

# Acoustic Variation of Syllable-Initial [ŋ] in Zhengding Chinese

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#### Abstract

The study explores the acoustic properties of syllable-initial  $[\eta]$  in Zhengding dialect, to see whether the younger generation shows the same pattern with the senior group. 60 items with vowel realizations [ $\Lambda$ , a, a,  $\vartheta$ ,  $\varkappa$ ] and [ai, ao, ou] in '[ $\eta$ ]-V' and '[g]-V' structures are produced by 8 native speakers. Three experiments are conducted. Experiment I compares (n]-V and '[g]-V' structures in senior speeches. Three acoustic effects due to the initial [ŋ] are established: vowels become less distinctive from each other by decreasing the first formant (F1), increasing the second formant (F2), and shrinking the gap between the second formant (F2) and the third formant (F3). Experiment II is conducted between '[n]-V' and '[g]-V' in the younger speakers, investigating whether they have a similar pattern with the seniors. Experiment III is supplemented to compare the younger speeches in Zhengding dialect and Mandarin, to explore whether the generational variation in Zhengding dialect is relevant to dialect contact, i.e., whether the younger speakers are largely influenced by Mandarin. The result shows the younger generation does not produce the initial [ŋ] with the vowel realizations  $[\Lambda, a, a, a, a, a]$ , and an analytic traditionally have an initial  $[\eta]$ , with an exception in [x]. A fusion process is assumed in [x] in the younger pattern, in which the initial nasal [n]and the following vowel [x] are combined into the single nasalized vowel  $[\tilde{x}]$ , with the nasal effects remained, but the initial nasal then deleted. From the sociovariationist perspective, the nasal-initial pronunciation is a partial variation in Zhengding dialect. Not all speakers pronounce with the velar-initial [ŋ]. The older generation largely remained the velar-initial variant, but the younger generation preferred the zero-onset, which might be due to the influence of dialect contact with Mandarin.

Keywords: Sound change, Sociophonetic analysis, Velar nasal, Fusion

### 1. Introduction

This paper examines the phonetic characteristics of initial velar nasal [ŋ] in Zhengding dialect,



a northern variety of Chinese. According to definitions, velar sounds are produced with the back of tongue articulating against the velum (Rogers 2000), and nasal sounds are produced with an oral closure and a velopharyngeal opening (House 1957; Stevens 1998; Chen 2000). The velar nasal [ŋ] is observed in many languages, but it also lacks in some other languages, as seen in the world atlas of language structures (Anderson 2005; 2013). The occurrence of [n] is far more restrictive in word-initial position than the word-final or word-medial positions (Andrew 2013). Chinese, a member of the Sino-Tibetan family of languages, is classified into seven major dialect groups, each with its own sub-varieties, as seen in (1a) (Ramsey 1987; Liu 2010). Northern varieties are called Mandarin dialects (Note 1), and spoken by over 70% Chinese speakers (Duanmu 2005). The other six dialect groups are known as southern dialects. The geographic distribution between northern and southern dialects is presented in (1b). In Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua, the official language spoken in Peoples' Republic of China), the velar nasal can only occur in the coda of the syllable, but not in the initial position (Duanmu 2005). However, the initial velar nasal [ŋ] has been observed in many southern varieties, such as in Suzhou, Wenzhou, Shuangfeng, Yangzhou, Changsha, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Nanchang (Chang 1971: 200).

Northern Varieties	Southern V	Southern Varieties							
Mandarin	Wu Dislasta	Gan	Xiang	Hakka	Yue	Min			
Dialects	Dialects	Dialects	Dialects	Dialects	Dialects	Dialects			



### (1)b Geographic Distribution of Chinese dialects

Available from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\_of\_varieties\_of\_Chinese



The velar nasal  $[\eta]$  is also found in syllable-initials in Zhengding dialect (Annals of Zhengding County 1992; Song 1999), a subtype of northern varieties. Zhengding county is located in central Shijiazhuang, in the southwest of Hebei province in China. It is 15 km to the north of the urban area of Shijiazhuang city, and 258 km to the south of Beijing, the capital city of China (Zhengding County Annals, 1992). In Zhengding dialect, three nasal initials are licensed: [m, n, ŋ]; and five vowels are allowed to co-occur with the initial [ŋ]: /a, e, ai, ao, ou/ (Annals of Zhengding County 1992), among 9 vowel inventories, as seen in (2).

(2) Vowel Inventories in Zhengding dialect (Note 2)



The precise realization is depending upon the phonetic environment. The vowel phoneme /a/ is phonetically realized as [ $\Lambda$ ], when it follows a consonant or used independently. It is realized as [ $\alpha$ ] in compound finals (Fuyunmu in Chinese) *ao* and *ang*; and realized as [ $\alpha$ ] in compound final *ai* and *an*. The vowel phoneme /e/ is realized as [ $\vartheta$ ] in the compound final *en*, and as [ $\varkappa$ ] when following a consonant or used by itself (based on http:// web.csulb.edu/~txie/461/ Readings/PinyinandIPA), although there were arguments on different vowel variations in oral Chinese dialects (Flege, Bohn and Jang, 1997; Li and Thompson, 1981; Chen & Wang, 2013). Thus eight vowel realizations [ $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\vartheta$ ,  $\chi$ , ai,  $\alpha$ , ou] are licensed with initial [ $\eta$ ] in Zhengding dialect. Some examples on the word-initial contrast between Zhengding dialect and Mandarin are illustrated in (3), in which the initial [ $\eta$ ] is selected in Zhengding dialect, but prohibited in Mandarin. (Note 3)

### (3) Character Zhengding IPA Mandarin IPA Gloss

**Dialect** (Note 4)

碍	ŋai <sup>412</sup>	[ŋai]	ai <sup>51</sup>	[ai]	"to obstruct"	(Song 1999: 104)
岸	ŋan <sup>412</sup>	[ŋan]	an <sup>51</sup>	[an]	"bank"	(Song 1999: 104)
袄	ŋao <sup>55</sup>	[ŋao]	ao <sup>214</sup>	[au]	"jacket"	(Zhu 2007: 47)
恩	ŋen <sup>223</sup>	[ŋən]	en <sup>55</sup>	[ən]	"grace"	(Zhu 2007: 47)
饿	ŋe <sup>412</sup>	[ŋx]	e <sup>51</sup>	$[\gamma]$	"hungry"	(Zhu 2007: 47)

Chinese



The goal of the study is to see whether all natives in Zhengding dialect produce with the initial [n], and how this sound affects the phonetics of the following vowels in different generations. 8 native speakers, four senior (>/= 45 years old) and four younger (<45 years old), are recruited for participation. It is hoped to deepen the perceptional recognition of the nasal onset [n] in Zhengding dialect, and to specialize the phonological consequence of the generational variations.

The remainder of the paper consists of five sections. Previous analyses on initial [n] are presented in section 2. Section 3 introduces fusion process in sound changes, which is applied to explain the sound variation in the young speakers. Section 4 describes the methodology, involving the experiment setup and data analysis. Section 5 presents the results of three acoustic experiments, to investigate whether the young generation shows the similar pattern with the senior speakers, traditionally with the initial [n]. I propose a fusion process undergoes in the young speaker in the vowel [x]. It also suggests dialect contact between Zhengding dialect and Mandarin, contributes to the generational variations in Zhengding dialect. Section 6 presents the conclusion and the limitations about this study.

### 2. Previous Studies of Initial-[ŋ]

The literatures on initial  $[\eta]$  is outlined in this section, involving the distributional and phonotactic characteristics of syllable-initial  $[\eta]$ , the origin of the word-initial  $[\eta]$  in cross-linguistically, the current studies on the initial  $[\eta]$  in Cantonese and Shijiazhuang urban dialect from the socio-variationist perspectives, and the acoustic measurements for vowel formant changes.

### 2.1 Distributional and Phonotactic Studies of Initial-[ŋ]

The velar nasal [ŋ] was acknowledged as one of the most definable sounds in areal and phonotactic distributions across the world (Anderson 2005: 217). Anderson (2013) claimed the sound [ŋ] existed in 48% of the 100-language sample in the World Atlas of language structures. It was included in "languages of North America (especially California), Australian languages, also in Burushaski, Munda languages and the Tibet-Burman family", and many others. It lacked in "most Dravidian and Indo-European language of South Asia" (Anderson 2013). It may be controversial whether this sound is phonemic (contrastive) or phonetic in some languages. For example, in Japanese, Martin (1952: 12), Jorden (1955: 3), and Bloch (1958: 334) proposed [ŋ] as a separate phoneme (Goodman 1968: 153); while Goodman (1968: 154; 156) argued it was the allophone of [g], and [ŋ] only occurred medially in phonological words.

For the phonotactic characteristics of  $[\eta]$ , Anderson (2013) reported  $[\eta]$  might occur in onset or coda word-peripherally (word-initially or word-finally) or word-medially. The velar nasal  $[\eta]$  in Polish was fully determined by contexts. It could appear only before the velar plosive [k, g], such as in *kongo*, *tango*, *ręka* and *drąg*. However, in English it was determined by phonetic contexts to a lesser extent. Although it was impossibly initial, it might occur medially, such as before consonants in *England*, *anchor*, and *anxiety*. It was also licensed finally in *tongue* and *among*. Cross-linguistically, the nasal  $[\eta]$  in the word-initial was more



restrictive than that in the word-final or word-medial position. The word-initial [ŋ] was found "in languages as Bagirmi, Canela-Krahô, Chukchi, Indonesian, Mangarrayi, Meithei, Oksapmin, and Rama among the 100-language sample, but forbidden in a large number of European, western Asian, western and central Siberian languages" (Anderson 2013).

