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## The Phonological System of A Xin'an Idiolect

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THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT

A Thesis Presented

by

SHUIYING LU

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

September 2016

Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures  
Asian Languages and Literatures

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THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT

A Thesis Presented

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SHUIYING LU

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## **DEDICATION**

**To my husband Bing Fang and my dear daughter Lucy**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I particularly grateful to my advisor, Professor Zhongwei Shen, for giving me the opportunity to pursue my master under his guidance. I would like to express heartfelt thanks to Professor Shen's thoughtful support, encouragement and assistance during over the past few years.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, especially for my husband Bing and lovely daughter, Lucy. With their support and encouragement, I finally accomplish this thesis.

Thanks to you all!

## **ABSTRACT**

THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT

SEPTEMBER 2016

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My idiolect, a Xin'an idiolect, belongs to the Wuxi dialect, which is the northern Wu dialect. It carries most of the characteristics of the Wuxi dialect, such as the tripartite division of the manner of articulation of initial stop consonants. However, with the special geographic position, on the bounty of Wuxi dialect from the northwest area to southeast area and connected with Suzhou city, my idiolect shows its unique features, such as the condition of the retroflex. This study analyzes the phonological system of the idiolect and discusses the features. Since the dialect of the suburban area of the Wuxi is rare, it was only documented in the local chronicles; therefore the study is a good supplemental material to the Wuxi dialect.

Moreover, using the idiolect is like to use the phonological material with the specific area and social identity. It is well known that the variation of the language is related to the area, to the speaker's social identity and to the situation, therefore the specific idiolect definitely will benefit researchers to analyze the dialect. Furthermore,

idiolect is also a good sample to study the language diversity among the different social classes, which need to get more attention from scholars.

With the influence of the Mandarin and the surrounding dialects, some phonological features of my idiolect are in the variation, such as the sharp and rounded sounds. In the thesis, the theory of the language contact is applied to explain my idiolect.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES .....	x
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. THE OVERVIEW OF THE XIN'AN DIALECT .....	4
2.1 The overview of the Wuxi dialect .....	4
2.2 The overview of the Xin'an dialect.....	5
3. THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT.....	8
3.1 The initials of a Xin'an idiolect .....	8
3.1.1 The initial system .....	8
3.1.2 The characteristics of the initial.....	10
3.2 The finals of a Xin'an idiolect .....	11
3.2.1 The final system .....	11
3.2.2 The characteristics of the final.....	12
3.3 The tones of a Xin'an idiolect.....	12
3.4 The comparison of the idiolect and the Middle Chinese.....	14
3.4.1 The initial comparison .....	14
3.4.2 The final comparison .....	20
3.5 The colloquial and literary readings.....	39
3.5.1 The initial .....	39
3.5.2 The final .....	42
3.6 The syllable .....	44
4. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT.....	57

4.1	The [tʂ] group.....	57
4.2	The sharp and rounded sounds .....	69
4.3	The combination of [(i)ɑʔ] and [(i)ɑʔ] .....	72
4.4	Some [ɿ] changed into [ɿ] .....	74
4.5	The confusion of the entering tone [əʔ] and [oʔ] .....	76
5.	LANGUAGE CONTACT .....	82
5.1	The influence of the Mandarin .....	83
5.2	The influence of the surrounding dialects .....	85
6.	CONCLUSION .....	87
APPENDICES		
A.	THE CHARACTERS WITH SHARP SOUNDS .....	88
B.	LIST OF CHARACTERS REFERRED TO .....	89
	BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	90

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	page
3.1 Initial system of my idiolect .....	9
3.2 Examples of voiced initials .....	10
3.3 Final system of my idiolect.....	11
3.4 Tones in my idiolect .....	13
3.5 The initial comparison.....	14
3.6 The final comparison(even, rising and departing tone ).....	20
3.7 The final comparison(entering tone) .....	31
3.8 The syllable of my idiolect.....	45
4.1 The evolution of the [tʂ] group .....	58
4.2 The [tʂ] group in my idiolect .....	61
4.3 The various pronunciation of [tʂ].....	68
4.4 The change of the sharp sounds .....	70
4.5 The comparison of the sharp sounds among three dialects .....	71
4.6 The syllables with the rhyme [(i)aŋ] and [(i)ɑŋ] .....	72
4.7 The process of the change of the rhyme group [a, ɑ].....	74
4.8 The change of [ɿ].....	75
4.9 The syllables with entering tone [əŋ] .....	76
4.10 The syllables with entering tone [oŋ].....	78
5.1 The syllables with the initial from the Middle Chinese Ri .....	84
5.2 The pronunciation of the Middle Chinese Xianshan and Danggeng rhyme groups'	

	entering tone.....	85
6.1	The syllables with sharp sounds .....	88

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	page
1. The Wuxi dialect map.....	6
2. The organ of speech.....	67

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Idiolect, defined as a distinctive and unique use of language, including speech, is an individual's specific set of linguistic habits. It differs from a dialect, a common set of linguistic characteristics shared among some group of people. The notion of dialect shows that it is not an entity. It exists in the idiolects. According to the Complex Adaptive System theory, the language (dialect is a kind of the language) is the outcome of idiolects' interaction. Languages are abstractions, coming from the scientific analysis of idiolects. Idiolects, in the sense of directly observable or deducible phenomena, are the only linguistic realities. It is fundamental in linguistic study (Robert A. Hall Jr., 1951).

However, in practical language study, it is impossible for linguists to record and analyze all idiolects of one language. Usually they will use the simplified and static strategies. Study an idiolect or several ones of the speech-community at a certain stage and then get the common characteristics which will be considered as the language of the community. Such as in the dialect survey, individual speakers are chosen to represent their dialects. Although the dialect survey lists the background of the representative, it does not point out that differences maybe exist in their idiolects. This may cause a misconception as that all the idiolects in one dialect are the same (Zhongwei, Shen, 2014). This comprehension is not only contrary to the language reality but also undermines the importance and disregards the diversity among the individual speakers.

An idiolect is tied with the individual's wider linguistic community and his/her physical environment. It is the way for the person to communicate with others during a

certain time interval and there is a system of the idiolect which is relevant to the person during that time. The shared properties of those systems are building blocks of the language. Also the notion of the idiolect implies an awareness that each idiolect is unique and it is still changing... (Hans-Heinrich Lieb, 1993). Many factors will influence the idiolect--- socio-economic status, education, age, gender, etc. That will explain why a child acquires the language from the mother but construct his/her own idiolect which is not the same as that of his/her mother. Many of the differences among the idiolects may never be learned by others. They may simply vanish and leave no trace on the linguistic record (Jacobus A Naudé, 2000). In order to make effort on and illustrate how to rescue and document a specific idiolect, this thesis will focus on my own idiolect. The dialect part will be emphasized, for the reason of convenience, referred as the idiolect more specifically. Considering my home town, Xin'an town in Wuxi city and its dialect, Wu dialect, the current research will help enrich the records of the local suburban dialect. Since the documentation of the suburban dialect phonological system is comparatively limited, and only few are tracked in the Chinese local chronicles, herein the current study is valuable and meaningful.

The study is organized as follows: The next section will introduce the geography of my hometown: Xin'an town Wuxi City Jiangsu Province China. Moreover the complex dialect of the hometown will be discussed. The phonological systems of my idiolect will be described in chapter 3. The characteristics of the idiolect will be demonstrated in chapter 4. In chapter 5, the change of the phonological systems will be analyzed through the Language Contact Theory. In the final chapter the importance of the whole study will

be addressed and at last the potential/possible limitations of the research will be listed.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE OVERVIEW OF THE XIN'AN WUXI DIALECT

#### 2.1 The overview of the Wuxi dialect

Wuxi city locates in the southeast of Jiangsu province, China. The eastern part of the city connects with Suzhou and the western borders Changzhou. While the southern of the city is neighbored with the Zhejiang Province, the Yangtze River splits the northern of Wuxi and Taizhou.

