimes 'the media'?	Yes – "I think it depends who I'm with"
Do you change your speech in different environments and circumstances?	Yes – "If I'm with my Barnsley friends, I go into a more Barnsley talk. If I'm at work, I'm more formal and professional. If I'm with my parents, I'm different to how I am with my friends or at work" "I've probably got more and more Barnsley throughout these interviews, 'cos now that I'm aware of it, [I'll use DAR more]"
Do you change your speech around people with different accents and dialects?	Yes – "I probably become more broad"
Do you think that DAR marks identity for people?	"Yeah ... Yorkshire people tend to be proud [of their accent and dialect]"
Does DAR mark identity for you?	Uncertain – "Erm, I've never thought of myself as having a broad accent"
How strong of a Yorkshire identity do you have on a scale of 1-10, with ten being the strongest?	"About an eight"
Do you think that DAR is positive or negative?	"I wouldn't say it's either ... [but] someone not from Yorkshire, looking in, they'd probably think that we sound a bit stupid"
Do you think that DAR is used differently across genders?	Yes – "I think generally, when you think of a Yorkshire accent, you think of a bloke ... You think of [ʔ] broad Barnsley accent ... I think we'd both use it, but in experience, I think men use it more"
Do you think that educational level affects whether DAR is used?	Sometimes – "Not in all cases, but ... more educated people don't sound as broad. But then again, they can do ... It's a stereotype basically, you'd think of them as not as intelligent"

Figure 7: M.W's third interview responses: his self-reported DAR usage, opinions on DAR, DAR usage, and DAR as an identity marker.

All males reported frequent DAR use, and varying their speech depending on the formality of the context. There was no evident pattern for males' self-reported speech use around non-Yorkshire speakers: C.L reported using overt prestige to accommodate for people with different accents and dialects; J.D reported not changing his speech at all to accommodate for non-Yorkshire speakers; and M.W posited that he would use covert prestige, diverging away from non-Yorkshire speakers. Two out of three males (C.L, and M.W) said that DAR was not overtly an identity marker for them, while J.D considered that DAR did mark identity for him. Two out of three males (C.L, and J.D) considered DAR to be positive, while M.W thought it was neither positive nor negative, and noted that it may be seen as negative by non-Yorkshire speakers. All males reported having a strong Yorkshire identity. Two out of three males (C.L, and J.D) considered themselves as exhibiting little variation in their DAR variants used, with C.L reporting that he would use a glottal stop the most frequently. M.W suggested

that he would likely use varying DAR variants. Two out of three males (C.L, and J.D) thought that men and women would use DAR the same, and that educational level would not necessarily make a difference. M.W, on the other hand, suggested that men may use DAR more, and that more educated people may at times use more standard forms.

5. Discussion

This section will compare participants' self-reported DAR usage with their actual DAR frequency, and intra-speaker variation. Speakers' DAR frequency and variation, and the roles of gender, educational level, and identity, will also be considered in relation to the existing literature.

5.1 Self-reported and actual DAR usage

Previous findings suggest that, within South Yorkshire, DAR is used in 13.8% of all definite article usage (Kortmann et al, 2005; Rácz, 2012); this study finds a similar, if slightly lower, DAR frequency of 11.1%. Two speakers accurately reported to use DAR frequently. Four speakers over-reported their DAR usage: H.T, J.D, and M.W reported frequent DAR usage, while their actual DAR usage was below the group's average; and C.L also considered that he would use DAR "a lot", while his actual usage was average within this study's sample.

As deviation away from DAR towards the SDA is more likely to occur in formal situations, including sociolinguistic interviews (Rácz, 2012), this may mean that the actual DAR usage in South Yorkshire is higher than 11.1%. All speakers reported that they would, consciously or subconsciously, change elements of their speech depending on the formality of the context, and B.P considered that she may have spoken closer to the standard during each recording, due to perceiving the context as being more formal. Two speakers accurately reported converging towards non-Yorkshire speakers. Two speakers accurately reported that they would not change their speech to accommodate for non-Yorkshire speakers, with M.W correctly estimating that he would diverge from non-Yorkshire speakers. While B.P thought that she would not accommodate for non-Yorkshire speakers, unless they could not understand her, her DAR usage dropped from 9.4% in her first interview to 2.2% in her second interview. Similarly, while H.T reported that she may diverge from non-Yorkshire speakers, and use more overt prestige forms, her DAR usage dropped from 8.1% in her first interview to 2.4% in her second interview. As shown in figure 8 below, four out of six speakers' DAR usage dropped in their second interviews, indicating a conscious or subconscious use of overt prestige forms to accommodate for the SE speakers. Conversely, the two speakers whose DAR usage increased in this context likely, consciously or subconsciously, used more covert prestige forms, such as DAR, to diverge from the SE speakers.