For the initial  $[\eta]$ , Blevins and Kaufman (2012) studied its origins in Palauan, from morphological instead of phonological perspectives. Palauan is "a Malayo-Polynesian language with a long history of independent development". Blevins et al. (2012) argued that the nasalization at word or phrase boundaries in Palauan did not result from natural phonetic motivations, but from a reanalysis of a particle \* $\eta$ . A third person singular marker ' $\eta$ ' in the word-initial position is reanalyzed as a clitic. This marker combined with the following vowel into a phonological word, as a result of pro-cliticization, as seen in (4).

(4) Syntactic word Phonological word (Blevins 2012: 23)

- a. ng oles [ŋolɛs] 'it is a knife'
- b. ng diak [ndiakh] 'isn't' ([ŋ] undergoes the assimilation to [n] when

followed by a homorganic coronal consonant])

The morphological analysis on the origin of the word-initial  $[\eta]$  in Palauan provides a new approach, different from the regular sound changes with phonological motivation. However, for Chinese, which is impoverished in morphology, the phonetic variation from zero-initial to velar nasal  $[\eta]$  in some dialects is widely considered as a process of sound change across time.

### 2.2 Socio-variationist Perspective for Phonetic Variation

After introducing the origin of the word-initial [ŋ] in particular languages, the socio-variationist perspective is presented in the following part, followed by the case studies on Hong Kong Cantonese (a southern Chinese dialect) (Carol 2015), and Shijiazhuang dialect (a northern Chinese dialect) (Zhu 2007) respectively.

The socio-variationist study involving social factors of age and gender could be dated from Labov (1966, 1972), which analyzed social stratification of -r in New York City (N.Y.C) department stores. The variants of the phonological variable -r were either presence or absence of post-vocalic [r], depending on the social class of speakers. Higher socioeconomic status produced more frequently than those in lower socioeconomic status. Labov's (1966) analysis on post-vocalic [r] presented a variationist perspective for my study. But only the social factor-age, will be mainly focused in my study.

Carol (2015) studied the phonological variation in Cantonese and argued that the zero-initial and the nasal onset [ŋ] were used in strictly different contexts in standard Cantonese in the 20th century. In Cantonese, there are 8 inventories of vowels: [i, y,  $\varepsilon$ ,  $\Theta$ , u,  $\sigma$ ,  $\varepsilon$ , a] (Matthews & Yip 1994). Before vowels [a,  $\varepsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\sigma$ ], the nasal [ŋ] was chosen in standard Cantonese. Carol (2015) further mentioned age was relevant with this sound variation. Speakers preferred to speak [ŋ] in syllable-initial before 1950s; however, the zero-initial began to be



more frequently chosen by speakers born after 1960 till now. The results indicated that the zero-initial increased popularity in the younger generation (Carol 2015: 343). However, Wong (2005) studied the velar nasal in Cantonese through a questionnaire survey, recording sessions and open ended interviews. A process of alveolarization from [ŋ] to [n] had been observed. The alveolar nasal [n] was considered to be the innovative variant, and the velar nasal [ŋ] to be the conservative variant, depending upon age, gender, and formality of speech. To sum up, the velar-nasal onset [ŋ] in Cantonese was undergoing the process of sound variation to nasal-initial [n] (Wong 2005), or to zero-initial (Carol 2015).

Zhu (2007) studied Shijiazhuang urban dialect (one of northern Chinese dialects) from a socio-variationist perspective. Zhu (2007) divided 44 subjects into two groups according ages: senior generation (> 60 years old) and young generation (</= 60 years old). The whole senior generation was observed speaking with the nasal [ŋ], but the young generation spoke with the zero-initial sounds. Zhu (2007) further argued syllable-initial [ŋ] was a contrastive phoneme in Shijiazhuang dialect, which lacked in syllabic onsets in Mandarin. Shijiazhuang urban area was geographically adjacent to Zhengding county. The current studies mainly pointed out this phenomenon without specific analysis on Zhengding dialect (i.e., the Annals of Zhengding County 1992; Song 1999). My study will explore whether there is also a generational difference in Zhengding dialect, as that in Cantonese and Shijiazhuang urban dialect. Before going to the analysis, a brief introduction for acoustic measurement of formants is presented below.

#### 2.3 Acoustic Measurement for Nasalization

Acoustic theories of nasalization reveal that vowel nasalization primarily influences the first formant region F1 in the vowel spectrum. A set of major acoustic effects of nasalization is calculated in House and Stevens (1956), involving the reduction in amplitude of the first formant, the concomitant broadening of the bandwidth, the upward shifting of the frequency of F1, and an overall reduction in the energy of the vowel. Wright (1986) further suggests that nasalization may be expected to cause the raising of low vowels and some mid vowels, or lowering of high vowels and other mid vowels in perceptual findings. This is known as the centralization of nasal vowels in Beddor (1983), and also known as the bi-directional shift of vowel height in perceptual findings in Krakow et al. (1987). That is, the perceptional nasalized vowel quality is largely relevant to the first nasal formant (N1), and the first vowel formant (F1). For instance, for the nasalized/nasal vowel [a], the frequency of N1 is less than the frequency of F1, so the energy is distributed lower than usual. A raising effect is perceived. For the nasalized/nasal vowel [e] and [o], the frequency of N1 exceeds the frequency of F1, then a lowering effect is perceived in quality. The underlying trigger is due to the low-frequency region of the first nasal formant (N1), and the low-frequency of the zero formant (i.e., anti-formants in nasals), which reduced the prominence of F1 in vowels (Krakow et al. 1987). In my study, I will test whether Zhengding dialect shows the same acoustic tendency between the senior and younger speakers, in terms of the frequency of the vowel formants.



In the following section, the theoretical background about "fusion" in phonological change is provided, which will be applied to explain the phonological variation in Zhengding dialect.

### **3. Fusion and Phonetic Variation**

Changes in pronunciation are known as phonological changes, or sound changes in a traditional term. Fusion, as one of the triggers for sound changes, occurs when a feature is added to a segment, or removed from a segment, or spread from one segment to another. The redistribution of the features is found in most types of phonological changes (Trask 1996: 52).

Trask (1996: 62) illustrated that this phenomenon widely existed in French historically. The nasal consonant disappeared when vowels preceded the syllable-coda [n] and [m]. This was the origin of *pain* 'bread' ( $[p\tilde{e}]$ ), *langue* 'tongue' ( $[l\tilde{a}:g]$ ), and *bon* 'good' ( $[b\tilde{a}]$ ), etc. The nasal vowels an >  $\tilde{a}$  can be also observed in the word *blanc* > *bl* $\tilde{a}$  in French (Crowley & Bowern 2010: 34). This process is known as fusion, in which two segments (an oral vowel and a nasal consonant) combine into single segment. Since the segments are made up of a number of features, as seen in (5a), fusion can be understood as a process that combines different features of the two original sounds into a new set of features upon a single sound. The set of features upon the new segment can decide the nature of the sound (Crowley & Bowern 2010).

[a]:

(5)a [m]:

[+consonantal]	[-consonantal]
[+voiced]	[+voiced]
[+labial]	[+low]
[+nasal]	

(Crowley & Bowern 2010: 33)

More examples of fusion are illustrated here. Trask (1996: 62) argued that the sequence like [tj], [dj] and [sj] might be pronounced as  $[\widehat{tJ}]$ ,  $[d\widehat{3}]$  and  $[\widehat{J}]$  in English like *nature*, *education* and *tissue* respectively. The sequence [rj] is combined into [ř] like *Dvořák* in Czech. The combination of post-alveolar [r] with a following dental or alveolar is fused into a single retroflex in *fart* 'speed' ([fa:t]), korn 'grain' ([ko:n]) in Swedish (Trask 1996: 62). Another fusional analysis in Indonesian about nasal substitution is provided in (5b) (Halle & Clements 1983: 125; cited in Key 2008: 5). The [+nasal] feature in the prefix-final consonant and the [-voiced] feature in the root-initial obstruent are combined upon a single segment.

(5)b	/məŋ-pilih/ $\rightarrow$ məmilih	'to choose'	
	/məŋ-tulis/ $\rightarrow$ mənulis	'to write'	
	/məŋ-kasih/ $\rightarrow$ məŋasih	'to give'	(Key 2008: 5)

When fusion operation is mentioned, a relevant concept should be distinguished: Coalescence. Key (2008) defines coalescence as a process by merging two input segments into one output



segment. But coalescence may be attributed to various operations. It may be resulted from fusion operation, or due to assimilation, deletion or feature stability. Four possible derivations for coalescence are discussed in Key (2008), as illustrated in (6a).



#### (Key 2008)

The first derivation (a) stands for normal fusional operation in coalescence. Two units  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  are combined into a single unit  $S_{1,2}$ , with features of  $S_1$  and  $S_2$  remained. The second derivation (b) in coalescence is resulted from the segmental spreading (known as 'assimilation'), followed by a segmental deletion. It may be realized through completely independent processes. The third derivation of coalescence (c) is known as stability phenomenon. Segmental deletion occurs, but the feature does not lose itself. Instead, the feature attaches to a neighboring segment. The fourth derivation (d) in coalescence firstly undergoes the classic fusion as seen in (a), and then followed by the deletion of coalescence in (a) is the classic fusion, which combines different features of the two original sounds into a new set of features upon a single segment.

Two phonological characteristics of fusion are mentioned in previous literatures: word-hood, and sequential permissibility (Mackay 1987: 66-67). Cutting (1973) argued fusional operation had "a longer and linguistically more complex perception than either of the two input speech stimuli". For instance, when the pair *Banket/Lanket* was mentioned, the listening subjects usually suggested hearing *Blanket* instead. Here the "word-hood" is one of the phonological factors that largely influence the occurrence of fusion. The result of the fusion is usually words, no matter whether the stimuli are words or non-words (MacKay 1987: 66). Another



feature of phonological fusion is "sequential permissibility". The fusion is allowed only when the fused results are licensed in listeners' language (MacKay 1987: 67). For instance, the sequence *bdad* and *dbad* is not permitted as a result of fusion of *bad* and *dad*. Regarding the fusion between a nasal and a vowel, the original oral vowel changes into a nasal vowel or a nasalized vowel. The nasal vowel and oral vowel are produced in different manner, as seen in (6b). Nasal vowel is produced "from a lowering of the velum during the vowel, which opens the velopharyngeal port and allows air to flow out through the nose and nostrils" (Styler, 2008:3), as illustrated in French historically. Nasalized vowel has no phonemic distinction from oral vowel, and the vowels, adjacent to nasal consonants, are produced partially or fully assimilated, with a lowered velum, as shown in English.

