## Vowels and Diphtongs in Standard Chinese

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Jn this article, the acoustic properties of Standard Chinese (pütōnghù) vowels and diphthongs are described. This is one of the most interesting areas of Chinese phonetics, since there are only five monophthongic vowel phonemes, which form an unusual system, but as many as eleven diphthongs, and also two triphthongs. The diphthongs exemplify different types of timing of steady states and transitions between them, and it will be seen that not only the formant frequencies of the steady states and their relation to the vowel goals, but also the timing of the transitions betweeen the steady states is important, and differs between different Chinese diphthongs ond also differs from the "same" diphthong in other languages.

Pinyin speliling (underlined) is used throughout, except in the section on phonology, where a more phonemic transcription is sometimes used (within /.../).

1. PHONOLOGY

A Standard Chinese syllable can be analyzed into an initial consonant and a rhyme. The rhyme has a kernel vowel which can be preceded by one of the medials $i, \underline{u}$ or $i \underline{i}$, and followed by a final, which is either one of the vowels $\underline{i}$ or $\underline{u}$, or one of the consonants $\underline{n}$ or $\underline{n}$ :

(In traditional Chinese phonology, the medial. is not considered a part of the rhyme.)

Because of the large amount of interaction between the vowels and both the preceding and the following consonant (if any), it is possible to analyze the phoneme system in several different ways, and this has also been done, see e.g. Chao 1934, Hartman 1944, Hockett 1947, Cheng 1973. In particular, the phonemic status of [1] and [讠]r i.e. if they are the allophones of a separate phoneme, or are allophones of /i/ (as assumed here) has been analyzed differently by different authors.

Here the following vowel phoneme system will be assumed:

| $i \quad u \quad u$ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $e$ |  |
|  |  |

The vowel /i/ has the allophone [1] after dental sibilants (s, $\underline{z}$ [ts] and $\underline{c}[t s h])$, the allophone [ $\mathcal{Z}]$ after postdental sibilants (sh [ $\mathfrak{q}]$, zh [ţ], ch [tgh] and $E$ [z]), and is otherwise [i].

There is no contrast between (phonetically) different mid vowels, so they will be regarded as allophones of a phoneme written /e/. It has the allophone [r] as a single-vowel rhyme (written $e$ in the pinyin spelling), but in other rhymes it has allophones ranging from [o] to [e].

In the pinyin spelling there is a vowel o, which occurs only after labial consonants (b, p, $\underset{\text { f }}{ }$ and $\underline{m}$ ). Acoustically, o is very similar to the diphthong uo, which is in complementary distribution with $o$, so o will be regarded as a notational variant of uo. $O$ is also written in the diphthongs ou, uo and ao, which are phonemicized as /eu/, /ue/ and/au/ (see below).

The following diphthongs and triphthongs occur:

| iu | /iu/ | ui | /ui/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ia | /ia/ | ai | /ai/ |
| ua | /ua/ | ao | /au/ |
| j.e | /ie/ | ei | /ei/ |
| uo | /ue/ | ou | /eu/ |
| ie | /ie/ |  |  |
| iaㅇ | /iau/ | uai | /uai/ |

The system of diphthongs is rather symmetrical, and with the exception of iie all the diphthongs can be obtained by going from one of the four vowels/i/, /u/, /e/ or /a/ to any other (except that */ea/ and */ae/ are not found). Also the triphthongs /iau/ and /uai/ are symmetric to each other:


There is also a syllable consisting of the vowel er [e]. which is usually analyzed as /er/. In the regular syllable inventory (as written by Chinese characters), there is only this single syllable (in three different tones) with the final $r$, and this rhyme cannot be preceded by an initial consonant. It can be added, however, to other syllables as a suffix, with the phonetic result of an r-colouring of the syllable, with somewhat different effect on different rhymes. It is not entirely clear if this "erization" (érhua) is a feature of standard Chinese, even though it is a common feature of Bëijing pronunciation, since there is a tendency to regard erization as a vulgorism and to avoidit in Standard Chinese. Erization will not be treated in this article.

