7. Connected speech

Before you study this chapter, check whether you are familiar with the following terms: accent, alveolar, ambisyllabic, aspirated, assimilation, allophone, clear-L, compound, dark-L, dental, devoicing, diacritic, full vowel, function word, glottal stop, glottalized, hiatus, high vowel, idiomatic, intrusive-R, linking-R, morpheme, nasal, non-rhotic, palatal, plosive, R-dropping, reduced vowel, rhotic, segment, stressed/unstressed, suffix, suprasegmental features, syncope, tapping/flapping, utterance, velar, yod

This chapter deals with the phenomena that characterize connected speech, that is, combinations of words rather than individual words uttered in isolation. These cross-word processes are of crucial importance since rarely do we pronounce a single word only – normally we use phrases and sentences, very often several sentences one after the other. We have already mentioned a number of such processes, especially in Chapter 2, which are recapitulated below. Recall, also from Chapter 2, that word-final consonants are always ambisyllabic when followed by a vowel in the next word, and choose their pronunciation variant accordingly.

First, in the discussion of **L-darkening** in RP, we found that syllable-final /l/ is dark, but it is clear elsewhere. Elsewhere includes the ambisyllabic position, too. Therefore, the /l/ at the end of *mill*, for example, is dark when the word is final in the utterance (e.g., *Where's the mill?*) or when the next segment is a consonant (e.g., *There are two mills here* or *The mill was closed*). However, when the following morpheme – suffix or word – starts with a vowel, it is clear (e.g., *It's Mr. Miller* or *The mill is closed*). Bear in

mind that syllabic /l/ is dark, whatever it may be followed by; just as dark in *cancel̲ a meeting* as in *cancel̲ the meeting*. This is a logical consequence of the fact that peaks are never ambisyllabic – after all, they define syllables (cf. Chapter 5), therefore their affiliation cannot be ambiguous.

Second, recall that /t/ has several allophones in the dialects of English, e.g., aspirated, glottalized, tapped/flapped. It is **tapping** in GA or informal-colloquial British English that we are concerned with here most, since this is the process which clearly affects ambisyllabic consonants only. While within words a consonant must be followed by an unstressed vowel to be ambisyllabic (the /t/ is tapped in *á̲to̲m* but not in *a̲tómic*), across words this stress-sensitivity ceases to exist, and all word-final consonants followed by (any!) vowel undergo the process; not only do we find tapping in *ge̲t̲ alóng*, where the next vowel is unstressed, but in *ge̲t̲ úp*, too. In sum, /t/ has the following major allophones: plain [t] (e.g., after an /s/), aspirated [t^h] (syllable-initially), glottalized [$t^ʔ$] or replaced by a glottal stop [ʔ] (cf. Chapter 6) (syllable-finally), and replaced by the tap/flap [ɾ] (in ambisyllabic position). Word-initial /t/ is always aspirated and never tapped, as in *a t̲ease*; word-final /t/ is never aspirated but may be tapped, as in *a̲t̲ ease*. The same contrast is found in the pair *migh̲t̲ I* (tap) vs. *my t̲ie* (aspiration). The expression *at all* is pronounced differently in the two standard varieties of English: the expected unaspirated pronunciation of the /t/ is only found in GA (of course, with tapping: [əˈɾɔːɬ]), whereas in RP the string is, rather exceptionally, treated as if it was a single word, just like *retúrn*, and consequently aspiration appears: [əˈt^hɔːɬ]. Let us emphasize that this is an isolated, irregular example, and word-final plosives in general do not normally become aspirated, cf. *plum p̲ie* (aspirated) vs. *plump̲ eye* (unaspirated). Similarly, the aspiration-killing effect of a preceding /s/ can

only be exerted if the /s/ is in the same syllable as the following plosive: the /t/ is plain in both *st̲ake* and *mist̲ake* but aspirated in *miss T̲om*.