(6)b The production of an oral vowel and a nasal vowel



(Styler 2008: 3)

In this study, I will examine the loss of initial  $[\eta]$  in Zhengding dialect, involving a process of fusion, in which the syllabic onset  $[\eta]$  and the following vowel  $[\varkappa]$  are fused into a single nasalized vowel in the young speakers in Zhengding dialect.

### 4. Methodology

This section describes the methods on how to collect data, to segment and to measure the frequency of the formants in Zhengding dialect.

### 4.1 Data Collection

The recording task is proceeded on 8 native speakers in Zhengding dialect. It includes four senior (>/=45 years old) and four younger (<45 years old), with four females and four males in total, as seen in (7). The participants were informed of the research goal and the process of the reading. The recording consists of 60 words traditionally in [ŋ]-V context, and 60 paired items in [g]-V context, including both monosyllabic and multisyllabic words. The Mandarin pronunciation are also recorded by the younger speakers. All of the participants are allowed to review and practice the words before the recording is proceeded. Data are recorded using a recording software 'byly.exe', developed by Beijing Language and Culture University. The recording software is downloaded in an Acer laptop, at 16-bit sampling size, 44,100 Hz sampling rate, with a high quality noise cancelling head-mounted microphone. The recordings are saved in (uncompressed) WAV format. The environment for recording the initial [ŋ] and initial [g] is hold constant, by keeping the distance between the participants and the microphone unchanged. A file was then allocated with their ages and genders for each



participant. A code number (N=1, 2...n) is further linked with each participant, to protect their private information.

Speaker Codes	Age	Gender	Educational Levels
Speaker 1	60	Male	Elementary
Speaker 2	55	Male	Middle
Speaker 3	63	Female	Elementary
Speaker 4	54	Female	Middle
Speaker 5	40	Male	Middle
Speaker 6	33	Male	College
Speaker 7	37	Female	College
Speaker 8	25	Female	College

### (7) Information of 8 Native Participants

### 4.2 Data Segment and Analysis

The pronunciations are measured by using the acoustic analysis software Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2012). Since the first three formants are widely acknowledged to differentiate sounds, especially the first and second formants, representing the high-low and front-back distinctions of vowels (cited in Chen et al. 2013: 2), so in this study, the first two formants are plotted in this study. In monophthongs [ $\Lambda$ , a, a,  $\kappa$ ,  $\vartheta$ ], the frequencies at the mid-point, are plotted in [ $\eta$ ]-V, [g]-V and zero-initial structures respectively, assuming consonantal effects to be minimal at the mid-point. But a different measurement point is determined for the diphthongs [ai, ao, ou]: the frequencies at the assuming average transitional space are plotted, permitting comparisons of dynamic vowel features between two single vowels. Additionally, values of the velar pinch (i.e., F3-F2) are also plotted, to compare the velar effect between the nasal [ $\eta$ ] and the plosive [g], both of which are velar segments. Multiple paired t-tests are also conducted, to see whether the formant changes in vowels are significantly distinct between different generations.

### 5. Experimental Analyses of Initial-[ŋ] in Zhengding Dialect

Three acoustic experiments are conducted on Zhengding dialect in this section. Experiment I compares the dialect speech between two syllabic structures in senior speakers: vowels traditionally preceded by initial velar nasal  $[\eta]$  (i.e.,  $[\eta]+V$ ), and vowels preceded by initial velar plosive [g] (i.e., [g]+V). The goal is to explore the acoustic properties in the traditional  $[\eta]+V$  context. Experiment II is conducted in the young speakers, to see whether the young speakers present the same speech pattern with the seniors, i.e., whether the initial velar nasal  $[\eta]$  is retained in the younger generations. Experiment III compares the younger Zhengding dialect and the Mandarin pronunciation in the younger speakers. The goal is to see whether the younger generation in Zhengding dialect is influenced by Mandarin, the dominant official language spoken in China.



### 5.1 Experiment I: Acoustic Effects in Senior Patterns

This experiment compares the acoustic characteristics of vowels produced by 4 senior speakers, traditionally with the initial velar nasal [ŋ] and with the initial velar plosive [g]. The frequencies of F1, F2 and the pinch values (F3-F2) in eight vowel realizations [ $\Lambda$ , a, a,  $\gamma$ ,  $\vartheta$ , ai, ao, ou] are plotted in (8), which corresponds to the *pinyin* labels "a1, a2, a3, e1, e2, ai, ao, ou" respectively.

(8)a Formant values in the senior (male) speaker 1



(8)b Formant values in the senior (male) speaker 2





(8)c Formant values in the senior (female) speaker 3



#### (8)d Formant values in the senior (female) speaker 4



For F1, it seems the frequencies in [ŋ]+V context are lower in four senior speakers, with no deviation from this tendency. This is true for the eight vowel realizations, and supported by multiple paired t-tests across the four speakers. The specific details are presented in (9). For speaker 1, the mean differences between syllabic contexts are 296 HZ, 131 HZ, 154 HZ, 226 HZ, 319 HZ, 173 HZ, 192 HZ, 230 HZ, with all p<0.05. For speaker 2, the mean differences between syllabic contexts are smaller, with a less significant lower in the [ŋ]+V context. For speaker 3, the F1 significantly decreases in [ŋ]+V context, and the mean differences are 98 HZ, 136 HZ, 163 HZ, 214 HZ, 248 HZ, 217 HZ, 370 HZ, 208 HZ. For speaker 4, a significant lower in F1 is also observed in the context [ŋ]+V in eight vowel realizations, with p<0.05. That is, a significant (p<0.05) lower for F1 is unanimously attested in the [ŋ]+V structure among senior speakers.