The study of the Wuxi dialect first appeared in *Xiandai Wuyu De Yanjiu* (Zhao, 1928). Then it was recorded in *Jiangsu sheng He Shanghaishi Fangyan Gaikuang* (1960), *Wuxi Shizhi* (Shen Zhuang, 1995), *Jiangsu Shengzhi Fangyanzhi* (Mingwei Bao, 1998), *Dangdai Wuyu Yanjiu* (Nairong Qian, 1992) and other local chronicles.

The Wuxi dialect is classified into the Wu dialect. Since the Wu dialect is very complex, with distinct internal difference from area to area, researchers divide the Wu dialect into five major subgroups<sup>1</sup>. Among them, the *Taihu* group, defined as the northern Wu dialect, makes up the largest population of the Wu dialect speakers. The subdialects of this region include *Piling*, *Su-Hu-Jia*, *Tiaoxi*, *Hangzhou*, *Linshao* and *Yongjiang* (Nairong Qian, 1992). While the Wu dialects (in the Jiangsu and Shanghai region) are separated into two areas: *Su-Hu-Jia* (the eastern area) and *Piling* (the western area). Wuxi locates at the transition zone between the *Su-Hu-Jia* and *Piling*. Therefore the Wuxi dialect carries the characteristics of both these two dialects. Due to the complexity, researchers have different views on how to define/divide the east and west of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Zhongguo Yuyan Dituji*, published in 1987, divided Wu dialect into five subgroups: Taihu, Taizhou, Oujiang, Chuqu and Wuzhou.

Jiangsu southern dialect. *Baohua Xu, Rujie You* (1984), *Shangfang Zhengzhang* (1986) and *Jiangsu Shengzhi-Fangyan Zhi* classify the Wuxi dialect into Su-Hu-Jia (the eastern area). And *Yiming Yan* (1994) and *Qisheng Chen* (1993) consider it as Piling (the western area). These different conclusions are mainly due to the diverse study methods and the distinct classification criteria. Therefore it is hard to define how the Wuxi dialect should be classified into which subdialect. According to the description in *Wuxi Xianzhi* (1994), the Wuxi dialect separated into seven groups: downtown, *Hongsheng, Yangjian, Bashi, Luoshe, Hudi and Xuelang*. The characteristics of these seven subgroups' dialects present obvious transition trace from west to east.

## **2.2 The overview of the *Xin'an* dialect**

*Wuxi Xianzhi* (1994) divided Wuxi suburban district into two regions: eastern and western, based on their dialect characteristics. The downtown dialect is classified into the western region. The boundary of these two regions locates in the town of *Xin'an, Meicun, Anzhen and Donghutang*. While *Xin'an* and *Anzhen* belong to the western area, the dialects of the east part of these two towns are more close to the eastern region. Correspondingly, *Meicun* and *Donghutang* are classified into the eastern, but their west parts' dialects are similar to the western region. The local geography is shown in Figure 1: the map of the Wuxi dialect. Therefore the dialect has an overlapping zone lying in these small towns at the borders. This linguistic phenomenon increases the complexity of the *Xin'an* dialect.



(Figure 1: The Wuxi dialect map)([www.wxstudy.com](http://www.wxstudy.com))

( My hometown is labeled as ● in the figure)

*Xin'an* town locates in the southeast of *Wuxi* city. The northwest part of *Xin'an* connects with downtown *Wuxi* and the southeast one combines with *Suzhou*. The dialect in the town varies greatly, especially in those communities close to *Suzhou*. The area where I grew up is exactly the boundary between *Wuxi* and *Suzhou*. So the authentic *Xin'an* dialect naturally is a mixed variation of the *Wuxi* and *Suzhou* dialect. The phonological features of the *Xin'an* dialect can be found either in the *Wuxi* dialect or the *Suzhou* dialect.

However, the phonological system of the *Xin'an* dialect is only recorded in the *Wuxi Xianzhi* (1994). In recent years, the study of the *Wuxi* dialect only focused on the

urban dialect. The phonological system of suburban dialects did not get enough attention from the linguistic researchers. Only a small number of language phenomena are documented in some papers, like *Wang* (2011). Generally, the suburban dialects are more conservative than the urban dialect. Therefore, some changes of the urban dialect may find the source in the suburban dialect. The prime language materials will enrich the language records and benefit the research of the variation and changes of the language.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT

#### 3.1 The initials of a Xin'an idiolect

##### 3.1.1 The initial system

There are thirty one initials in my idiolect which is different from today's Wuxi dialect which has twenty seven initials (Xiaoyan Cao, 2003). In *Wuxi Xianzhi* (1994), both the Wuxi and Xin'an dialect had thirty four initials because they had [tʂ]group, [dz] and [j]. While in my idiolect, the [dz] and [dz] are merged into [z] and both [j] and [ɦ] are recorded as [ɦ].

Table 3.1 Initial system of my Idiolect (31)

Place \ Manner		Plosive	Nasal	Fricative	Affricative	Latter Approximant
Labial	Voiceless unaspirated	P 包巴杯				
	Voiceless aspirated	p <sup>h</sup> 破怕披				
	Voiced	b 排培皮	m 马卖梅			
Labio-dental	Voiceless			f 飞反翻		
	Voiced			v 肥凡 <u>万</u> <sup>2</sup>		
Alveolar	Voiceless unaspirated	t 多带堆			ts 左招周	
	Voiceless aspirated	t <sup>h</sup> 拖推挑		s 写苏师	ts <sup>h</sup> 醋猜超	
	Voiced	d 啼淘段	n 耐脑南	z 坐巢常		l 劳罗赖
Retroflex	Voiceless unaspirated				tʂ 猪朱主	
	Voiceless aspirated			ʂ 书输水	tʂ <sup>h</sup> 处吹	
	Voiced			ʐ 除如树		
Palatal	Voiceless unaspirated			ç 戏凶训	tç 居寄叫	
	Voiceless aspirated				tç <sup>h</sup> 去轻劝	
	Voiced		ɲ <u>你耳娘</u>		dʒ 距奇乔	
Velar	Voiceless unaspirated	k 加哥改				
	Voiceless aspirated	k <sup>h</sup> 课跨开				
	Voiced	g 葵狂共	ŋ 我牙外			
Glottal	Voiceless	∅ 爱幼鸭		h 火海灰		
	Voiced			ɦ 夜虾鞋		

<sup>2</sup> The syllables underlined with    are colloquial readings, those with    are literary readings. All other syllables are colloquial readings if they are not particular notified.

### 3.1.2 The characteristics of the initial

1、 The greatest feature of my idiolect’s initial, which is also the most prominent characteristic of the Wu dialect, is the tripartite division of the manner of articulation of initial stop consonants: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced, for example, 布[p], 破[p<sup>h</sup>], 部[b].

2、 The initial system of my idiolect still keeps the voiced initials. Some examples are described in the table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Examples of voiced initials

Middle Chinese initials	character	Idiolect initials
<i>bing</i> ‘combine’	并	b
<i>feng</i> ‘present’	奉	v
<i>ding</i> ‘fix’	定	d
<i>cong</i> ‘from’	从	z
<i>xia</i> ‘case’	匣	ɦ

3、 Distinct from the Wuxi dialect, the retroflex [tʂ, tʂ<sup>h</sup>, ʂ, z] exist in my idiolect. However the pronunciation of the [tʂ] group is not exactly same as the retroflex in Mandarin. The situation of the [tʂ] group will be discussed in Chapter 4.

4、 There are literary and colloquial reading phenomenon in the initial system. Take the *Jian* ‘see’ group the division II *kaikou* syllables as an instance, the literary reading is voiceless unaspirated palatal affricative [tʃ], while the colloquial reading is voiceless unaspirated velar plosive [k]. For example, *jie* ‘untie’, the literary reading is [tʃia<sup>323</sup>] and the colloquial reading is [ka<sup>323</sup>] (Appendix character no. 1).

