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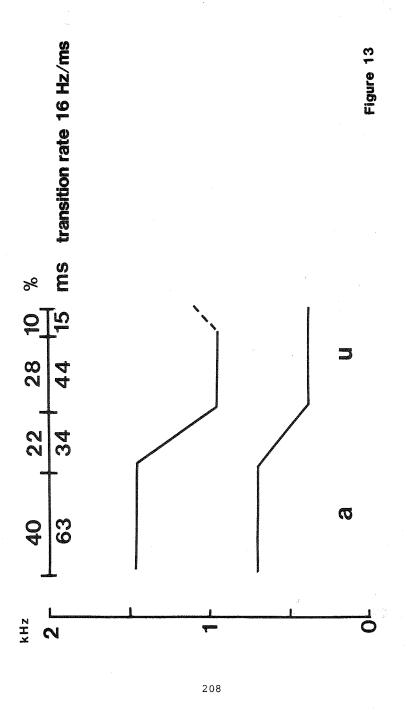
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Vowels and Diphtongs in Standard Chinese

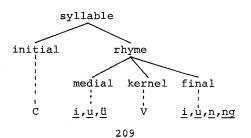
Jan-Olof Svantesson

In this article, the acoustic properties of Standard Chinese (putonghuà) 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 between the steady states is important, and differs between different Chinese diphthongs and also differs from the "same" diphthong in other languages.

<u>Pīnyīn</u> spelling (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 \underline{i} , \underline{u} or \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 [1], 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:

The vowel /i/ has the allophone [1] after dental sibilants (\underline{s} , \underline{z} [ts] and \underline{c} [tsh]), the allophone [1] after postdental sibilants (\underline{sh} [ξ], \underline{zh} [t ξ], \underline{ch} [t ξ h] and \underline{r} [z]), and is otherwise [i].

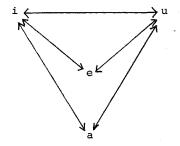
There is no contrast between (phonetically) different mid vowels, so they will be regarded as allophones of a phoneme written /e/. It has the allophone [τ] as a single-vowel rhyme (written e in the $p\bar{l}$ ny \bar{l} n spelling), but in other rhymes it has allophones ranging from [o] to [e].

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

The following diphthongs and triphthongs occur:

<u>iu</u>	/iu/	ui	/ui/
<u>ia</u>	/ia/	<u>ai</u>	/ai/
ua	/ua/	ao	/au/
<u>ie</u>	/ie/	<u>ei</u>	/ei/
uo	/ue/	<u>ou</u>	/eu/
üе	/i [;] e/		
iao	/iau/	uai	/uai/

The system of diphthongs is rather symmetrical, and with the exception of \underline{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 [a], 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" (érhuà) is a feature of Standard Chinese, even though it is a common feature of Běijing pronunciation, since there is a tendency to regard erization as a vulgarism and to avoid it in Standard Chinese. Erization will not be treated in this article.

The following rhymes occur:

i					in	ing -
ij					ün	
u		ui			un	ong $/u_{\eta}/$
iu						iong /iuŋ/
е		ei	ou	/eu/	en	eng
ie						
iie						
uo	/ue/					
a		ai	ao	/au/	an	ang
ia			iao	/iau/	ian	iang
					üan	
ua		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 Běijing 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 (\underline{wo} \underline{ba} \underline{zi} \underline{xie} \underline{hao}), 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 Fl and F2 values).

The formant frequencies as measured in the middle of monophthongic vowels in the context $C_{\underline{}}$ # are given in Table 1.

The formants of the five main allophones of the vowel phonemes (\underline{i} [i], \underline{u} [y], \underline{u} [u], \underline{a} [a] and \underline{e} [7]) are plotted on Figure 1, and the formants of \underline{er} [\underline{er}] and the /i/allophones [1] and [$\underline{1}$] are plotted on Figure 2.

