



Linguistics

Elixir Linguistics 44C (2012) 7093-7101

Elixir
ISSN: 2229-712X

Omission of Schwa in Pakistani English

Farheen Ahmed Hashmi

National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 16 January 2012;

Received in revised form:

17 February 2012;

Accepted: 26 February 2012;

Keywords

Pakistani English,
Phonological deviations,
Schwa,
Variety.

ABSTRACT

The present research is about the omission of schwa in Pakistani English as observed in the electronic media of Pakistan and can be taken as an extension of the works carried out by Tariq Rahman, Robert J. Baumgardner, and Riaz Hassan. The research has been carried out in order to determine the variations emerging in the variety of English used in Pakistan. It has been observed that this variety abounds in phonological deviations which are so recurrent in their frequency that they have emerged as a distinct linguistic feature of this variety. Among these phonological variations schwa has been found to be the most peculiar in its behaviour. In order to determine its peculiar behaviour the research was conducted on 750 participants taken from 200 current affairs programmes from four domestic news channels, and the participants were observed for the phonological variations in their speech. It was found out that omission of schwa is a regular feature of Pakistani English.

© 2012 Elixir All rights reserved.

Introduction

Language and media are closely associated with each other. Any language needs a medium for its spread, continuation and survival. Language teachers and researchers no doubt play an important role in this regard, yet the number of learners, the allotted time, lack of teacher training and updating of teaching methodologies and curriculum are some of the concerns which pose serious threats to language learning. Media, if carefully handled, can become an excellent tool in language learning. With a rapid boom in technology, electronic media has risen as a very powerful medium for the spread of information and entertainment.

Of the most popular electronic media is the television because of its availability, affordability and its access to the literate as well as illiterate people. Even children are constantly exposed to television from quite early in their lives and their language is greatly influenced by it. It helps in developing a sense of being self connected to a larger social world through learning and internalizing the values, beliefs, and norms of one's culture. We are dependent on television for *what* we know and *how* we relate ourselves to the world.

In Pakistan, media has always been the monopoly of government and a few influential people. Whether it is print or electronic media, it has always been a means to certain ends. Increasing globalization and market forces ultimately prevailed and in January 2002, the Musharraf government (Oct 1999-Aug 2008) approved an ordinance allowing independent electronic media. A decision to lift the ban on media ownership by Musharraf government resulted in media explosion and tremendous proliferation of television channels in Pakistan. There were approximately 90 channels providing programmes to their viewers related to business, children, education, entertainment, information, fashion, health, cooking, music, news and current affairs, religion, shopping, sports etc. Then there were regional channels in Pashto, Punjabi, Seraiki and Sindhi.

Due to uncertainty and constantly changing political situation in Pakistan during the last five years, a number of news

channels appeared on the screen. Most of these channels aired talk shows in which the political leadership of the country and the important/popular personalities were invited. These figures because of their experience and insight into the social, political and economic condition of Pakistan geared useful discussions. Consequently, these programmes gained a lot of popularity in no time. One main reason behind this popularity was the fact that there was an open discussion, often a hot debate among the participants, and the members of the ruling party or opposition were held answerable to the decisions they or their government had taken. For the first time, television viewers felt the emergence of a system of check and balance in the country, and their interest increased.

The ratings were also carried from time to time by the website pkpolitics.com. It was found that the channels AAJ, ARY ONE World, GEO and Express News constantly remained in the first four positions among the rest of the current affairs channels. Their most popular discussion programmes were/are *Live with Talat* from AAJ, *Off the Record* from ARY ONE, *Capital Talk* from Geo, and *Siyasi Log* from Express News. The programme *Siyasi Log* is especially different because it is hosted by a female anchor person. These programmes were closely observed to study the peculiar behaviour of schwa.

Literature Review

Language is a vital tool which not only helps in communicating thoughts and ideas, but human relations, cultural and economic ties, scientific progress and many systems of human development rest on language. Language shapes the way people perceive the world. Language is knowledge and today knowledge is one of the key factors in this world of competition. The significance of language can be understood from the extract taken from Jean Aitchison's *Linguistics*:

The average person spends an immense amount of his life talking, listening, and (in advanced societies) reading and writing. Normal conversation uses 4,000 or 5,000 words an hour. A radio talk (where there are fewer pauses) uses as many as 8,000 or 9,000 words per hour. A man reading at a normal

speed covers 14,000 or 15,000 words per hour. So someone who chats for an hour, listens to a radio talk for an hour and reads for an hour possibly comes into contact with 25,000 words in that time. Per day, the total could be as high as 100,000. (11)

Technically speaking, a language is a dynamic set of visual and vocal symbols of communication and the elements which are used to manipulate them. A set of agreed-upon symbols is only one feature of written language; all languages must define the structural relationships between these symbols in a system of grammar. Rules of grammar are what distinguish language from other forms of communication. They allow a finite set of symbols to be manipulated to create a potentially infinite number of grammatical utterances. However, a point must be taken into consideration that these symbols are arbitrary and any concept or grammatical rule can be mapped onto a symbol.

“Language is a form of human communication by means of a system of symbols principally transmitted by vocal sounds” (Poole, 5). Language is exclusively taken as a mode of human communication; although animals make use of quite sophisticated communicative systems, none of these are known to make use of all of the properties that linguists use to define language. With this attribute the second factor in Poole’s definition automatically comes in, namely, that *human communication* is with a help of a *system of symbols*.