Besides L-darkening and tapping, there is a third rule which applies across words in the same fashion as word-internally, **R-dropping**. You may be able to recall from Chapter 2 the phenomenon called **Linking-R**, a word-final <r> which does not undergo R-dropping because the next morpheme starts with a vowel, which "saves" it. We have also seen that sometimes a "historically unmotivated" /r/ shows up between two morphemes, an /r/ which is absent from spelling and from the rhotic accents of English. This is called **Intrusive-R**. We observe a few interesting facts when we compare Linking-R and Intrusive-R:

(i) They are phonetically identical.

(ii) Both of them characterize the non-rhotic accents of English only – linking and intrusion go hand in hand with R-dropping.

(iii) Since a word-final <r> can only be preceded by a broken tense vowel, a broad lax vowel, or, in unstressed final syllables, a schwa (as the discussion on the R-influence affecting preceding vowels in Chapter 4 shows), it follows that Linking-R always follows one of /ɑː ɔː ɜː ə/, that is, a non-high vowel.

(iv) It is a general feature of Intrusive-R in all the non-rhotic accents exhibiting it that it does not appear in a random fashion, but after certain vowels only, namely /ɑː ɔː ɜː ə/, that is, after a non-high vowel.

(v) Both Linking-R and Intrusive-R are always sandwiched between two vowels: they are preceded by a (non-high) vowel and followed by another vowel in the next morpheme. That is, both always pop up between vowels in a hiatus (cf. Chapter 3); in fact, they break up, i.e., destroy, the hiatus.

How can all these five observations be accounted for in the simplest way? On the one hand, it should be clear that Linking-R and Intrusive-R are virtually the same: they appear in the same position (intervocalically, after a non-high vowel), and have the same function (to fill a hiatus). On the other hand, it should also be clear that the existence of both crucially depends on the presence of the R-dropping rule. Let us illustrate how Intrusive-R must have come into being.

Suppose you are a speaker of non-rhotic English. For you, words like *paw* and *pore*, *spa* and *spar*, *manna* and *manner*, are homophones: /pɔː, spɑː, ˈmænə/, respectively. (You may only face the fact that they are spelt differently when you start learning to read and write at school. Doesn't this remind you of the sufferings you underwent in primary school while trying to memorize that *gólya* 'stork' is written with <ly> but *bója* 'buoy' with a <j>, although both are pronounced with the same sound, /j/?) You also notice that when words like *pore*, *spar*, *manner* are followed by a vowel-initial element, an /r/ suddenly appears between them: …*pore is*… /ˈpɔːr̲ɪz/, …*spar is*… /ˈspɑːr̲ɪz/, …*manner is*… /ˈmænər̲ɪz/. You conclude that whenever a word ends in /ɑː ɔː ɜː ə/, and the next morpheme begins with a vowel, an /r/ is inserted inbetween. You start treating *paw*, *spa*, *manna* analogously to *pore*, *spar*, *manner*.[1]

	pore	*paw*	*spar*	*spa*	*manner*	*manna*
before a pause	/pɔː/	/pɔː/	/spɑː/	/spɑː/	/ˈmænə/	/ˈmænə/
before a cons.	/pɔː/	/pɔː/	/spɑː/	/spɑː/	/ˈmænə/	/ˈmænə/
before a vowel	/pɔːr/	/pɔːr/	/spɑːr/	/spɑːr/	/ˈmænər/	/ˈmænər/

[1] Recall the discussion of Broadness without *r* in Chapter 4.

Therefore, Linking-R and Intrusive-R are both the manifestations of the same process of hiatus-filling after word-final non-high vowels, facilitating the smooth transition between the vowels. Such phenomena are frequently referred to as **liaison**, a French noun meaning 'connection, link'.

The question arises what happens in hiatuses when the first member is not a non-high vowel. Can they be similarly broken up by a **hiatus-filler** consonant? The answer is yes, although in such cases it is not a /r/ which is inserted but a semivowel. If the first vowel is high and front, e.g., /iː/, it is the yod, e.g. *me and you* /ˈmiːʲənˈjuː/. If the first vowel is high and back, e.g., /uː/, it is /w/, e.g., *you and me* /ˈjuːʷənˈmiː/. Footnote 1 in Chapter 5 mentioned the close connection between the high vowels and the glides, and now we are faced with a further example illustrating it. Notice that the choice of the glide is not random, either: /j/ is coronal, that is, produced by the front surface of the tongue (just like /iː/), while /w/ is formed in the back of the oral cavity, being velar (just like /uː/). The major difference between the hiatus-filling glides and /r/ is that the latter only has this function in non-rhotic accents, whereas the former characterize all the dialects of English.