The vowels [1] and [1] are usually described as vocalic [z] and [z]. According to Cheng 1973:13, X-ray studies by Zhou 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 [1], which are generally used in Chinese linguistics were introduced by Bernhard Karlgren, who took [1] 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 \underline{i} and \underline{e} and \underline{er} do not differ much in F1 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 $C = \underline{n}$ and $C = \underline{ng}$) are given in Table 2 and on Figure 3. The main differences as compared to open-syllable vowels are: \underline{i} is lowered in nasal contexts, \underline{e} and \underline{a} are fronted before \underline{n} , and \underline{u} is considerably lowered before \underline{ng} (where it is written \underline{o} in the \underline{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 $(\underline{n} \text{ or } \underline{ng})$ 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 $[\tau]$), i.e. ie, ue, ei, ou /eu/ and uo /ue/ contain [e] ~ $[\epsilon]$ or [o]-like allophones of /e/.

As Figure 4:2 shows, the final <u>a</u> component of the diphthongs \underline{ua} and \underline{ia} is much fronter before the nasal \underline{n} than before \underline{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

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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 frequencies 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 F2) change during the transition.) These data are given in Table 3, and are plotted 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 quality (formant structure) and quantity (duration). Thus, a speaker of Hausa or Arabic first makes an [a], then goes quickly 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 ___ #.

Vowel	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	duration	(ms)
<u>i</u> [i]	A	200 240	2370 2400	3430 3400	175 165	
	В	220 340	2040 2320	2960 3270	180 170	
	С	240 400	1800 1830	3360 3390	150 195	
	D	200 230	2420 2360	3600 3510	185 200	
	mean	259	2192	3365	177	
<u>ü</u> [y]	A	210 220	2140 2220	2580 2490	150 160	
	В	270 460	2150 2070	2340 2630	140 170	
	С	360 380	1820 1900	2450 2670	180 155	
	D	220 220	2200 1890	2510 2340	150 17 5	
	mean	292	2040	2501	160	
<u>u</u> [u]	A	360 240	810 760	2460 2730	150 150	
	В	430 330	640 720	2430 2610	165 150	
	С	240 310	940 700	2280 2620	140 145	
	D	450 280	760 760	2750 2720	150 150	
	mean	330	761	2575	150	
<u>a</u> [a]	A	770 930	1200 1290	2530 2600	145 185	
	В	770 930	1180 1340	2360 2620	190 190	
	С	650 960	1340 1500	2640 2530	155 120	
	D	860 920	1370 1450	2800 2810	195 185	
	mean	849	1334	2611	171	

Table 1 (cont.)

Vowel	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃	duration
<u>e</u> [7]	A	340 330	1170 1130	2550 2600	220* 235*
	В	510 500	1080 1120	2500 2570	205* 225*
	С	380 380	1360 1430	2310 2200	160* 190*
	D .	500 480	1260 1400	2580 2560	240* 215*
	mean	428	1244	2484	211*
<u>er</u> [æ]	A	400 500	1480 1480	1890 1820	225* 335*
•	В	490 600	1420 1380	1750 1760	250* 280*
	С	430 440	1430 1370	1710 1760	195* 240*
	D	440 450	1320 1340	1630 1720	435* 330*
**	mean	469	1402	1755	261*
<u>i</u> [1]	A	240 270	1160 1170	2700 2800	85 120
	В	370 420	1200 1210	2710 2790	155 190
	С	400 440	1240 1380	2620 2700	290 145
	D	490 480	1220 1280	2600 2620	135 140
	mean	389	1232	2692	140
<u>i</u> [1]	A	430 280	1750 1970	2300 2510	115 130
	В	480 450	1690 1710	2510 2580	155 170
	С -	470 440	1600 1590	2620 2760	135 130
	D	510 510	1710 1700	2220 2470	140 125
	mean	446	1715	2496	137