Crystal adds another qualifier i.e. “Language is the most frequently used and most highly developed form of human communication...An act of communication is actually a transmission of message or information from a source to a receiver” (28). This does not mean that language is the only means of communication. There are others also which may include gestures, or facial expressions. But his stress is particularly on the qualifiers *most highly developed* form of human communication which the other species seem to be lacking. But at the same time Crystal sees language as a controlled behaviour, shared in various degrees systematically and conventionally by all the people in a given speech community for the purpose of communication. He gives authority and power to human beings to control and manipulate their language the way they like (31).

Language change is generally referred to as the modification of phonetic, semantic, syntactic, morphological, and other features of a language. To be more specific the language change can appear in its lexemes which may expand their semantic range or they may cease to exist. At times a language experiences a shift in a large part of its phonological system, while at another time a single word may change as a result of processes like assimilation, palatalisation and lenition. The syntactic pattern may under go inversion. As languages develop they diverge and give rise to a number of varieties.

All languages are continually changing and evolving. Any language at a given point of time has variety within itself. This variety is known as *synchronic variation*. Apart from this variety within a language, there are changes which take place in a language over a period of years. Such changes are termed as *diachronic changes*. Hence two linguistic disciplines emerge in linguistics, i.e. Historical linguistics which examines how a language was spoken in the past, and seeks to determine how present languages are derived from it and are related to one another, and Sociolinguistics which studies the origins of language changes in order to explain how society and changes in society influence language.

Most of the time languages change because of the interaction and coming together of different cultures and societies. Sometimes in a multilingual and multicultural society

one community dominates the other. The domination of one, while the suppression of the other/s turns out to be a cause of language change. Changes in the values of society also breed change. Wars and invasions are another factor which herald change. Some changes are due to the social and political changes. Advancement in science and technology is another source of variation in a language. The internet and mobile technology has drastically altered language through the use of instant messaging and texting from mobile phones. Television, to be the last in the list, is a major factor for bringing variations in any language.

Thus we can say that change, divergence and variations are the natural routes for a living language to follow. The sociolinguist Jennifer Coates, following William Labov, describes linguistic change as occurring in the context of linguistic heterogeneity. She explains that “linguistic change can be said to have taken place when a new linguistic form, used by some sub-group within a speech community, is adopted by other members of that community and accepted as the norm” (178).

Languages in multicultural and multiethnic societies are constantly exposed to various changes. For this reason it is difficult and unjust to study any language in isolation. Since different languages are constantly exposed to each other, the changes in languages are not unidirectional. The process is bi-directional and is more like osmosis. The close contact among different ethnic groups absorbs those elements which are more homogenous and can be blended uniformly. In the initial stages heterogeneity is apparent but gradually the absorption is complete and uniform. Such changes do not occur overnight but they silently creep into a language and get noticed once they have permanently settled or have become too prominent.

The word, 'variety' refers to different manifestations of a language. What makes one variety of language different from another are the linguistic items it includes. Hudson defines “a variety of language as a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution” (24). The word variety is a general term which covers languages, dialects and register. But the definition of variety given above suggests even greater departure from the linguistic tradition. The definition provides two dimensions of the term variety. According to one dimension variety is larger than a language. If we consider all the languages in a multicultural society, we can easily call them varieties since the entire linguistic items concerned share a similar distribution. That is why a variety may be much larger than a language. On the other hand, a variety may include only few similar linguistic items which share similar social distribution. In such a case, a variety may be smaller than a language, or to be more precise, than a dialect. Every language, therefore, has more than one variety.

Standard varieties are interesting in the sense that they have special relation to the society. The languages undergo natural development which is quite haphazard but the standard variety is a result of direct intervention by society. This intervention is called “standardization”, before which the language was just any dialect. Hudson (33) identifies the following process that the standard language will have to go through.

1. Selection: A variety has to be selected in order to be developed into a standard language. The selection of any variety for a standard language is a matter of great social and political significance as the chosen variety as well as the people who speak it, gain prestige.

2. Codification: There should be some academy which must have written dictionaries and grammar books on this variety so that everyone agrees on what is correct, and the other varieties

can be judged by this standard. Once codification is done people are expected to avoid any 'incorrect' form which might be a part of his native variety.

3. Elaboration of function: It is most likely that the standard variety is used in all kinds of written communication and documentation of the central government.

4. Acceptance: The variety has to be accepted by the relevant population as the language of their community; usually, in fact, as the national language. Paradoxically, this variety then becomes a unifying force for the state, as a symbol of independence for the state, and as a marker of its being different from the other states.

To sum up, the standard variety is preferred to be used in print and electronic media. It is associated with education and broadcasting, and taught to the foreign language learners. However, the other varieties also keep on evolving, side by side. The fact which is really significant is that the process of standardization has been widely accepted by the sociolinguists. However, the misconception that still remains in the mind of people is that the standard variety is the only 'correct' variety of language.