The following rhymes occur :

| i |  |  |  | in | ing |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| i |  |  |  | in |  |  |
| u | ui |  |  | un | ong | /un/ |
| iu |  |  |  |  | iong | /iun/ |
| e | ei | OU | /eu/ | en | eng |  |
| ie |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ise |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| no | /ue/ |  |  |  |  |  |
| a | ai | ao | /au/ | an | ang |  |
| ia |  | iao | /iau/ | ian | iang |  |
|  |  |  |  | ian |  |  |
| บa | uai |  |  | uan | uang |  |
| er |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## 2. PROCEDURE

Four speakers of standard Chinese were recorded. Two of the speakers ( $B$ and $C$ ) were born and raised in Běijīng, one (A) was born in sūzhōu and moved to Bĕijing when he was six years old, and one (D) is from Liáoníng and has lived in Běijīng since he was 12 .

For each speaker, syllables containing each rhyme were recorded in a sentence frame (wǒ bǎ _ zi xiě hǎo), and each sentence was read twice. The syllable initial was chosen as a dental ( $\underline{d}$ when possible), and the syllables were in the high (first) tone whenever possible, and otherwise in the rising (second) tone.

The recordings were made in sound-treated rooms in Lund or Stockholm.

For each syllable, wide-band spectrograms were made on a Kay Digital Sona-Graph 7800. The frequencies of the first three formants, and also the durations of the vowels were measured on the spectrograms.

## 3. FORMANT FREQUENCIES

Formant frequencies of Standard Chinese vowels have also been published by Howie 1976 (for one speaker), Brotzman 1963
(reported by Howie), and Wú and Cáo 1979 (showing only charts of average F1 and F2 values).

The formant frequencies as measured in the middle of monophthongic vowels in the context C__\# are given in Table 1 .

The formants of the five main allophones of the vowel phonemes ( $\underline{i}$ [i], $\underline{i j}[y], \underline{u}[u], \underline{a}[a]$ and $\underline{e}[\gamma]$ ) are plotted on Figure 1 , and the formants of er [ $r]$ and the /i/ allophones [1] and [l] are plotted on Figure 2.

The vowels [1] and [ 1] are usually described as vocalic [z] and [g]. According to Cheng 1973:13, X-ray studies by Zhōu and Wú 1963 (not available to me) show that compared to [i], the highest point of the tongue is slightly more front and the back of the tongue is slightly higher for these vowels. (The non-IPA symbols [1] and [ [], which are generally used in Chinese linguistics were introduced by Bernhard Karlgren, who took [ 2$]$ from the Swedish dialect alphabet, where it denotes the "Viby $i$ " occurring in Swedish dialects. This alphabet was widely used in Swedish dialectology, and its main inventor, J.A. Lundell, was Karlgren's teacher.)

The vowel pairs $\underline{i}$ and $i$ and $e$ and er do not differ much in Fl or F2, but are clearly separated by F3, the second member of each pair having much lower F3 than the first.

The first two formants of vowels before nasals (i.e. in the contexts $C \ldots n$ and $\mathbb{C} \quad \underline{n}$ ) are given in Table 2 and on Figure 3. The main differences as compared to open-syllable vowels are: $\underset{i}{ }$ is lowered in nasal contexts, $e$ and a are fronted before $\underline{n}$, and $\underline{u}$ is considerably lowered before $\underline{n g}$ (where it is written o in the pinyin spelling) and fronted-lowered before $\underline{n}$.

For the diphthongs and triphthongs, the first two formants for each steady state in the spectrograms were measured, as well as the duration of each steady state and the duration of the transition between the steady states. The formant frequencies were measured in the middle of each steady state. These results are shown in Table 3 (diphthongs) and Table 4 (triphthongs). Steady state formant frequencies and duration
data for diphthongs before a nasal (n or ng) are given in Table 5.