5、The sharp and rounded sounds still can be distinguished but not stable. Some of them have already combined together. For example, *jing* ‘fine’ [tsin<sup>44</sup>] still can be distinguished from *jing* ‘through’ [tɕin<sup>44</sup>], but the pronunciation of *jian* ‘recommend’ [tsil<sup>35</sup>] is same as *jian* ‘sword’ [tɕil<sup>35</sup>] (Appendix character no. 1).

### 3.2 The finals of a Xin’an Idiolect

#### 3.2.1 The final system

My idiolect has forty five finals including fifteen monophthongs and thirty diphthongs. Moreover there are three medials: -j-, -w- and -ɥ-.

Table 3.3 Final system of my idiolect (45)

Medial			
∅	j	w	ɥ
ɿ 咨次子			
ɥ 猪书树	i 披米趣	u 姑虎花	y 句女雨
a 差嫁射	ia 写夜茄	ua 快乖帅	
ʌ 包刀少	iʌ 巧標叫		
ʊ 贪端看			yʊ 圈院劝
	il 边舔尖		
e 杯岁泪		ue 卫规葵	
ei 走抖受			
ɣw 多坐初	iɣw 九求幼		
ã 张省硬	iã 两抢香	uã 横	



ĩ 帮方讲	iĩ 旺	uĩ 光矿狂	
ən 澄等整	in 冰近兴	uən 昆困混	γən 均匀熏
oŋ 东风中	ioŋ 兄雄用		
aʔ 白卖拍			
aʔ 拔踏达	iaʔ 悦脚雀	uaʔ 挖滑刮	
əʔ 割说物	iəʔ 叶热吸	uəʔ 忽核骨	γəʔ 月缺血
oʔ 六木桌	ioʔ 菊局浴		
	ilʔ 立叠接		
ə 二儿耳			
ŋ 姆亩			
ŋ 嗯			
ĩ 鱼五吴			

### 3.2.2 The characteristics of the final

1、The monophthong in my idiolect is much more than that in the Mandarin. Most diphthongs of the Mandarin are read as monophthong in my idiolect, such as [ei, ao, ua] in Mandarin are pronounced as [e, ʌ, u] in my idiolect.

2、In the final system of my idiolect, there is [aʔ] but no [iaʔ]. For example, *ba* 'eight' [paʔ<sup>5</sup>] still can be tell the difference from *bai* 'hundred' [paʔ<sup>5</sup>] but the pronunciation of *jia* 'first' [tɕiaʔ<sup>23</sup>] and *jiao* 'foot' [tɕiaʔ<sup>23</sup>] (old generation read 'foot' as [tɕiaʔ<sup>23</sup>]) are the same (Appendix character no. 2). The development of the two final groups [aʔ, iaʔ] and [aʔ, iaʔ] will be discussed in Chapter 4.

### 3.3 The tones of a Xin'an Idiolect

There are seven tones in the my Idiolect. The tone categories are the same as the ones in Wuxi dialect but the tone values have a little different.

Table 3.4 Tones in the my Idiolect

Tone categories	Tone values	Examples
Upper even	44	高开猪初飞
(Lower even)	(223)	(穷陈扶南文)
Upper rising	323	古走丑草短
Lower rising	24	五近女坐厚
Upper departing	35	盖账唱送放
Lower departing	223	害谢大病岸
Upper entering	5	割黑锡积笔
Lower entering	23	月六杂读白

Actually, in my idiolect, the lower even category has already merged into the lower departing category. The single characters' tone from these two tone categories are the same but their sandhi are different. For example, the pronunciation of *ping* 'even' [bin<sup>223</sup>] is same as *ping* 'illness', while the compound *pingfang* 'bungalow' [bin<sup>13</sup>vĩ<sup>21</sup>] is read differently from *pingfang* 'sickroom' [[bin<sup>22</sup>vĩ<sup>44</sup>] (Appendix character no. 3).

### 3.4 The comparison of the Idiolect and the Middle Chinese

#### 3.4.1 The initial comparison

Table 3.5 The initial comparison

Idiolect initials	Middle Chinese Initials/ pinyin	Meaning	Examples	Examples for the exception	Character read as Mandarin (the uncommon character excluded ) <sup>3</sup>
P	帮 <i>bang</i>	'help'	帮布北悲	谱 p <sup>h</sup> 爆 b	
P <sup>h</sup>	滂 <i>pang</i>	'pouring'	普派泡飘	怖 P 玻 P	
b	并 <i>bing</i>	'combine'	菩败抱便		
m	明 <i>ming</i>	'bright'	骂米妹毛		迈
	微 <i>wei</i> (colloquial readings)	'tiny'	闻望忘味	尾 n	
f	非 <i>fei</i>	'errors'	付分发风		
	敷 <i>fu</i>	'apply, spread'	赴肺翻蜂	捧 p <sup>h</sup>	
v	奉 <i>feng</i>	'present'	腐凡罚房	复 f	翡翠 缚
	微 <i>wei</i> (literary readings)	'tiny'	文勿尾万		
t	端 <i>duan</i>	'beginning'	赌低戴对		
t <sup>h</sup>	透 <i>tou</i>	'penetrate'	吐泰退梯	贷 d 桶 d	
d	定 <i>ding</i>	'fix'	徒袋弟桃		大夫
n	泥 ( 娘 ) <i>ni(niang)</i> (The division I and II)	'mud' ('mother')	挪内闹纳		
l	来 <i>lai</i>	'come'	路例雷老	弄 n	
ts	精 <i>jing</i>	'refine'	左再资	祭 tɕ	爵
	知 <i>zhi</i>	'knowledge'	追张展珍	爹 t	
	庄 <i>zhuang</i>	'village, serious'	阻抓斩札	眨 s	
	章 <i>zhang</i>	'section'	纸照州枕		
tɕ	知 <i>zhi</i>	'knowledge'	猪蛛		
	章 <i>zhang</i>	'section'	主朱		
ts <sup>h</sup>	清 <i>qing</i>	'clear'	醋猜脆	砌 d	

<sup>3</sup> All characters come from Fangyan Diaocha Zibiao(1981).

ts <sup>h</sup>	徹 <i>che</i>	'thorough'	楚耻超丑		
	初 <i>chu</i>	'first'	差厕吵创		
	昌 <i>chang</i>	'prosperous'	齿川春		
tʂ <sup>h</sup>	昌 <i>chang</i>	'prosperous'	吹处		
z	从 <i>cong</i>	'from'	坐材字曹	樵 tɕ 蹲 t	藉 渐
	邪 <i>xie</i>	'evil'	词隧寻	夕 s 松 s	囚 涎 羨
	澄 <i>cheng</i>	'clear'	茶池潮宙	瞪 t	
	崇 <i>cong</i>	'esteem'	柴事巢愁		
	船 <i>chuan</i>	'ship'	蛇示舌神	盾 t	述
	禅 <i>chan</i>	'buddhist'	社匙晨常	拾 s	
	日 <i>ri</i>	'sun, day'	惹如		Discussed later <sup>4</sup>
ʐ	澄 <i>cheng</i>	'clear'	除住		
	禅 <i>chang</i>	'buddhist'	殊树		
	日 <i>ri</i>	'sun, day'	如		
s	心 <i>xin</i>	'heart'	锁写苏	赐 ts 膝 ts <sup>h</sup>	絮需须粹
	生 <i>sheng</i>	'living'	沙梳师史		
	书 <i>shu</i>	'book'	奢世睡翅		
ʂ	书 <i>shu</i>	'book'	书舒暑		
tɕ	见 <i>jian</i>	'see'	举记娇九		
	(the division III and IV <i>kaikou</i> <sup>5</sup> , the <i>yu, shan, and zhen</i> rhyme group the division III <i>hekou</i> <sup>6</sup> , the <i>shan</i> rhyme group the division II <i>kaikou</i> syllables)				
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	溪 <i>xi</i>	'brook'	企券缺庆		却 确 磬
	(the division III and IV <i>kaikou</i> , the <i>yu, shan, and zhen</i> rhyme group the division III <i>hekou</i> , the <i>shan</i> rhyme group the division II <i>kaikou</i> syllables)				
dʒ	群 <i>qun</i>	'group'	具棋跪桥		剧
	(the division III and IV <i>kaikou</i> , the <i>yu, shan, and zhen</i> rhyme group the division III <i>hekou</i> , the <i>shan</i> rhyme group the division II <i>kaikou</i> syllables)				
ɕ	晓 <i>xiao</i>	'dawn'	虚喜休吸		歪 喧 畜 蓄
	(the division III and IV except the <i>zhi</i> rhyme group the division III <i>hekou</i> syllables)				
ɳ	泥 ( 娘 ) <i>ni(niang)</i>	'mud (mother)'	膩黏碾酿	赁 l	
	(the division III and IV)				
	日 <i>ri</i>	'sun, day'	儿耳二		
	疑 <i>yi</i>	'doubt'	倪宜验孽		艺 仪 谊 义