After the discussion of what processes affect vowels meeting across morpheme boundaries in connected speech, let us turn our attention to what happens to consonants in such situations. There are two basic phenomena which need mentioning: assimilation and deletion.

Assimilation processes are of several different types. First, as it is described in Chapter 6, a form of **voice assimilation** is observable in English, although it is not obligatory, it is not always complete, and it is more limited than what we find in Hungarian. The output of voice assimilation in English is always devoicing, that is, a voiceless consonant affects a voiced one, irrespective of the relative order of the two. As a result, the direction of the

assimilation is not fixed – it can be either regressive or progressive. Regressive voice assimilation, whose directionality coincides with Hungarian, is most likely for fricatives and affricates (therefore it is also referred to by certain authors as "**Fricative Devoicing**"), as in *his tie* [z̥ t], *live show* [v̥ ʃ], *have to* [v̥ t] (or even [f t]). Progressive devoicing is what poses particular difficulties for Hungarian speakers of English since it subsumes cases where the opposite happens in Hungarian. Thus in the oft-cited example *matchbox*, the /b/ assimilates to the voiceless affricate, yielding [ˈmætʃb̥ɒks], rather than the other way round, yielding *[ˈmædʒbɒks] or *[ˈmɛdʒboks] (this latter is in fact the standard Hungarian pronunciation of the word). This does not only apply in words within a compound but also across words within the utterance, e.g., *catch Bill* is [ˈkʰætʃ ˈb̥ɪɬ] rather than *[ˈkʰædʒ ˈbɪɬ]; *what's this* is [ˈwɒts ˈð̥ɪs] rather than *[ˈwɒdz ˈðɪs]; *missed Jane* is [ˈmɪst ˈd̥ʒeɪn] rather than *[ˈmɪzd ˈdʒeɪn].

Besides voice assimilations, English exhibits a variety of regressive **place assimilations**, including the dentalization of alveolar /t d n l/ when they are followed by dental /θ/ or /ð/ (this is indicated by the diacritic [̪], e.g., *Matt thanked* [t̪ θ]), the labial assimilation of /t d/ (e.g., *eight pence* [p p], *blood pudding* [b p]), the velar assimilation of /t d/ (e.g., *it could* [k k], *bad company* [g k]), and nasal place assimilation (*Green Peace* [m p], *in question* [ŋ k]). These cases are not problematic to Hungarian speakers as such processes automatically take place in Hungarian, too. However, there is a phenomenon which is unattested in Hungarian: **(occasional) cross-word palatalization**. This is brought about by a /j/ that follows either an alveolar fricative (/s/ or /z/) turning it into its postalveolar equivalent (/ʃ/ or /ʒ/, respectively), or an alveolar plosive (/t/ or /d/) turning it into a postalveolar

affricate (/tʃ/ or /dʒ/, respectively). The expression "occasional" refers to the fact that this assimilation is optional (characterizing faster, colloquial speech rather than slow and careful pronunciation) and only applies on certain restricted occasions. Namely, it produces palato-alveolar /ʃ ʒ tʃ dʒ/ only if a word ending in one of the alveolar obstruents /s z t d/ and a function word beginning with /j/ (e.g., *you*, *your*, *yet*, plus a few other common words including *year* and *usual*) are combined. A few examples: *this year* [ˈðɪʃ jɪə] or [ˈðɪʃɪə], *ease your pain* [ˈiːʒ jə ˈpʰeɪn] or [ˈiːʒə ˈpʰeɪn], *why don't you love me* [ˈwaɪ ˈdəʊntʃʊ ˈlʌv miː], *mind your head* [ˈmaɪndʒə ˈhed], *could you see* [ˈkʰʊdʒə ˈsiː]. (For word-internal palatalization, see Chapter 11.)