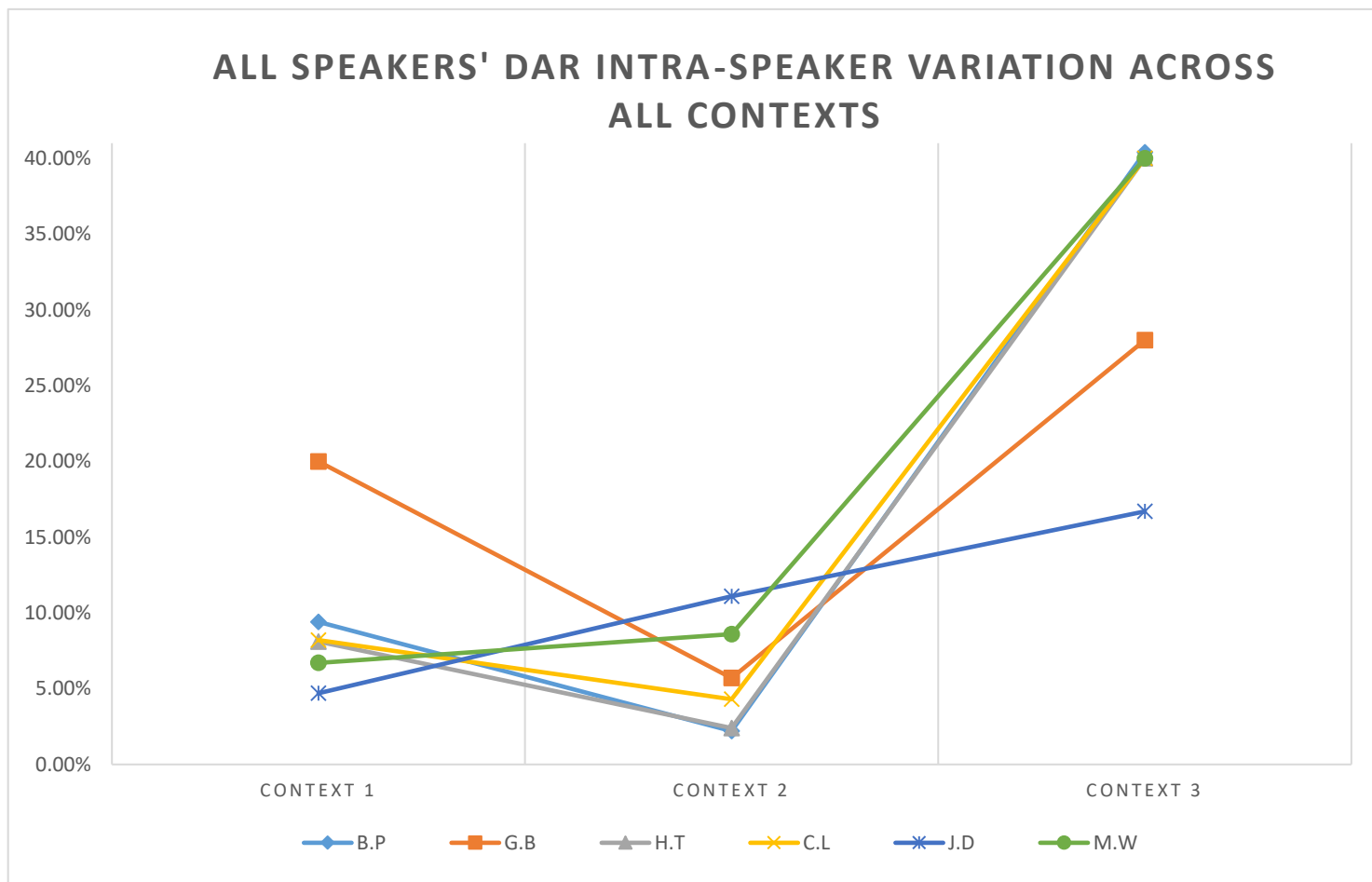


Figure 8: All speakers' intra-speaker variation across all contexts.