<sup>4</sup> The condition of "Ri (日)" is complex, it will be discussed separated in chapter five.

<sup>5</sup> *Kaikou*: The syllables do not have the media [u] nor the main vowel [u].

<sup>6</sup> *Hekou*: The syllables have the media [u] or the main vowel [u].

					娛
k	见 <i>jian</i>	'see'	果嫁孤该		
k <sup>h</sup>	溪 <i>xi</i>	'dawn'	可苦考口	恢 h	曲
g	群 <i>qun</i>	'group'	葵狂共		
h	晓 <i>xiao</i>	'dawn'	火海灰好	况 k	靴 孝
	(The division I, II and the zhi rhyme group the division III hekou syllables)				
ŋ	疑 <i>yi</i>	'doubt'	我牙外傲		卧
fi	疑 <i>yi</i>	'doubt'	危原乐 <sub>音乐</sub> 玉		
	匣 <i>xia</i>	'case'	虾害鞋画	洽 k <sup>h</sup>	谐系奚兮醋 陷馅协苒贤 弦现行茎幸 形型刑迥
	云 <i>yun</i>	'cloud'	雨卫右云		
	以 <i>yi</i>	'case'	夜唯摇羊		
∅	微 <i>wei</i> (the yu rhyme group division III hekou syllables)	'tiny'	武舞雾		
	影 <i>ying</i>	'image'	矮伊威安		隘

1) The *Bang* 'help' group<sup>7</sup>: The *Bang* group of the Middle Chinese still contains three parts in my idiolect, which are voiceless unaspirated labial plosive [p] (*bang* 'help'), voiceless aspirated labial plosive [p<sup>h</sup>] (*pang* 'pouring') and voiced labial plosive [b] (*bing* 'combine'). The *Ming* 'bright' of the Middle Chinese is corresponding to labial nasal [m] in the idiolect.

2) The *Fei* 'errors' group: In the Middle Chinese, the *Fei* group is the tripartite division into three as the *Bang* group: voiceless unaspirated labio-dental fricative [f] (*fei* 'errors'), voiceless aspirated labio-dental fricative [f<sup>h</sup>] (*fu* 'apply, spread') and voiced labio-dental fricative [v] (*feng* 'present'). But in today's Wu dialect and my idiolect, this pattern has

<sup>7</sup>*Bang* group includes *bang*, *pang*, *bing*, *ming*. *Fei* group: *fei*, *fu*, *feng*, *wei*; *Duan* group: *duan*, *tou*, *ding*; *Ni* group: *ni*(*niang*), *lai*; *Jing* group: *jing*, *qing*, *cong*, *xin*, *xie*; *Zhi* group: *zhi*, *che*, *cheng*; *Zhuang* group: *zhuang*(*zhao*), *chu*(*chuan*), *cong*(*chuang*), *sheng*(*shen*); *Zhang* group: *zhang*(*zhao*), *chang*(*chuan*), *chuan*(*chuang*), *shu*(*shen*), *chan*; *Jian* group: *jian*, *xi*, *qun*, *yi*; *Ying* group: *xiao*, *xia*, *ying*, *yun*(*yu*), *yi*(*yu*).

already changed. The initial [f<sup>h</sup>] disappeared, only [f] (*fei* and *fu*) and [v] (*feng*) left.

3) The initial *Wei* 'tiny' of the Middle Chinese is a little complex in the idiolect. It relies on different conditions: the literary readings of *Wei* are corresponded to voiced labio-dental fricative [v]; the colloquial readings of *Wei* are read as voiced labial nasal [m]; the *yu* rhyme group division III *hekou* syllables of *Wei* are pronounced as voiceless glottal plosive [∅]. There is also a special character *Wei* 'tail, end'. Its literary reading's initial is voiced labio-dental fricative [v] while the colloquial reading is corresponding to the voiced palatal nasal [ɲ], such as [ɲipu] *weiba* 'tail' (Appendix character no. 4a).

4) The *Duan* 'beginning' group of the idiolect is still like it in the Middle Chinese, containing three parts: voiceless unaspirated alveolar plosive [t] (*duan* 'beginning'), voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive [t<sup>h</sup>] (*tou* 'penetrate') and voiced alveolar plosive [d] (*ding* 'fix').

5) The *Ni* 'mud' group of the Middle Chinese contains two initials: *Ni* (*Niang*) ('mother') and *Lai* 'come'. In the idiolect, the initial *Ni* is corresponding to two initials based on the division. The division I and II syllables of *Ni* are read as voiced alveolar nasal [n]. And the division III and IV syllables are pronounced as voiced palatal nasal [ɲ]. The initial *Lai* corresponds to voiced alveolar lateral approximant [l]. However, the syllable *nong* 'lane' is an exception. In the idiolect, *nong* is read as [noŋ]<sup>223</sup> as it in the Mandarin.

6) The condition of the *Jing* 'refine' group in the Idiolect represents a period of the diachronic development of the sharp and rounded sounds. The initial *Jing* is corresponding to voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricative [ts]. While with the influence of the Mandarin, some syllables with the initial *Jing* has read as voiceless unaspirated

palatals affricative [tʃ], such as *Ji* 'sacrifice' [tʃi<sup>35</sup>] (Appendix character no. 4b). Similarly, the initial *Qing* 'clear' in the idiolect is pronounced as voiceless aspirated alveolar affricative [ts<sup>h</sup>]. While some syllables have changed into the rounded sound voiceless aspirated palatals affricative [tʃ<sup>h</sup>]. The variation in *Jing* group in my idiolect will be discussed in the next chapter.

7) The *Zhi* 'knowledge' group and *Zhang* 'section' group include initials *Zhi* 'knowledge', *Che* 'thorough', *Cheng* 'clear' and *Zhang* 'section', *Chang* 'prosperous', *Chuan* 'ship', *Shu* 'book' and *Chan* 'buddhist'. They are read as voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricative [ts], voiceless aspirated alveolar affricative [ts<sup>h</sup>], voiced alveolar fricative [z] and voiceless aspirated alveolar fricative [s] respectively. In the old generation's Wuxi dialect, there is a pair of affricative and fricative initials, which are [ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, z, s] and [tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, z, ʃ]. But the retroflex initial [tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, z, ʃ] has already disappeared in today's Wuxi dialect. In Nairong Qian's *Dangdai Wuyu Yanjiu* (1992), it already merged into the alveolar [ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, z, s]. While in my idiolect, the [tʃ, tʃ<sup>h</sup>, z, ʃ] still can be found in the syllables, but it depends on the vowel which it combined with.

8) The *Zhuang* 'village, serious' group contains *Zhuang*, *Chu* 'first', *Chong* 'esteem' and *Sheng* 'living', which are respectively corresponding to [ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, z, s], like the *Zhi* and *Zhang* group.