Assimilations, however, are not the only processes affecting consonants across word boundaries. **Optional consonant deletion** is just as frequent, especially when more than two consonants "pile up". You may have noticed that such "congestions" get simplified word-internally, as in *Wednesday*, *handkerchief* (cf. the diminutive form *hankie*), *Christmas*, *exactly* and *grandmother* (cf. *gran*, *granny*) for instance, where the underlined consonant letters are normally unpronounced. The same happens across words to a /t/, e.g., *Saint Paul, first knight, next day, I don't know*, etc., or a /d/ between an /n/ and another consonant, e.g., *send Jim, rock and roll, Guns and Roses, find me,* etc. In addition, a /h/ is very often silent in the function words *he-him-his, her, have-has-had* and so is the voiced dental in *them* (for the so-called weak forms of function words, see below), which is sometimes reflected by spellings like *'im*, *'er*, *'em*, too. Thus the underlined consonants in *I met him, We told her, Who is he?, That'll teach them* may remain unpronounced. This is called **Aitch-Dropping**, for obvious reasons.[2]

[2] In fact, aitches are not only dropped at the beginning of unstressed function words but also word-internally before an unstressed vowel, cf. *vehícular* with a pronounced /h/ vs. *véhicle* without one, or *herd* with an /h/ vs. *shépherd* without one. In addition, it is a wide-spread

Finally, it is worthy of mention that the final /v/ of words like *give* or *leave* can also be deleted if they are followed by an unstressed function word (e.g., *lea<u>v</u>e me alone*; cf. contracted *gimme* from *give me*).

Curiously enough, some of the processes mentioned above only apply when the second of the two words juxtaposed is a function word: palatalization is possible in *mi<u>ss</u> you* but not in, say, *mi<u>ss</u> Yolanda*; /v/-deletion is possible in *lea<u>v</u>e me alone* but not in *lea<u>v</u>e Maureen alone*.

After the discussion of the cross-word phenomena affecting individual speech sounds (segments) – that is, segmental phenomena – let us scrutinize the **suprasegmental features** of connected speech, i.e., those that characterize larger strings like syllables or utterances.

One of the most important of such features, intonation, will be devoted a whole chapter to later (Chapter 10), so here we can concentrate on the other one: **stress**. The way stress is placed in English words is dealt with in Chapters 8-9 – for the time being, suffice it to say that all non-function words (that is, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) contain at least one syllable that constitutes a **rhythmic beat** (called **major stress**), which makes it stronger, more prominent, than the neighbouring syllables. When words are combined into phrases, usually the (final) major stress of the final element is even stronger than the others, and when phrases are combined into sentences, the strongest major stress of the final phrase in the string receives the greatest emphasis. For example, in the sentence *Colourless green ideas sleep furiously*, *green* is stronger than the first syllable of *colourless*, the second syllable of *ideas* is stronger than *green*, and the major stress of *furiously* is stronger than that of either *sleep* or *ideas*. In sum, the strongest **phrasal stress** normally falls on the final element. Of course, this generalization can

feature of non-standard pronunciation in all dialects (but, perhaps, more extensively in England than the US) to "drop one's aitches" at the beginning of content words as well, yielding *'ouse* instead of standard *<u>h</u>ouse*, for example.

be overridden if the speaker wishes to put extra emphasis on another word in the phrase or sentence for some reason, so *colourless* may as well become the most prominent in, e.g., *Colourless green ideas sleep furiously and not coloured ones!*

As opposed to phrasal stress, **compound stress**, i.e., maximal prominence within a compound word, is normally assigned to the first term, thus producing a stress pattern which is the mirror image of the usual phrasal stress pattern. For example, a *big wig* is simply a wig which is big (it is a phrase consisting of an adjective and a noun), while a *bigwig* is an important person (a compound with its idiomatic meaning). Similarly, a *red skin* is a skin which is red, but a *redskin* is a North American Indian. (Notice how much this resembles Hungarian examples like *eladó lány* 'marriageable girl', which is a phrase, versus *eladólány* 'salesgirl', which is a compound.) The rule applies in longer compounds as well, so *pet* is the strongest term in both *pet shop* and *pet shop boys*. Further details on compound stress are adduced in the next chapter, when the various degrees of stress are discussed.