Language in the Pakistani context acquires a different dimension and hence a greater significance. Here the national language Urdu has always been in conflict and tussle with the English language, since independence. In short, Urdu is supposed to be a national language, yet the status of a national language has been given to English. The government policies keep on changing making at times Urdu appear suitable for the medium of instruction, and at other times English is considered worthy to be given that status. Linguists, teachers, syllabus designers and those who implement the educational policies keep on shifting their focus from one language to the other. Due to inconsistency in language policy people have not been able to set their priorities regarding which language to follow.

English in Pakistan has a number of languages and varieties to interact with. Some are just the various outside or external varieties of English that people are exposed to because of media, and the different school systems. These include American, British English and Indian varieties. Then there are the regional varieties of English resulting from the contact of English with the local dialects and languages. Punjabi, Seraiki, Sindi, Gujrati, Balochi, Brahvi, Pushto, etc. are the major languages spoken in Pakistan. Each of these languages has added a different shade to English language. Adherence to any one variety has become difficult to the users of English language. Thus, the English which is spoken abounds in variations. Summing up all the variations Hassan says

What we say here is that if Pakistani English, Paklish if you will—wayward tenses, missing articles, uncertain conditionals, altered meanings, quirky interrogatives, spelling inconsistencies, spasmodic prepositions, deviant phonology, random localisms, hilarious idioms, hybrid formations and all – if this variant is more readily acceptable in this society than, say, the dialects of English spoken in London or Washington, then it is time to take it seriously as a viable language system in itself. It should not be dismissed as an aberrant, debased form of the 'real' language as defined by one or two dialects spoken in some other country. (7)

One general problem or misconception found in Pakistan about the English language is that English is learnt or understood as only having certain rules of grammar, and words that can be understood by translating them into the native languages of the speakers. So there is greater emphasis on Grammar Translation Method. But is there any such thing that can be called a system of sounds governed by certain rules, or is

there any unifying law regarding the spellings of words, or can languages be studied as science or a living force growing and evolving, is a matter of little or no concern for the average or even good speakers/users or teachers of English. English is therefore, learnt as it is variedly heard by a great variety of people or how an individual can make out the pronunciation of a word by seeing the spellings or by mastering certain rules or by learning literary text etc. Thus, the English which is spoken is quite different from American, British or Indian variety; therefore, it can easily be termed as Pakistani English (PE).

Research Methodology

The present research is descriptive in nature and as such requires testing of hypothesis "Omission of schwa is a regular feature of Pakistani English" through collection of focused and extensive data. The data for the present research is collected through non-participant observation. The research is value free and objective in nature. The sample is kept deliberately large to draw inferences for making generalizations. The measurement is standardized and the procedures can be replicated in similar conditions. Since the sample is large and measurements are standardized, the conclusions and generalizations are made with a fair degree of certainty. As a first step the news channels were selected. This selection was purposive and was particularly done for a number of reasons:

1. These channels present/ed discussion programmes which gained immense popularity among general masses of different age groups, professions and gender, and replaced the popular dramas and music shows.
2. Secondly, these programmes project/ed a variety of English different from the Standard British variety which is supposedly taught in most of the schools in Pakistan and is considered to be an institutionalized variety of English.
3. Thirdly, the participants of the programmes include both the genders from all walks of life with varied educational background, social status, financial standing, experience, and exposure. Hence they represent Pakistani population in general.
4. Most of these channels present programmes in Urdu language, yet due to frequent code switching, the programmes were a valuable source of a huge corpus of data.
5. The domestic news channels in English language are/were hardly few. They are/were not much popular among people, besides the language used in them is/was not representative of the language used by Pakistanis.
6. The language used by the participants of the current affairs programmes is/was natural as against constantly revised and rehearsed language of other programmes.
7. Each programme provides/d a number of participants so the sample size could be sufficiently large to represent Pakistani population.
8. The time at which the programmes are/were aired is/was usually the peak hours during which the viewer ship percentage is the highest.

During the first stage of sampling, 04 news channels i.e. 40% from total 10 news channels were selected on the basis of their ratings. As a second stage, 200 programmes (50 from each channel) were selected purely randomly to eliminate any biases or discrimination due to non-probability sampling techniques i.e. haphazard sampling, judgment sampling or quota sampling. The observation and data collection were carried out for a period of 18 months i.e. Jan 2009 to June 2010. Every programme had 03 to 04 participants excluding the host. The total number of participants after careful and meticulous calculation was found to be 750. Gay in his book Educational Research provides a general guide line for the selection of samples. Especially for

quantitative research he states the larger sample size is better than a smaller sample size, but very large samples can lead to erroneous results (125).

Table 1 shows detailed stratification of the sample on the basis of different professions. The stratification is natural, not deliberate. The sample is stratified into fourteen different categories.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data was collected through observation of the live as well as the recorded programmes. The data gathered was then transcribed as the phonological variations could be analyzed accurately only through transcription. For transcription International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was used. The transcribed data was assigned to its respective categories which were later analyzed and compared with British and American English using the latest edition of Oxford Advanced Online Dictionary. It was found out that schwa was regularly omitted from the words used by the participants. There were total 122 such words. On close analysis, the researcher was able to trace a regular pattern of omission based on the spelling of the words. These words are arranged in the form of tables.

Analysis on the basis of Spellings

Table 2 indicates that schwa is omitted from the words containing letters 'ial' or 'ual'. The speakers clearly and emphatically pronounced /u/ sound in the first four words, and /ai/ in the last word 'trial'. However, as opposed to British and American English schwa was completely omitted. The words were repeated again and again but with the same pronunciation. Although these words are only five in number, their frequency of repetition shows that they have attained a permanent position in Pakistani English.