9) The initial *Ri* 'sun, day' is corresponding to voiced alveolar fricative [z] and voiced palatals nasal [ɲ]. Since most syllables with this initial are rarely used in daily spoken language, with the influence of Mandarin, some syllables are only read in Mandarin.

10) The *Jian* 'see' group has four initials: *Jian* 'see', *Xi* 'brook', *Qun* 'group' and *Yi*

'doubt'. This group is a little complex in my idiolect. Most of them are corresponding to two or more initials in the idiolect. Take the initial *Jian* for example, the division III and IV *kaikou*, the *yu* 'meet', *shan* 'mountain', and *zhen* 'attain' rhyme group the division III *hekou* and the *shan* 'mountain' rhyme group the division II *kaikou* syllables are read as voiceless unaspirated palatals affricative [tʃ]. Other syllables of the initial *Jian* are pronounced as voiceless unaspirated velars plosive [k].

11) The *Ying* 'image' group of the Middle Chinese include *Xiao* 'dawn', *Xia* 'case', *Ying* 'image', *Yun* 'cloud' and *Yi* 'with'. *Xia*, *Yun* and *Yi* are corresponding to voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]. *Yi* is read as voiceless glottal plosive [ø]. While the *Xiao* initial in my idiolect is a little complex. The division III and IV except the *zhi* 'end' rhyme group the division III *hekou* syllables in this initial are corresponding to voiceless unaspirated palatals fricative [ç]. The division I, II and the *zhi* 'end' rhyme group the division III *hekou* syllables of *Xiao* initial are pronounced as voiceless glottal fricative [h].



### 3.4.2 The final comparison

Table 3.6 The final comparison( even, rising and departing tone)

Middle Chinese					Idiolect	Examples	Exceptions
Rhyme group	Kai/ He Kou	Division	Rhyme	finals			
Guo 'fruit' 果	Kaikou	I	Ge 'song' 歌	端 group	ɤw	多左歌	
				泥 group			
				精 group			
				见 group			ə? 个 <sub>一个</sub>
				影 group			a 阿 <sub>阿哥</sub>
		III	ge 戈	群	ia	茄 <sub>茄子</sub>	
	Hekou	I	Ge 'dagger' 戈	帮 group	u	菠破婆	
					ɤw	坡磨	
				端 group	ɤw	椭 <sub>椭圆</sub> 惰	
				泥 group		糯 <sub>糯米</sub> 裸	
				精 group		坐锁	
				见 group		过课	
影 group				u	火货祸		
	ɤw	和 <sub>和气</sub>					
	III	戈	见 group	Λ	瘸 <sub>瘸腿</sub>		
Jia 'fake' 假	Kaikou	II	ma 'numb' 麻	帮 group	u	怕爬马	a 爸
				泥		拿	
				澄		茶	
				庄 group		查差 <sub>差不多</sub>	
				见 group	a	家嫁牙	
				影 group	u	下 <sub>地下</sub> 哑	
					a	亚	
					III	麻	精 group
				知		爹	
				章 group	u	遮车蛇	
					a	扯社射	
				以	ia	爷夜	
Yu 'meet' 遇	Hekou	I	mo 'model' 模	帮滂并	u	蒲布普	
				明	ɤw	模 <sub>模子</sub> 墓	
				端 group	ɤw	赌土徒	
				泥 group		努路	
				精 group		租醋	

				见 group	u	姑苦误	
Yu 'meet' 遇	Hekou	I	模	疑	ɨ̃	五吴	
				影 group	u	胡虎乌	
		III	Yu 'fish' 鱼	泥	y	女	
				来	i	吕旅滤	
					ɣw	庐 <small>茅庐, 庐山</small>	
				精 group	i	徐序絮	
				知 group	ɥ	猪除	
				庄 group	ɣw	初助所	
				章 group	ɥ	诸书暑	
				日		如汝	
			见 group	y	居距 <u>鱼</u>		
			影 group		许余预		
			yu 'diceive' 虞	帮 group	u	付敷舞	
				来	i	缕 <small>丝缕</small> 屡	
						取聚需	
				知 group	ɥ	蛛厨住	
				庄 group	ɣw	数 <small>动词, 名词</small>	
				章 group	ɥ	朱输树	
		日		儒乳			
		见 group		y	拘具遇		
影 group	雨愉喻						
Xia 'crab' 蟹	Kaikou	I	hai 'laugh at' 哈	端 group	e	胎待代	
					a	戴态	
				泥 group	e	来乃耐	
				精 group		灾菜赛	
				见 group		改开呆	
			影 group	海孩爱			
			tai 'peaceful' 泰	帮 group	e	贝沛	
				端 group	a	带太泰	
				泥	e	奈	
				来	a	赖癞	
		清		e	蔡		
		见 group	盖丐艾				
		影 group	害藹 <small>和藹</small>				
		II	jie 'all' 皆	帮 group	a	拜排埋	
				庄		斋	
				崇	e	豺	
				见 group	ia	界戒揩	
				见 group	e	楷	
				匣	ia	械	
				影	e	挨 <small>挨近, 挨住</small>	
佳	帮 group	a	派牌卖				

				泥		奶	
Xia 'crab' 蟹	Kaikou	II	<i>jia</i> 'good' 佳	庄 group	a	债柴晒	
				见 group	a	街解 <sub>解开</sub>	
				匣		鞋蟹	
			影		矮		
			<i>jue</i> 决	并	a	败	
				崇		寨	
		III	<i>ji</i> 'sacrifice' 祭	帮 group	i	蔽弊	
				来		例厉励	
				精	ɿ	祭	
				澄		滞 <sub>停滞</sub>	
				章 group		制世誓	
			疑	i	艺		
		<i>fei</i> 'useless' 废	疑	i	刈		
		IV	<i>qi</i> 'neat' 齐	帮 group	i	批米	
				端 group		低梯弟	
				泥 group		泥礼	
				精 group		齐细	
				见 group		鸡计	
	影 group			兮系缢			
	Hekou	I	<i>hui</i> 'grey' 灰	帮 group	e	杯倍妹	
				端 group		推腿队	
				泥 group		雷内	
				精 group		催罪碎	
				见 group	ue	魁块	
			影 group	灰悔			
			<i>tai</i> 'peaceful' 泰	端 group	e	蜕兑	
				精		最	
				见 group	ue	会 <sub>会计</sub> 刽	a 外
				匣		会 <sub>开会</sub> 绘	
		II	皆	见	ua	乖怪	
				匣		槐坏	
			佳	见	ua	拐卦	
				晓		歪	
				匣	u	画	
			影	蛙			
		决	溪	ua	快[筷]		
			匣	u	话		
	III	祭	精 group	e	脆岁		
			知		缀 <sub>点缀</sub>		
			章 group		赘税		

				云		卫			
蟹	Hekou	III	祭 废	以	e	锐			
				帮 group	i	废肺吠			
		IV	齐	见 group	ue	闺桂			
				匣	ue	惠慧			
Zhi 'end' 止	kaikou	III	zhi 'branch' 支	帮 group	e	碑卑			
					i	披皮避			
				来	i	离荔			
				精 group	ɿ	雌紫赐			
				知 group	ʉ	知智池			
				庄 group	ɿ	差 <sub>参差</sub>			
				章 group	ʉ	支翅肢 梔 <sub>梔子花</sub>			
					ɿ	纸施 匙 <sub>钥匙</sub> 是氏 豉 <sub>豆豉</sub>			
				日		儿尔			
				见 group	i	奇义			
				影 group		戏移			
				zhi 'grease' 脂	帮 group	e	悲美媚		
					i	比 <sub>比较</sub> 鼻			
			定			地			
			泥 group		ɿ	梨利			
			精 group		ʉ	资次私			
			知 group		ɿ	迟致			
			庄 group		ʉ	脂尸至矢			
			章 group		ɿ	屎示视嗜			
					i	二 <sub>贰</sub> <sub>贰心</sub>			
			日			肌器			
		见 group	i	伊姨					
		影 group							
		zhi 'this' 之	泥 group	i	你李吏				
			精 group	ɿ	滋子字				
			知 group	ʉ	持耻治				
			庄 group	i	士史事				
			章 group	ʉ	芝志试				
				ɿ	市齿侍				
			日	i	耳				
			见 group	i	基起记				
		影 group		喜医意					
		III	wei 'tiny' 微	见 group	i	几气毅			
				影 group	i	希衣			
			Hekou		支	来	e	累	

