BMA–ANGD–A2 Linguistic theory
An overview of English prosody

Zoltán G. Kiss

Dept. of English Linguistics, Eötvös Loránd University

outline

- ▶ usually research on accent differences focus on **segmental** phonological aspects
- ▶ e.g. E *man – men* have different vowels; *based, kissed,* etc. have a voiceless /t/ word-final deletion of /b g/ after nasals: *tomb, bomb; sing, ringing,* etc., etc.
- ▶ **suprasegmental** level, the **prosody** is often ignored, even though this gives the "baseline" of the pronunciation, mistakes in it give away "foreign" accent, too
- ▶ overview of prosody, its components, basic regularities, with some mentions how English and Hungarian prosody may be different, and they are very different!

prosody /**prɔ́səd̪ɪj**/

- examination of units **larger than the word**: in phrases and in sentences
- the elements of prosody are also called **suprasegmentals**: they appear in units 'above' the segments: e.g., the syllable
- prosody = the study of **stress**, **rhythm** and **intonation**
- other suprasegmentals: speed (or speech rate or tempo) and key (or voice height or pitch) – these are extralinguistic features, not used for contrast, they accompany language behaviour

stress

- ▶ stress = the **relative prominence of a syllable** over another
- ▶ 'prominence' = basically, **loudness**
- ▶ *da-da-DA-da-da-DA-da*
- ▶ prominence cannot only be signalled by loudness but it can be enhanced by other features, too (e.g., length)

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*
- ▶ underline the **syllables**

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*
- ▶ underline the **syllables**
- ▶ *Je̲re̲my̲ pla̲yed the̲ gui̲ta̲r.*

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*
- ▶ underline the **syllables**
- ▶ *Je̲re̲my̲ pla̲yed the̲ gu̲ita̲r.*
- ▶ mark the **stressed syllables** with an accent

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*
- ▶ underline the **syllables**
- ▶ *Je̲re̲my̲ pla̲yed the gui̲ta̲r.*
- ▶ mark the **stressed syllables** with an accent
- ▶ *Jé̲re̲my̲ plá̲yed the gui̲tá̲r.*

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*
- ▶ underline the **syllables**
- ▶ *Je̱re̱my̱ pla̱yed the gui̱ta̱r.*
- ▶ mark the **stressed syllables** with an accent
- ▶ *Jére̱my̱ pláyed the guitár.*
- ▶ *Jére̱my̱ pláyed the gui̱tár.* – 3 stressed syllables, number of **feet** = **3**

rhythm

- ▶ rhythm/beat = the way stressed syllables follow each other, forming (rhythmic) **feet**
- ▶ a **foot** = a stressed syllable plus the unstressed syllables that follow it
- ▶ *Jeremy played the guitar.*
- ▶ underline the **syllables**
- ▶ *J͟e͟r͟e͟m͟y͟ p͟l͟a͟y͟e͟d the g͟u͟i͟t͟a͟r.*
- ▶ mark the **stressed syllables** with an accent
- ▶ *J͟é͟r͟e͟m͟y͟ p͟l͟á͟y͟e͟d the g͟u͟i͟t͟á͟r.*
- ▶ *J͟é͟r͟e͟m͟y͟ p͟l͟á͟y͟e͟d the g͟u͟i͟t͟á͟r.* – 3 stressed syllables, number of **feet** = **3**
- ▶ | *J͟é͟r͟e͟m͟y͟* | *p͟l͟á͟y͟e͟d the g͟u͟i͟* | *t͟á͟r.*

rhythm, prosodic feet

- ▶ each sentence has a particular **rhythm**: the sequence of the stressed syllables = beats
- ▶ the beats follow each other more or less regularly = isochronicity
- ▶ English is **stressed-timed**, it has stressed-timed rhythm
- ▶ a sentence in pronunciation will be as long as many stresses there are in it and not as long as many syllables there are in it
- ▶ **syllable-timed** languages (e.g. Hu): a sentence with 6 syllables is half as long as a sentence with 12 syllables
- ▶ stressed-timed: a sent. with 6 syllables may be exactly as long as a sent. with 12 syllables if the number of stresses is the same
- ▶ **reduction**

intonation

- ▶ intonation = the changes in the height of the voice (the **pitch**)
- ▶ *da-da ↗-da-da-da- ↗-da-da*
- ▶ intonation is like melody
- ▶ loudness (stress) + pitch (intonation) combine together to create the most prominent syllable in a sentence/phrase/word: the **tonic**
- ▶ *DA-da-da-DA-da-da-↘DA*
- ▶ *Jéremy | pláyed the gui | ↘tár.*
- ▶ *da-DA-da-da-DA-da-da- ↗DA*
- ▶ *Did | Jéremy | pláyed the gui | ↗tár?*