### (9) Frequencies of F1 in [n]+V and [g]+V in senior speakers

Speaker1      a1    [A]    3    100%    555    851    296    0.0375      a2    [a]    9    100%    676    807    131    0.0472      a3    [a]    4    100%    839    993    154    0.0301      e1    [x]    10    100%    567    739    226    0.0038      e1    [a]    6    100%    354    673    319    0.0148      ai    [ai]    8    100%    565    757    192    0.0325      ou    [ou]    9    100%    396    626    230    0.0098      Speaker2	<i>Pinyin</i> Labels	IPA	Token Count	Lower in NV	NV (HZ)	GV (HZ)	Mean Difference (HZ	p-values )
a2[a]9100%6768071310.0472a3[a]4100%8399931540.0301e1[x]10100%5677392260.0093e1[a]6100%3546733190.0148ai[ai]8100%8119841730.0301ao[ao]11100%5657571920.0325ou[ou]9100%3966262300.0098Speaker2	Speaker1							
a3  [a]  4  100%  839  993  154  0.0301    e1  [x]  10  100%  567  739  226  0.0093    e1  [a]  6  100%  354  673  319  0.0148    ai  [ai]  8  100%  811  984  173  0.0301    ao  [ao]  11  100%  565  757  192  0.0325    ou  [ou]  9  100%  396  626  230  0.0098    Speaker2	a1	[Λ]	3	100%	555	851	296	0.0375
e1 $[\mathbf{x}]$ 10  100%  567  739  226  0.0093    e1 $[\mathbf{a}]$ 6  100%  354  673  319  0.0148    ai $[ai]$ 8  100%  811  984  173  0.0301    ao $[ao]$ 11  100%  565  757  192  0.0325    ou $[ou]$ 9  100%  396  626  230  0.0098    Speaker2            al $[\Lambda]$ 3  100%  779  877  78  0.0301    a2 $[\mathbf{a}]$ 9  100%  670  800  130  0.0452    e1 $[\mathbf{x}]$ 10  100%  675  758  103  0.0307    ai $[ai]$ 8  100%  655  758  103  0.0307    ou $[ao]$ 11  100%  655  758  103  0.0428    ai $[a]$ 3  100	a2	[a]	9	100%	676	807	131	0.0472
e1  [a]  6  100%  354  673  319  0.0148    ai  [ai]  8  100%  811  984  173  0.0301    ao  [ao]  11  100%  565  757  192  0.0325    ou  [ou]  9  100%  396  626  230  0.0098    Speaker2	a3	[a]	4	100%	839	993	154	0.0301
ai    [ai]    8    100%    811    984    173    0.0301      ao    [ao]    11    100%    565    757    192    0.0325      ou    [ou]    9    100%    396    626    230    0.0098      Speaker2    al    [A]    3    100%    779    877    78    0.0301      a2    [a]    9    100%    852    910    58    0.0398      a3    [a]    4    100%    670    800    130    0.0452      e1    [y]    10    100%    476    733    257    0.0106      e1    [a]    6    100%    666    780    114    0.0369      ai    [ai]    8    100%    712    838    126    0.0402      ao    [ao]    11    100%    655    758    103    0.0301      a1    [A]    3    100%    779    877 <td>e1</td> <td>[٢]</td> <td>10</td> <td>100%</td> <td>567</td> <td>739</td> <td>226</td> <td>0.0093</td>	e1	[٢]	10	100%	567	739	226	0.0093
ao $[\alpha o]$ 11    100%    565    757    192    0.0325      ou $[ou]$ 9    100%    396    626    230    0.0098      Speaker2	e1	[ə]	б	100%	354	673	319	0.0148
ou    [ou]    9    100%    396    626    230    0.0098      Speaker2      a1    [A]    3    100%    779    877    78    0.0301      a2    [a]    9    100%    852    910    58    0.0398      a3    [a]    4    100%    670    800    130    0.0452      e1    [x]    10    100%    476    733    257    0.0106      e1    [a]    6    100%    666    780    114    0.0369      ai    [ai]    8    100%    712    838    126    0.0402      ao    [ao]    11    100%    655    758    103    0.0307      ou    [ou]    9    100%    534    756    222    0.0086      Speaker3    at    [A]    3    100%    779    877    98    0.0301      a2    [a]    9	ai	[ai]	8	100%	811	984	173	0.0301
Speaker2      a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3    100%    779    877    78    0.0301      a2 $[a]$ 9    100%    852    910    58    0.0398      a3 $[\alpha]$ 4    100%    670    800    130    0.0452      e1 $[x]$ 10    100%    476    733    257    0.0106      e1 $[a]$ 6    100%    666    780    114    0.0369      ai $[ai]$ 8    100%    712    838    126    0.0402      ao $[ao]$ 11    100%    655    758    103    0.0307      ou $[ou]$ 9    100%    534    756    222    0.0086      Speaker3    at $[\Lambda]$ 3    100%    779    877    98    0.0301      a2 $[a]$ 9    100%    549    763    214    0.0095      e1 $[x]$ 10 <td>ao</td> <td>[ao]</td> <td>11</td> <td>100%</td> <td>565</td> <td>757</td> <td>192</td> <td>0.0325</td>	ao	[ao]	11	100%	565	757	192	0.0325
a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%779877780.0301a2[a]9100%852910580.0398a3[a]4100%6708001300.0452e1[x]10100%4767332570.0106e1[ə]6100%6667801140.0369ai[ai]8100%7128381260.0402ao[ao]11100%6557581030.0307ou[ou]9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3	ou	[ou]	9	100%	396	626	230	0.0098
a2[a]9100%852910580.0398a3[a]4100%6708001300.0452e1[x]10100%4767332570.0106e1[ə]6100%6667801140.0369ai[ai]8100%7128381260.0402ao[ao]11100%6557581030.0307ou[ou]9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3a1[A]3100%779877980.0301a2[a]9100%5497632140.0095e1[s]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]11100%4446842400.0301a1[A]3100%5497632140.0095e1[ə]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]11100%4446842400.0301a2[a]9100%542600580.0423e1[a]9100%542600580.0423ai[a]9100%540 <td></td> <td>Speaker2</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td>		Speaker2						
a3[a]4100%6708001300.0452e1[x]10100%4767332570.0106e1[a]6100%6667801140.0369ai[ai]8100%7128381260.0402ao[ao]11100%6557581030.0307ou[ou]9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3a1[A]3100%779877980.0301a2[a]9100%5977601630.0428a3[a]4100%5977601630.0426e1[x]10100%5497632140.0095e1[ə]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]111100%4868563700.0202ou[ou]9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1[A]3100%4446842400.0301a2[a]9100%542600580.0423a3[a]4100%542600580.0423a4100%542600580.04230.0378a5[a]9100% <td< td=""><td>a1</td><td>[Λ]</td><td>3</td><td>100%</td><td>779</td><td>877</td><td>78</td><td>0.0301</td></td<>	a1	[Λ]	3	100%	779	877	78	0.0301
e1 $[\mathbf{x}]$ 10100%4767332570.0106e1 $[\mathbf{a}]$ 6100%6667801140.0369ai $[ai]$ 8100%7128381260.0402ao $[ao]$ 11100%6557581030.0307ou $[ou]$ 9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%779877980.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%7188541360.0428a3 $[a]$ 4100%5977601630.0426e1 $[\mathbf{x}]$ 10100%5497632140.0095e1 $[a]$ 6100%4506982480.0174ai $[ai]$ 8100%5697862170.0325ao $[ao]$ 11100%4868563700.0202ou $[ou]$ 9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%4446842400.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%542600580.0423a3 $[a]$ 4100%542600580.0423e1 $[\mathbf{x}]$ 10100%5407031630.0079ai $[a]$ 8100%5407031630.0079 </td <td>a2</td> <td>[a]</td> <td>9</td> <td>100%</td> <td>852</td> <td>910</td> <td>58</td> <td>0.0398</td>	a2	[a]	9	100%	852	910	58	0.0398
e1[a]6100%6667801140.0369ai[ai]8100%7128381260.0402ao[ao]11100%6557581030.0307ou[ou]9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3a1[A]3100%779877980.0301a2[a]9100%5977601630.0428a3[a]4100%5977601630.0426e1[x]10100%5497632140.0095e1[ə]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]11100%4868563700.0202ou[ou]9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1[A]3100%4446842400.0301a2[a]9100%542600580.0423a3[a]4100%542600580.0423e1[ə]6100%4747042300.0378e1[ə]6100%5407031630.0079ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100	a3	[a]	4	100%	670	800	130	0.0452
ai[ai]8100%7128381260.0402ao[ao]11100%6557581030.0307ou[ou]9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3	e1	[٢]	10	100%	476	733	257	0.0106
ao $[ao]$ 11100%6557581030.0307ou $[ou]$ 9100%5347562220.0086Speaker3a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%779877980.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%7188541360.0428a3 $[a]$ 4100%5977601630.0426e1 $[v]$ 10100%5497632140.0095e1 $[a]$ 6100%4506982480.0174ai $[ai]$ 8100%5697862170.0325ao $[ao]$ 11100%4868563700.0202ou $[ou]$ 9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%4446842400.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%542600580.0423e1 $[v]$ 10100%4747042300.0378a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%5407031630.0079a2 $[a]$ 9100%542600580.0423a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%5407031630.0079a3 $[a]$ 4100%5407031630.0079a4 $[a]$ 6100%5407031630.0079 <td>e1</td> <td>[ə]</td> <td>6</td> <td>100%</td> <td>666</td> <td>780</td> <td>114</td> <td>0.0369</td>	e1	[ə]	6	100%	666	780	114	0.0369
ou $[ou]$ 9 $100\%$ $534$ $756$ $222$ $0.0086$ Speaker3a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3 $100\%$ $779$ $877$ $98$ $0.0301$ a2 $[a]$ 9 $100\%$ $718$ $854$ $136$ $0.0428$ a3 $[a]$ 4 $100\%$ $597$ $760$ $163$ $0.0426$ e1 $[x]$ 10 $100\%$ $549$ $763$ $214$ $0.0095$ e1 $[a]$ 6 $100\%$ $450$ $698$ $248$ $0.0174$ ai $[ai]$ 8 $100\%$ $569$ $786$ $217$ $0.0325$ ao $[ao]$ 11 $100\%$ $486$ $856$ $370$ $0.0202$ ou $[ou]$ 9 $100\%$ $522$ $730$ $208$ $0.0397$ Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3 $100\%$ $444$ $684$ $240$ $0.0301$ a2 $[a]$ 9 $100\%$ $542$ $600$ $58$ $0.0423$ e1 $[x]$ 10 $100\%$ $474$ $704$ $230$ $0.0378$ e1 $[a]$ 6 $100\%$ $540$ $703$ $163$ $0.0079$ ai $[ai]$ 8 $100\%$ $659$ $891$ $232$ $0.0125$ ao $[ao]$ 11 $100\%$ $645$ $674$ $29$ $0.0476$	ai	[ai]	8	100%	712	838	126	0.0402
Speaker3      a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3    100%    779    877    98    0.0301      a2 $[a]$ 9    100%    718    854    136    0.0428      a3 $[a]$ 4    100%    597    760    163    0.0426      e1 $[x]$ 10    100%    549    763    214    0.0095      e1 $[a]$ 6    100%    450    698    248    0.0174      ai $[ai]$ 8    100%    569    786    217    0.0325      ao $[ao]$ 11    100%    486    856    370    0.0202      ou $[ou]$ 9    100%    522    730    208    0.0397      Speaker4      a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3    100%    444    684    240    0.0301      a2 $[a]$ 9    100%    542    600    58    0.0423      a3 <td>ao</td> <td>[ao]</td> <td>11</td> <td>100%</td> <td>655</td> <td>758</td> <td>103</td> <td>0.0307</td>	ao	[ao]	11	100%	655	758	103	0.0307
a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%779877980.0301a2[a]9100%7188541360.0428a3[a]4100%5977601630.0426e1[x]10100%5497632140.0095e1[a]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]11100%4868563700.0202ou[ou]9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1[A]3100%4446842400.0301a2[a]9100%542600580.0423e1[x]10100%4747042300.0378e1[a]6100%5407031630.0079ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100%645674290.0476	ou	[ou]	9	100%	534	756	222	0.0086
a2[a]9100%7188541360.0428a3[a]4100%5977601630.0426e1[x]10100%5497632140.0095e1[ə]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]11100%4868563700.0202ou[ou]9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1[A]3100%4446842400.0301a2[a]9100%542600580.0423a3[a]4100%542600580.0423e1[x]10100%4747042300.0378e1[ə]6100%5407031630.0079ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100%645674290.0476		Speaker3						
a3[a]4100%5977601630.0426e1[x]10100%5497632140.0095e1[ə]6100%4506982480.0174ai[ai]8100%5697862170.0325ao[ao]11100%4868563700.0202ou[ou]9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1[A]3100%4446842400.0301a2[a]9100%542600580.0423e1[x]10100%4747042300.0378e1[ə]6100%5407031630.0079ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100%645674290.0476	a1	[Λ]	3	100%	779	877	98	0.0301
e1 $[x]$ 10100%5497632140.0095e1 $[ə]$ 6100%4506982480.0174ai $[ai]$ 8100%5697862170.0325ao $[ao]$ 11100%4868563700.0202ou $[ou]$ 9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%4446842400.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%542600580.0423a3 $[a]$ 4100%542600580.0423e1 $[s]$ 6100%5407031630.0079ai $[ai]$ 8100%6598912320.0125ao $[ao]$ 11100%645674290.0476	a2	[a]	9	100%	718	854	136	0.0428
e1[ə]6100%450698248 $0.0174$ ai[ai]8100%569786217 $0.0325$ ao[ao]11100%486856370 $0.0202$ ou[ou]9100%522730208 $0.0397$ Speaker4a1[A]3100%444684240 $0.0301$ a2[a]9100%491780289 $0.0382$ a3[a]4100%54260058 $0.0423$ e1[x]10100%474704230 $0.0378$ e1[ə]6100%540703163 $0.0079$ ai[ai]8100%659891232 $0.0125$ ao[ao]11100%64567429 $0.0476$	a3	[a]	4	100%	597	760	163	0.0426
ai[ai]8100%569786217 $0.0325$ ao[ao]11100%486856370 $0.0202$ ou[ou]9100%522730208 $0.0397$ Speaker4a1[A]3100%444684240 $0.0301$ a2[a]9100%491780289 $0.0382$ a3[a]4100%54260058 $0.0423$ e1[x]10100%474704230 $0.0378$ e1[ə]6100%540703163 $0.0079$ ai[ai]8100%659891232 $0.0125$ ao[ao]11100%64567429 $0.0476$	e1	[٢]	10	100%	549	763	214	0.0095
ao $[ao]$ 11100%4868563700.0202ou $[ou]$ 9100%5227302080.0397Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%4446842400.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%4917802890.0382a3 $[a]$ 4100%542600580.0423e1 $[\aleph]$ 10100%4747042300.0378e1 $[\mathfrak{a}]$ 6100%5407031630.0079ai $[ai]$ 8100%6598912320.0125ao $[ao]$ 11100%645674290.0476	e1	[ə]	6	100%	450	698	248	0.0174
ou $[ou]$ 9 $100\%$ $522$ $730$ $208$ $0.0397$ Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3 $100\%$ $444$ $684$ $240$ $0.0301$ a2 $[a]$ 9 $100\%$ $491$ $780$ $289$ $0.0382$ a3 $[\alpha]$ 4 $100\%$ $542$ $600$ $58$ $0.0423$ e1 $[r]$ 10 $100\%$ $474$ $704$ $230$ $0.0378$ e1 $[a]$ 6 $100\%$ $540$ $703$ $163$ $0.0079$ ai $[ai]$ 8 $100\%$ $659$ $891$ $232$ $0.0125$ ao $[\alphao]$ 11 $100\%$ $645$ $674$ $29$ $0.0476$	ai	[ai]	8	100%	569	786	217	0.0325
Speaker4a1 $[\Lambda]$ 3100%4446842400.0301a2 $[a]$ 9100%4917802890.0382a3 $[\alpha]$ 4100%542600580.0423e1 $[x]$ 10100%4747042300.0378e1 $[a]$ 6100%5407031630.0079ai $[ai]$ 8100%6598912320.0125ao $[\alphao]$ 11100%645674290.0476	ao	[ao]	11	100%	486	856	370	0.0202
a1  [A]  3  100%  444  684  240  0.0301    a2  [a]  9  100%  491  780  289  0.0382    a3  [a]  4  100%  542  600  58  0.0423    e1  [x]  10  100%  474  704  230  0.0378    e1  [ə]  6  100%  540  703  163  0.0079    ai  [ai]  8  100%  659  891  232  0.0125    ao  [ao]  11  100%  645  674  29  0.0476	ou	[ou]	9	100%	522	730	208	0.0397
a2  [a]  9  100%  491  780  289  0.0382    a3  [a]  4  100%  542  600  58  0.0423    e1  [x]  10  100%  474  704  230  0.0378    e1  [ə]  6  100%  540  703  163  0.0079    ai  [ai]  8  100%  659  891  232  0.0125    ao  [ao]  11  100%  645  674  29  0.0476		Speaker4						
a3  [a]  4  100%  542  600  58  0.0423    e1  [x]  10  100%  474  704  230  0.0378    e1  [ə]  6  100%  540  703  163  0.0079    ai  [ai]  8  100%  659  891  232  0.0125    ao  [ao]  11  100%  645  674  29  0.0476	a1	[Λ]	3	100%	444	684	240	0.0301
e1[x]10100%4747042300.0378e1[ə]6100%5407031630.0079ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100%645674290.0476	a2	[a]	9	100%	491	780	289	0.0382
e1[ə]6100%5407031630.0079ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100%645674290.0476	a3	[a]	4	100%	542	600	58	0.0423
ai[ai]8100%6598912320.0125ao[ao]11100%645674290.0476	e1	[٢]	10	100%	474	704	230	0.0378
ao [ao] 11 100% 645 674 29 0.0476	e1	[ə]	6	100%	540	703	163	0.0079
	ai	[ai]	8	100%	659	891	232	0.0125
ou [ou] 9 100% 515 698 183 0.0387	ao	[ao]	11	100%	645	674	29	0.0476
	ou	[ou]	9	100%	515	698	183	0.0387



