SECTION 1
Helping Students Understand That Written and Spoken English Are Different

Many language teachers are gradually shifting from using grammar-translation, audio-lingual, and other more traditional methods of teaching ESL/EFL to more communicative, task-based approaches. Oddly, many instructors continue to teach pronunciation in very traditional ways. Early in ESL/EFL students’ learning, instructors teach the phonemes of English, and they do so with varying degrees of success. Then when the students’ pronunciation remains strikingly foreign, the instructors teach them the phonemes again with no better results. How many times must teachers cover the phonemes before they realize that the phonemes are not enough?

Learning the Phonemes of English Is Not Enough

The problem is a simple one. Learning the phonemes of English is only the first step to learning clear pronunciation. The phonemes are just the basic units, and if teachers never show students how the basic units fit together, the students will continue to sound foreign. Consider the bricks used to make a building. A pile of bricks (the basic units) do not a building make. It is only when the bricks are fit together—in different ways for walls, corners, door frames, window frames, and so forth—that a building makes sense. Yet many teachers insist on giving students a pile of bricks. And when the students fail to organize the pile into a proper building because they have not been instructed in how the bricks fit together, the teacher loses patience and gives them another pile of bricks.

So the essential question is, How do the sounds fit together? The connected speech phenomena explained in this book, along with the connected speech modules provided for teaching connected speech, are the mortar that holds the sounds together. The individual sounds of spoken English change within words, at syllable boundaries, and at the boundaries of words in particular and predictable ways. Depending on the environments in which they are found, vowels become schwa in unstressed syllables, phonemes are dropped, phonemes are added, and phonemes are changed to become more like the phonemes around them. All of which is done, not to make the lives of ESL/EFL learners difficult, but rather to make English smoother and easier to pronounce for the native speakers who use it in daily speech.
Differences Between Written and Spoken English

Why are students and teachers misled into thinking that learning the phonemes will be enough? Perhaps the written language plays a role in this misconception. Most students and teachers learned to read English at some point in their lives by first learning the letters. Each letter was shown to represent a sound. Next they learned to put the letters together into words. Each word had a pronunciation. Why then wouldn’t these steps be the same for pronunciation? Why can’t we just learn the phonemes, and then put them together into words? A written word is a written word and will look the same no matter where it is found.

The spoken language is not that portable. The problem is that a given phoneme can change in pronunciation depending on the context in which it is found. As a result, a particular word, made up of phonemes, may sound very different depending on where it is in the overall intonation and stress pattern, as well as on what precedes and follows it. Adding to this problem is the fact that there are the different dialects and various levels of formality (discussed in the next section). These factors, along with some syntactic constraints, largely govern how the sounds can and will combine.

The problem, of course, is that instructors teach students written English (and a fairly formal version of the written language, to boot), which has considerably less variation in dialects and levels of formality than spoken English. Then, when the students encounter the oral language in English language movies, lectures, and conversations, they suddenly run into much more varied representations of the sounds and words of English than they encountered in the written language. Naturally, many such students have considerable difficulty in both speaking and comprehending oral English.

To begin overcoming this written English handicap, teachers need to talk to students about the differences between written and spoken English. In addition, teachers may find it useful to show students that the spellings in written language can lead to wrong pronunciations of words. The modules in this section were created by teachers to help students understand the differences between written and spoken English, by demonstrating to them that the written language system will often fail them by not corresponding to the spoken language—even in the formal pronunciation known as citation form (i.e., the most “proper” dictionary pronunciation based on the word when it is read precisely in isolation).

MODULE 1.1
Written English Does Not Have Enough Letters

James Dean Brown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Beginner to advanced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aims</td>
<td>Illustrate that there are many more sounds in English than there are letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Show that symbols of written English are not adequate to represent all the sounds in the language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Time</td>
<td>20–30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation Time</td>
<td>10 minutes for duplication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROCEDURE

1. Put the students into pairs and tell them to look at their handout but not at the one you are going to give to the other member of their pair.
2. Pass out the handout in Appendix A to one member of each pair.
3. Pass out the worksheet in Appendix B to the other member of each pair.
4. You can make this activity competitive by offering some sort of prize to the first pair that finishes the activity with all answers correct. Make a note of the order in which pairs finish.
5. Then, go over the answers with the students (using the Answer Key provided in Appendix C). Have the pairs correct their worksheets. Make sure that all of the pairs end up with the right answers by the time they are finished.
6. Now, determine which pair finished first with 100% correct answers.