In Figure 4, schematic drawings of average diphthong and triphthong formant frequency movements are shown on a F1-F2-diagram.

The endpoints of diphthongs which do not involve the phoneme /e/ are rather close to the respective vowel phoneme average (represented by a star on Figure 4), while the startpoints differ more, so that for instance ao /au/ and ai start from positions higher than $a$, and ui starts from a (acoustically) much more central position than $u$. Diphthongs which contain the phoneme/e/ (realized monophthongically as [r]), i.e. ie, ie, ei, ou /eu/ and uo/ve/ contain [e] ~ [ $\varepsilon$ ] or [o]-like allophones of /e/.

As Figure 4:2 shows, the final a component of the diphthongs ua and ia is much fronter before the nasal $\underline{n}$ than before ng [n].

## 4. DURATIONS

In Standard Chinese, there is no phonemic length distinction for vowels, but there has been some discussion in the literature about vowel quantity, in the context of tonal phonology. Woo 1969 represents contour tones (e.g. three out of four Standard Chinese tones) as sequences of level tones, and this presupposes that contour tones are assigned to sequences of more than one voiced segment. This causes no problem for rhymes which consist of diphthongs, triphthongs or a vowel followed by a nasal, but for monophthongic vowels in open syllables it means that they must be represented as a cluster of two identical vowels. To justify this, Woo presents acoustical data which shows that vowels are longer in the context $C$ ___ than when followed by a nasal or when included in a diphthong, and says that "It is generally assumed that all pure vowels are normally long, and that vocalic clusters, which are diphthongs, consist of two "short" members" (Woo 1969:25). Walton 1983:174 doubts that there is such a general agreement, but their discussion concerns phonological interpretation rather than the physical
properties of the sounds.
Also this investigation shows that the different components of a diphthong, and also vowels before nasals, are shorter than single vowels in open syllables (see Figure 5).

On the other hand, diphthongs and vowel-nasal rhymes are in most cases longer than single-vowel rhymes. Thus Woo's statement (1969:27) that "the duration of the syllabic nucleus appears to be a constant also, irrespective of whether it is a long vowel [i.e. a single vowel in an open syllable], a diphthong, or a vowel + nasal cluster" is not confirmed by this study (Woo's data came from syllables said in isolation, however).

It is well-known that the duration of Standard Chinese rhymes is dependent on the tone of the syllable (see e.g. Kratochvil 1968, Woo 1969:24-30), and thus both the tone and the segmental composition affect the duration of a rhyme. A preliminary investigation (Nordenhake and Svantesson 1983) shows that the effects of the different tones on the duration vary with the position of a syllable within a sentence, so that for instance the falling (fourth) tone has the shortest duration of all tones in sentence final position, while it is the longest tone in sentence medially.

In this investigation, high-tone syllables have been used whenever possible. (In a few cases, syllables with rising (second) tone were used; duration data from such syllables are marked with a star in the tables and figures, since they are not comparable with the other (high tone) data.) The question how the tones affect the duration and the vowel quality - especially the quality of the diphthongs seem to be somewhat dependent on the tones - will thus not be taken up here, but will be made the subject of a special study.

Figure 5 shows average duration values for all speakers. The durations of open syllable vowels are given in Table 1 , and in Table 2, durations of vowels in rhymes with final nasal are given, together with the duration of the nasal. For monophthongs followed by a nasal., the vowel is generally shorter than the nasal, and also shorter than the same vowel in an open syllable, but also here the duration of the entire
rhyme is longer than for an open syllable.
For the diphthongs of a language, not only the goal values and the way the start and end values of the diphthong relates to these goals (which are here assumed to be vowel phonemes of the language) are important, but also the dynamics of the diphthong, i.e. the way the formant frequencjes change with time. This can be quantified in different ways; the way chosen here is to measure the formant frequencies of the steady states and the durations of the steady states and of the transition between them, and to calculate the ratio between the transition duration and the total duration. (It would also be possible to calculate the velocity with which the formant frequencies (especially $F 2$ ) change during the transition.) These data are given in Table 3, and are ploted on Figure 6.