The End-Weight Principle/Rule

▶ If there is a sequence of equal stresses, the **last** must become the strongest = the most prominent. = The prosodic "weight" of an utterance must be at the end.

▶ this last stressed syllable is the **tonic**:

*néw ↘**bóok***   *Amánda ↘**Có**linder*   *sít ↘**dówn***

*consíderable ex↘**pén**ses*   *útterly de↘**strúc**tive*   *He críticized ↘**év**erything.*

*The chíldren mánaged to cárry the súitcases to the édge of the ↘**róund**about.*

*únbe↘**líe**vable*

▶ thus, the tonic is the **only primary stress in the word/phrase/ sentence, everything else is downgraded to secondary**

primary stress vs. secondary stress

- **primary stress of a word/phrase/sentence** = a stressed syllable where – when the word is used in a sentence – the pitch may change, i.e., **the stressed syllable which may potentially become the tonic when put in a sentence**
- **secondary stress of a word/phrase/sentence** = a stressed syllable, which is always before the primary-stressed syllable and which does not become a tonic when used in a sentence

- INPUT: *Her new film is unbelievable.*
- STRESS PLACEMENT: *Her néw fílm is únbelíevable.*   0 1 1 0 10100
- TONIC PLACEMENT: *Her néw fílm is únbe-* ↘*líevable.*   0 2 2 0 20**1**00

primary stress vs. secondary stress

- *Ráchel + was + háppy + to + cýcle + hóme* →
- *Ráchel was háppy to cýcle **hóme**.* = 20 0 20 0 20 1

- *véry + níce + péople* → *véry níce **péople*** = 20 2 10

your turn: give the stress levels

▶ *Amanda spent a year in the forest.*

your turn: give the stress levels

- *Amanda spent a year in the forest.*
- *Amánda spént a yéar in the **fó**rest.* = 020 2 0 2 00 **1**0

z. g. kiss (elte|delg)
m.a. | prosody
11 / 46

your turn: give the stress levels

- *Amanda spent a year in the forest.*
- *Amánda spént a yéar in the **fó**rest.* = 020 2 0 2 00 **1**0

- *Jim was interested in international law.*

your turn: give the stress levels

- *Amanda spent a year in the forest.*
- *Amánda spént a yéar in the **fó**rest.* = 020 2 0 2 00 **1**0

- *Jim was interested in international law.*
- *Jím was ínterested in ínternátional **láw**.* = 2 0 200 0 20200 **1**

The Rhythm Rule

- ▶ as we have seen, each stressed syllable begins a foot:
  | *Jím* | *pláyed* | *ténnis.*
- ▶ often the stressed syllable in the middle is deleted:
  | *Jím* ₒ*played* | *ténnis.*
- ▶ when three stresses come too closely together, English tends to delete the middle one
- ▶ the stress is deleted but the vowel remains full – thus, the syllable becomes tertiary "stressed"
- ▶ *níce óld láedy* 221 → *níce old láedy* 231
- ▶ *Jápanése gárden* 20210 → *Jápanese gárden* 20310
- ▶ the Rhythm Rule has two applications depending on the position of the middle, deleted stress: 1. between words or 2. within a (longer) word

Rhythmic medial stress deletion ("nice old lady" rule)

▶ when three words with main stresses come closely together, with maximally one unstressed syllable between them, the stressed syllable in the middle may optionally be deleted (= reduced to 3ry: vowel quality does not change, the vowel remains a "full" vowel)

▶ instead of 3 feet there are 2 now:

Foot 1	Foot 2	Foot 3
níce	*óld*	*lády*
níce ₒold	*lády*	

▶ this reduction is purely a rhythmic rule and is not connected to meaning or emphasis or grammatical role of the word