CAVEATS AND OPTIONS

Similar activities can be developed to answer the following questions:

1. How many of the consonant sounds in the example words in Appendix A are written with one consonant letter, and how many are written with two consonant letters?
2. How many of the vowel sounds in the example words in Appendix A are written with one vowel letter, and how many are written with two vowel letters?
3. Why are all the consonant sounds in the consonant example words in Appendix A at the beginning of the word except for mirage and sing? (Answer: English words cannot begin with these sounds.)

4. Which consonant in the consonant example words in Appendix A is not written? What does _uh _oh in the example words mean? (Answer: a signal that something is wrong.)

If the students need it, you may also want to review the consonant and vowel sounds of English as they are shown in Appendices D and E.

**APPENDIX A: Written and Spoken English Symbols Handout**

The Letters of Written English

The letters in written English consist primarily of the following lower-case set (vowels are in italics):

| a  b  c  d  e  f  g  h  i  j  k  l  m  n  o  p  q  r  s  t  u  v  w  x  y  z |

The Sounds of Spoken English (in IPA symbols)

**Consonants of North American English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/p  t  k ʔ  b  d  g  f  θ  s  ʃ  h  v  ð  z  ʒ  ʧ  ʤ  m  n  ŋ  l  r  w  j/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>papa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_uh _oh (glottal stop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowels of North American English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/a  e  ɛ  æ  ʌ  ə  a  ɔ  o  ʊ  u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diphthongs of North American English**

/læ/ loɪ laʊ /

| buy | boy | bow |

---

**APPENDIX B: Written and Spoken Symbols Worksheet**

**DIRECTIONS:** Ask your partner each of the following questions and answer in the space provided.

1. How many vowels are there in the written English alphabet? ______________
2. Written consonants? _________________________________________________
3. Spoken consonant sounds? ___________________________________________
4. Spoken vowel sounds? ______________________________________________
5. Spoken diphthong sounds? __________________________________________
6. How many sounds total are there in spoken English? ___________________
7. How many letters total are there in written English? ___________________
8. How many more sounds are there in English than there are letters? ________
9. How is that possible? ______________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________

10. List at least five examples of words where two written vowels become one sound in English. These five should show completely different vowel combinations.

_____________________________________________________________________

**APPENDIX C: Written and Spoken Symbols Worksheet Answer Key**

<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 5 2. 21 3. 25 4. 12 5. 3 6. 40 7. 26 8. 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Possible answers: (a) Some written letters are pronounced in several different ways. (b) Some combinations of written letters produce a new pronunciation. (c) Some sounds are not ever written e.g., /a ʔ ? /

10. Example answers: view, road, bread, book, seek, caught
APPENDIX D: Manner and Place of Pronunciation for Consonants of NAE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Pronunciation</th>
<th>Place of Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops (vl)</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops (vd)</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vl)</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives (vd)</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates (vl)</td>
<td>ʧ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates (vd)</td>
<td>ʤ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX E: Position of Pronunciation for Vowels of NAE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(stressed)</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>(unstressed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MODULE 1.2
Word Cloud

Jeff Stewart

Levels  Beginner to low elementary

Aims  Notice differences between spoken and written forms of common words in North American English

Class Time  10–20 minutes
Preparation Time  20–30 minutes in computer lab, 10–15 in class

PROCEDURE
1. Prepare simple 10- to 15-word sentences for dictation. Try to employ several of the common modals, pronouns, prepositions, and verbs listed in Step 2 below. Some examples:
   What’ll you do if we get a lot of people here?
   /wʌdljәduәfwigәdәladәpiplir/
   I want to get it before it rains
   /aiwanәgɛdɪtbәforәtrenz/

2. Write the following words on the board; this list includes basic pronouns, modals, prepositions and verbs that are frequently reduced: a are but can could do did does get go going got have he her his her his here how I if in is it lot my no not of our or she should that the there they this to want we will would what when where who why you your

3. Add any additional words that appear in your sentence dictation below. Optionally, you can write evenly lengthened blanks for each word in the dictated sentence, leaving only the words that are not in the list above. For example, I want to get in before it rains would become ______  ______  ______  ______  ______  ______  ______  ______  before ______ rains

4. Give the dictation; repeat as many times as required. Instruct students to transcribe the dictation, assembling the sentence from the listed common words.