				精 group	e	随髓	
Zhi 'end' 止	Hekou	III	支		ɥ	嘴	
				章 group	e	垂	
					ɥ	吹	
				见 group	e	规危伪	y 跪
				影 group		毁委	
			来	e	垒类泪		
			精 group		虽醉脆		
			知 group		追锤		
			生	e	衰		
				ua	帅		
		章 group	e	锥			
			ɥ	水			
			ua	谁			
		见 group	ue	龟葵轨			
			i	季			
			y	柜			
		影 group	e	维唯位			
		微	非 group	i	飞肥尾味		
			见 group	ue	归魏		
				y	鬼贵		
影 group	ue	挥威胃					
Xiao 'effect' 效	kaikou	I	hao 'bold' 豪	帮 group	Λ	毛保帽	
				端 group		刀讨盗	
				泥 group		老脑	
				精 group		操皂扫	
				见 group		高靠	
				影 group		豪好奥	
		II	yao 'dishes' 肴	帮 group	Λ	包饱貌	
				泥		挠闹	
				知		罩	
				庄 group		抄吵梢	ua 抓
				见 group	iΛ	教教书搅搞	
						敲巧 教教育	
		III	xiao 'night' 宵	影 group	iΛ	肴淆孝	
				帮 group	iΛ	苗表妙	
				来		燎燎	
				精 group	焦小俏		
				知 group	Λ	超赵召	
				章 group		招烧照	
		日	iΛ	饶绕			

				见 group		骄 喬 轿			
效	kaikou	III	宵	影 group	iΛ	妖 要 <sub>想要</sub>			
		IV	xiao 'desolate' 萧	帮 group	iΛ	挑 鸟 跳			
				泥 group	iΛ	聊 尿 料			
				心		萧 萧			
				见 group		浇 叫			
				影 group		晓 杳			
Liu 'flow' 流	kaikou	I	hou 'marquis' 侯	帮 group	ɤw	剖 茂 贸 某			
					m <sub>1</sub>	牡 母 拇			
				端 group	ei	偷 斗 透			
				来		楼 漏			
				精 group		走 凑			
				见 group		勾 狗 扣			
						偶 <sub>偶然</sub>			
				影 group		吼 后 呕			
				III	you 'particully' 尤	非 group	ei	矛	
							u	富 浮 负	
			ɤw			否 谋			
		娘 group	ei			流 留 硫			
			iɤw			纽 扭 柳 溜			
		精 group	ei			修 秀 绣 袖			
			iɤw			酒 囚 就			
		知 group	ei			抽 稠 宙			
		庄 group				愁 搜 瘦			
		章 group				周 手 寿			
		日	ɤw			揉			
		见 group	iɤw			九 球 牛			
		晓	iɤw			休 朽 嗅			
		影/云/以	ɤw			优 友 油			
		you 'secluded' 幽	帮 group			iɤw	彪 谬		
			见				纠 <sub>纠正</sub>		
			影			ɤw	幽 幼		
		Xian 'salted' 咸	kaikou			I	tan 'deep' 覃	端 group	e
					u			贪 探 <sub>试探</sub>	
				娘				南 男	
精 group	惨 参								
见 group	感 勘								
影 group	含 暗								
谈	e			谈 毯 担					
泥 group				蓝 览					
I	tan 'talk' 谈			精 group	u	惭 三			
				见 group		甘 敢			
	影 group	e	喊 酣						

		II	咸	知 group		站立	
咸	kaikou	II	咸	庄 group	e	斩杉	
				见 group		尴 <small>尴尬</small>	
				匣		咸陷	
		II	xian 'hold in the mouth' 衔	庄 group	e	衫	
				见 group		监 <small>监察</small> 嵌	
				匣		衔	
		III	yan 'salt' 盐	端	il	贬	
				泥 group		黏 <small>黏米</small> 敛	
				精 group		尖渐	
				章 group	u	占 <small>占卜</small> 闪	
				日		染	
				见 group	il	俭验	
		影 group	险厌				
	IV	tian 'add' 添	见 group	il	严欠		
			影 group				
			匣				
			端 group				
Hekou	III	fan 'every' 凡	非 group	e	甜点		
					拈 <small>拈起来</small> 念		
					兼谦		
					嫌		
Shen 'deep' 深	kaikou	III	qin 'invage' 侵	帮 group	in	品	
				泥 group		林赁 <small>租赁</small>	
				精 group		侵心浸	
				澄	ən	沉	
				庄 group		参 <small>参差</small> 森	
				章 group		针沈	
				日		壬任 <small>责任</small>	
				见 group	in	金锦禁	
影 group	音饮 <small>饮酒</small>						
Shan 'mountain' 山	kaikou	I	han 'cold' 寒	端 group	e	丹诞旦	
				泥 group		难懒烂	
				精 group	u	残赞散	
				见 group		餐	
				影 group	u	干看岸	
		见 group	寒罕案				
		II	山	帮 group	e	扮办	
				澄		绽 <small>破绽</small>	
				庄 group		山产	
				见 group	il	眼	
见 group	艰简						

				匣	e	闲限	
山	kaikou	II	Shan 'delete' 删	帮 group	e	班板慢	
				生		删栈	
				见 group		颜	
				影	il	谏雁	
		III	仙	帮 group	il	编辩面	
				泥 group	il	连碾	
		III	xian 'immortal' 仙	精 group	il	煎浅线	
				知 group	u	缠展	
				章 group		蝉扇战	
				见 group	il	乾 <small>乾坤</small> 件	
				影 group	il	延演	
				yuan 'primary' 元	见 group	il	言建
		IV	xian 'prior' 先	帮 group	il	边辫片	
				端 group		天典	
				泥 group		年练	
				精 group		千前	
				见 group		肩见	
				影 group		贤显现	
	Hekou	I	huan 'big' 桓	帮 group	u	搬潘拌	
					e	搬漫	
				端 group	u	端短段	
				泥 group		暖乱	
				精 group		酸蒜	
				见 group		官款冠	
		影 group	欢换腕				
		II	山	见 group	u	鰓 <small>鰓</small> 顽	
				匣	u	幻	
			删	庄 group	u	栓撰篡	
				见 group	u	惯	
				ue	关		
		影 group	ue	还 <small>还原</small> 弯			
		III	仙	来	il	恋	
精 group	全选旋						
知 group	u			转传			
章 group				专船喘			
日				软			
见 group	yu			拳绢倦			
影 group		员捐院					
		il	沿铅				



			元	非 group	e	翻反万			
山	Hekou	III	元	见 group	yʊ	元券愿			
				影 group		冤远怨			
		IV	先	溪	yʊ	犬			
				影 group		玄渊			
zhen 'attain' 臻	kaikou	I	hen 'trace' 痕	透	ən	吞			
				见		跟根			
				影 group		痕很恩			
		III	zhen 'genuine' 真	帮 group	来	精 group	in	贫民	
								鳞吝 <small>吝</small>	
								津尽信	
				知 group	əŋ	珍陈趁			
				庄 group	əŋ	臻榛			
					in	亲			
				章 group	əŋ	真晨振			
				日	in	人认			
				见 group		巾银紧			
	影 group	因引							
	yin 'eager' 殷	见 group	in	斤仅谨					
				影 group	欣殷隐				
	Hekou	I	hun 'soul' 魂	帮 group	ən	奔笨闷			
						端 group	盾顿		
						娘 group	论嫩		
				精 group		尊寸孙			
				见 group		uən	昆滚困		
				影 group		昏魂稳			
		III	zhun 'sincerely' 淳	来	ən	伦轮			
				精 group	ən	遵皴 <small>皴</small>			
					in	旬循巡	yən 俊		
章 group				ən	春准顺				
日				ən	润闰				
见 group				yən	均菌	ioŋ 窘			
以	匀								
wen 'writing' 文	非 group	ən	分份吻						
		见 group	yən	君裙郡					
		影 group	yən	熏云运					
Dang 'put off' 宕	kaikou	I	tang 'the Tang dynasty' 唐	帮 group	ɔ̃	帮忙莽			
				端 group		当汤荡			
				泥 group		囊浪			
				精 group		苍桑葬			