Table 3 provides a list of 08 words in which letters 'ar/ary' are common, Table 4 has 52 words with 'er/ery' letters, Table 5 has 10 words with 'or/ory' letters, and Table 6 has 05 words with letters 'ur/ury'. In all these words the speakers pronounced the preceding consonant in each word forcefully and then quickly jumped to the following consonant /r/. In this way the vowel between the two consonants was completely engulfed. In British and American English the middle vowel schwa is often combined with the preceding syllable and is quite audibly and clearly pronounced. The pronunciation of schwa is followed by a slight pause and then the remaining part of the word is pronounced.

The following Table 7 lists all those words which have 'ion' in their spellings. In any of these words schwa was not at all pronounced by the speakers. The same rule was found to be governing the pronunciation i.e. the surrounding consonants were given due recognition but the vowel schwa between them was elided. Elision of schwa is a regular practice among the native speakers of English and is usually done for the sake of fluency. However, in Pakistani English this elision is done where the native speakers pronounce schwa quite audibly. 20 such words were found to be without schwa.

The researcher also came across words which end in 'rity'. Here also the same phenomenon was observed, though the number of such words is only 3. It seemed that for the speakers consonants were more important than vowels as they help in determining the pronunciation.

Table 9, 10 and 11 list all those words which showed regular omission of schwa by the participants. The words have 'e', 'o', or 'u' in their spelling.

Discussion

Majority of Pakistanis keep on moving from one language to another. This oscillation continues between their mother

tongue, the national language Urdu, and English language. The changes in language due to language contact situation can be in any of the four areas: Phonology, Syntax, Semantics or Lexicon. The variations in the area of phonology are first to appear and usually supersede variations in other areas. The present research clearly brings out one particular phonological variation in Pakistani English: omission of schwa as a regular feature. Linguists, language teachers, and policy makers need to recognise all such variations in order to arrive at a thorough description of Pakistani English (PE).

Works Cited

- Aitchison, Jean. *Linguistics: An Introduction*. London: Cox & Wayman, 1972.
- . *The Articulate Mammal: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Baumgardner, R. J. ed. *English in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford, 1993.
- Best, John W., and James V. Kahn. *Research in Education*. 7th ed. Massachusetts: Allen and Bacon, 1993.
- Brown, H. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. Englewood Cliffs: N.J. Prentice-Hall, 1980a.
- Chastain, Kenneth. *Developing Second Language Skills: Theory to Practice*. Chicago: Rand McNally College, 1971.
- Clarke, Herbert H., and Eve V. Clark. *Psychology and Language: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.
- Coates, Jennifer. *Women, Men and Language*. New York: Longman, 1986.
- Crystal, David. *What is Linguistics*. London: Arnold, 1968.
- Dees, Robert. *Writing the Modern Research Paper*. 2nd ed. Boston: A Viacom Company/ Allyn and Bacon, 1993.
- Dulay, Heidi, Marina Burt, and Stephen Krashen. *Language Two*. New York: Oxford, 1982.
- Ellis, R. *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. New York: Oxford, 1985.
- Freeman, Diane Larsen, and Micheal H. Long. *An Introduction to Second Language Acquisition Research*. New York: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1991.
- Gay, L. R. *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Application*. 5th ed. Islamabad: NBF, 1995.
- Haque, Anjum Riazul. "The Position and Status of English in Pakistan." *English in Pakistan*. Ed R. Baumgardner. Karachi: Oxford, 1993.
- Hassan, Riaz. *Remaking English in Pakistan*. Islamabad: NUML, 2004.
- Howatt, A. P. R. *A History of English Language Teaching*. Hong Kong: Oxford, 1984.
- Hudson, R. A. *Sociolinguistics*. London: Cambridge, 1980.
- Kachru, Baraj B. *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. New: Pergamon Press, 1983.
- Kachru, Braj B. *The Indiginization of English: The English Language In India*. Delhi: Oxford, 1983.
- Littlewood, William. *Foreign and Second language Learning: Language Acquisition Research and its Implications for the Classroom*. New York: Cambridge, 1984.
- Mansoor, Sabiha, Shaheen Miraj, and Aliya Tahir, ed. *Language Policy Planning & Practice: A South Asian Perspective*. Karachi: Oxford, 2004.
- Mansoor, Sabiha. *Language Planning in Higher Education: A Case Study of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford, 2005.
- . *Punjabi, Urdu, English in Pakistan: A Sociolinguistic Study*. Lahore: Vanguard, 1993.
- Mubeen, Ayesha. *English Language Teaching in Pakistan*.

Islamabad: NBF, 1992.

O'Conner, J. D. *Better English Pronunciation*. London: Cambridge, 1967.

Patton, M. Q. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1990.

Poole, Stuart C. *An Introduction to Linguistics*. New York: Palgrave, 1999.

Quirk, Randolph, and H. G. Widdowson. *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literature*. London: Cambridge, 1985.

Rahman, Tariq. *Language and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford, 1997.

---. *Pakistani English: The Linguistic Description of a Non-Native Variety*. Islamabad: NIPS, 1990.