CAVEATS AND OPTIONS
1. Dictations are a useful tool for teaching connected speech. However, obstacles other than the comprehension of connected speech, such as unknown vocabulary, can prevent students from focusing their full attention on these forms. Additionally, in the case of beginners, dictations may simply test what
Many ESL/EFL students tend to pronounce most words in English in their strong citation forms because they have little or no idea that there are strong and weak forms of words in English. For example, many students seem to believe that to and two should always be pronounced as /tu/, and for and four as /fɔː/. This may be a big problem in both listening and speaking in some authentic situations, such as when they tell a native English speaker their addresses (e.g., 2442 Broad Street) or zip codes (e.g., 92442), or when they ask or confirm the score when they are watching a sporting event like baseball, basketball, or soccer.

I designed this exercise with a focus on the prepositions to and for and the numbers two and four because the citation forms for each pair are the same but in connected speech the prepositions are usually pronounced in their weak forms /tə/ and /fər/, and the numbers in strong citation forms /tu/ and /fɔː/. Hopefully, through this exercise, students will learn that to and two, and for and four should be pronounced differently even though they have the same citation forms.

PROCEDURE

1. Ask the students their addresses after demonstrating how to give addresses in English (e.g., 542 Broad Street should be spoken as five four two Broad Street or five forty-two Broad Street). Show them how to give the score of a sporting event as well (e.g., 42–14 is spoken forty-two to fourteen).

2. Have the students listen as you read (a few times) the short statements with the numbers and the prepositions in Appendix A. Pass out the worksheet (Appendix C) and have them write in the blanks what they hear as you read students do and do not already know; if they accurately write the sentence, it could simply show that they already knew the connected speech form, and if not, that they did not know the connected speech form.
Appendix B out loud in a natural conversational manner (i.e., connected with the prepositions pronounced in their weak forms).

3. Give the students the correct answers. Have them think about and discuss where and why they made mistakes and explain that the prepositions and the numbers are pronounced differently in connected speech.

4. Also have the students work in pairs in which they listen to the dialogs in Appendix B and dictate the missing parts in Appendix C to another student.

CAVEATS AND OPTIONS
Nonnative-English-speaking teachers may wish to use recordings made by native English speakers instead of reading the statements and dialogs themselves.

APPENDIX A: Script A
1. My address is 248 Maple Street.  6. Train 4 to New York
2. My address is 2248 Maple Street.  7. Train for New York
3. My address is 2428 Maple Street.  8. Tickets to Japan
4. The score is 42 to 40. 9. Two tickets to Denmark
5. The score is 40 to 40.

APPENDIX B: Script B
3. A: Which gate am I supposed to go to?  B: Gate 4 to Japan.
4. A: Which gate am I supposed to go to?  B: Gate 2 for Japan.

APPENDIX C: Student Worksheet
3. A: Which gate am I supposed to go to?  B: Gate (               ) (               ) Japan.
4. A: Which gate am I supposed to go to?  B: Gate (               ) (               ) Japan.

MODULE 1.4
One Spelling, Three Sounds
Masao Tada

Levels  Pre-intermediate to intermediate (words should be chosen according to the level of the learners)

Aims  Become aware of different pronunciations that can arise from the same spelling (in this case *ou*).

Practice pronouncing words with different sound–spelling correspondences.

Class Time  15 minutes

Preparation Time  30–60 minutes

PROCEDURE
1. Prepare a handout of words that contain the target spelling *ou* with target vowels underlined (see example words in Appendix A).
2. Using index cards, create a set of cards for each pair of students. Write a word with the target *ou* spelling on each card (see example words in Appendix A). Shuffle the cards for each set.
3. Prepare two sheets of paper for each pair of students. On each sheet of paper, draw a five-column chart with headings for each of the possible pronunciations for the *ou* spelling (*i.e., /ʌ/, /ʊ/, /o/, /u/, and /au*/).
4. Put students in pairs.
5. Write on the board that the *ou* spelling in *country* is pronounced /ʌ/, the *ou* spelling in *could* is pronounced /ʊ/, the *ou* spelling in *though* is pronounced /o/, the *ou* spelling in *through* is pronounced /u/, and the *ou* spelling in *out* is pronounced /au/.
6. Give out a set of cards and two of the prepared charts to each pair.
7. Explain to students that they will work in pairs, taking turns reading the words on the cards aloud. At first, Student A should read the words from each card aloud, and Student B should write the words on her sheet in the columns based on Student A's pronunciation. After Student A has read aloud all the words in the set of cards, Student B should then read the words aloud, and Student A should write the words in the columns on her sheet that fit Student B's pronunciation. Tell the students that they should not ask questions or discuss the pronunciation of the words at this point.
8. Tell the students that their final task is to work in pairs and agree how to sort the cards into five pronunciation piles. Tell the students that they can use a dictionary if they are not sure of the pronunciation of any word with the ou spelling.