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

				Duration (ms)			s)
Rhyme	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂		vowel	nasal	total
in	A B C D	260 470 380 240	2200 2230 1900 2400		110 100 90 130	150 155 140 115	260* 255* 230* 245*
	mean	337	2182		107	140	247*
<u>ün</u>	A B C D	260 450 380 240	2110 1880 1800 2050		95 100 80 95	175 150 145 125	270 250 225 220
	mean	332	1960		92	149	241
<u>un</u>	A B C D	240 440 350 500	1080 1130 1100 1150		75 80 85 95	190 165 155 130	265 245 240 225
	mean	382	1115		84	160	244
<u>en</u>	A B C D	490 570 490 680	1500 1520 1440 1720		80 75 65 75	155 160 135 135	235 235 200 210
	mean	557	1545		74	146	220
<u>an</u>	A B C D	820 840 750 870	1610 1420 1550 1590		135 110 100 145	145 130 100 95	280 240 200 240
	mean	820	1542		122	117	240
ing	A B C D	450 410 330 460	2230 2310 2140 2320		110 70 95 105	145 140 135 120	255 210 230 225
	mean	412	2250		95	135	230
ong	A B C D	480 430 520 490	890 760 830 780		55 45 100 85	155 160 140 125	210 205 240 210
	mean	480	815		71	145	216
eng	A B C D	500 430 520 470	1410 1200 1470 920		80 85 90 70	165 170 150 165	245 255 240 235
	mean	480	1250		81	162	244

Table 2 (cont.)

Rhyme	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂	Du vowel	ration nasal	total
ang	A B C D	830 830 670 900	1310 1270 1200 1340	125 120 115 100	145 130 140 150	270 250 255 250
	mean	807	1280	115	141	256

Table 3. Formant frequencies and durations of steady states in diphthongs in the context C $\underline{\hspace{0.4cm}\#}$

	arpire	J11-5 E							7	
	Speaker	^F 1	F ₂	F ₁	F ₂		t ₁	Durat	ion ¹	tot.
<u>iu</u>	A B C D mean	220 410 370 490 372	2330 2080 1930 2360 2175	250 410 410 500 392	740 820 720 830 778		55 30 45 45 44	60 60 55 60 59	75 80 75 85 79	240 210 175 245 216
<u>ui</u>	A B C D mean	250 350 390 460 362	1480 1530 1260 1400 1418	270 330 480 480 390	2340 1900 2050 2160 2112		70 40 40 50 50	25 30 50 35 35	100 70 50 90 78	210 165 190 205 192
<u>ia</u>	A B C D mean	410 350 410 400 392	2050 1900 1910 2270 2032	800 860 700 900 815	1350 1280 1260 1890 1445		40 20 25 20 26	90 65 65 80 75	100 100 100 130 107	235 210 190 230 216
<u>ai</u>	A B C D mean	830 710 660 810 752	1710 1700 1720 1760 1722	240 420 400 470 382	2330 1840 1960 2300 2108		45 50 30 70 49	110 100 100 65 94	20 50 50 30 38	185 205 180 170 185
<u>ua</u>	A B C D mean	480 460 480 450 468	1040 910 900 850 925	720 710 830 980 810	1320 1180 1310 1320 1282		90 40 45 50 56	20 50 35 20 31	125 110 110 170 129	245 200 210 245 225
<u>ao</u>	A B C D mean	640 690 520 880 682	1160 1120 890 1200 1092	400 520 350 480 438	770 820 800 850 810		55 120 70 120 91	55 30 50 25 40	80 50 60 60 62	235 235 200 235 226
<u>ie</u>	A B C D mean	220 350 290 210 268	2300 2200 1920 2470 2222	550 620 540 500 552	2050 1880 1640 2170 1935		95 95 55 80 81	15 20 30 20 21	30 40 45 50 41	160 160 150 180 162
<u>ei</u>	A B C D	420 500 	1650 1760 	320 340	2270 2050		25 20	115 60	20 90	180* 170*
	mean	460	1705	330	2160		22	87	55	175*
<u>uo</u>	A B C D mean	480 420 260 420 395	720	550 620 520 470 540	920	Ŧ	120 110 100 110 110	30 25 20 20 24	45 30 50 50 44	205 215 190 230 210
							٠		_£ +	~~~

^{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.)