---. *The History of English Urdu Controversy in Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Language Authority, 1996.

Roach, Peter. *English Phonetics and Phonology: A Practical Course*. London: Cambridge, 1983.

Skinner, B. F. *The Technology of Teaching*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1965.

Trudgill, Peter. *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction*. London: Penguin Book, 1974.

Wells, J. C. *Longman Pronouncing Dictionary*. Hong Kong: Longman, 1990.

Yule, George. *The Study of Language*. London: Cambridge, 1985.

Table 1: Stratification of the Sample

		LIVE WITH TALAT	CAPITAL TALK	SIYASI LOG	OFF THE RECORD	Total
Sr #	PROFESSION	AAJ	GEO	EXPRESS	ARY ONE WORLD	
1	Actor/Singer	00	08	04	00	12
2	Analyst	11	23	06	12	52
3	Banker/Eng/Doc	01	05	07	00	13
4	Common Man	07	13	00	00	20
5	Foreign Affairs	11	07	04	17	39
6	Gov/Chief M/Min	10	26	11	16	63
7	Human Right Act.	05	06	06	04	21
8	Justice/Lawyer	12	10	06	11	39
9	Media	50	66	48	55	219
10	Politician	79	70	46	37	232
11	President/PM	00	05	00	00	05
12	Scholar/Professor	02	16	05	01	24
13	Scientist	00	02	00	00	02
14	Student	02	00	05	02	09
	Total	190	257	148	155	750

Table 2: Omission of Schwa from the words containing '-ial/ual'

	-ial/ual-	BrE	AmE	PE
1	actually	'æktʃuəli	'æktʃuəli, 'æktʃəli, 'ækfəli	'æktʃuli
2	conceptualise	kən'septʃuəlaɪz	kən'septʃuəlaɪz	kən'septʃulaɪz
3	eventually	ɪ'ventʃuəli	ɪ'ventʃuəli, ɪ'ventʃəli, ɪ'ventʃuli	ɪ'ventʃuli
4	gradually	'grædʒuəli	'grædʒuəli, 'grædʒəli	'grædʒuli
5	trial	'traɪəl	'traɪəl	'traɪl

Table 3: Omission of Schwa from the words containing '-ar/ary'

	-ar/ary	BrE	AmE	PE
1	apparatus	ˌæpə'reɪtəs	ˌæpə'reɪtəs, ˌæpə'rætəs	ˌAp'reɪtəs
2	beneficiaries	ˌbenɪ'fɪʃəriːz	ˌbenɪ'fɪʃəriːz, ˌbɛnə'fɪʃəriːz, ˌbɛnə'fɪʃəriːz	ˌbenɪ'fɪʃriːz
3	beneficiary	ˌbenɪ'fɪʃəri	ˌbenɪ'fɪʃəri, ˌbɛnə'fɪʃəri, ˌbɛnə'fɪʃəri	ˌbenɪ'fɪʃri
4	dictionary	'dɪkʃənəri	'dɪkʃənəri, 'dɪkfənəri	'dɪkʃnəri
5	judiciary	dʒu'dɪʃəri	dʒu'dɪʃəri, dʒu'dɪʃəri, dʒu'dɪʃəri	dʒu'dɪʃri
6	militaristic	ˌmɪlɪtə'rɪstɪk	ˌmɪlɪtə'rɪstɪk, ˌmɪlətə'rɪstɪk	ˌmɪlɪtə'rɪstɪk, ˌmɪlɪt'rɪstɪk
7	primary	'praɪməri	'praɪməri, 'praɪməri, 'praɪməri	'praɪmri
8	summary	'sʌməri	'sʌməri	'sʌməri, 'sʌmri

Table 4: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -er/ery

	-er/ery	BrE	AmE	PE
1	bakery	'beIkəri	'beIkəri	'beIkri
2	bilateral	ˌbaɪ'lætərəl	ˌbaɪ'lætərəl	ˌbaɪ'lætrəl
3	bilaterally	ˌbaɪ'lætərəli	ˌbaɪ'lætərəli	ˌbaɪ'lætrəli
4	collateral	kə'lætərəl	kə'lætərəl	kəʊ'lætrəl
5	conference	'kɒnfərəns	'kɑːnfərəns, 'kɑnfərəns	'kɒnfərəns, 'kɒnfrens, 'kɑːnfrens
6	considerate	kən'sɪdərət	kən'sɪdərət	kən'sɪdrət, kən'sɪdreɪt
7	cooperate	kəʊ'ɒpəreɪt	koʊ'aɪpəreɪt, koʊ'ɑpə, reɪt	kəʊ'ɒpreɪt, kɔːpreɪt kəʊ'aɪpreɪt
8	cooperation	kəʊ'ɒpə'reɪʃn	koʊ,aɪpə'reɪʃn, koʊ,ɑpə'reɪʃn	kəʊ'ɒp'reɪʃn kɔːp'reɪʃn
9	coverage	'kʌvərɪdʒ	'kʌvrɪdʒ, 'kʌvərɪdʒ	'kʌvrɪdʒ