▶ other examples:
  ▶ *véry níce **péo**ple* → *véry ₒnice **péo**ple*
  ▶ *my són spéaks **Hín**di* → *my són ₒspeaks **Hín**di*
  ▶ *we stóod ríght **thére*** → *we stóod ₒright **thére***

Rhythmic stress shift ("afternoon tea" rule)

▶ if a longer word, with two stresses, is immediately (or with just one unstressed syllable between them) followed by a stressed word, the middle stress may optionally be deleted (= reduced to 3ry)

▶ *áfter**nóon*** 201
but: *áfter₀noon **téa*** 203 1

▶ the stress in the longer word basically "shifts": 2 1 → 2 3

▶ other examples:
  ▶ *Jápa**nése*** → *Jápa₀ese **gár**den*
  ▶ *fíf**téen*** → *fíf₀teen **gírls***
  ▶ *sár**díne*** → *sár₀dine **sánd**wich*
  ▶ *démo**crá**tic* → *démo₀cratic **cóun**try*

nice old lady = afternoon tea

Foot 1	Foot 2	Foot 3
níce	*óld*	*lády*
níce ₒold	*lády*	
áfter	*nóon*	*téa*
áfter ₒnoon	*téa*	

your turn: give the stress levels

► *Ann's two dogs ran wild.*

your turn: give the stress levels

- *Ann's two dogs ran wild.*
- *Ánn's twó dógs rán **wíld**. = 2 2 2 2 1 →*

your turn: give the stress levels

- *Ann's two dogs ran wild.*
- *Ánn's twó dógs rán **wíld**. =* 2 2 2 2 **1** $\rightarrow$
- *Ánn's* $_o$*two dógs* $_o$*ran **wíld**. =* 2 3 2 3 **1**

locating phrase/sentence stress

▶ in connected speech, the general rule is to **stress every content-word**, and leave **function-words unstressed**

▶ *I think Amanda should write Jennifer a letter.*

▶ *I thínk Amánda should wríte Jénnifer a létter.*

▶ **content-words:** N, V, Adj, Adv (including adverb particles: *get **up**, sit **down***, numerals, interrogative & demonstrative pronouns (*who, this, that*), negative words (*not, won't*)

▶ **function-words:** auxiliaries, pronouns, articles, conjunctions, prepositions

your turn: which words are stressed?

▶ *They offered to pay but I don't want them to.*

your turn: which words are stressed?

▶ *They offered to pay but I don't want them to.*
▶ *They óffered to páy but I dón't wánt them to.*

your turn: which words are stressed?

▶ *They offered to pay but I don't want them to.*
▶ *They óffered to páy but I dón't wánt them to.*
▶ *They óffered to páy but I dón't **wánt** them to.*

the tone unit

We decided to come back in October.

elements of the tone-unit

elements of the tone-unit

▶ incomplete foot/silent beat (upbeat): **pre-head** = has no stress, indicated by the caret ($_\wedge$)

▶ body/**head**

▶ **tonic foot** has the **tonic**, in English the strongest stress due to the EWR; after the tonic: **tail**

the tone-unit and its rhythm

Pre-head	Head	Tonic	Tail
We de-	cíded to cóme báck in Oc-	↘**tó-**	*ber.*
	Jéremy pláyed the gui-	↘**tár**.	
I re-		↘**mém-**	*ber.*
		↘**Nó**.	
	Únbe-	↘**líe-**	*vable!*
He	wróte a grámmar of Jápa-	↘**nése**.	
In	frónt of the Swán	↘**Thé-**	*atre,*
there's an in-	crédibly úgly	↘**pé-**	*trol station.*

compounds

compounds

▶ *We sáw an incrédibly úgly **pé**trol station.*

compounds

- *We sáw an incrédibly úgly **pé**trol station.*
- stress in ***pé**trol station* is 1o 3o

compounds

- ▶ *We sáw an incrédibly úgly **pé**trol station.*
- ▶ stress in ***pé**trol station* is 10 30
- ▶ but based on the End-Weight Rule, shouldn't it be *pétrol **stá**tion* 20 10?

compounds

- *We sáw an incrédibly úgly **pé**trol station.*
- stress in ***pé**trol station* is 1o 3o
- but based on the End-Weight Rule, shouldn't it be *pétrol **stá**tion* 2o 1o?
- no, because it is a **compound**

what are compounds?