This kind of analysis reveals differences between the "same" diphthong in different languages, e.g. [ai] in Standard Chinese, Hausa and Arabic (these two languages have been analyzed with the same methods as used for Chinese). In Hausa (data from Mona Lindau) and Arabic (Norlin 1984), these diphthongs can be regarded as a succession of two vowels [a] and [i], which are nearly identical to the short [a] and the [i] of the respective language, both as regards guality (formant structure) and quantity (duration). Thus, a speaker of Hausa or Arabjc first makes an [a], then goes guickly to [i] and produces that vowel. So there are two steady states, each with about the same length as a short vowel, and a short transition in between.

In Chinese, this diphthong is more gliding, with relatively short steady states, and a long transition (average ratio of transition to total duration is $50.5 \%$ for this diphthong). Furthermore, the total duration of a diphthong is usually longer than that of a monophthongic vowel (see figure 6) , but not about twice as long (as is the case in Arabic and Hausa).

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Table 1. Formant frequencies and duration of Standard Chinese monophthongic vowels in the context $C$ $\qquad$ \#.

| Vowel | Speaker | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{3}$ | duration (ms) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| i [i] | A | $\begin{aligned} & 200 \\ & 240 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2370 \\ & 2400 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 3430 \\ 3400 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 175 \\ & 165 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | B | $\begin{aligned} & 220 \\ & 340 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2040 \\ & 2320 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2960 \\ & 3270 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 180 \\ & 170 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | C | $\begin{aligned} & 240 \\ & 400 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1800 \\ & 1830 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3360 \\ & 3390 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 150 \\ & 195 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | D | $\begin{aligned} & 200 \\ & 230 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2420 \\ & 2360 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3600 \\ & 3510 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 185 \\ & 200 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | mean | 259 | 2192 | 3365 | 177 |
| $\underline{\ddot{u}}[y]$ | A | $\begin{aligned} & 210 \\ & 220 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2140 \\ & 2220 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2580 \\ & 2490 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 150 \\ & 160 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | B | $\begin{aligned} & 270 \\ & 460 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2150 \\ & 2070 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2340 \\ & 2630 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 140 \\ & 170 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | c | $\begin{aligned} & 360 \\ & 380 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1820 \\ & 1900 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2450 \\ & 2670 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 180 \\ & 155 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | D | $\begin{aligned} & 220 \\ & 220 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2200 \\ & 1890 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2510 \\ & 2340 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 150 \\ & 175 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | mean | 292 | 2040 | 2501 | 160 |
| $\underline{\underline{u}}$ [u] | A | $\begin{aligned} & 360 \\ & 240 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 310 \\ & 760 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2460 \\ & 2730 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 150 \\ & 150 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | B | $\begin{aligned} & 430 \\ & 330 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 640 \\ & 720 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2430 \\ & 2610 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 165 \\ & 150 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | C | $\begin{aligned} & 240 \\ & 310 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 940 \\ & 700 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2280 \\ & 2620 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 140 \\ & 145 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | D | $\begin{aligned} & 450 \\ & 280 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 760 \\ & 760 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2750 \\ & 2720 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 150 \\ & 150 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | mean | 330 | 761 | 2575 | 150 |
| a [a] | A | $\begin{array}{r} 770 \\ 930 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1200 \\ & 1290 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2530 \\ & 2600 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 145 \\ & 185 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | B | $\begin{aligned} & 770 \\ & 930 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1180 \\ & 1340 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2360 \\ & 2620 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 190 \\ & 190 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | c | $\begin{aligned} & 650 \\ & 960 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1340 \\ & 1500 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2640 \\ & 2530 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 155 \\ & 120 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | D | $\begin{aligned} & 860 \\ & 920 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1370 \\ & 1450 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2800 \\ & 2810 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 195 \\ & 185 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | mean | 849 | 1334 | 2611 | 171 |