10	covering	'kAvərɪŋ	'kAvrɪŋ, 'kAvərɪŋ	'kAvrɪŋg
11	deliberately	dɪ'lɪbərətli	dɪ'lɪbrətli, dɪ'lɪbərətli	dɪ'lɪbrətli, dɪ'lɪbrɛttli
12	deliverance	dɪ'lɪvərəns	dɪ'lɪvərəns, dɪ'lɪvrəns	dɪ'lɪvrəns, dɪ'lɪvrens
13	delivery	dɪ'lɪvəri	dɪ'lɪvəri, dɪ'lɪvri	dɪ'lɪvri
14	differentiate	,dɪfə'renfɪeɪt	,dɪfə'renfɪeɪt, ,dɪfə'renfɪ,eɪt	,dɪf'rənfɪeɪt
15	discovery	dɪ'skAvəri	dɪ'skAvəri, dɪ'skAvri	dɪ'skAvri
16	emperor	'empərə(r)	'empərər, 'ɛmpərər	'emprər
17	experience	ɪk'spɪəriəns	ɪk'spɪriəns	ɪk'spɪriəns, ɪk'spɪriens
18	federal	'fɛdərəl	'fɛdərəl, 'fɛdərəl	'fɛdərəl
19	federation	,fɛdə'reɪfn	,fɛdə'reɪfn, ,fɛdə'reɪfn	,fɛd'reɪfn
20	gathering	'gæðərɪŋ	'gæðərɪŋ	'gæðrɪŋg
21	generate	'dʒənəreɪt	'dʒənəreɪt, 'dʒɛnə'reɪt	'dʒenreɪt
22	generation	,dʒənə'reɪfn	,dʒənə'reɪfn, ,dʒɛnə'reɪfn	,dʒen'reɪfn
23	hero	'hɪərəʊ	'hɪroʊ, 'hi:roʊ, 'hiroʊ	'hɪrəʊ, 'hi:rəʊ
24	hydro generation	'haɪdrəʊ ,dʒənə'reɪfn	'haɪdroʊ ,dʒənə'reɪfn, 'haɪdroʊ ,dʒɛnə'reɪfn	'haɪdrəʊ ,dʒen'reɪfn
25	immaterial	,ɪmə'tɪəriəl	,ɪmə'tɪriəl	,ɪmmə'tɪriəl
26	in-camera	ɪn 'kæməərə	ɪn 'kæməərə, ɪn 'kæmrə	ɪn 'kæmrə
27	inexperience	,ɪnɪk'spɪəriən s	,ɪnɪk'spɪriəns	,ɪnɪk'spɪriəns, ,ɪnɪk'spɪriens
28	interior	ɪn'tɪəriə(r)	ɪn'tɪriər	ɪn'tɪriər
29	interrupt	,ɪntə'rʌpt	,ɪntə'rʌpt	,ɪntə'rʌpt, ,ɪnt'rʌpt
30	intolerance	ɪn'tɒlərəns	ɪn'tɑ:lərəns, ɪn'tɒlərəns	ɪn'tɒlrəns, ɪn'tɔ:lrəns, ɪn'tɔ:lrəns
31	leverage	'li:vərɪdʒ	'levərɪdʒ,, 'lɛvərɪdʒ, 'lɛvrɪdʒ	'li:vrɪdʒ
32	liberal	'lɪbərəl	'lɪbərəl, 'lɪbrəl	'lɪbrəl
33	literacy	'lɪtərəsi	'lɪtərəsi	'lɪtrəsi
	machineries			
34	machinery	mə'fi:nəri	mə'fi:nəri, mə'fɪnəri	mə'fi:nri
35	material	mə'tɪəriəl	mə'tɪriəl	mə'tɪriəl
36	materialise	mə'tɪəriəlaɪz	mə'tɪriəlaɪz	mə'tɪriəlaɪz
37	miseries	'mɪzəri	'mɪzəri	'mɪzri
38	mockery	'mɒkəri	'mɑ:kəri, 'mɑkəri	'mɒkri
39	moderation	,mɒdə'reɪfn	,mɑ:də'reɪfn, ,mɑdə'reɪfn	,mɒd'reɪfn, ,mɔ:d'reɪfn, ,mɑ:d'reɪfn
40	modus operandi	,mɒʊdəs ,ɒpə'rændi:	,mɒʊdəs ,ɑ:pə'rændi: ,mɒʊdəs ,ɑpə'rændi, ,mɒʊdəs ,ɑpə'rændɑɪ	,mɒʊdəs ,ɒp'rændi ,mɒʊdəs ,ɑ:p'rændi:
41	multilateralism	,mʌltɪ'lætərəlɪ zəm	,mʌltɪ'lætərəlɪzəm, ,mʌltɪ'lætərəlɪzəm	,mʌltɪ'lætərəlɪzəm
42	operated	'ɒpəreɪt	'ɑ:pəreɪt, 'ɑpə'reɪt	'ɒpreɪt, 'ɑ:p'reɪt
43	operation	,ɒpə'reɪfn	,ɑ:pə'reɪfn, ,ɑpə'reɪfn	,ɒp'reɪfn, ,ɑ:p'reɪfn
44	operator	'ɒpəreɪtə(r)	'ɑ:pəreɪtər, 'ɑpə'reɪər	'ɒpreɪtər, 'ɑ:p'reɪər
45	period	'pɪəriəd	'pɪriəd	'pɪriəd
46	recovery	rɪ'kAvəri	rɪ'kAvəri	rɪ'kAvri
47	referendum	,refə'rendəm	,refə'rendəm, ,ɛfə'rendəm	,ref'rendəm
48	regenerate	rɪ'dʒənəreɪt	rɪ'dʒənəreɪt, rɪ'dʒɛnə'reɪt	rɪ'dʒenreɪt
49	serious	'sɪəriəs	'sɪriəs	'sɪriəs
50	seriously	'sɪəriəsli	'sɪriəsli	'sɪriəsli
51	superior	su:'pɪəriə(r), sju:'pɪəriə(r)	su:'pɪriər, sə'pɪriər	su:'pɪriər
52	tolerate	'tɒləreɪt	'tɑ:ləreɪt 'tɑlə'reɪt	'tɒlreɪt, 'tɔ:lreɪt, 'tɑ:lreɪt