	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂	F ₁	F ₂	t ₁	Dura t ₂	tion	tot.
<u>ou</u>	A B C D mean	480 360 500 540 470	1000 950 1250 1090 1072	280 350 320 420 342	800 780 1090 780 862	35 25 50 45 39	20 20 40 25 26	115 120 80 100 104	200 200 175 205 195
<u>üe</u>	A B C D mean	260 450 270 300 320	1940 1920 1840 2250	510 580 520 500 527	1850 1700 1610 1740 1725	60 50 55 60 56	15 20 25 25 21	60 80 65 85 73	140 160 145 170 154

Third formants of the diphthongs ie and üe:

		<u>ie</u>		<u>üe</u>	
Speaker:	: A	3070	2670	2240	2600
	В	2790	2680	2280	2520
	С	2710	2460	2210	2420
	D	3210	2730	2500	2640
	mean	2945	2635	2307	2545

Table 4. Formant frequencies of triphthong steady states.

	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂	F ₁	F ₂	F ₁	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
<u>uai</u>	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 and durations for diphthongs before nasals.

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Rhyme	Speaker	F ₁	F ₂	F ₁	F ₂	vowel	duratio nasal	n total	
<u>ian</u>	A	290	2320	900	1690	185	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	
<u>üan</u>	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	
<u>uan</u>	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	81	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	850	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	

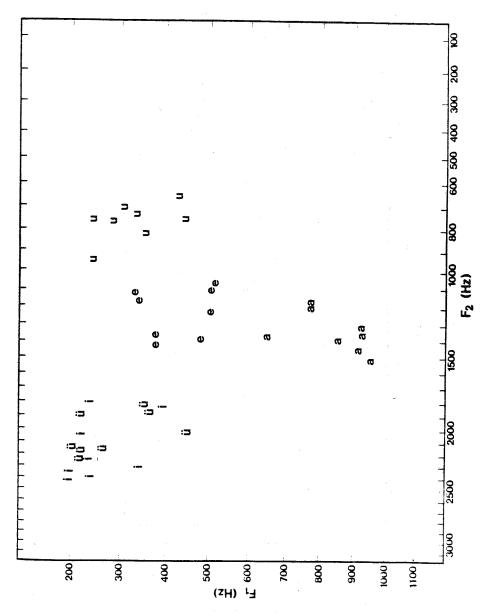


Figure 1:1. F_1 - F_2 -diagram for the five vowel phonemes.

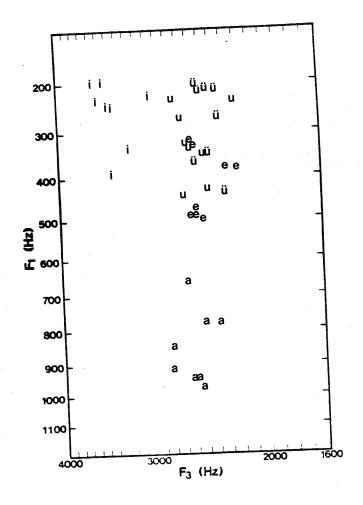


Figure 1:2. F_1 - F_3 -diagram for the five vowel phonemes.

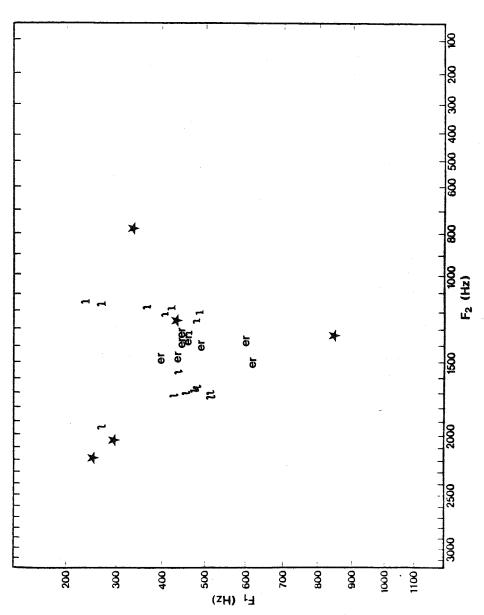


Figure 2:1. F_1 - F_2 -diagram for [σ], [1] and [1]. The stars represent the averages for the five main allophones of the vowels.

