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HARRY POTTER AND THE GLOTTAL STOP:
GLOTTAL REPLACEMENT AND T-VOICING IN
CONTEMPORARY RP

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to highlight the extent of advance made by T-gottalling and T-voicing in younger RP (Received Pronunciation) speakers. The scope of the research extends no further than two speakers, actors Daniel Radcliffe and Emma Watson, with speech analysed being extracted from publicly available interviews with the two. We believe, however, that their speech habits are fairly typical of the non-regional Southern British accent characteristic of their generation. Furthermore, what makes their speech worthy of attention is the fact that millions of young EFL learners have seen the Harry Potter series of films Radcliffe and Watson starred in, thus making the actors potentially very popular EFL pronunciation role models, at least for those learners who have Standard British pronunciation as their target. The results obtained are compared with those from an extensive and systematic study of young RP speech conducted by Fabricius (2000) regarding glottal replacement, and with the study of newsreader RP by Hannisdal (2006) regarding T-voicing.

Keywords: Received Pronunciation, gottalling, glottal replacement, T-voicing, tapping, pronunciation.

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1. Introduction

This paper will discuss two recent sound changes, both involving the phoneme /t/, in what may be called Young RP\(^2\), i.e. the contemporary version of Received Pronunciation as spoken by the youngest generation of adult speakers (the two speakers whose speech we looked at, actors Daniel Radcliffe and Emma Watson, are 28 at the time of writing). First, we will describe the two speech features under examination, then offer some more background information on our speakers, and finally present the data gathered in this study, comparing them to the results of other studies that investigated the same features. In our concluding remarks we will briefly turn to the potential implications findings such as these have for EFL teaching. The URLs of the interviews we used, as well as the raw data, will be listed in the Appendix section.

2. The speech features examined

2.1 T-glottalling

T-glottalling, or glottal replacement, refers to the replacement of syllable-final /t/ with a glottal stop (i.e. the realisation of /t/ as [ʔ]). It originated as a feature of regional British English, and slowly spread to educated, non-regional speech, albeit not to all phonetic environments at the same time. The geographical and temporal roots of T-glottalling seem to lie in the late 19\(^{th}\) century accents of London, West Scotland, and especially East Anglia (Wells 1982: 261, Collins & Mees 1996, Trudgill 2004: 80–81). As regards to its spread to RP, writing in 1932, Daniel Jones observed how "many educated speakers of Southern English use ? for t at the termination of a syllable when a consonant follows, especially before m, n, r, j and w [...]; the use of ? for t before a vowel must be regarded as exclusively dialectal" (qtd. in Collins & Mees 1996: 179). More recently, Wells (1982) wrote that glottal replacement word-finally in front of obstruents, nasals, semivowels and non-syllabic liquids "must be considered to fall within current mainstream RP". He further adds that "some younger speakers even use plain [ʔ] for /t/" word-finally before a vowel (e.g. as in quite easy). However, forms such as [ˈbʌʔo] and [ˈbʊʔo], i.e. wherein glottal replacement takes place word-medially between vowels, are "sharply stigmatised" (Wells 1982: 261). Eight years later, Wells gave a similar

\(^2\) Or perhaps in this case Young Regional RP (Young London RP, in particular). But for more on that see below in 5. Regional RP, c-RP, n-RP.
account of T-glottalling, but added the absolute final position (*Let's start! [Ieʔs
staʔ?]*) as being present in younger RP speakers (Wells 1994). Around the same
time Wells stated that "perhaps the day has not yet quite come when we shall
need to teach the glottal stop as an obligatory positional allophone of /t/, but it is
certainly approaching" (qtd. in Parsons 1998: 24).

Cruttenden, similarly, calls preconsonantal glottal replacement well-established
in RP (except before a syllabic /l/), but labels the following as "on the verge of being
acceptable as part of GB" (Cruttenden has switched to using 'GB' instead of 'RP'):

\[T\]he use of [ʔ] for /t/ before an accented vowel or before pause, e.g. not
even \[nɒʔ 'iːvən], need it \[ˈniːd ɪʔ\]. Before unaccented /t, ə/ use of [ʔ] is still
stigmatised as non-GB (and typical of broad London) both intra-word and
inter-word, e.g. water \[ˈwɔːtə], got a \[ɡət ə], that is \[ðæ iz\] (2014: 91)

He later adds:

\[T\]he use of [ʔ] to replace /t/ [...] before syllabic [n] and [l], e.g. in cotton, little,
_eat an apple, bat and ball_ and before words beginning with vowels, e.g. not on
\[nɒʔ 'ɒn], it opens \[iʔ 'əʊpməz\] was until recently stigmatised as non-GB but
all except [ʔl] are now acceptable in London RGB. (Cruttenden 2014: 184)

In short, as Wells (1994) put it, "What started as a vulgarism is becoming
respectable".