While Jones (1952) found that the most common DAR variants in South Yorkshire were /ʔ/, /t/, /θ/, and /tθ/, the most common DAR variants found in this study were: /ʔ/, and /ð/. Throughout all recordings, DAR was only realised at /t/ twice, by one speaker, which is congruent with prior predictions and findings that this variant is declining in usage (Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009; Tidholm, 1979). Four out of six speakers accurately self-reported to exhibit little variation in the DAR variants that they use, while J.D. was unsure of his variation, and M.W. suggested that he may vary his DAR variants depending on the context. All speakers used /ʔ/ the most, and three speakers accurately reported using this variant. Although Barry (1972) found that Yorkshire speakers favoured /t/ preceding an initial vowel, /ʔ/ was the most frequently occurring DAR variant in all phonological environments, including '___initial vowel'. Four out of six speakers accurately reported to use DAR in each phonological environment; both G.B. and H.T. over-reported their DAR usage, as neither used DAR in all four phonological environments.

5.2 Gender and Educational Level

Within this study, females aged 18-24 in South Yorkshire used DAR more than their male counterparts: female DAR usage was 12.6%, and male DAR usage was 9.4%. This is in contrast with previous findings, which suggest that males use DAR more than females (Roeder, 2012; Tagliamonte, 1998), and more specifically, that young men use DAR more than young women (Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009). This study's findings are also contrary to speakers' opinions, as five out of six speakers thought that DAR usage would be unaffected by gender, while one speaker (M.W) thought that men would use DAR more. Although female DAR usage was higher than male DAR usage overall, females used DAR less than males in interview two. As shown in figure 9 below, female DAR usage dropped from 12% in the first interviews to 3.8% in the second interviews, while male DAR usage increased from 6.6% to 7.1%. This suggests that, in the group interviews with SE speakers, female speakers used more overt prestige forms such as the SDA to converge towards the group speakers, whereas male speakers used more covert prestige forms such as DAR to diverge from the group speakers.

Opinions regarding whether educational level would affect DAR usage were largely that educated people would use more standard forms. Two speakers thought that educational level would not necessarily influence DAR usage, with B.P suggesting that factors such as upbringing would be more influential. Contrary to most speakers' opinions, within this study's sample, more educated speakers used DAR more than less educated speakers. However, it is important to note that educational level and gender were not equally distributed across speakers, as discussed further in the limitations section.

5.3 Identity

All speakers reported thinking that DAR marks identity for people, an opinion which is congruent with previous studies' findings that DAR is an identity marker for dialect speakers in the North of England (Rupp, 2007; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2009). However, when asked whether DAR marks identity for themselves, only half reported that it does, while two said that DAR does not mark identity for them, and one speaker was unsure. Three speakers thought of DAR as positive, while three thought of DAR as neither positive nor negative. Self-reporting a strong Yorkshire identity, four speakers judged their Yorkshire identity to be seven out of ten or above, while one speaker suggested a fairly strong Yorkshire identity of seven