				见 group		冈康昂	
宕	kaikou	I	唐	影 group	õ	行杭肮	
		III	yang 'the sun' 阳	娘 group	iã	娘两亮	
				精 group		枪想酱	
				知 group	ã	张丈账	
				庄 group	õ	装爽壮	
				章 group	ã	商常障	
				日	iã	让	
		见 group	iã	疆强仰			
	影 group	iã	香羊养				
	Hekou	I	唐	见	uõ	光广	
		III	阳	影 group		荒晃汪	
				非 group	õ	方亡忘	
				见 group	uõ	狂逛	
				影 group	uõ	况	
				õ	枉王		
Jiang 'river' 江	kaikou	II	江	帮 group	õ	邦胖棒	
				澄		撞	
				庄 group		窗双	
				见 group		江扛降	
				影 group		夯项	
zeng 'formerl y' 曾	kaikou	I	deng 'ascend' 登	帮 group	ã	崩朋	
				端 group	ən	登等邓	
				泥 group		能楞	
				精 group		曾僧	
				溪		肯	
		匣	恒				
		III	zheng 'evaporate' 蒸	帮/并/来	in	冰凭陵	
				知 group	ən	澄澄 <sub>瞪眼</sub>	
				章 group		蒸升剩	
				日		仍扔	
疑	in			凝			
			影 group	in	兴应蝇		
Hekou	I	登	匣	oŋ	弘		
Geng 'stalk' 梗	kaikou	II	geng 'age' 庚	帮 group	ã	彭孟	
				端		打	
				来		冷	
				知 group	ən	撑	
				庄 group	ã	澄	
				见 group	ən	生省 <sub>省长</sub>	
					ã	更坑	
	ən	硬					
			影 group	ən	亨衡		

				影 group	ã	杏	
			庚		in	行 行为, 品行	
		II	geng 'plough' 耕	帮 group	ã	棚浜	
				澄	əŋ	萌	
				庄		橙 橙子	笋
					ã	争睁	
				见	əŋ	耕耿	
				影 group	in	茎幸樱	
		III	庚	帮 group	in	兵病命	
	kaikou	III	庚	见 group	in	京景敬	
				影		英影映	
		III	qing 'clear' 清	帮 group	in	名饼聘	
				来		领令	
				精 group		精请姓	
				知 group	əŋ	真逞 逞能	
				章 group		征正成	
				见 group	in	轻劲 劲敌	
		IV	qing 'blue or green' 青	影 group	in	婴盈	
				帮 group	in	萍并铭	
				端 group		丁挺定	
				泥 group		宁零	
				精 group		青醒	
		见 group	经径				
			影 group		馨形		
	Hekou	II	庚	见	uĩ	矿	
				匣	uã	横	
		III	庚	耕	oŋ	宏轰	
				晓/云	ioŋ	兄永	
			清	溪	in	倾顷	
				群	ioŋ	琼	
		IV	青	以	in	营颖	
				匣	in	萤茱	
				ioŋ	迥		
Tong 'go to' 通	Hekou	I	dong 'east' 东	帮 group	oŋ	蓬懵	
				端 group		东桶动	
				泥 group		笼弄	
				精 group		葱总送	
				见 group		公空孔	
				影 group		烘翁	
		dong 'winter' 冬	端 group	oŋ	冬统		
			泥		农脓		
			精 group		宗宋		

通	Hekou	III	东	非 group	oŋ	风凤梦	
				来		隆	
				心	oŋ	嵩	
				知 group		中仲	
				崇		崇	
				章 group		终充	
				日		绒戎	
				见 group	ioŋ	弓躬宫	
				云	ioŋ	穷	
				以	oŋ	雄熊	
				融			
		zhong 'bell' 钟	非 group	oŋ	蜂奉		
			泥 group		浓龙		
			精 group		踪纵颂		
			知 group		重		
			章 group		钟种		
			日		茸冗		
			见 group		恭共恐		
			晓	ioŋ	胸凶		
		影/以	雍容用				

Table 3.7 The final comparison(entering tone)

Middle Chinese					Idiolect	Examples	Exceptions
Rhyme group	Kai/He Kou	Division	Rhyme	finals			
咸	kaikou	I	he 'combine' 合	端 group	a?	答踏	
				泥		纳	
				来	a?	拉	
				见	ə?	合鸽	
				晓	a?	喝	
			匣	ə?	合		
				a?	盒 <sub>烟盒</sub>		
			he 'what' 盍	透	a?	塔榻	
				来		腊蜡	
				溪	ə?	磕	
		II	qia 'to blend with' 洽	庄 group	a?	眨 <sub>眨眼</sub> 插	
				见 group		恰掐	
				匣		狭	
			xia 'disrespect'	见	ia?	甲胛 <sub>肩胛</sub>	
	影 group	a?	匣 <sub>箱匣</sub> 鸭押				

			' 狎				
咸	kaikou	III	ye 'leaf' 叶	泥 group	iəʔ	聂 <sub>姓</sub> 镊 <sub>镊子</sub>	
				精 group	ilʔ	接妾捷	
				章 group	əʔ	摺 <sub>摺叠</sub> 摄涉	
				以	iəʔ	叶页	
		见 group	iəʔ	劫业			
		影	iəʔ	腌			
		IV	tie 'note' 帖	端 group	ilʔ	跌帖叠	
	见			iəʔ	挟 <sub>挟菜</sub>		
	匣				协		
	Hekou	III	fa 'tired' 乏	非 group	aʔ	法 <sub>方法</sub> 乏	
深	kaikou	III	缉	来	ilʔ	立粒	
				精 group		集习	
		III	ji 'arrest' 缉	澄	əʔ	塾 <sub>惊塾</sub>	
				生		涩	
				章 group		汁湿十	
				日	ilʔ	拾 <sub>拾起来</sub>	
				见 group	iəʔ	急及	
				晓		吸	
		影	揖 <sub>作揖</sub>				
		山	kaikou	I	he 'what' 曷	端 group	aʔ
泥 group	捺辣						
精 group	擦萨						
见 group	əʔ					割葛渴	
匣						喝 <sub>喝彩</sub>	
II	xia 'cunning' 黠			帮 group	aʔ	八拔	
				庄 group		札察杀	
	xia 'control' 鎋			崇	aʔ	铡 <sub>铡刀</sub>	
晓/匣	瞎辖 <sub>管辖</sub>						
III	xue 'surname' 薛			帮 group	ilʔ	别 <sub>区别</sub> 灭	
				来		列烈裂	
				心		薛泄 <sub>泄露</sub>	
				知 group	əʔ	哲撤	
				章 group		浙舌	
				见 group	iəʔ	杰孽	
				以	aʔ	拽 <sub>拖</sub>	
yue 'moon' 月	见	iəʔ	揭				
	晓		歇				