9. Have one pair of students come to the front and show each of the cards and read the words aloud.

CAVEATS AND OPTIONS

1. The same activity can be used for any other sound–spell matching sets such as ie spellings and ea spellings (see Appendix B for examples).

2. To lessen your workload and preparation time, you may want to have the students collect words for each target spelling as homework.

APPENDIX A: List of Examples of Words With ou Spellings

could, rough, country, dangerous, sound, through, though, ground, out, bounce, young, conscious, round, should, tough, about, shout, would, course, variations, and you

APPENDIX B: List of Examples of Words With ie and ea Spellings

RELATIVELY EASY—WORDS WITH ie SPELLINGS: if, il, ail, and /i/ for die, believe, lie, retry, doggie, pig, hygiene, lie, besiege, impatient, convenience, achieve, priest, friend, tries, alien, orient, relieve, conscience, calorie, chief, efficient, field, brief, grief

MORE DIFFICULT—WORDS WITH ea SPELLINGS: if, i, /e/, /æ/, /ə/, /a/, /u/, and /u/ for clean, taper, cage, wear, brush, deaf, appear, heard, clear, hear, bear, fear, deaf. Easter, heart, breathe, already, heat, saves, beard, fresh, dean, shear, eat, beef, appease, cheat, bread, conceal, appeal, beautiful, reach, leaf, pleasure, earn, easy, head, bureau, heap, east, chateau, tear, bleach, decrease, beauty, dreary, creature, earth, Jean, cream, dread, near, bean, breath, please, wear, defeat, bearer, feast, treat, dear, search, year, speak, near, beam, breach, grease, bleak, breast, ear, feature, death, league, tableaux, search, beacon, east

MODULE 1.5
Teaching the Flap Sound With a Dialog
Keita Kikuchi

Levels | Low to intermediate
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Aims | Understand and practice the flap, which occurs often in connected speech

Class Time | 15 minutes
Preparation Time | 15 minutes

When /t/ and /d/ are between two vowels and the first vowel is stressed, the /t/ or /d/ sounds are sometimes pronounced as a flap in North American English speech. A flap is “an articulation in which the tongue briefly touches a firm surface of the mouth once” (Richards, Schmidt, Kendricks, & Kim, 2002, p. 203). Whereas teachers may like to use activities involving minimal pairs (e.g., better–batter) or tongue twisters such as “Betsy had a bit of batter but that made her batter batter, so Betsy bought a bit of batter batter and made her batter batter” (italics are added for flaps), students may prefer to practice flaps while talking with other students.

PROCEDURE

1. Use the definition at the top of the handout in the Appendix to explain the flap sound to the students.

2. Have the students practice the dialog in the Appendix in pairs, while alternately taking the roles of David and Jack. You may want to circulate around the class and check how well students are pronouncing the flap sound. It will probably be best at this point not to interfere too much with their practice.

3. You should then read the dialog out loud, while emphasizing the flap sounds (i.e., where there are italics in the dialog).

4. Have students notice that these flap sounds are between two vowels and that they occur when the first vowel is stressed.

5. Have students practice the flap sound first, and then have them read the dialog in pairs several more times, alternatively playing the roles of David and Jack.
CAVEATS AND OPTIONS

1. You may later want to introduce various other features of connected speech and have the students practice the same dialog again. Here are some phrases in the dialog that can be introduced that might be useful in casual connected speech: what’s up, kinda, never mind, catch ya later, and meetcha.

2. Naturally, if students like this kind of conversation practice, you can make follow-up activities like role plays where students mingle with each other at a cocktail party and practice small talk (with a particular focus on meaning while practicing flap sounds).

APPENDIX: Dialog Handout

When /t/ and /d/ are between two vowels and the first vowel is stressed, the /t/ or /d/ sounds are sometimes pronounced as a flap in North American English speech. A flap is “an articulation in which the tongue briefly touches a firm surface of the mouth once” (Richards, Schmidt, Kendricks, & Kim, 2002, p. 203).

Dialog at a Party at a Nightclub

DAVID. Hey, there.

JACK. What’s up?.

DAVID. Is this your first time at this club?

JACK. Yeah, kinda. One of my best friends introduced me to the club last month. I was born and raised in New York City, but I’ve been in Chicago since my dad moved here.

DAVID. Do you think you’ll get along well in this city?

JACK. Yeah, I guess so. Hey, by the way, were you hitting on that girl over there?

DAVID. Oh, man. Are you interested in getting to know her? That’s my girlfriend, Susan. Do you want me to introduce you to her? Let’s go together and talk to her.

JACK. Oh, if she’s your girlfriend, never mind. Anyway, I’d better go. Catch ya later.