Table 5: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -or/ory

	-or/ory	BrE	AmE	PE
1	collaborators	kə'læbəreɪtə(r)	kə'læbəreɪtər	kəʊ'læbreɪtər
2	contradictory	ˌkɒntrə'dɪktəri	ˌkɑːntrə'dɪktəri, ˌkɑntrə'dɪktəri	ˌkɒntrə'dɪktri
3	contributory	kən'trɪbjətəri	kən'trɪbjətɔːri, kən'trɪbyə,tɔri	kən'trɪbjʊ:tri
4	elaborate	ɪ'læbəreɪt	ɪ'læbrət; ɪ'læbəreɪt	ɪ'læbəreɪt, ɪ'læbreɪt ɪ'læbəʊreɪt
5	electoral	ɪ'lektərəl	ɪ'lektərəl, ɪ'lektərəl	ɪ'lektəʊərəl, ɪ'lektərəl
6	honorary	'ɒnərəri	'ɑːnərəri, 'ɑnə,ɹəri	'ɒnrəri, 'ɒnreɪri
7	mandatory	'mændətəri	mæn'deɪtəri, 'mændətɔːri, 'mændə,tɔri	'mændeɪtri
8	regulatory	'regjələtəri	'regjələtɔːri, 'regjələ,tɔri	'regjʊ:leɪtri
9	rhetoric	'retərɪk	'retərɪk, 'rɛtərɪk	'reɪtərɪk
10	vigorously	'vɪgərəsli	'vɪgərəsli	'vɪgrəsli

Table 6: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -ur/ury

	-ur/ury	BrE	AmE	PE
1	cultural	'kʌltʃərəl	'kʌltʃərəl	'kʌltʃrəl
2	favourable	'feɪvərəbl	'feɪvərəbl, 'feɪvrəbl	'feɪvrəbl, 'feɪvreɪbl
3	honourable	'ɒnərəbl	'ɑːnərəbl, 'ɑnərəbl	'ɒnrəbl, 'ɒnreɪbl 'ɑːnreɪbl
4	jurisprudence	ˌdʒʊərɪs'pruːdɪns	ˌdʒʊrɪs'pruːdɪns, ˌdʒʊrəs'pruːdɪns	ˌdʒʊrɪs'pruːdɪns, ˌdʒʊrɪs'pruːdɪns
5	treasury	'treʒəri	'treʒəri, 'treʒəri	'treʒri

Table 7: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -ion

	-ion	BrE	AmE	PE
1	additional	ə'dɪʃənəl	ə'dɪʃənəl	ə'dɪʃnəl
2	commissioner	kə'mɪʃənə(r)	kə'mɪʃənər	kə'mɪʃnər
3	confessional	kən'feʃənəl	kən'feʃənəl, kən'fɛʃənəl	kən'feʃnəl
4	constitutional	ˌkɒnstɪ'tjuːʃənəl	ˌkɑːnstə'tuːʃənəl, ˌkɑnstə'tuʃənəl	ˌkɒnstɪ'tjuːʃnəl, ˌkɔːnstɪ'tjuːʃnəl ˌkɑːnstɪ'tuːʃnəl
5	constitutionalism	ˌkɒnstɪ'tjuːʃənəlɪzəm	ˌkɑːnstə'tuːʃənəlɪzəm, ˌkɑnstə'tuʃənəlɪzəm	ˌkɒnstɪ'tjuːʃnəlɪzəm ˌkɔːnstɪ'tjuːʃnəlɪzəm ˌkɑːnstɪ'tuːʃnəlɪzəm
6	constitutionally	ˌkɒnstɪ'tjuːʃənəli	ˌkɑːnstə'tuːʃənəli, ˌkɑnstə'tuʃənəli, ˌkɑnstə'tuʃnəli	ˌkɒnstɪ'tjuːʃnəli, ˌkɔːnstɪ'tuːʃnəli, ˌkɑːnstɪ'tuːʃnəli
7	dictionary	'dɪkʃənəri	'dɪkʃənəri, 'dɪkʃə,nəri	'dɪkʃnəri
8	functional	'fʌŋkʃənəl	'fʌŋkʃənəl	'fʌŋkʃnəl, 'fʌŋɡʃnəl
9	institutionalise	ˌɪnstɪ'tjuːʃənəlaɪz	ˌɪnstɪ'tuːʃənəlaɪz, ˌɪnstə'tuʃənəlaɪz	ˌɪnstɪ'tjuːʃnəlaɪz
10	intentional	ɪn'tenʃənəl	ɪn'tenʃənəl, ɪn'tɛnʃənəl	ɪn'tenʃnəl
11	intentionally	ɪn'tenʃənəli	ɪn'tenʃənəli, ɪn'tɛnʃənəli	ɪn'tenʃnəli
	nationality	ˌnæʃə'næləti	ˌnæʃə'næləti	ˌnæʃnæləti
12	organisational	ˌɔːgənəɪ'zeɪʃənəl	ˌɔːrgənə'zeɪʃənəl, ˌɔrgənə'zeɪʃənəl	ˌɔːrgənəɪ'zeɪʃnəl
13	pioneer	ˌpaɪə'nɪə(r)	ˌpaɪə'nɪr	ˌpaɪ 'nɪər
14	professional	prə'feʃənəl	prə'feʃənəl	prʊə'feʃnəl
15	professionally	prə'feʃənəli	prə'feʃənəli, prə'fɛʃənəli	prʊə'feʃnəli
16	regional	'riːdʒənəl	'riːdʒənəl, 'rɪdʒənəl	'riːdʒnəl
17	revolutionary	ˌrevə'lʊːʃənəri	ˌrevə'lʊːʃənəri, ˌrɛvə'lʊʃə,nəri	ˌrevə'lʊːʃnəri, ˌrevəʊ'lʊːʃnəri
18	traditional	trə'dɪʃənəl	trə'dɪʃənəl	trə'dɪʃnəl, treɪ'dɪʃnəl
19	traditionally	trə'dɪʃənəli	trə'dɪʃənəli	trə'dɪʃnəli, treɪ'dɪʃnəli
20	visionary	'vɪʒənəri	'vɪʒənəri, 'vɪʒə,nəri	'vɪʒnəri, 'vɪʒnəri