Table 1 (cont.)

| Vowel | Speaker | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{3}$ | duration |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| e [ $\mathrm{V}^{\text {] }}$ | A | 340 | 1170 | 2550 | 220* |
|  |  | 330 | 1130 | 2600 | 235* |
|  | B | 510 | 1030 | 2500 | 205* |
|  |  | 500 | 1120 | 2570 | 225* |
|  | C | 380 | 1360 | 2310 | 160* |
|  |  | 380 | 1430 | 2200 | 190* |
|  | D | 500 | 1260 | 2580 | 240* |
|  |  | 480 | 1400 | 2560 | 215* |
|  | mean | 428 | 1244 | 2484 | 211* |
| er [ $\quad$ ] | A | 400 | 1480 | 1890 | 225* |
|  |  | 500 | 1480 | 1320 | 335* |
|  | B | 490 | 1420 | 1750 | 250* |
|  |  | 600 | 1380 | 1760 | 280* |
|  | c | 430 | 1430 | 1710 | 195* |
|  |  | 440 | 1370 | 1760 | 240* |
|  | D | 440 | 1320 | 1630 | 435* |
|  |  | 450 | 1340 | 1720 | 330* |
|  | mean | 469 | 1402 | 1755 | 261* |
| $\underline{i}$ [1] | A | 240 | 1160 | 2700 | 85 |
|  |  | 270 | 1170 | 2800 | 120 |
|  | B | 370 | 1200 | 2710 | 155 |
|  |  | 420 | 1210 | 2790 | 190 |
|  | C | 400 | 1240 | 2620 | 290 |
|  |  | 440 | 1380 | 2700 | 145 |
|  | D | 490 | 1220 | 2600 | 135 |
|  |  | 480 | 1280 | 2620 | 140 |
|  | mean | 389 | 1232 | 2692 | 140 |
| i [1] | A | 430 | 1750 | 2300 | 115 |
|  |  | 280 | 1970 | 2510 | 130 |
|  | B | 480 | 1690 | 2570 | 155 |
|  |  | 450 | 1710 | 2580 | 170 |
|  | C | 470 | 1600 | 2620 | 135 |
|  |  | 440 | 1590 | 2760 | 130 |
|  | D | 510 | 1710 | 2220 | 140 |
|  |  | 510 | 1700 | 2470 | 125 |
|  | mean | 446 | 1715 | 2496 | 137 |

Table 2. Formant frequencies and durations of monophthongic vowels before nasals.

| Rhyme | Speaker | $F_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | Duration (ms) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | vowel | nasal | total |
| in | A | 260 | 2200 | 110 | 150 | 260* |
|  | B | 470 | 2230 | 100 | 155 | 255* |
|  | C | 380 | 1900 | 90 | 140 | 230* |
|  | D | 240 | 2400 | 130 | 115 | 245* |
|  | mean | 337 | 2182 | 107 | 140 | 247* |
| un | A | 260 | 2110 | 95 | 175 | 270 |
|  | B | 450 | 1880 | 100 | 150 | 250 |
|  | C | 380 | 1800 | 30 | 145 | 225 |
|  | D | 240 | 2050 | 95 | 125 | 220 |
|  | mean | 332 | 1960 | 92 | 149 | 241 |
| un | A | 240 | 1080 | 75 | 1.90 | 265 |
|  | B | 440 | 1130 | 80 | 165 | 245 |
|  | C | 350 | 1100 | 85 | 155 | 240 |
|  | D | 500 | 1150 | 95 | 130 | 225 |
|  | mean | 382 | 1115 | 84 | 160 | 244 |
| en | A | 490 | 1500 | 80 | 155 | 235 |
|  | B | 570 | 1520 | 75 | 160 | 235 |
|  | C | 490 | 1.440 | 65 | 135 | 200 |
|  | D | 680 | 1720 | 75 | 135 | 210 |
|  | mean | 557 | 1545 | 74 | 146 | 220 |
| an | A | 820 | 1610 | 135 | 145 | 280 |
|  | B | 840 | 1420 | 110 | 130 | 240 |
|  | C | 750 | 1550 | 100 | 100 | 200 |
|  | D | 870 | 1590 | 145 | 95 | 240 |
|  | mean | 820 | 1542 | 122 | 117 | 240 |
| ing | A | 450 | 2230 | 110 | 145 | 255 |
|  | B | 410 | 2310 | 70 | 140 | 210 |
|  | C | 330 | 2140 | 95 | 135 | 230 |
|  | D | 460 | 2320 | 105 | 120 | 225 |
|  | mean | 412 | 2250 | 95 | 135 | 230 |
| ong | A | 480 | 890 | 55 | 155 | 210 |
|  | B | 430 | 760 | 45 | 160 | 205 |
|  | C | 520 | 830 | 100 | 140 | 240 |
|  | D | 490 | 780 | 85 | 125 | 210 |
|  | mean | 480 | 815 | 71 | 145 | 216 |
| eng | A | 500 | 1410 | 80 | 165 | 245 |
|  | B | 430 | 1200 | 85 | 170 | 255 |
|  | c | 520 | 1470 | 90 | 150 | 240 |
|  | D | 470 | 920 | 70 | 165 | 235 |
|  | mean | 480 | 1250 | 81 | 162 | 244 |