The most recent extensive study looking into the spread of T-glottalling in
RP was done by Fabricius (2000). In 1997 and 1998 she interviewed 24 speakers,
the majority being Cambridge students in their early twenties (i.e. most of her
informants were born between 1973 and 1980; this is relevant since our informants
are younger, and we are examining a feature that is involved in a process of change).
In her concluding remarks Fabricius writes:

[I]t is clear that word-final pre-consonantal t-glottalling has completed its spread
and is now common for this generation of upper middle class speakers from
further afield than the Southeast of England. Pre-consonantal glottalling can
reasonably be regarded as the ‘first wave’ of glottalling. The ‘second wave’ seems
to be the prepausal category, which shows a significant difference between
the Southeastern category and the ‘rest of England’ category. As we have seen,
London and the Home Counties pattern together on this feature, while the
Rest of England lags behind. The ‘newest’ wave of glottalling is evident in the
pre-vocalic category, where the London-raised public school speakers use pre-
vocalic t-glottalling at a significantly higher rate than speakers from other parts
of England in less formal styles of speech. (Fabricius 2000: 134)
2.2 T-voicing/T-tapping

T-voicing or T-tapping refers to the realisation of /t/ as an alveolar tap [ɾ]. It is a regular feature of American varieties of English (it is also frequent in Australian and New Zealand English), where it is found in syllable-final prevocalic environments, both word-internally and across word boundaries; the preceding segment must be a sonorant (i.e. vowel, liquid or nasal), while the following segment must not be a consonant other than syllabic /l/ (Wells 1982: 248).

Regarding the UK varieties, a few decades ago Wells wrote that this feature was present “also in certain casual styles in British accents ranging from RP to Cockney. It is not altogether clear whether these non-American cases of T Voicing represent the diffusion of an American innovation, or independent innovations in several different places” (Wells 1982: 250). Cruttenden (2014: 178) writes that T-voicing “is increasingly reported for a minority of RP speakers”.

The first systematic study of T-voicing in RP comes in 2006. R. B. Hannisdal gathered material from news broadcasts, investigating a sample of 30 RP-speaking presenters. The result of her study “clearly suggests that [ɾ] is a well-established variant of intervocalic /t/ in RP, and thus not limited to non-standard accents or casual style” (2006: 187), even though she stresses that as of yet this is primarily a connected speech process in RP, as it is much more likely to occur across word boundaries. We shall discuss these results in greater detail further below.

3. The present study

3.1 The Speakers

In this section we take a brief look at the social and geographical background of the two speakers whose speech we examined.

Daniel Radcliffe was born in 1989 in London. His father is a literary agent, originally from Northern Ireland, and his mother is a casting agent, born in South Africa and raised in Essex. Radcliffe attended preparatory Sussex House School and City of London School, both independent day schools for boys situated in London. Emma Watson was born in 1990 to British parents, both lawyers. She attended Dragon School, a coeducational preparatory school in Oxford, and Headington School, an independent girls’ school also situated in Oxford. Having been raised

3Describing her findings, Hannisdal writes: “The [ɾ] variant thus potentially includes the realisations [ɾ], [ɾ] and [ɾ]. The most frequent realisation is by far the tapped [ɾ]” (2006: 186).
by middle class families and educated at traditional public schools, both Radcliffe
and Watson can be said to come from typical RP speaker backgrounds; however,
the fact that they have been brought up in London makes their speech a good
candidate for the “London RP” label (see below in section 5. Regional RP, c-RP,
n-RP). What makes their speech worthy of attention is the fact that millions of
young EFL learners saw the Harry Potter series of films Radcliffe and Watson
starred in, thus making the actors potentially very popular EFL pronunciation
role-models, at least for those learners who have British pronunciation as their aim.