Turning to the frequencies of F2, it seems F2s in the  $[\eta]+V$  structure are generally higher in four speakers. According to the multiple paired t-tests in (10), we can see for speaker 1, speaker 2, and speaker 4, a significant (p<0.05) higher F2 in the  $[\eta]+V$  structure is examined in 100% of the tokens. However, deviation is found in speaker 3: only 50% of the tokens with [ə] (labeled e2), and 36.36% of the tokens with [ao] (labeled ao), show a non-significant (p>0.05) higher F2 in the  $[\eta]+V$  context. However, a significant (p<0.05) lower F2 is found with [ai] in  $[\eta]-V$  context, although 37.5% of the tokens have a higher F2 in the  $[\eta]+V$  context. That is, three of the senior speakers produce a significant (p<0.05) higher F2 in the  $[\eta]+V$  context, with a deviation in speaker 3.

Pinyin Lahala	IPA	Token Count	Higher in NV	NV (HZ)	GV (HZ)		p-values
Labels						Difference (HZ)	
Speaker1	<b>Г</b> 1	2	1000/	1450	1021	425	0.0255
a1	[A]	3	100%	1456	1021	435	0.0255
a2	[a]	9	100%	1447	1045	402	0.0262
a3	[a]	4	100%	1462	1193	269	0.0394
e1	[ɣ]	10	100%	1093	839	254	0.0391
e2	[ə]	6	100%	1315	973	342	0.0248
ai	[ai]	8	100%	1278	1080	198	0.0401
ao	[ao]	11	100%	951	726	225	0.0371
ou	[ou]	9	100%	1342	854	488	0.0194
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	1368	1075	293	0.0393
a2	[a]	9	100%	1386	1075	311	0.0302
a3	[a]	4	100%	1455	1139	316	0.0473
e1	[x]	10	100%	1430	1065	365	0.0205
e2	[ə]	6	100%	1415	1246	169	0.0373
ai	[ai]	8	100%	1410	1272	138	0.0406
ao	[ao]	11	100%	1411	985	426	0.0381
ou	[ou]	9	100%	1446	1020	426	0.0284
Speaker3							
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	1386	1075	311	0.0345
a2	[a]	9	100%	1410	1219	191	0.0409
a3	[a]	4	100%	1469	1130	339	0.0434
e1	[ɣ]	10	100%	1422	1004	418	0.0164
e2	[ə]	6	50%	1416	1389	27	0.0853
ai	[ai]	8	37.5%	1403	1689	289	0.0458
ao	[ao]	11	36.36%	1413	1243	170	0.0843
ou	[ou]	9	100%	1475	1150	325	0.0391

(10) Frequencies of F2 in contexts  $[\eta]+V$  and [g]+V



Speake	er4						
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	1463	1287	176	0.0254
a2	[a]	9	100%	1462	1280	182	0.0306
a3	[a]	4	100%	1489	1217	272	0.0371
e1	[٢]	10	100%	1621	1217	404	0.0481
e2	[ə]	6	100%	1733	1547	186	0.0179
ai	[ai]	8	100%	1523	1494	29	0.0205
ao	[ao]	11	100%	1467	1129	338	0.0371
ou	[ou]	9	100%	1764	1250	514	0.0326

After reporting the F1, F2, the frequencies of pinch value (i.e., F3-F2) are compared. We will expect no significant differences between these two contexts, since the vowels in both contexts are preceded by a velar segment (either  $[\eta]$  or [g]). However, it seems the pinch values are lower in the  $[\eta]+V$  context, indicating a stronger velar pinch in  $[\eta]-V$  context. The multiple paired t-tests further support this result, as seen in (11). For all of the four speakers, the mean differences between contexts do show a significant (p<0.05) lower in the  $[\eta]+V$  context. Only 50% of the tokens with [a] (labelled a3) in speaker 3 are lower in the  $[\eta]+V$  context, but it does not influence the significant (p=0.0493) decreasing tendency in speaker 3.