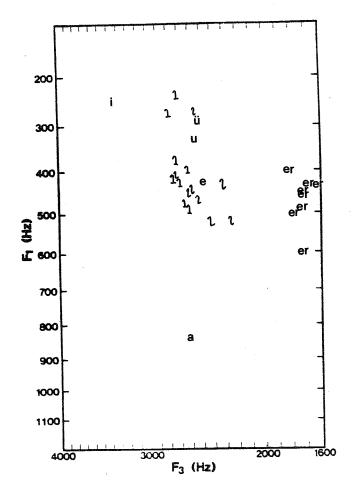


Figure 2:2. F_1 - F_3 -diagram for [σ], [$\mathbf{1}$] and [$\mathbf{1}$]. The letters $\underline{\mathbf{i}}$, $\underline{\mathbf{u}}$, $\underline{\mathbf{u}}$, $\underline{\mathbf{e}}$ and $\underline{\mathbf{a}}$ represent average formant values for these vowels in open syllables.

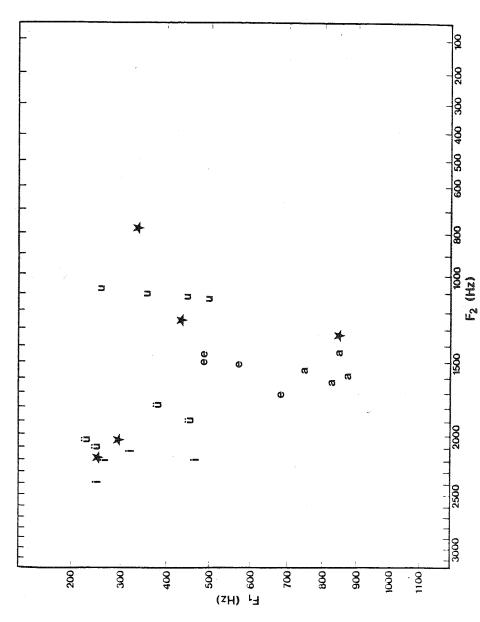


Figure 3:1. F_1 - F_2 -diagram for vowels before \underline{n} . The stars represent average formant values for vowels in open syllables.

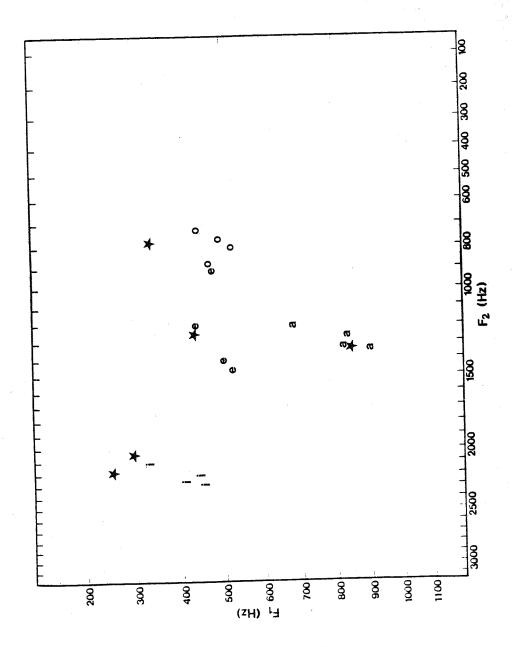


Figure 3:2. F_1 - F_2 -diagram for vowels before \underline{ng} .