Table 2 (cont.)

| Rnyme | Speaker | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{~F}_{2}$ | Duration |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | vowel | nasal | total |
| ang | A | 830 | 1310 | 125 | 145 | 270 |
|  | B | 830 | 1270 | 120 | 130 | 250 |
|  | C | 670 | 1200 | 115 | 140 | 255 |
|  | D | 900 | 1340 | 100 | 150 | 250 |
|  | mean | 807 | 1280 | 115 | 141 | 256 |

Table 3. Formant frequencies and durations of steady states in diphthongs in the context $C$ $\qquad$ \#


1. $t_{1}=$ duration of first steady state; $t_{2}=$ duration of transition between the steady states; $t_{3}=$ duration of second steady state.

Table 3 (cont.)


Third formants of the diphthongs ie and üe:

|  | ie |  |  | ue |  |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Speaker: | A | 3070 | 2670 | 2240 | 2600 |  |
| B | 2790 | 2680 | 2280 | 2520 |  |  |
| C | 2710 | 2460 | 2210 | 2420 |  |  |
| D | 3210 | 2730 | 2500 | 2640 |  |  |
| mean | 2945 | 2635 | 2307 | 2545 |  |  |

Table 4. Formant frequencies of triphthong steady states.

|  | Speaker | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | $F_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | duration |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| iao | A | 420 | 2270 | 440 | 1250 | 440 | 900 | 250 |
|  | B | 350 | 1940 | 590 | 1080 | 510 | 940 | 250 |
|  | C | 390 | 1840 | 520 | 1240 | 400 | 980 | 225 |
|  | D | 430 | 2460 | 640 | 1400 | 520 | 980 | 260 |
|  | mean | 398 | 2128 | 548 | 1242 | 468 | 950 | 246 |
| $\underline{\text { uai }}$ | A | 360 | 1270 | 620 | 1720 | 370 | 2180 | 205 |
|  | B | 390 | 1230 | 620 | 1700 | 400 | 1930 | 195 |
|  | C | 480 | 1350 | 590 | 1680 | 500 | 1850 | 180 |
|  | D | 470 | 1180 | 740 | 1510 | 480 | 1970 | 220 |
|  | mean | 425 | 1257 | 642 | 1652 | 437 | 1982 | 200 |

Table 5. Formant frequencies anç durations for diphthongs before nasals.