<i>Pinyin</i> Labels	IPA	Token Count	Smaller in NV	NV (HZ)	GV (HZ)	Mean Differenc (HZ)	ep-values
Speaker1							
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	861	1018	157	0.0371
a2	[a]	9	100%	582	997	415	0.0416
a3	[a]	4	100%	300	852	552	0.0285
e1	[٢]	10	100%	853	1096	243	0.0318
e2	[ə]	6	100%	872	1140	268	0.0287
ai	[ai]	8	100%	647	975	328	0.0403
ao	[ao]	11	100%	824	1102	278	0.0306
ou	[ou]	9	100%	632	1099	467	0.0191
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	870	1144	274	0.0386
a2	[a]	9	100%	870	1144	274	0.0305
a3	[a]	4	100%	1038	1354	316	0.0476
e1	[٢]	10	100%	1150	1299	149	0.0225
e2	[ə]	6	100%	567	864	297	0.0354
ai	[ai]	8	100%	684	1205	521	0.0405
ao	[ao]	11	100%	746	1176	430	0.0372
ou	[ou]	9	100%	620	1497	877	0.0242
Speaker3							

(11) Values of Velar Pinch (F3-F2) in contexts [n]+V and [g]+V

a1	[Λ]	3	100%	870	1144	274	0.0305
a2	[a]	9	100%	1006	1204	198	0.0372
a3	[a]	2	50%	1077	1299	222	0.0493
e1	[٢]	10	100%	1176	1151	25	0.0345
e2	[ə]	6	100%	706	1090	384	0.0207
ai	[ai]	8	100%	715	1575	860	0.0412
ao	[ao]	11	100%	911	1176	265	0.0382
ou	[ou]	9	100%	805	1373	568	0.0421
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	886	1156	270	0.0236
a2	[a]	9	100%	733	929	196	0.0317
a3	[a]	4	100%	458	1078	620	0.0097
e1	[٢]	10	100%	586	930	344	0.0364
e2	[ə]	6	100%	546	1096	550	0.0284
ai	[ai]	8	100%	846	1038	192	0.0392
ao	[ao]	11	100%	903	1126	223	0.0316
ou	[ou]	9	100%	538	1145	607	0.0358

A remaining question arises immediately: why does  $[\eta]$  have a more velarizing effect than [g], although both are velar segments? One of the possible explanations may be due to the different articulations between the velar plosive and velar nasal. For the velar plosive [g], the tongue dorsum raises during the articulation, which constrict the dorsum near the velum. However, for the velar nasal  $[\eta]$ , the tongue dorsum raises during the articulation, and the velum also lowers, and these two factors contribute to the velar effect, as seen in (12a) (Baker et al. 2008). That is, the velar nasal  $[\eta]$  is 'more velar' than the velar plosive [g], resulted from the double articulation factors.

(12)a Articulation differences between the velar plosive and the velar nasal (Baker et al. 2008:61)



The similar explanation is found in the different realizations of short-*a*, before oral voiced stops, before [m] and [n], and before the velar nasal in Western American English (Baker et al. 2008). The spectrogram in (12b) shows the velar pinch of short-*a* before [ŋ] is more enlarged, when compared the formant trajectories of short-*a* before [g]. In the right figure, we can see the velar



pinch starts almost from the midpoint of the vowel in the short-a right before [ŋ], which indicates a stronger velar effect acoustically.

(12)b Velar pinches of vowel preceding velar plosive and velar nasal (Baker et al. 2008: 61)



Here I adopt the idea and propose that the initial  $[\eta]$  is more velar than initial [g] in Zhengding dialect. So it is not surprising there is a smaller pinch values in  $[\eta]$ -V structure, which indicates a stronger velar effect in the minimal pairs.

**Summary of Experiment I:** based on the F1, F2 and the pinch values between contexts, three acoustic characteristics are calculated in the traditional [ŋ]-V context in senior speakers: a lower F1, a higher F2, and a small F3-F2 value (indicating a strong velar effect).

For my purpose, in the following experiment, I will test whether the younger generation shows the same speech pattern reported above for the seniors.

### 5.2 Experiment II: Nasal Deletion in Young Patterns

This section focuses on the phonetic characteristics of younger speakers, examining whether the onset  $[\eta]$  is also present in their speeches. 60 items in  $([\eta]-)V$  and [g]-V structures are produced by four young speakers (2 males and 2 females). The mean frequencies of F1, F2, and velar pinch (F3-F2) in [ $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\vartheta$ , ai,  $\alpha$ , ou] are plotted in (13), with the *pinyin* labels "a1, a2, a3, e1, e2, ai, ao, ou".

(13)a Formant values in the young (male) speaker 1





Speaker3-F3.F2

a1 a2 a3 e1 e2 ai ao ou

(N)V-F3.F2 GV-F3.F2

2000

1500

1000

500

0

(13)b Formant values in the young (male) speaker 2



#### (13)c Formant values in the young (female) speaker 3







If the younger generation has the similar speech pattern with the senior group, then we may expect the same frequency in F1, F2, and the velar pinch between the two generations. If the



younger generation has different patterns from the senior group, then different frequencies in F1, F2, and the velar pinch are supposed to be observed.

Pinyin	IPA	Token	Lower in	NV (HZ)	GV (HZ)	Mean Difference	p-values
Labels		Count	NV			(HZ)	
Speaker1							
al	[Λ]	3	33.33%	603	510	93	0.0475
a2	[a]	9	22.22%	902	862	40	0.0472
a3	[a]	4	25%	821	747	74	0.0401
e1	[٢]	10	30%	697	761	64	0.0534
e2	[ə]	6	16.67%	731	652	79	0.0348
ai	[ai]	8	50%	682	607	75	0.0310
ao	[ao]	11	18.18%	778	682	96	0.0432
ou	[ou]	9	22.22%	745	662	83	0.0198
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.3%	703	654	49	0.0302
a2	[a]	9	22.22%	775	689	86	0.0297
a3	[a]	4	50%	757	666	91	0.0354
e1	[٢]	10	30%	558	777	219	0.0611
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	613	584	29	0.0364
ai	[ai]	8	25%	884	813	71	0.0131
ao	[ao]	11	27.27%	462	428	34	0.0485
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	696	651	45	0.0401
Speaker3							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	781	722	59	0.0224
a2	[a]	9	33.33%	785	755	30	0.0143
a3	[ <b>a</b> ]	4	25%	757	729	28	0.0274
e1	[٢]	10	25%	558	722	164	0.0691
e2	[ə]	3	30%	613	655	42	0.0345
ai	[ai]	3	33.33%	734	670	64	0.0463
ao	[ao]	11	18.18%	462	403	59	0.0111
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	696	606	90	0.0321
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	976	806	170	0.0311

(14) Frequencies of F1 in contexts [ŋ]+V and [g]+V in young speakers

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a2	[a]	9	33.33%	993	826	167	0.0324
a3	[a]	4	25%	884	781	103	0.0452
e1	[٢]	10	30%	667	795	128	0.1351
e2	[ə]	6	20%	814	706	108	0.0116
ai	[ai]	8	25%	827	779	48	0.0452
ao	[ao]	11	27.27%	874	783	91	0.0365
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	798	681	117	0.0481

Up to now, a different pattern in F1 is found in the younger generation, except for [x] (labelled e1). Based on this, we may tentatively assume the younger speakers do not produce with the initial [ŋ], at least based on the evidence of F1. If this assumption is acceptable, then we may further expect a different pattern should be observed in F2 and pinch values in the younger group.

For F2, differing from the senior speakers, a significant (p<0.05) lower frequency is found in [ $\eta$ ]-V context in [ $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ , a,  $\vartheta$ , ai, ao, ou] (labelled a1, a2, a3, e2, ai, ao, ou). A deviation is found in [ $\gamma$ ] (labelled e1, in bold fonts), with no significant difference between contexts across four speakers. This is true and supported by the multiple paired t-tests across the speakers in (15).

Pinyin	IPA	Token	Higher in	Traditional	GV (HZ)	Mean Difference	p-values
Labels		Count	NV	NV (HZ)		(HZ)	
Speaker1							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	1166	1234	68	0.0451
a2	[a]	9	33.33%	1122	1272	150	0.0302
a3	[a]	4	0%	1126	1226	100	0.0245
e1	[٢]	10	20%	1426	1371	55	0.0891
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1210	1295	85	0.0352
ai	[ai]	8	25%	1288	1345	57	0.0107
ao	[ao]	11	27.27%	1253	1301	48	0.0228
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	1227	1310	83	0.0459
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	66.66%	1085	1103	18	0.0191
a2	[a]	9	22.22%	1048	1174	126	0.0102
a3	[a]	4	25%	1052	1180	128	0.0477
e1	[٢]	10	20%	1224	1079	145	0.1309
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1307	1403	96	0.0462
ai	[ai]	8	25%	1050	1125	75	0.0201
ao	[ao]	11	18.18%	1194	1239	45	0.0222
ou	[ou]	9	22.22%	1146	1284	138	0.0285
Speaker3							

(15) Frequencies of F2 in  $[\eta]+V$  and [g]+V in younger speakers

a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	1085	1176	91	0.0446
a2	[a]	9	66.66%	1048	1124	76	0.0409
a3	[a]	4	25%	1052	1289	237	0.0436
e1	[٢]	10	50%	1224	1172	52	0.0967
e2	[ə]	3	33.33%	1307	1428	121	0.0287
ai	[ai]	3	33.33%	1050	1142	92	0.0174
ao	[ao]	11	18.18%	1194	1259	65	0.0439
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	1146	1222	76	0.0492
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	66.66%	1381	1489	108	0.0157
a2	[a]	9	66.66%	1504	1575	71	0.0107
a3	[a]	4	75%	1284	1366	82	0.0478
e1	[٢]	10	20%	1115	1266	151	0.0886
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1402	1459	57	0.0278
ai	[ai]	8	25%	1404	1455	51	0.0203
ao	[ao]	11	36.36%	1201	1350	149	0.0473
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	1377	1445	68	0.0327

Turning to the velar pinch (F3-F2), if the younger generation has lost the initial velar nasal, then the two generations should not have the same patterns for the velar pinch. If the younger speakers have retained the nasal, they should show a similar pattern with the older group. Differing from the senior patterns, the result shows an increasing tendency of the pinch values in [ $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\vartheta$ , ai,  $\alpha o$ , ou] (labelled a1, a2, a3, e2, ai, ao, ou) in the traditional [ $\eta$ ]-V context. A deviation is seen in [ $\kappa$ ] (labelled e1), with no significant difference in speaker 1, speaker 2, and speaker 4, but a significant difference in speaker 3. The multiple paired t-tests in (16) support the observation. This result is also consistent with the assumption that the initial [ $\eta$ ] has disappeared in the younger speakers, except for [ $\kappa$ ] (labelled e1). When compared the initial-deleted context, the smaller pinch value in the [g]-V context, indicating a stronger velar effect, is attributed to the lowering of the tongue dorsum, during the articulation.