We should also note that all the interviews we used had taken place before
Watson’s moving to the United States, and most of them took place after both
the actors had turned eighteen. The first point is relevant because Watson’s being
surrounded by American varieties of English may have lead her, eventually, to
abandon, at least to some degree, some of the more salient features of her vernacular,
which may result in fewer instances of T-glottalling. The second point is important
because sociolinguistic research has shown that speakers reshape their vernaculars
until about the age of 17–20, when they reach the so-called adolescent peak (for
more details see Labov 2001: 447–455, Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2009: 66–67,
Bjelaković 2014). The use rate of the features here examined may be reasonably
expected to have changed from an earlier, pre-adolescent period of the two speakers.
Thus interviews dating from when Watson and Radcliffe were younger were avoided,
as the speech exhibited there would not have necessarily been representative of their
more or less permanent speech habits as adults.

3.2 The Sample

The material under examination consists of interviews with the two actors
available online. Radcliffe’s part comprises five short interviews, with a total length
of around 3100 words spoken by the actor, which yields 304 tokens. Watson’s part
comprises the same number of interviews, giving a total of around 3400 words,
which yields 308 tokens. This brings the total number of tokens analysed to 612.
The list of interviews is included in the Appendix section of the paper.

We should address the issue of style at this point. Variationist sociolinguistics
has long since established that certain speech features, especially those which are
involved in a current process of linguistic change, correlate strongly with the style
of speaking (there are several different approaches to style in sociolinguistics; for
more details see e.g. Schilling 2013). Indeed, as has been shown by Fabricius (2000),
glottal replacement in younger RP speakers is almost absent in the most formal speaking styles (i.e. reading styles).

Turning to our two speakers, we can posit that the interviews examined here differ in terms of style from the speech audiences around the world are familiar with from the Harry Potter series of films. Specifically, the actors are not playing fictional characters in the interviews, but appear as themselves; and while their interlocutors are not their close friends and do not belong to their peer networks (they could be described as friendly strangers), the general tone of the conversation is light-hearted and the atmosphere is everything but antagonistic. In other words, we are talking about more or less casual speech. On the other hand, in the films, the two young actors are "in character", and although they are not "putting on accents" and their characters should by all rights speak in largely the same way they themselves do, the very nature of the situation is likely to elicit a more formal speech style (especially in fairly inexperienced young actors). That is to say, we would not be surprised if the rate of T-glottalling was lower in the films than in the interviews we analysed (see further below for how much various speech styles affected the rate of glottalling in Fabricius’s study).

4. The Results

4.1 Results of Fabricius (2000)

In the study by Fabricius (2000) only word-final environments were taken into account, because "many writers have suggested that, in RP, the word-internal environments are either categorically glottalled (word-internal syllable-finally, excluding before syllabic /l/) or categorically non-glottalled (word-internal intervocally, and before syllabic /l/)" (2000: 21). In addition, /lt/ and /nt/ examples were disregarded, as they were deemed more difficult to judge auditorily (2000: 81). In other words, "[t]he chosen ‘envelope of variation’ was variation in pronunciation of word-final /t/, immediately preceded by a vowel, and followed by vowel, consonant or pause” (2000: 79). Unlike Fabricius, we have taken into account word-internal environments as well.

The numbers Fabricius (2000) presents for the prevocalic and prepausal glottalling are 25% and 19% respectively for interview style, and 2% and 0% for reading passage style. However, this is only for the "Rest of England" category. Subjects coming from London had significantly higher values of 44% and 42%
respectively for interview style, and 2% and 1% for reading passage style (2000: 136).

The scores for preconsonantal glottalling are much higher, indicating, as Fabricius puts it, that "[pre-consonantal glottalling] has completed its spread" (2000: 134). They range from 68-83% depending on the type of consonant following (pre-fricative glottalling being somewhat less frequent than pre-semivowel glottalling) for interview style, and 41-62% for reading passage style.

### 4.1.2 Results of the present study

Not surprisingly, the phonetic environment, that is the sound that followed /t/, proved to be the key predictor of the rate of glottalling in our study as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>[ʔ]</th>
<th>[t], [θ], [ɹ], [Ø]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivow./Approx.</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauses</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1* The combined rates of glottalling for both speakers sorted according to the phonetic environment.

As we can see, glottalling before stops and fricatives is almost categorical. The somewhat lower score for semivowels and approximants is no doubt caused primarily by the cases of /t/ in front of syllabic /l/ (like in /ˈbætl/), in which glottalling does not take place for RP speakers. This is fully in line with Fabricius's finding that "[pre-consonantal glottalling] has completed its spread" (2000: 134).