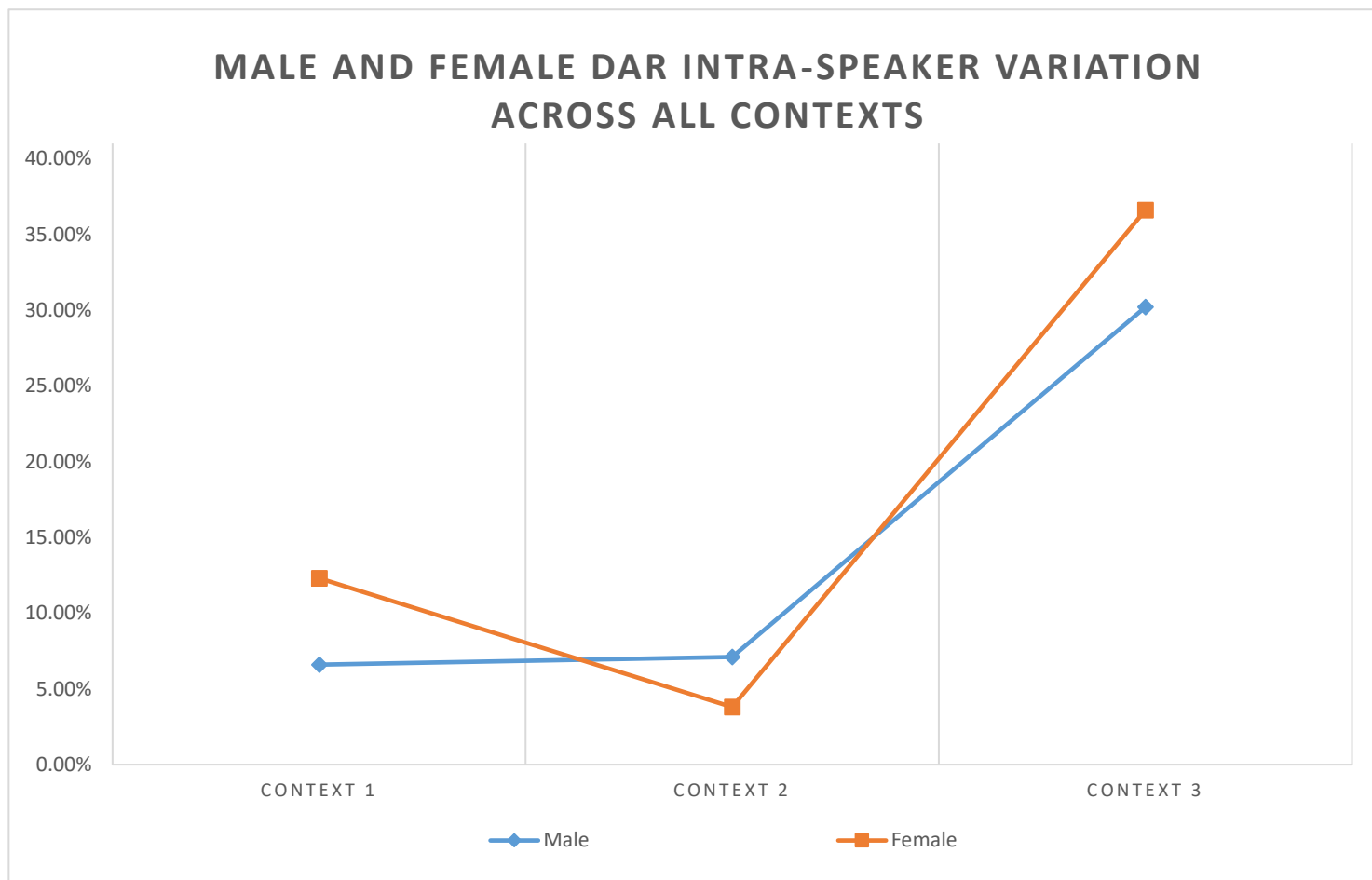


Figure 9: Male and female DAR intra-speaker variation across all contexts.

or eight out of ten, and one speaker reported a low Yorkshire identity. Two out of the five speakers who self-reported a strong or fairly strong Yorkshire identity exhibited average or above average DAR usage, suggesting no strong correlation between self-reported Yorkshire identity, and speakers' actual DAR frequency.

5.4 Limitations

This study suffered limitations in participant selection and methodology. The study had a small sample size of six participants; although this does not invalidate the study, a larger-scale study would be recommended. Secondly, educational level was not evenly spread across genders: all females were university students undergoing higher education, whilst all males had undergone further education only. This does not comment on the intelligence of any participants but means that conclusions regarding gender could equally have been influenced by educational level, and vice versa.

Lastly, having participants read questions aloud in the second interviews may have primed the use of the SDA. Roeder (2012: 229) suggests that participants may be primed to use DAR when reading sentences or answering questions "in which the reduced definite article is

represented orthographically with a 't'. Participants were asked to read aloud questions which were written in SE, and so the appearance of the SDA in writing may have primed the use of the full definite article, rather than DAR.

6. Conclusion

This study found that South Yorkshire speakers aged 18-24 used DAR in 11.1% of their total definite article usage. This was congruent with prior findings that Yorkshire speakers use DAR 13.8% of the time (Kortmann et al, 2005; Rácz, 2012). The DAR variants used were: glottal stop /ʔ/, voiced dental fricative /ð/, voiceless dental fricative /θ/, voiceless alveolar stop /t/, and zero article reduction, with /ʔ/ and /ð/ used most commonly. All speakers used DAR the most preceding an initial [t], and the least preceding an initial vowel. Females used DAR in 12.6% of their total definite article usage, whereas males used DAR 9.4% of the time. Females tended to use more overt prestige forms, such as the SDA, within a group setting with SE speakers, suggesting convergence towards the group speakers; whereas males used more covert prestige forms, such as DAR, in this context, suggesting divergence away from the SE speakers. Unfortunately, gender and educational level were not evenly distributed across participants: female speakers were all more educated than male speakers. Speakers viewed DAR as either positive, or neither positive nor negative, and most speakers self-reported a strong Yorkshire identity. In order to grasp a more comprehensive view of DAR usage amongst speakers aged 18-24 in South Yorkshire, and speakers' attitudes towards DAR, future studies would benefit from a larger speaker sample, and a more diverse range of educational level amongst participants.

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