The alternation of rhythmic beats and weak (unstressed) syllables produces the rhythm of speech. A major difference between English and Hungarian lies in the type of rhythm they exhibit. While in Hungarian each syllable is pronounced in about the same time, and therefore the basic unit of speech rhythm is the syllable (this is called **syllable-timed rhythm**), in English it is the sound string stretching from one major stressed syllable up to the next one (the so-called **foot**), and consequently the time elapsing between two major stresses is approximately the same. This is traditionally referred to as **stress-timed rhythm**. What follows from this is the fact that in English (and similar languages, but not in Hungarian) rhythmic beats occur at more or less equal intervals: the greater the number of following unstressed syllables is, the shorter the stressed vowel and the more compressed the

unstressed syllables become. For illustration, consider the following sentence:

He | *gave a* | *digital* | *camera to* | *George* | *Clooney for his* | *birthday*

The rhythmic beats are indicated by underscores, and the vertical lines denote foot boundaries. Due to the stress-timed rhythm of English, the strings between any two such boundaries are much the same in duration, from which a number of consequences ensue, e.g., *George* is pronounced considerably long, whereas *camera* tends to get compressed to disyllabic *cam'ra* (cf. syncope in Chapter 5) so that *camera to* fits into more or less the same time span as, e.g., *digital*.

Perhaps the most effective strategy whereby syllables can be "squeezed" is **vowel reduction**, that is, the replacement of full vowels with the weak (reduced) vowels /ə ɪ ʊ/ (see Chapter 3). In connected speech, this reduction process characteristically manifests itself in the reduction of unstressed function words. In the example sentence above none of the function words (*he, a, to, for, his* - /hɪ, ə, tə, fə(r), (h)ɪz/) contains anything other than those three vowels. Of course, as we have already seen above, any word can in principle be stressed in an utterance for special emphasis, and under such circumstances these function words may contain unreduced vowels (/ˈhiː, ˈeɪ, ˈtuː, ˈfɔː, ˈhɪz/). Let us see the details.

There are roughly forty words in English that have two basic forms: one which is the usual, unstressed pronunciation (called the **weak form** – very often, the same word exhibits several different weak forms), and another, stressed pronunciation (called the **strong form** or full form), which is only used in certain specific situations (see below). The list of the most common such words is given in tabular form in the Appendix at the end of

the chapter. Most of them belong to the closed class of function words (determiners and pronouns [1-11 in the table in the Appendix], prepositions [12-17], conjunctions [17-22] and auxiliaries [23-30]), although certain highly frequent major category words (e.g., the noun *saint* when part of compound proper names – [+1]) also show this kind of dual behaviour. It *is* possible to use only strong forms in speaking, and some foreigners (including the typical Hungarian speaker of English) do this, but native speakers find such "all-strong-form" pronunciations unnatural and foreign-sounding; moreover, the unnecessary lack of reduction creates the impression of emphasis, which may even lead to misunderstanding. In addition, it is crucial for learners of English to be familiar with the use of weak forms or else they are likely to have difficulty comprehending (native) speakers who do use them (statistically, as many as 95% of the occurrences of a function word in native speech are weak).[3]

The unstressed, weak forms are normally used sentence-medially (e.g., *It's time to* /tə/ *go on*), and, with the exception of auxiliaries [23-30], sentence-initially as well (e.g., *To* /tʊ/ *err is human*), whereas the strong forms occur at the end of the sentence (e.g., *I can do it if you want me to* /tuː/). It has already been repeated several times that even otherwise unstressed words can become prominent for purposes of emphasis or contrast, for example – accordingly, the strong form is chosen when the word is contrasted or co-ordinated with another one (e.g., *Both of them can* /ˈkæn/*, but only Jack will* /ˈwɪl/*, answer this question* or *It's at* /ˈæt/ *the corner, not on* /ˈɒn/ *the corner*), when it is cited or quoted (e.g., *Don't say "but"!* /ˈbʌt/), or it is simply emphasized (*You must* /ˈmʌst/ *hold on!* or *He does* /ˈdʌz/ *do the homework regularly!*). In addition, when a preposition is followed by a

[3] One exception is singing, in which strong forms are often used in normally unstressed positions, although articles are generally weak even there.

pronoun at the end of a sentence, usually the strong form of the preposition (and, of course, also of the pronoun) is used (e.g., *I'm looking at you* /æt juː/; cf. *It's at* /ət/ *the corner*).