Moving on to prepausal glottalling, however, we see a notable increase compared to Fabricius's results (42% for her interview style London RP, compared to our 81%). This is especially common when an utterance ends with an unstressed function word (e.g. *love it, could've done it, proud of it, underneath it, all of our experiences from it and bring it all together* etc. all with [ᵻʔ]).

Finally, the prevocalic environment in our study is not directly comparable to the one in Fabricius's study, and deserves some further comment. Firstly, as we have
noted above, Fabricius looked only at word-final environments, whereas we took into account the word-medial instances of syllable-final /t/ as well. Furthermore, we paid attention to the rate of T-tapping ([t] > [r]), which has, as stated above, become increasingly common in RP. The following table provides a breakdown of the data for the prevocalic environment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[ʔ]</th>
<th>[r]</th>
<th>[t]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-V total</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-V word-final</td>
<td>43.5% (27% of total)</td>
<td>43.5% (27% of total)</td>
<td>13% (8.1% of total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-V word-medial</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25% (9.3% of total)</td>
<td>75% (28.3% of total)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 The combined data for both speakers for syllable-final, prevocalic /t/

If we split the prevocalic environment into the prevocalic word-final category (that is, cases in which a word ends in /Vt/ and the next one begins with a vowel) and prevocalic word-medial category, we can see two distinct patterns. When it comes to the former, the traditional orally-released voiceless plosive is the minority variant at only 13%, with the glottal stop and alveolar tap being equally used (43.5%). However, turning to the word-medial environment, we see that even among younger RP speakers from London, in less formal speech, glottalling is completely absent, and can thus be said to be a feature of non-standard accents only. In this environment, T-tapping is also fairly uncommon, and is restricted to frequent words like *pretty, whatever, gotta* etc.

Let us compare this to results in Hannisdal (2006). Again, breaking up the tokens into two categories, the word-medial and the word-final group, we get 17.5% vs. 82.5% for the former (with non-voiced realisations strongly leading), but 66.9% vs. 33.1% in favour of the voiced variant when it comes to word-final /t/ (Hannisdal 2006: 190–191). In other words, even though the results are very similar, our data shows a small but noticeable increase of the rate of the voiced realisations in both categories (Hannisdal’s 17.5% vs. our 25% for word-medial, and Hannisdal’s 66.9% vs. our 75% for word-final /t/). Hannisdal notes that ”the analysis showed that the overall most important factor affecting the likelihood of t-voicing is whether the /t/ occurs word-finally (e.g. what about) or word-externally (e.g. matter).
quantified results revealed that t-voicing is almost four times as likely to occur across word boundaries than within words” (2006: 190–191).

Another important factor, however, is lexical conditioning: [T]-voicing is hypothesised to be more likely in high frequency function words such as it, that, what, get, but, etc. and common lexical words such as British and getting, and less likely in longer and less frequent words or phrases such as solicitor, Nottinghamshire, private engineering, etc. This assumption is based on established facts about reduction processes and the spread of linguistic changes, as well as previous observations of t-voicing. Features of phonological reduction are more likely to affect short, frequent words (cf. e.g. Shockey 2003). Moreover, if t-voicing represents an ongoing change in RP, a frequency-based pattern is to be expected, as reductive changes typically affect the most common words first, through the process of lexical diffusion. A similar distributional pattern for voiced /t/ has also been observed for accents where t-voicing is a firmly established feature: in their study of American English tapping, Patterson and Connine (2001) found that low-frequency words and morphologically complex items showed a lower incidence of tapping than high-frequency words and morphologically simple words.

A detailed look at the words affected by t-voicing showed that, as predicted, the lexical distribution of [t] is not random. T-voicing across word boundaries, which is the most common type, primarily affects word-final /t/ in monosyllabic function words such as it, that, but, at, what, etc., in phrases such as it is, that it’s, but if, at a, what about, etc. T-voicing is also commonly found in other short frequent words, such as not and get, and in expressions like a lot of, a bit of, a set of. Although t-voicing usually involves a monosyllabic word in the left hand environment, the same restriction does not apply to the second segment, which is often a longer lexical item, e.g. not exactly, get elected, what appeared, that Israel, it affected, that explosion, at Eton, but Osama, etc. (Hannisdal 2006: 192)

Again, our results show the same tendency, with most of the word-medial examples of T-voicing coming from words such as pretty, little, British, Potter (a common word in the interviews here in question), getting, sitting, whatever, gotta etc.
5. Regional RP, c-RP, n-RP

Let us now finally turn to the previously mentioned concept of Regional RP. Cruttenden uses the term (RGB in his terminology) to describe accents containing slight traces of localisable features “which may well go unnoticed even by other speakers of GB” (2014: 81). Similarly, Windsor Lewis talks of the “metropolitan sub-variety of RP” (Windsor Lewis 1985 qtd. in Fabricius 2000: 45).