DAVID. Nice to meetcha. Enjoy the party.

MODULE 1.6

Connected Speech Diary: Differences Between Written and Spoken English

James Dean Brown

Now that students are aware of some of the differences between written and spoken English, you may want to try this variation of a diary activity suggested by Norris (1994). Keeping a diary can facilitate awareness of the connected speech features of natural spoken English, and also help students increase the number of connected speech features they notice, understand, and use. The hope is that students will continue noticing such connected speech features long after they have finished your English class.

PROCEDURE

1. Assign students the weekly task of keeping a connected speech diary. Encourage them to carry a small notepad or even just a piece of paper and pencil, so they can jot down features of spoken English that they notice are different from the written language. They can do this while listening in ESL/EFL classes, conversations, lectures, movies, television, radio news, and so forth.

2. Practice this in class by playing a recorded popular song in English (be sure to select one that has plenty of connected speech features) and having them jot down any such written/spoken language differences they notice while they are listening. You may want to play the song several times.

3. Assign the Connected Speech Diary (see Appendix) and read the directions aloud to the students.
Collect the students’ diaries on a specific due date and make comments—commenting on those written/spoken language differences they have noticed and answering any questions they might pose about such differences.

**CAVEATS AND OPTIONS**

1. An alternative or additional diary activity may reap further benefits in the students’ awareness of the pervasiveness and importance of written/spoken language differences. This activity will involve having the students jot down such written/spoken differences when they are listening to speakers of their own L1. Oddly, students often find these differences more difficult to notice in their L1 than in English. But such features will be present, especially when their mother language is being used colloquially.

2. The next logical step is to have students reflect (in discussion or in writing) on whether the written/spoken differences in their L1 are the same or different in English.

3. This activity can be adapted for all sections of this book.

**APPENDIX: Handout—Keeping a Connected Speech Diary**

Your homework assignment is to keep a connected speech diary. Please carry a small notepad (or even just a piece of paper) and pencil, and try to notice how speakers of English pronounce the language differently from the way it is written. Then, write down at least 10 ways the sounds in spoken English are different from the written language. You can do this whenever you find yourself listening to English, like in your English classes, conversations, lectures, movies, television, radio news, and so forth. Also write down any questions that occur to you during the week about the differences between spoken and written English.

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1. For nonalphabetic languages, the students may have to reflect on differences between the spoken language and the Romanized or syllabary versions of their written language.

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**SECTION 2**

**Preparing Students to Accept the Ideas of Connected Speech**

It would be wrong to think that most students and many teachers of English as a second or foreign language (ESL or EFL) think that the learners should study proper or standard English. If asked to define what proper English is, however, those same people would be hard-pressed to define what they mean by either proper or standard, instead referring vaguely to the Queen of England, or broadcast English in North America (which itself is difficult to define), or some such notion (for more on these notions, see Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1999). The problem is that native English speakers tend to define the language in terms of what they speak, and dialects as what other people speak. And, most people, whether a native speaker (NS) or nonnative speaker (NNS) of English tend to define proper or standard English as the formal language, typically related closely to the written formal language and grammar. Such ways of defining proper or standard English in terms of the written language pose a number of problems, some of which I discussed in the previous section. Here, I will address the written language bias in terms of levels of formality.

**Levels of formality.** From ponderous academic books with erudite vocabulary and deeply embedded syntax, to lighter fiction with dialog (simulated spoken language), to cartoons, written English varies a great deal in level of formality, from very formal to simulated colloquial. However, with the exception of contractions (which have their own relatively strict rules) and a few dialectically different lexical items like program/programme and analyze/analyse, the vast majority of the words in written English are spelled the same (with exactly the same letters) no matter where those words may be found.

The same cannot be said for the words and sounds of spoken English. Levels of formality in spoken language vary from what Joos (1966) called the frozen or oratorical level (e.g., Participants should remain seated throughout the ceremony), to formal or deliberate (e.g., Those taking part should sit during the proceedings), to consultative (e.g., Would you please sit during the proceedings), to casual (e.g., Don’t get up), to intimate (e.g., Sit tight). In addition to syntactic differences like those shown in parentheses above, the pronunciation will vary on a fairly finely graded continuum from a very pedantic formal style of pronunciation to a very casual or intimate style of pronunciation. Such differences apply to the pronunciations of some of the individual phonemes, but perhaps more importantly for those NNSs trying to comprehend spoken English, such differences in word and utterance stress-rules, and other pronunciation rules of connected speech, differ a great deal from level to level of formality.

In short, while the spelling of written English is very similar across levels of