These general rules, however, have a number of exceptions. First, object pronouns [7-10] are not normally full even sentence-finally (e.g., *Have you seen them?* /ðm/). Second, auxiliary verbs never have the weak pronunciation in their negative form (i.e., combined with *not*) – the very nature of negation involves emphasis (e.g., *I can't* /ˈkɑːnt/ (or *cannot* /ˈkænɒt/) *dance*) and, as it has been mentioned above, usually, though not always, they have the strong pronunciation at the beginning of the sentence (*Can* /kæn/ *you dance?* as opposed to *John can* /kn/ *dance the tango*). Finally, there are a few function words that have a strong form only, e.g., auxiliaries (*did, may, might, need*), prepositions (*in, off, on, up*), conjunctions (*though, when*), pronouns (*that, these, those, who*[4]), and the negative particle *not* (but it shortens to *n't* when contracted with certain auxiliaries, e.g., *can't, won't, didn't*) (for contraction, see below).

The major characteristics of **the pronunciation of the weak forms** are the following:

(1) The vowel reduces to one of the weak vowels, in most cases to /ə/. This is sometimes reflected in non-standard spelling, e.g., the <a> at the end of *wanna* (=*want to*), *gotta* (=*got to*), *gonna* (=*going to*), *kinda* (=*kind of*), *cuppa* (=*cup of*).

(2) Very often, the schwa is able to further reduce to zero, which sometimes results in Syllabic Consonant Formation (SCF – discussed in Chapter 5). Some of these vowelless pronunciations (*n't, 's, 'd, 've,* etc.) are able to undergo **contraction** – that is, auxiliaries and the like attach to an

[4] When it is interrogative (e.g., *Who is it?*). For the relative pronoun (e.g., *the man who sold the world*), there exists an occasional weak form /hʊ/.

adjacent word. Contraction can also affect certain other words, cf. *wanna*, *gotta*, etc. in (1) above. Rather exceptionally, it is possible to contract the object pronoun *us* in imperative *let's*. Recall from Chapter 6 the rules of the voice assimilation of the *-s* suffix, and note that contracted *'s*, irrespective of what function word it is a contraction of, conforms to them as well.

(3) The consonants surrounding the vowel also become weak, and delete easily, so we find a number of examples of optional consonant deletion, discussed above, among weak-form words. Especially word-initial /h/ is targeted by such deletions, as it was already mentioned, sometimes traceable in non-standard spellings like *should of been* for *should have been*. However, when /h/-initial weak-form words occur at the beginning of a sentence, the pronunciation is always with /h/.

(4) Certain weak-form words are pronounced differently before consonant- and vowel-initial words, including *a(n), the, do, to, you*. This is because in English schwa cannot normally occur before another vowel, so some other pronunciation (an extra /n/ in *an*, or final /ɪ/ or /ʊ/ in the other cases) is chosen to avoid that situation. Also, remember that in the non-rhotic accents like RP a word-final /r/ is only pronounced when followed by a vowel-initial morpheme – such potential Linking-R's are given in brackets in the table. Keep in mind, though, that all those /r/'s are obligatory in all positions in the rhotic accents like GA.

(5) Weak forms, particularly those of prepositions and pronouns, typically lose their independent word status in connected speech, which is evident from phonological processes such as word-initial tapping and aitch-dropping. The initial /t/ of the unstressed preposition *to* is weak and frequently tapped in the relevant dialects in a phrase like *lie to me* /ˈlaɪɾəˈmiː/ (analogously to a single word like *lighter* /ˈlaɪɾə(r)/), and the initial /h/ of the

unstressed personal pronoun *him* can be deleted in *beat him* (i.e., *beat 'im*), similarly to *vehicle* or *shepherd* discussed in footnote 1 above. We are led to the conclusion that all of *lie to, lighter, beat 'im, vehicle* and *shepherd* undergo phonological rules in the same way because, as far as pronunciation is concerned, they all constitute single words.