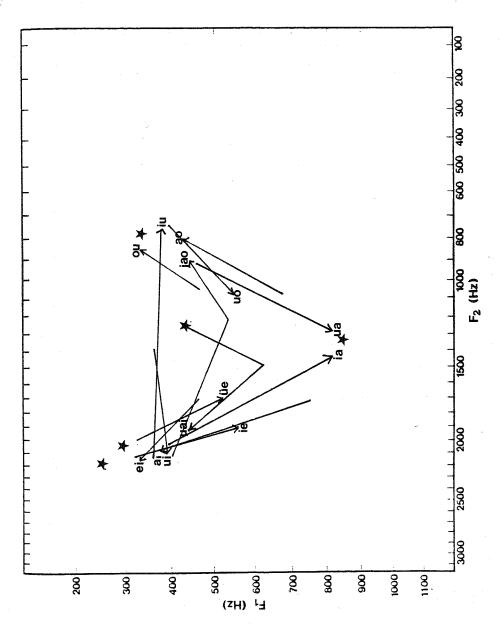


Figure 4:1. Diphthongs before Ø.

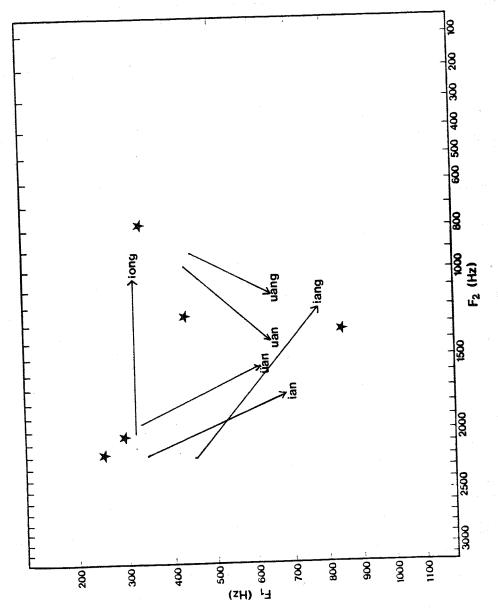


Figure 4:2. Diphthongs before nasals.

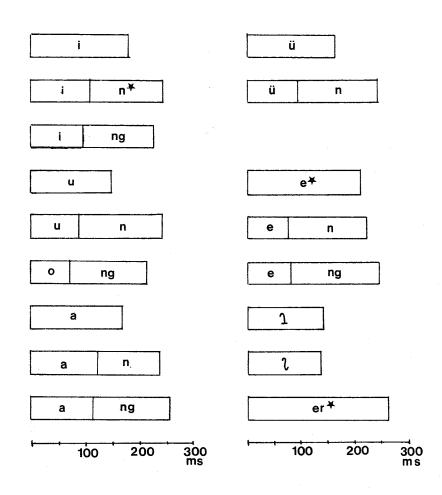


Figure 5:1. Duration of monophthongs.

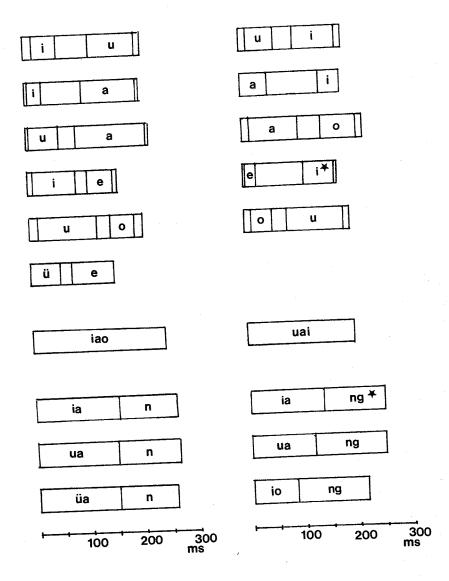


Figure 5:2. Duration of diphthongs and triphthongs.

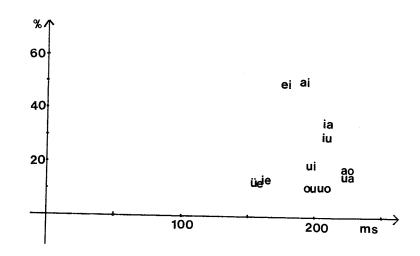


Figure 6. Transition percentage plotted against total duration for the diphthongs.