Table 8: Omission of Schwa from the words containing –rity

	-rity	BrE	AmE	PE
1	insecurity	,ɪnsɪ'kjʊərəti	,ɪnsɪ'kjʊərəti, ,ɪnsɪ'kyʊərəti	,ɪnsɪ'kjəʊrɪti, ,ɪnsɪ'kjəʊrəti, ɪnsɪ'kjəʊrɪti
2	maturity	mə'tʃʊərəti	mə'tʃʊərəti, mə'tʊərəti	mə'tʃəʊrɪti, mə'tjəʊrɪti
3	security	sɪ'kjʊərəti	sə'kjʊərəti, sɪ'kyʊərəti	sɪ'kjəʊrɪti, sɪ'kjəʊrɪti

Table 9: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -e-

	e	BrE	AmE	PE
1	awakening	ə'weɪkənɪŋ	ə'weɪkənɪŋ	ə'weɪkənɪŋ
2	cinema	'sɪnəmə	'sɪnəmə	'sɪnɪmə, 'sɪnmə, 'senmə
3	counsellor	'kaʊnsələ(r)	'kaʊnsələr	'kaʊnslər, 'kɔ:nslər
4	diet	'daɪət	'daɪət	'daɪt
5	foreigner	'fɒrənə(r)	'fɔ:ɪrənər, 'fɔ:rənər, 'fɑ:ɪrənər, 'fɑ:rənər	'fɒrnər, fɔ:ɪrnər, fɑ:ɪrnər
6	fuel	'fju:əl	'fju:əl, 'fyuəl, fyul	'fju:l
7	indigenous	ɪn'dɪdʒənəs	ɪn'dɪdʒənəs	ɪn'dɪdʒnəs
8	mercenary	'mɜ:ɪsənəri	'mɜ:ɪrsənəri, 'mɜrsə,nɛri	'mɜ:ɪrsnəri
9	satellite	'sætələɪt	'sætələɪt, 'sætl,aɪt	'sætlaɪt
10	variety	və'raɪəti	və'raɪəti, və'raɪəti	və'raɪti

Table 10: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -o-

	o	BrE	AmE	PE
1	economic	,ɪ:kə'nɒmɪk, ,ekə'nɒmɪk	,ɪ:kə'nɑ:mɪk, ,ekə'nɑ:mɪk, ,ekə'nɑmɪk	,ɪk'nɒmɪk, ,ek'nɒmɪk
2	monopoly	mə'nɒpəli	mə'nɑ:pəli, mə'nɑpəli	mə'nɒpli
3	personal	'pɜ:ɪsəl	'pɜ:ɪrsəl, 'pərsəl	'pɜ:ɪrsəl
4	personally	'pɜ:ɪsəli	'pɜ:ɪrsəli, 'pərsəli	'pɜ:ɪrsəli
5	philosophy	fə'lɒsəfi	fə'lɑ:səfi, fə'lɑsəfi	fə'lɒsɪfi, fɪ'lɒsɪfi, fɪ'lɒsɪfi

Table 11: Omission of Schwa from the words containing -u-

	u	BrE	AmE	PE
1	circular	'sɜ:kjələ(r)	'sɜ:rkjələr	'sɜ:rkɪlər
2	circulate	'sɜ:kjələɪt	'sɜ:rkjələɪt	'sɜ:rkɪləɪt
3	support	sə'pɔ:t	sə'pɔ:ɪt, sə'pɔrt	sə'pʊərt, s'pʊərt
4	vacuum	'vækjuəm	'vækjuəm, 'vækju:m	'vækju:m