We should add to this the fact that Fabricius found that her young speakers of otherwise non-regional accents who came from London had a somewhat higher incidence of a certain type of T-glottalling in their speech, and the view that Wells expresses when he says that “many, perhaps most, of the innovations that have come into RP over the last five hundred years seem to have originated in popular London speech” (Čubrović 2009: 168).

Taking this together, we can conclude that T-glottalling in prepausal and non-medial prevocalic environments is losing stigma (just like preconsonantal glottalling has already done), first in London, and in more casual speech styles, but that this state of affairs is likely to spread within a very short space of time to the rest of the UK. With this in mind, we may tentatively label our two speakers, Daniel Radcliffe and Emma Watson as London Regional RP speakers. This would mean that in terms of glottalling, a feature which is undergoing change, they are more progressive than other non-regional speakers, but that in other respects, e.g. their vowels, they clearly differ from regional speakers (specifically, speaking of London, that would mean they are quite unlike traditional Cockney, but also unlike the new London variety, Multicultural London English or MLE⁴).

Finally, let us mention two useful terms used by Fabricius (2000) and (2002), namely c-RP and n-RP, which refer to two ways of looking at RP:

It is important to note that the term Received Pronunciation is often used ambiguously. It refers to a codified norm which we have called c-RP (construct RP), the normative pronunciation described in dictionaries, especially pronunciation dictionaries [...] In addition, the term refers to the accent variety n-RP (native RP), an accent used by those who acquire it as native speakers, a group of people who have grown up within Great Britain. The former has specific applications where a standardised, non-variable pronunciation is required, most likely in situations such as certain broadcasting genres and EFL teaching, while the latter exhibits the variation expected of all human speech. As such, n-RP, like any other language variety is a potential object of sociolinguistic study. [...]
Successive waves of change in the forms of n-RP gradually become part of c-RP. (Fabricius 2002: 118–119)

Later she concludes:
If t-glottalling in pre-vocalic and pre-pausal environments continues to spread within spontaneous speech and then into more monitored speech, the stage will be set for it to gain overt acceptability in the latter context as well, at which point c-RP will have to be "updated" again. (Fabricius 2002: 134)

6. Conclusion

It is apparent that glottalling has made impressive progress during the past 50 years, and that it has long since become a customary part of standard British speech. It is also apparent that T-voicing is slowly but surely making inroads to mainstream educated speech as well. In fact, these two may be seen as competing forms, vying for the position of syllable-final allophone of /t/. To be more precise, glottalling is the only option of the two available preconsonantally; but either is available in the syllable-final, prevocalic position.

In any case, considering the status and ubiquity of these features, they should be a non-avoidable part of EFL teaching, at least for students of a certain level (again, providing British English is the desired target). That is to say, EFL teachers should be wary, in this area as well as others, of what could be called a didactic lag. An example of this would be a teacher who stuck to the form of language he or she was taught while an undergraduate, which in turn was quite likely outdated at that particular time for much the same reasons. In other words, we should strive to keep our EFL models and targets up to date, and using real-life examples of current non-regional speech, and all the features it displays, glottalling being only one of them, should be an integral part of contemporary language teaching.

Appendix 1 (Interviews used)
"Daniel Radcliffe - Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Part 2 Interview"
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hqkJKpGzTnA
"Daniel Radcliffe 'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Part 2' Interview"
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cJ8rT36EpE
"Daniel Radcliffe Interview by Rob Ashford of Playbill.com PART 2"
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XTFw_uNxeQ4
“Daniel Radcliffe on The Better Show -- 16 September 2011 (FULL interview)”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3TKk7_sjVLU
“TIME Magazine Interviews Daniel Radcliffe”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pn1sSg_G50c
“Emma Watson - HBP Press Interview 2009 (#1/2)”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcPjJSvXzvY
“Emma Watson interview about OOTP”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0VbW_ogCZEA
“Emma Watson ReelzChannel Interview”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_FFoxCNXMA
“emma watson interview”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gBLOjq3aOJ8
“Emma Watson Interview - Prisoner of Azkaban”
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vgtiqfppWGw