(16) Frequencies of v	elar pinch	(F3-F2) in [ŋ]+V	and [g]+V	in younger speakers
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Pinyin	IPA	Token	smaller in	Traditional	GV (HZ)	Mean Difference	p-value
Labels		Count	NV	NV (HZ)		(HZ)	
Speaker1							
a1	[Λ]	3	0%	916	862	54	0.0457
a2	[a]	9	33.33%	1192	1091	101	0.0205
a3	[a]	4	25%	1161	1072	89	0.0203
e1	[x]	10	25%	1010	1566	556	0.0985
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1143	1065	78	0.0437
ai	[ai]	8	25%	968	810	158	0.0115
ao	[ao]	11	18.18%	1192	1015	177	0.0158
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	1083	1054	29	0.0281
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	66.66%	1270	1109	161	0.0404
a2	[a]	9	22.22%	1436	1315	121	0.0262
a3	[a]	4	25%	1269	1396	127	0.0329
e1	[Y]	10	10%	972	1321	349	0.0848
e2	[ə]	6	16.67%	1569	1407	162	0.0473
ai	[ai]	8	37.5%	1226	1117	109	0.0145
ao	[ao]	11	27.27%	1251	1101	150	0.0113
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	1544	1403	141	0.0115
Speaker3							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	1170	1051	119	0.0337
a2	[a]	9	33.33%	1236	1051	185	0.0319
a3	[a]	4	25%	1269	1089	31	0.0346
e1	[Y]	10	25%	1072	1103	31	0.0366
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1469	1216	253	0.0451
ai	[ai]	8	50%	1251	1029	222	0.0146
ao	[ao]	11	9.09%	1126	1042	84	0.0414
ou	[ou]	9	44.44%	1444	1255	189	0.0481
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	0%	896	735	161	0.0312
a2	[a]	9	33.33%	1088	951	137	0.0314
a3	[a]	4	25%	1003	926	77	0.0131
e1	[Y]	10	0%	857	921	64	0.1457
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	956	816	140	0.0383
ai	[ai]	8	25%	1074	912	162	0.0392
ao	[ao]	11	45.45%	951	827	124	0.0361
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	955	897	58	0.0166



Turning to deviational [x] (labelled e1), the pinch values do not have any significant difference between the traditional [n]-V context and the [g]-V context. This may suggest that the velar (nasal) effect is still retained upon this vowel in the younger generation, since both contexts have a velar segment, or have features upon a velar segment.

When further observing the spectrogram trajectories in [x] in the younger group, we cannot obviously visualize the low-frequency of the nasal preceding the darker vowel bands on the spectrogram, as seen in left figure in (17). However, in the senior group, a comparatively obvious low-frequency transition is found preceding the vowel bands, as seen in the right spectrogram in (17).

(17). Vowel [x] in the traditional NV words in the younger (left) and senior (right) speakers



In this study, I tentatively hypothesize a fusion process occurs between the initial nasal  $[\eta]$  and the subsequent vowel  $[\tilde{x}]$ , contributing to the nasalized vowel  $[\tilde{x}]$  in the younger Zhengding dialect. This hypothesis is mainly based on two empirical observations on [x]: (a) no low-frequency of the initial nasal is obviously visualized on the spectrograms; (b) three established nasal effects are still tested on this vowel: a lower F1, higher F2, and smaller velar pinch values, when compared with the [g]-V context. That is, the nasal effects are attached on the subsequent vowel [x], and then the initial nasal  $[\eta]$  has been deleted in the younger Zhengding dialect. The fusion in this study covers two phonological processes: nasalization of the vowel, followed by deletion of the initial nasal. The fusion on  $[\tilde{x}]$  does not occur systematically in other vowels (or vowel realizations) in Zhengding dialect, and the number of the distinctive sounds in this dialect is not changed, so this sound change is a non-phonemic (allophonic) change.

However, it is sometimes difficult to attest whether it is a nasalized vowel resulted from the fusion (such as  $[\tilde{x}]$  in the younger Zhengding speakers), or an oral vowel in nasal coupling (such as  $[\eta]+[x]$  in the senior speakers in Zhengding dialect). Ohala (1975) discussed the acoustic similarity between nasal vowels and velar nasals. Ohala argued that nasal vowels and velar nasals share more acoustic similarity than they are with labial or coronal nasals. Although nasals are produced with closure of the oral cavity, and the sound is radiated through the nasal cavity, the coronal and labial nasals are different from the velar nasal in manner of articulation. For instance, [m] and [n] are produced as a side branch in the vocal tract, which can form a low-frequency zeros or anti-formants. However, the velar nasal [ŋ] does not have obvious acoustic anti-formants, which makes [ŋ] more similar to vowels in the spectrum than nasals [m] and [n] (Ohala 1975; Mackenzie, et. al. 2007: 535). Alternatively speaking, if the nasal vowels are misperceived as a nasal, the nasal is highly supposed to be a velar nasal (Mackenzie, et. al. 2007: 535), rather than coronal or labial nasals.



Following Ohala (1975), I hypothesize the nasalized vowel (such as  $[\tilde{x}]$  in the younger Zhengding speakers), are also not that easy to distinguish from the oral vowel in nasal coupling (such as [x] in [n]+[x] structure in the senior Zhengding dialect), since the low-frequency anti-formants usually cannot be visualized on the spectrograms.

**Summary of Experiment II:** in this experiment, different speech patterns on F1, F2, and velar pinch are examined in the younger generation. The multiple paired t-tests indicate the initial velar nasal [ŋ] is not characterized in [ $\Lambda$ , a, a,  $\vartheta$ , ai, ao, ou] (labelled a1, a2, a3, e2, ai, ao, ou) in the younger Zhengding dialect. The deviation is found in [ $\kappa$ ] (labelled e1), in which a fusion (Note 5) process is proposed, with the nasal effects retained upon the vowels.

Considering the differences between the senior and the younger speakers in experiment I and experiment II, we can see the younger generation does not have the similar pattern with the senior speakers. However, a deviation is found in [x] (labelled e1): the nasal effects are examined in both generations.

A question may be further asked: what is the socio-variationist factors, related to the generational differences in Zhengding dialect? Is this relevant to the dialect contact with Mandarin Chinese, the dominant official language, spoken in China. The following experiment will mainly focus on this issue.

### 5.3 Experiment III: Dialect Contact in Young Patterns

In this section, 60 items with vowel realizations [ $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\vartheta$ , ai, ao, ou] are respectively produced by the young speakers in Zhengding dialect and Mandarin. The goal is to investigate whether the younger Zhengding dialect has the same speech pattern in Mandarin, and finally contributes the generational variation in Zhengding dialect. The frequencies of F1, F2 and velar pinch (F3-F2) are compared in (18), with the *pinyin* labels "a1, a2, a3, e1, e2, ai, ao, ou" between two contexts.

(18)a Formant values in young (male) speaker 1





(18)b Formant values in young (male) speaker 2



#### (18)c Formant values in young (female) speaker 3





### (18)d Formant values in young (female) speaker 4



For F1, it seems no obvious difference between the zero-initial in Mandarin and the traditional ' $[\eta]$ -V' context in Zhengding dialect (i.e., deleted-initial as argued in Experiment

II). The multiple paired t-tests do not indicate significant differences between these two contexts, with p>0.05, as seen in (19). A deviation is found in [x] (labelled e1), in which the mean differences between contexts are 164 HZ (p=0.0337) for speaker 1, 219 HZ (p=0.0366) for speaker 2, 164 HZ (p=0.0493) for speaker 3, and 128 HZ (p=0.0402) for speaker 4. To sum up, a similar pattern between contexts are largely tested, except for [x].

(19) Frequencies of F1 in Zhengding younger dialect and Mandarin

Pinyin	IPA	Token	Lower in	Traditional	V in	Mean	p-values
Labels		Count	traditional	NV in dialec			
<b>a</b> 1 4			NV	(HZ)	(HZ)	(HZ)	
Speaker1							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	603	710	107	0.0512
a2	[a]	9	44.44%	902	862	40	0.06142
a3	[a]	4	50%	821	847	26	0.0602
e1	[x]	10	100%	697	861	164	0.0337
e2	[ə]	6	83.33%	731	752	21	0.0657
ai	[ai]	8	75%	682	707	25	0.0606
ao	[ao]	11	81.82%	778	782	2	0.0511
ou	[ou]	9	77.78%	745	762	17	0.0108
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.3%	703	754	51	0.0601
a2	[a]	9	88.89%	775	789	14	0.0558
a3	[a]	4	25%	757	866	109	0.0504
e1	[٢]	10	80%	558	777	219	0.0366
e2	[ə]	6	83.33%	613	764	151	0.0621
ai	[ai]	8	62.5%	884	883	1	0.1917
ao	[ao]	11	63.64%	462	558	96	0.0535
ou	[ou]	9	55.56%	696	651	45	0.0933
Speaker3							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	781	722	59	0.0624
a2	[a]	9	66.67%	785	855	70	0.0843
a3	[a]	4	0%	757	729	28	0.1074
e1	[٢]	10	50%	558	722	164	0.0493
e2	[ə]	6	66.67%	613	755	142	0.0502
ai	[ai]	8	87.5%	734	870	136	0.0555
ao	[ao]	11	81.82%	462	603	141	0.0658
ou	[ou]	9	77.78%	696	706	10	0.0855
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	976	1006	30	0.0512
a2	[a]	9	77.78%	993	1026	33	0.0645

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a3	[a]	4	25%	884	981	97	0.0589
e1	[٢]	10	80%	667	795	128	0.0402
e2	[ə]	6	66.67%	814	906	92	0.0853
ai	[ai]	8	75%	827	879	52	0.1204
ao	[ <b>a</b> o]	11	72.73%	874	783	91	0.0947
ou	[ou]	9	77.78%	798	781	17	0.0843

For F2, if the younger dialects are influenced by Mandarin, then I expect the same pattern between these two contexts. This is true, and has been supported by multiple paired t-tests. The mean differences between contexts do not have any significant differences in [ $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ , a,  $\vartheta$ , ai, ao, ou] (labelled a1, a2, a3, e2, ai, ao, ou), with p>0.05, in (20). However, a significant (p<0.05) higher tendency is found in [ $\kappa$ ] (labelled e1) in Zhengding dialect. The mean difference between contexts are 155 HZ (p=0.0471) for speaker 1, 48 HZ (p=0.0326) for speaker 2, 148 HZ (p=0.0365) for speaker 3, and 251 HZ (p=0.0463) for speaker 4. Based on this observation, we can say a similar F2 is widely observed between these two contexts, although there is a deviation in [ $\kappa$ ].