| Rhyme | Speaker | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{F}_{1}$ | $F_{2}$ | vowel | duration nasal | total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ian | A | 290 | 2320 | 900 | 1690 | 135 | 115 | 300 |
|  | B | 310 | 2200 | 630 | 1750 | 120 | 130 | 250 |
|  | C | 370 | 1900 | 670 | 1650 | 130 | 105 | 235 |
|  | D | 460 | 2390 | 500 | 1920 | 185 | 90 | 275 |
|  | mean | 357 | 2202 | 675 | 1752 | 155 | 110 | 265 |
| üan | A | 310 | 2080 | 500 | 1720 | 165 | 110 | 275 |
|  | B | 300 | 1820 | 550 | 1330 | 145 | 110 | 255 |
|  | C | 450 | 1800 | 730 | 1620 | 130 | 115 | 245 |
|  | D | 280 | 2100 | 630 | 1630 | 170 | 90 | 260 |
|  | mean | 335 | 1950 | 602 | 1575 | 152 | 106 | 259 |
| uan | A | 450 | 910 | 690 | 1410 | 155 | 110 | 265 |
|  | B | 380 | 1000 | 580 | 1390 | 135 | 140 | 275 |
|  | C | 500 | 1130 | 630 | 1510 | 130 | 130 | 260 |
|  | D | 430 | 930 | 700 | 1320 | 185 | 85 | 270 |
|  | mean | 440 | 992 | 650 | 1407 | 151 | 116 | 267 |
| iong | A | 250 | 2110 | 260 | 1500 | 100 | 135 | 235 |
|  | B | 420 | 1710 | 400 | 940 | 70 | 150 | 220 |
|  | C | 330 | 2100 | 330 | 820 | 65 | 140 | 205 |
|  | D | 250 | 2160 | 270 | 980 | 90 | 120 | 210 |
|  | mean | 312 | 2020 | 315 | 1060 | 31 | 136 | 217 |
| iang | A | 430 | 2280 | 720 | 1180 | 140 | 110 | 250* |
|  | B | 600 | 2170 | 860 | 1240 | 120 | 125 | 245* |
|  | C | 540 | 2100 | 700 | 1110 | 150 | 110 | 260* |
|  | D | 290 | 2360 | 350 | 1370 | 140 | 100 | 240* |
|  | mean | 465 | 2227 | 782 | 1225 | 137 | 111 | 249* |
| uang | A | 500 | 960 | 730 | 1090 | 115 | 135 | 250 |
|  | B | 370 | 930 | 560 | 1180 | 120 | 140 | 260 |
|  | C | 510 | 840 | 620 | 1110 | 110 | 135 | 245 |
|  | D | 490 | 910 | 700 | 1280 | 125 | 115 | 240 |
|  | mean | 467 | 910 | 652 | 1165 | 117 | 131 | 249 |



Figure 1:1. $F_{1}-F_{2}$-diagram for the five vowel phonemes.


Figure 1:2. $\mathrm{F}_{1}-\mathrm{F}_{3}$-diagram for the five vowel phonemes.


Figure 2:1. $\mathrm{F}_{1}-\mathrm{F}_{2}$-diagram for [ $\left.\sigma\right]$, [1] and [l]. The stars represent the averages for the five main allophones of the vowels.


Figure 2:2. $\mathrm{F}_{1}-\mathrm{F}_{3}$-diagram for [ $\%$ ], [2] and [ 7 ]. The letters i, $\underline{\underline{u}}, \underline{u}, \underline{e}$ and $\underline{a}$ represent average formant values for these vowels in open syllables.


Figure 3: I. $\mathrm{F}_{1}-\mathrm{F}_{2}$-diagram for vowels before $\underline{n}$. The stars represent average formant values for vowels in open syllables.


Figure 3:2. $\mathrm{F}_{1}-\mathrm{F}_{2}$-diagram for vowels before ng .


Figure 4:1. Diphthongs before $\varnothing$.


Figure 4:2. Diphthongs before nasals.

$\square$


Figure 5:1. Duration of monophthongs.


Figure 5:2. Duration of diphthongs and triphthongs.


Figure 6. Transition percentage plotted against total duration for the diphthongs.