The table in the Appendix summarizes the most common weak forms, contrasting them with the corresponding strong forms. Most examples equally apply to RP and GA, although sometimes GA supplies additional possibilities. All such differences are indicated in the table. A closer examination of the weak forms leads to the observation that some of them are ambiguous, so their meaning only becomes clear from the context (e.g., /əv/ can correspond to either *of* or *have*). All further comments, which do not fit into a chart, including weak forms only used in certain meanings, are given as footnotes.

To sum up the discussion of this chapter, let us emphasize that a well-definable group of phonological processes (L-darkening, tapping and other /t/-phenomena, R-dropping) apply within and across words in a uniform fashion. Moreover, Linking-R and Intrusive-R can be proven to be two forms of virtually the same object, a hiatus-filler inserted after non-high vowels, and as such, they properly fit into the general picture of hiatus resolution. We have also seen how other processes like assimilation and consonant deletion are present in connected speech, and how the reduction of unstressed function words contributes to the isochronous stress pattern and rhythm of English utterances. The following two chapters take the stress pattern of individual words under scrutiny.

Appendix

	Word	Strong form	Examples	Weak form(s)	Examples
1.	*the*	ðiː	*It's not "a" cat, it's "the" cat!*	ðə, ðɪ	*the* /ðə/ *dog, the* /ðɪ/ *end*
2.	*a, an*	eɪ, æn		ə, (ə)n	*a dog, an end*
3.	*some*[5]	sʌm	*I'll get you some.*	s(ə)m	*I'll get you some apples.*
4.	*his*[6]	hɪz	*It's his car, not mine.*	(h)ɪz	*what's-his-name*
5.	*your = you're*	jɔː(r), jʊə(r)	*Is this YOUR CV?*	jə(r)	*Mind your head!*
6.	*(s)he, we, you*	hiː, ʃiː, wiː, juː	*All I want is YOU.*	(h)ɪ, ʃɪ, wɪ jʊ (GA also jə)	*I'll get you some apples. I gotcha!*
7.	*him*	hɪm	*Whom do you love: him or her?*	(h)ɪm	*I love him.*
8.	*her*	hɜː(r)		(h)ə(r), ɜː(r)	*I love her.*
9.	*their them*	ðeə(r) ðem	*It wasn't US, it was THEM.*	--[7] ð(ə)m	*Do you hate them?*
10.	*us*	ʌs		əs	*one of us is crying*
11.	*there*[8]	ðeə(r)	*There you are!*	ðə(r) (GA also ðr)	*There's a book on the table.*
12.	*at*	æt	*What's he getting at?*	ət	*Look at me.*
13.	*for*	fɔː(r)	*It's just what I long for.*	fə(r), fr, f[9]	*Stay for a week.*
14.	*from*	frɒm (GA frʌm)	*Where are you from?*	frəm	*He's from Barcelona.*
15.	*of*	ɒv (GA ʌv)	*It's love I've a lot of.*	əv[10]	*one of us*

[5] This word can reduce when it is a neutral quantifier (e.g., *There's some milk in the fridge*), but not in other senses, e.g., when it is contrasted (e.g., *Some students know this but others don't*).

[6] This only applies to the possessive determiner (e.g., *This is his car*). When *his* is a pronoun (e.g., *This car is his*), it always has the strong form.

[7] In GA, there is a weak form /ðər/, which is used in RP only occasionally.

[8] When this word is a demonstrative element (opposite of *here*), it is a (stressed) adverb and therefore it occurs in its strong form only. Also, cf. *their* above.

[9] In both RP and GA, the occasional weak form /fr/ is only used before weak vowels, e.g., *stay for a week* /ˈsteɪ frə ˈwiːk/. The weak form /f/ is rare and only appears in very casual or rapid speech.