<i>Pinyin</i> Labels	IPA	Token Count	Higher in traditional	Traditional NV in dialec		Mean Difference	p-values
			NV	(HZ)	(HZ)	(HZ)	
Speaker1							
a1	[Λ]	3	66.67%	1166	1134	32	0.1051
a2	[a]	9	44.45%	1122	1172	50	0.0605
a3	[a]	4	50%	1126	1026	100	0.0647
e1	[x]	10	90%	1426	1271	155	0.0471
e2	[ə]	6	66.67%	1210	1195	15	0.0854
ai	[ai]	8	25%	1288	1345	57	0.0703
ao	[ao]	11	27.27%	1253	1301	48	0.0627
ou	[ou]	9	77.78%	1227	1110	117	0.0557
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	0%	1085	1103	18	0.0893
a2	[a]	9	11.11%	1048	1074	26	0.1603
a3	[a]	4	25%	1052	1180	128	0.0671
e1	[٢]	10	100%	1224	1179	45	0.0326
e2	[ə]	6	50%	1307	1303	4	0.0521
ai	[ai]	8	87.5%	1050	1025	25	0.0641
ao	[ao]	11	81.82%	1194	1139	55	0.0746
ou	[ou]	9	33.33%	1146	1284	138	0.0955
Speaker3							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	1085	1176	91	0.0621

(20) Frequencies of F2 in Zhengding younger dialect and Mandarin

a2	[a]	9	77.78%	1048	1024	24	0.1002
a3	[a]	4	25%	1052	1289	237	0.0734
e1	[٢]	10	50%	1224	1372	148	0.0365
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1307	1428	121	0.0684
ai	[ai]	8	75%	1050	1042	8	0.0975
ao	[ao]	11	27.27%	1194	1259	65	0.1534
ou	[ou]	9	44.44%	1146	1222	76	0.0699
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	33.33%	1381	1389	8	0.0756
a2	[a]	9	33.33%	1504	1575	71	0.0902
a3	[a]	4	75%	1284	1166	118	0.1678
e1	[٢]	10	20%	1115	1366	251	0.0463
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1402	1459	57	0.0573
ai	[ai]	8	87.5%	1404	1355	49	0.0805
ao	[ao]	11	81.82%	1201	1150	51	0.0774
ou	[ou]	9	44.44%	1377	1455	78	0.0924

(21) Frequencies of velar pinch (F3-F2) in Zhengding younger dialect and Mandarin

<i>Pinyin</i> Labels	IPA	Token Count	Smaller in traditional NV	Traditional NV in dialect (HZ)	V in Mandarin (HZ)	Mean Difference (HZ)	p-values
Speaker1							
a1	[Λ]	3	0%	916	862	54	0.1057
a2	[a]	9	22.22%	1192	1091	101	0.1623
a3	[a]	4	100%	1161	1172	11	0.0723
e1	[¥]	10	100%	1010	1566	556	0.0454
e2	[ə]	6	50%	1143	1265	122	0.0985
ai	[ai]	8	0%	968	910	58	0.0736
ao	[ao]	11	0%	1192	1115	77	0.1225
ou	[ou]	9	77.78%	1083	1154	71	0.0748
Speaker2							
a1	[Λ]	3	0%	1270	1109	161	0.0712
a2	[a]	9	55.56%	1436	1415	21	0.0763

a3	[a]	4	75%	1269	1296	27	0.1128
e1	[٢]	10	100%	972	1321	349	0.0416
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	1569	1507	62	0.0515
ai	[ai]	8	100%	1226	1317	91	0.0746
ao	[ao]	11	100%	1251	1301	50	0.0124
ou	[ou]	9	100%	1544	1603	59	0.0642
Speaker3							
a1	[Λ]	3	66.67%	1170	1351	181	0.1925
a2	[a]	9	88.89%	1236	1351	115	0.0683
a3	[a]	4	25%	1269	1389	120	0.0758
e1	[٢]	10	50%	1072	1003	69	0.0555
e2	[ə]	6	0%	1469	1416	53	0.0848
ai	[ai]	8	75%	1251	1329	78	0.0842
ao	[ao]	11	100%	1126	1342	216	0.0915
ou	[ou]	9	22.22%	1444	1355	89	0.0849
Speaker4							
a1	[Λ]	3	100%	896	1035	139	0.1123
a2	[a]	9	0%	1088	951	137	0.0836
a3	[a]	4	0%	1003	926	77	0.0763
e1	[٢]	10	90%	857	1021	164	0.0484
e2	[ə]	6	33.33%	956	1016	60	0.0746
ai	[ai]	8	62.5%	1074	1127	53	0.1924
ao	[ao]	11	81.82%	951	1027	76	0.1623
ou	[ou]	9	77.78%	955	997	42	0.0659

**Summary of Experiment III:** when considering the frequencies of F1, F2 and pinch values (F3-F2) between Mandarin and younger dialect, we have found only [x] (labelled e1) is statistically (p<0.05) different between these two dialect contexts. All the rest seven vowel realizations show the similar patterns between these two contexts. The multiple paired t-tests suggest that the younger Zhengding dialect has the same speech pattern with Mandarin, except in [x]. It might suggest that the dialect contact between Mandarin and younger dialect related to the generational differences in Zhengding dialect.

The three experiments in this study have suggested generational variation in the phonological speech patterns regarding the initial [ŋ] in Zhengding dialect. This study belongs to the emerging field of experimental sociolinguistics, and it might be the first step in a larger project, related to the sociolinguistic variation with the phonetic and experimental advances of laboratory phonetics. One of the main issues in this project is to "understand the nature of the relationship between linguistic features and the dimensions of the social world they evoke" (Eckert et al 2011: 9). Eckert et al discuss the linguistic features that index gender and sexuality, arguing that both laboratory phonologist and sociolinguists are interested in how the dynamism of context influences perception (Eckert et al. 2011). So the analysis on

Zhengding generational variation is expected to be part of the experimental sociolinguistics, allowing the sociolinguists and laboratory phonologists to study correlation between the social contexts and the language perception.

### 6. Conclusion

In this paper, three acoustic experiments have been conducted, showing that the younger generation in Zhengding dialect has been influenced by Mandarin, and they have largely lost the traditional initial- $[\eta]$  nowadays. Experiment I has defined and calculated three phonetic characteristics in the traditional  $[\eta]$ -V context: a lower F1, a higher F2, and a smaller pinch value (F3-F2). Experiment II suggests that different patterns are produced by the younger generation, who have largely deleted the initial  $[\eta]$ . A deviation is observed in  $[\nu]$  (labelled e1), and a hypothesis on the fused vowel  $[\tilde{\nu}]$  (labelled e1) is proposed. The assumption is based on two major observations: (a) no obvious low-frequency of initial nasal is visually perceived in the spectrogram trajectories; (b) three established nasal effects are attested on this vowel. Experiment III further explores the correlation between the younger Zhengding dialect is correlated to Mandarin. Multiple paired t-tests suggest that the younger Zhengding dialect is correlated to Mandarin Chinese, both having the deleted-initials (i.e., zero-initial).

From the socio-variationist perspective, the pronunciation with the initial nasal  $[\eta]$  is a partial variation in Zhengding dialect. Not all natives speak with this sound. The older generation largely remains this traditional variant, but the younger generation preferred the deleted-initial, which might be correlated with the dialect contact, especially when the younger generation starts to learn Mandarin.

For the limitation of this study, the data base for this acoustic analysis is not large enough. Only 8 native speakers are recruited for the participation. The recording is conducted in one-time reading, although participants are allowed to pre-read and practice in advance. All of the limitations might cause the analyses not very precise to some extent. These limitations need to be improved for the future investigation.

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#### Notes

Note 1. The word *dialect* in this study is used in a broad sense, referring to the regional variety in particular areas.

Note 2. Based on Song's (1999) argument that there are 37 syllabic finals in Zhengding dialect, I summarize 9 vowel inventories in Zhengding dialect, which includes the allophonic realizations.

Note 3. In Mandarin, two nasal initials are licensed: [m, n]; in Zhengding dialect, three nasal initials are allowed:  $[m, n, \eta]$ . The initial  $[\eta]$  in Zhengding dialect is corresponding to the



zero-initial in Mandarin.

Note 4. The Arabic numerals after the phonetic alphabet indicate the tone value. 55, 35, 214 and 51 are corresponding with the first, second, third and fourth tone in Mandarin Chinese.

Note 5. It is noticed that no significant difference between the fused  $[\tilde{x}]$  and [g]-[x] in the younger generation in experiment II. However, a significant difference is tested between  $[\eta]-[x]$  and [g]-[x] in the senior group in experiment I: a lower F1, a higher F2, and a smaller F3-F2. The contrast shows the overt initial  $[\eta]$  is more velar than the initial [g], but the fused nasal effect does not seem more velar than the velar plosive [g]. This may indicate a weak or deficient velar/nasal effect on the fused vowel, but this hypothesis needs further investigation.

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