- ▶ lexical(ized) units made up of two or more free stems (= words), they are not created "online", like phrases
- ▶ compounds often have something special in their meaning, something beyond the mere sum of their parts
- ▶ *He bought a <u>new car</u>. Have you seen the <u>black car</u>?*
- ▶ *blackboard, blackbird, mousepad, paperback, railway, hard disk, coffee shop*

spelling of compounds

- ▶ not consistent. . .
- ▶ one word: *greenhouse, schoolboy, dishwasher, egghead, screensaver*
- ▶ with a hyphen: *word-final, write-off, can-opener, fun-loving, hair-raising*
- ▶ most are written as two words: *car ferry, geography teacher, Fifth Street, brick wall, fire alarm*
- ▶ similar in Hungarian: *rézdrót* 'copper wire', *jószívű* 'kind-hearted'; *káposzta-savanyító* 'cabbage-sourer'; *mérges kígyó* 'venomous snake', *bakot lő* 'blunder'

stressing of compounds

▶ 2 types of compounds with respect to stress

▶ **initially-stressed compounds, pattern: [[1] [3]]**: *gréenhouse, cár ferry, compúter virus, Fífth Street*

▶ **finally-stressed compounds, pattern: [[2] [1]]**: *tráde únion, frúit sálad, Victória Státion, Fífth Ávenue*

▶ which compound has which stress pattern is mostly lexical (has to be learnt)

stress in phrases and compounds

- ▶ stress in phrases: End-Weight Rule: tonic on the last content word
- ▶ *(We are using a) new book.*
- ▶ *(We are úsing a) néw* ↘ ***bóok.*** 2 **1**

- ▶ initially-stressed compound: **the Compound Stress Rule** "bleeds" the End-Weight Rule (= once two words have been compounded, the position of the tonic stays fixed):
- ▶ *(I'll make some) orange juice.*
- ▶ Compound Stress R.: *(I'll máke some)* ↘ ***órange*** *juice.* **1** 3
- ▶ End-Weight R.: — doesn't apply —
- ▶ **órange* ↘ ***júice*** (2 **1**)

your turn: give the stress pattern

► *Some people have red skin.*

your turn: give the stress pattern

▶ *Some people have red skin.*
▶ *Some péople háve <u>réd **skín**</u>.* (phrase: 2 **1**)

your turn: give the stress pattern

- *Some people have red skin.*
- *Some péople háve <u>réd **skín**</u>.* (phrase: 2 **1**)

- *That man is a red skin.*

your turn: give the stress pattern

- *Some people have red skin.*
- *Some péople háve <u>réd **skín**</u>.* (phrase: 2 **1**)

- *That man is a red skin.*
- *That mán is a <u>**réd** skin.</u>* (compound: **1** 3)

your turn: give the stress pattern

- *Some people have red skin.*
- *Some péople háve réd **skín**.* (phrase: 2 **1**)

- *That man is a red skin.*
- *That mán is a **réd** skin.* (compound: **1** 3)

- *I met an English teacher.*

your turn: give the stress pattern

- *Some people have red skin.*
- *Some péople háve réd **skín**.* (phrase: 2 **1**)

- *That man is a red skin.*
- *That mán is a **réd** skin.* (compound: **1** 3)

- *I met an English teacher.*
- as a phrase: *I mét an Énglish **téa**cher.* 2 **1**

your turn: give the stress pattern

- ▶ *Some people have red skin.*
- ▶ *Some péople háve réd **skín**.* (phrase: 2 **1**)

- ▶ *That man is a red skin.*
- ▶ *That mán is a **réd** skin.* (compound: **1** 3)

- ▶ *I met an English teacher.*
- ▶ as a phrase: *I mét an Énglish **téa**cher.* 2 **1**
- ▶ as a compound: *I mét an **Én**glish teacher.* **1** 3

finally-stressed compounds

▶ prosodically they are like phrases (but not syntactically/semantically!), stress pattern: 2 **1**