[10] There is also an informal rapid-speech or non-standard pronunciation, used before consonants only, /ə/, sometimes spelt *o'* (as in standardized *o'clock*). Also, compare *of* and

16.	*to*[11]	tuː	*Who did you give it <u>to</u>?*	tə, tʊ	*<u>to</u> /tə/ me, <u>to</u> /tʊ/ Ann*
17.	*than*[12]	ðæn	*"<u>Than</u>" is spelt with an "a" not an "e".*	ð(ə)n	*even better <u>than</u> the real thing*
18.	*and*	ænd	*"<u>And</u>" is a conjunction.*	(ə)n(d)[13]	*Twist <u>and</u> shout!*
19.	*but*	bʌt	*Don't say "<u>but</u>"!*	bət	*sad <u>but</u> true*
20.	*that*[14]	ðæt	*What's <u>that</u>?*	ðət	*the book <u>that</u> we bought*
21.	*or*	ɔː(r)	*To be <u>or</u> not to be?*	ə(r)[15]	*sooner <u>or</u> later*
22.	*as*	æz	*<u>as</u> and when*	əz	*<u>as</u> good <u>as</u> it gets*
23.	*have* *has* *had*	hæv hæz hæd	*<u>Have</u> you seen her?* *<u>Had</u> I known him earlier...!*	(h)əv, v (h)əz, z, s (h)əd, d	*You<u>'ve</u> got to know.* *She<u>'s</u> got it. It<u>'s</u> been a year. You<u>'d</u> better stop!*
24.	*can* *could*	kæn kʊd	*<u>Can</u> you dance?* *Yes, you <u>could</u>.*	k(ə)n kəd	*I <u>can</u> see.* *You <u>could</u> be mine.*
25.	*will* *would*	wɪl wʊd	*<u>Will</u> Susan be there?* *<u>Would</u> you like it?*	(w)(ə)l (w)(ə)d	*Susan <u>will</u> be at home.* *I'<u>d</u> rather sail away.*
26.	*shall* *should*	ʃæl ʃʊd	*<u>Shall</u> I open the window?*	ʃ(ə)l ʃəd	*I think you <u>should</u> work harder.*
27.	*must*[16]	mʌst	*You <u>MUST</u> hold on!*	məs(t)	*I <u>must</u> go now.*
28.	*do* *does*	duː dʌz	*How do you <u>do</u>?* *Yes, she <u>does</u>!*	dʊ, d(ə) d(ə)z	*How <u>do</u> you do?* *What <u>does</u> he do?*
29.	*am,* *are* *was,* *were*[17]	æm, ɑː(r) wɒz (GA wʌz), wɜː(r)	*I <u>AM</u> hungry!* *He said he wasn't sleepy but he <u>was</u>!*	(ə)m, ə(r) wəz, wə(r) (GA also wr)	*I'<u>m</u> hungry.* *They <u>were</u> all drinking in the pub.*

off: the latter has no weak form, and is pronounced /ɒf/.

[11] The preposition and the infinitival particle exhibit the same behaviour.

[12] This word is either used as a preposition (e.g., *He's older than me*) or a conjunction (e.g., *He's older than I thought*), but it is not to be confused with the adverb *then*, which only has a strong form /ðen/.

[13] The weak form /ənd/ is slightly more formal than /ən/.

[14] This word only has a weak form when used as a conjunction (e.g., *I know that you know it*; *the book that we bought*); when it is a demonstrative determiner (e.g., *Who's that girl?*) or pronoun (e.g., *What's that?*), or a degree word (e.g., *Not that bad*) it is always pronounced in its strong form.

[15] This is an occasional weak form in RP, only used between numbers and in fixed phrases. In GA, however, this reduction is quite common.

[16] When expressing probability (e.g., [doorbell rings] *This must be the milkman*), this word is less likely to appear in its weak form than when it is used in the sense of obligation (e.g., *You must try harder*).

[17] The verb *be* always behaves like an auxiliary verb, even when it is the only verb in the sentence. However, its forms are always strong in three-word *wh*-questions containing a personal pronoun, e.g., *Who <u>is</u> it?*, *How <u>are</u> you?*, *Where <u>were</u> they?*

30.	*been*	biːn (GA bɪn)	*Where have you <u>been</u>?*	bɪn	*I've <u>been</u> busy all day.*
+1.	*Saint*	sɛɪnt	*He's a <u>saint</u>.*	s(ə)n(t)	*<u>Saint</u> Paul's Cathedral*