Appendix 2 (raw data)

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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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### Andrej Ž. Bjelaković

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<td>[?]</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>80.72%</td>
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<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.28%</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>[r] or [t]</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>72.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>36.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>36.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>258</td>
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<td>[?]</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>43.48%</td>
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<td>[r] or [t]</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>56.52%</td>
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<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>43.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>86</td>
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<tbody>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r] or [t]</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[r]</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>[t]</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>75.26%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
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</tbody>
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### References

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Katedra za anglistiku

HARI POTER I GLOTALNI PLOZIV:
GLOTALNA ZAMENA I OZVUČAVANJE /t/
U SAVREMEÑOM RP

Rezime

Cilj ovog rada je da istakne u kojoj meri su uznepredovale dve glasovne promene u savremenom standardnom britanskom izgovoru engleskog jezika. Obe se (tzv. T-glottalling i T-voicing) tiču realizacije foneme /t/ na kraju sloga. Ispitivali smo govor samo dvoje govornika, glumaca Danijela Radklifa (Daniel Radcliffe) i Eme Votson (Emma Watson), koristeći materijal iz intervjua dostupnih na internetu. Ipak, verujemo da je njihov govor umnogome tipičan predstavnik nadregionalnog (južno)britanskog govora njihove generacije. Štaviše, Radklif i Votson su dodatno vredni pažnje usled činjenice da su milioni mladih učenika engleskog videli seriju filmova o Hariju Poteru, u kojima je pomenuto dvoje glumaca igralo, što čini njihov govor potencijalno vrlo popularnom metom za mlade neizvorne govornike engleskog kojima je uzor britanski engleski. Rezultati su upoređeni s rezultatima studija Fabricius (2000) i Hannisdal (2006). Ispitano je ukupno oko 600 primera glasa /t/ na krajevima slogova. Što se zamene bezvučnog alveolarnog ploziva [t] glotalnim okluživom [?] tiče, naši rezultati daju stope od 98% za /t/ ispred drugih okluživa, 96% za /t/ ispred frikativa, 82% za /t/ ispred poluvokala i aproksimana, 81% pre pauze i 27% pre vokala. Prevokalska sredina je onda dalje analizirana, jer je u njoj moguće i ozvučavanje /t/. Ukupni rezultati za prevokalsku sredinu glase 27% u korist [?], 36,5% u korist ozvučenog alofona [r], i preostalih 36,5% realizovanih kao uobičajeni bezvučni alveolarni
ploziv [t]. Ako podelimo dalje prevokalsku sredinu na medijalnu i finalnu (tamo gde se /t/ nalazi između vokala u sredini reči, tamo gde je između vokala na granici dve reči), onda dobijamo sledeće rezultate: u medijalnoj sredini uopšte ne dolazi do zamene glotalnim okluzivom, a ozvućena varijanta se javlja samo u najfrekventnijim rečima, i to ukupno u četvrtini medijalnih slučajeva (dakle, [t] se javlja u preostalih 75% medijalnih primera); s druge strane, u finalnoj poziciji, između dve reči, [t] je najređa varijanta, sa samo 13,5%, dok su [?] i [r] sa 43,5% podjednako frekventni u ovom slučaju (to su, dakle, reči gde vokal prethodi /t/ koje je poslednji glas, a naredna reč počinje vokalom). Zaključak je da je zamena glotalnim okluzivom sve češća realizacija /t/ na kraju sloga i u nadregionalnom britanskom govoru (u prekonsonantskoj poziciji je odavno izgubila status nestandardne crte govora), ali i da ozvučena varijanta [r] napreduje, te da nikako nije samo odlika američkih i australijskih odnosno novozelandskih varijeteta engleskog, premda se zasad u standardnom britanskom engleskom javlja pre svega na granici dveju reči, tj. predstavlja fenomen prisutan u vezanom govoru, jer se unutar reči javlja isključivo u najfrekventnijim rečima (poput pretty, little, British, getting, sitting, whatever, gotta etc.). Ove činjenice treba imati u vidu prilikom nastave engleskog, konkretno pri podučavanju o izgovoru savremenog britanskog engleskog, s ciljem održavanja realističnih i savremenih izgovornih modela.

Ključne reči: opšteprihvaćeni izgovor (RP), fonetska promena, glotalovanje, glotalni ploziv, ozvučavanje t, predavanje izgovora engleskog jezika.

Preuzeto 7. 2. 2018.