▶ *That's a néw wáll.* (phrase) = *That's a bríck wáll.* (compound)

▶ *The wrestler had a very cómpact bódy.* (phrase)
   = *Very few people use a cómpact dísk.* (compound)

finally-stressed compounds: nouns

▶ '2 is/is made of 1': *bríck **wáll***, *frúit **sálád***, *potátó **chíps***
▶ '2 is (a) 1': *tóy **sóldier***, *chíld **áctor***, *Lórd **Máyor***, *júnk **fóod***
▶ names of places (except *Street*): *Fífth **Ávenue***, *Céntral **Párk***, *Victória **Státion***, *Héroes' **Squáre***, *Crómwell **Róad***, *Lóndon **Brídge***, — but: ***Fífth** Street*
▶ initials: *DJ* /díj dʒéj/, *OK* /ə́w kéj/, *BBC* /bíjbíjsíj/, *MTV* /ɛ́mtíjvíj/
▶ others: *Sócial **Démocrat***, *bláck **márket***, *Cóca-**Cóla***, *wéek**énd*** (AmE: ***wéek**end*)

tonic placement: neutral tonic/neutral tonicity

tonic placement: neutral tonic/neutral tonicity

▶ Pát's fáther is an extrémely rích ↘**mán**.

▶ Tím's áunt is a níce old ↘**lády**. – Laci nagynénje ↘**helyes** öreg néni.

▶ The óthers wéren't ↘**lístening**. – A többiek ↘**nem** figyeltek.

neutral tonic and auxiliaries

▶ an auxiliary has the tonic if there is no further stressable word in the sentence

▶ Yés, we ↘**máy**.   Jím álways ↘**dóes**.

▶ BUT: when a sentence-final auxiliary is preceded by its own stressed subject, the tonic falls on the subject and the auxiliary is unstressed

▶ You pláy bétter than ↘**Jím** does.
I wónder whén the **e**↘**xám** will be.

▶ note: auxiliaries are usually stressed at the beginning of a sentence:
Cóuld you cáll me ↘**láter**?

neutral tonic and adverbial particles

- ▶ the adverb particle in phrasal verbs is usually stressed
- ▶ She tríed **ón** the ↘**hát**.

- ▶ it is tonic-bearing after a verb or after an unstressed pronoun
- ▶ Gét ↘**úp**!   She tríed it ↘**ón**.   Whát did she trý ↘**ón**?

- ▶ BUT: it is unstressed after a noun
- ▶ She tríed the ↘**hát** on.

neutral tonic and prepositions

- prepositions never receive the neutral tonic
- [try on] [NP]   [depend] [on NP]

  She tríed ón the ↘**hát**.   A lót depénds on the ↘**wéather**.

  She tríed the ↘**hát** on.   *A lot depends the weather on.*

  She tríed it ↘**ón**.   A lót **de↘pénds** on it.

  Whát did she trý ↘**ón**?   Whát does it **de↘pénd** on?

dislocated tonic

▶ the tonic is placed on some other word than where it would normally fall in order to express some communicative surplus by highlighting some element; you deviate from the neutral pattern – but even here there are rules!

▶
Jáne bóught thrée rábbits in the ＼**márket**.   – neutral tonic placement

Jáne ＼**BÓUGHT** three rabbits in the market.
(. . . she didn't just see them.)   – dislocated tonic pl.

dislocated tonic for lexical contrast

dislocated tonic for lexical contrast

- ▶ (Why don't you throw away this old dictionary?) — We ↘**ÚSE** it!
- ▶ **lexical contrast/"emphasis"**
- ▶ Tim was so drunk he literally ↘**CRÁWLED** on the floor. (instead of walking)
- ▶ (She sounds Welsh to me.) — That's because she ↘**ÍS** Welsh.
- ▶ (Is it under the desk?) — No, it is ↘**ÓN** the desk.

dislocated tonic for verbal modality contrast

- ▶ (When will the boys write the application?) — They ↘**ÁRE** writing it.
  (tense contrast: future vs. present)
- ▶ *They are ↘**WRÍTING** it.
- ▶ (You ought to use this dictionary.) — We ↘**DÓ** use it.
  (mood contrast: conditional vs. indicative)
- ▶ tense and mood — modality
- ▶ (Shouldn't Joe study classical music?) — He ↘**DÓES** study classical music.
- ▶ in modality contrast, the dislocated tonic always falls on an auxiliary, if there is no auxiliary, it falls on dummy *do* (*do*-support)

# dislocated tonic for polarity contrast

- ▶ (I suppose you're not members.) — We ↘**ÁRE** members.
- ▶ Hu.: Dehogynem, ↘**tagok** vagyunk.
- ▶ (You don't use this dictionary, I suppose.) — We ↘**DÓ** use it.
- ▶ polarity: positive vs. negative, yes/no
- ▶ (Tim wasn't so drunk he didn't crawl on the floor.) — Oh, yes, he ↘**DÍD** crawl the floor.

# dislocated tonic for old vs. new information

▶ (Was the headmaster angry about it?)
— I dídn't ↘**TÉLL** the headmaster.

▶ this is not contrast; you destress *headmaster* because that's the old/known/given/supposed information, and by destressing the old info., you highlight the new information: *didn't téll*

▶ the destressed element tells us that it is a known information

▶ old/given/destressed information: **anaphora** ('referring back')

▶ (Was the headmaster angry about it?)
— I dídn't ↘**TÉLL** the headmaster.   *lexical anaphora*
                                    him.   *pronoun = grammatical anaphora*
                                    the old fool.   *"coloured" anaphora*
                                    the idiot.

dislocated tonic for old vs. new information

- ▶ (We only serve Indian food here.) — That's fine, I ↘**WÁNT** Indian.
  (Rendben van, én ↘**indiait** akarok.)
- ▶ (They had a holiday on the Bahamas.) — How interesting, I was
  ↘**BORN** on the Bahamas.
  (Milyen érdekes, én a ↘**Bahamákon** születtem.)

intonation

intonation

ˆWe de|cíded to |cóme |báck in Oc|tóber.

Pre-head　　　　　Head　　　　　Tonic　Tail
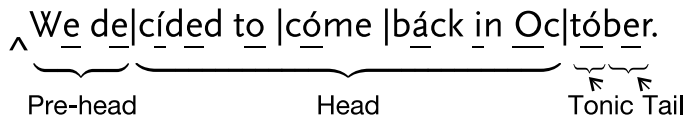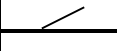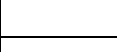
downdrift
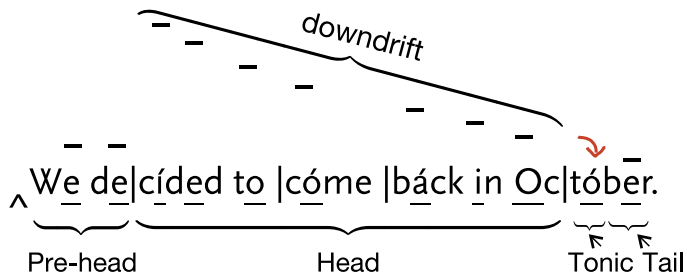
intonation: the four English tones

Type	Name	Diagram	Examples	
Falling	**Fall**		↘Joe	↘Orange
Rising	**Fall-rise**		\↗Joe	\↗Orange
	Low rise		↗Joe	↗Orange
	High rise		↗Joe	↗Orange

falling tone

- statements: There ísn't enóugh ↘**tíme**.
- commands: Kéep you dóors sáfely ↘**lócked**.
- wh-questions: Whát's her néw **a**↘**ddréss**?

fall-rise tone

- implication of something unsaid:
  (Shall we go by car?) — $\diagdown\nearrow$**Fíne**. (. . . but I won't drive.)
- We háven't héard them $\diagdown\nearrow$**ónce**. (but we heard them many times)

low rise tone

- indifference:
  (What's your favourite colour?) — ↗**Blúe**.
- Thát's ↗**ínteresting**.
- greetings:
  Góod ↗**mórning**.

high rise tone

▶ yes/no questions:
Díd you párk the ↗**cár**?

▶ echo questions ('please repeat'):
(Jennifer is in Kuala Lumpur.) — ↗**WHÉRE'S** Jennifer?!!