		IV	屑	帮 group		憋篋	
山	<i>kaikou</i>	IV	Xie 'bits' 屑	透	ilʔ	铁	
				泥	iaʔ	捏	
				精 group	ilʔ	节切	
				见	iəʔ	结洁	
				影		噎 <sub>噎住了</sub>	
	<i>Hekou</i>	I	mo 'end' 末	帮 group	əʔ	末沫	oʔ 泼
				端 group		脱夺	
				见 group	uəʔ	括 <sub>包括</sub> 阔	
				晓/匣		豁 <sub>豁然</sub> 活	
		II	黠	匣/影	uaʔ	猾猾挖	
				鏃	uaʔ	刷	
		III	薛	来		ilʔ	劣
				精 group	绝雪		
				书	əʔ	说 <sub>说话</sub>	oʔ 拙
			以	yəʔ	悦阅		
			月	非 group	aʔ	发罚	
				见 group	yəʔ	偃月	
		IV	屑	见 group		yəʔ	决缺
				晓/匣	血穴		
		臻	<i>kaikou</i>	III	zhi 'matter' 质	帮 group	ilʔ
来	栗						
精 group	七膝						
章 group	əʔ					质室	
日	iəʔ					日	
见						吉	
影 group						乙一逸	
<i>Hekou</i>	I		mei 'absence' 没	帮 group	əʔ	不没 <sub>沉没</sub>	
				定		突	
				见 group	uəʔ	骨窟 <sub>窟窿</sub>	
				晓		忽	
	III		shu 'skill' 术	来	iəʔ	律	
				章 group	əʔ	出术	
			wu 'object'物	见	yəʔ	橘	
				非 group	əʔ	佛物勿	
宕	<i>kaikou</i>	I	duo 'bell' 铎	见 group	oʔ	屈掘倔	
				帮 group		博薄	
				端 group		托	
				泥 group		落骆	
			精 group		作		
			见 group		各搁		

				影 group		恶 <sup>善</sup> 恶	əʔ鹤	
宕	kaikou	III	yao 'medicine' 药	来	iəʔ	略掠		
				精 group	iaʔ	雀削		
				知 group	aʔ	着 <sup>睡着</sup>		
				章 group		勺 <sup>勺子</sup>		
				日		若弱		
			见 group	iaʔ	脚却			
	药	影 group	约钥 <sup>钥匙</sup>					
	Hekou	I	铎	见 group	oʔ	郭廓		
			影 group	霍 <sup>霍香</sup>				
江	kaikou	II	jue 'feel' 觉	帮 group	oʔ	剥朴		
				知 group		桌浊		
				庄 group		捉 <sup>镯子</sup>		
				见 group		觉 <sup>知觉</sup>		
				影 group		学握		
曾	kaikou	I	de 'virtue'德	帮 group	oʔ	北墨		
				端 group		əʔ	得德特	
				来		əʔ	肋勒	
				精 group			贼塞	
				溪			刻克	
		晓	黑					
		III	zhi 'job'职	帮	ilʔ	逼		
				泥 group		匿力		
				精 group	əʔ	鲫息熄		
				知 group		直值		
	庄 group			测色				
	章 group	职食植						
	群	iəʔ	极					
	影 group	iəʔ	忆翼					
	Hekou	I	德	见	uəʔ	国		
匣				或惑				
III		职	云	iaʔ	域			
梗	kaikou	II	mo 'stranger' 陌	帮 group	aʔ	白拍		
				知 group		拆宅		
				庄		窄		
				见 group		格客		
			晓	əʔ	赫吓 <sup>恐吓</sup>			
		mai 'wheat'麦	明	aʔ	麦脉			
			庄 group	əʔ	责册			
			见	əʔ	革			
				aʔ	隔			
			影 group	əʔ	核 <sup>审核</sup> 扼			
III	陌	帮	ilʔ	碧				

				见 group	iə?	逆 <sup>逆风</sup>			
梗	kaikou	III	xi 'formerly' 昔	帮 group	il?	壁僻			
				精 group		积昔席			
				章 group	a?	尺射石			
				影 group	iə?	益液			
		IV	xi 'tin' 锡	帮 group	il?	壁觅			
				端 group		滴踢笛			
				泥 group	il?	历			
				精 group		绩戚			
见 group	iə?	击激吃							
Hekou	II	麦	匣	ua?	划				
	III	昔	以	iə?	疫役				
通	Hekou	I	wu 'house'屋	帮 group	o?	卜木			
				端 group		秃独读			
				来		鹿禄			
				精 group		族速			
				见 group		o?	谷哭		
			影	屋					
			wo 'fertile' 沃	端 group	o?	毒			
				影		沃			
				III	屋	帮 group	o?	福服目	
						来		六陆	
		知 group				竹畜 <sup>畜牲</sup>			
		生	缩						
		章 group	祝熟						
		日	肉						
		见 group	io?			菊			
		影 group	o?	郁育					
		zhu 'candle'烛	来	o?	绿				
			精 group		足促				
			章 group		烛触				
			见 group	io?	曲局玉				
以	欲浴								

- 1) In my idiolect, the high front unrounded vowel [i] mainly comes from the *Xie* 'crab' rhyme group the division III *kaikou* finals, the *Xie* rhyme group the division IV, *kaikou* finals and the *Zhi* 'end' rhyme group the division III *kaikou* finals. The *Zhi* rhyme group the division III *hekou* finals with the initial *Fei* 'errors' group are also corresponding to [i] in the idiolect. Moreover, the *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the



division III *hekou* finals, which pronounced as [y] in Mandarin , when they combine with the initial *Jing* ‘refine’ group and the initial *Lai* ‘come’, are also read as [i], such as *Lü* ‘surname’ ([li]) (Appendix character no. 4c).

- 2) The *Yu* ‘meet’ rhyme group the division III *hekou* final, when connected with the initial *Zhi* ‘knowledge’, *Zhang* ‘section’ and *Ri* ‘sun, day’ group, are pronounced as high back round [ʏ]. [ʏ] also comes from the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *hekou* final with the initial *Zhang* ‘section’ group and the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou* final with the initial *Zhi* ‘knowledge’ and *Zhang* ‘section’ group. Some finals from the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *hekou* with the initial *Jing* ‘refine’ are also read as [ʏ] in the idiolect, such as *Zui* ‘mouth’ [tʂʏ<sup>323</sup>] (Appendix character no. 4d). Therefore the pronunciation of *zhu* ‘main’ 遇合三虞韵, 章<sup>8</sup>, *zui* ‘mouth’ 止合三支韵, 精<sup>9</sup> and *zhi* ‘grease’ 止开三脂韵, 章<sup>10</sup> are the same, which is [tʂʏ<sup>323</sup>] (Appendix character no. 5).

- 3) The *Yu* ‘meet’ rhyme group the division I *hekou mo* ‘model’ rhyme, with the initial *Jian* ‘see’ group, *Ying* ‘image’ group and the initial *Bang* ‘help’, *Pang* ‘pouring’, *Bing* ‘combine’, are read as high back round [u]. The *Yu* ‘meet’ rhyme group the division III *hekou yü* ‘deceive’ rhyme, when connected with the initial *Fei* ‘errors’ group, is also pronounced as [u] in the idiolect. Moreover, [u] are from the *Jia* ‘fake’ rhyme group the division II *hekou ma* ‘numb’ rhyme, with the initial *Jian* ‘see’ group and *Ying*

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<sup>8</sup> 遇合三虞韵, 章 means the syllable with the final, the *Yu* ‘meet’ rhyme group the division III *hekou yu* ‘deceive’ rhyme, and the initial, *Zhang* ‘section’.

<sup>9</sup> 止合三支韵, 精 represents the syllable with the final, the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *hekou zhi* ‘branch’ rhyme, and the initial, *Jing* ‘refine’.

<sup>10</sup> 止开三脂韵, 章 is the syllable with the final, the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou zhi* ‘grease’ rhyme, and the initial, *Zhang* ‘section’.

'image' group, and some of the *Liu* 'flow' rhyme group the division III *kaikou you* 'particully' rhyme, with the initial *Fei* 'errors' group.

- 4) The final of the *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the division III *hekou*, with the initial *Jian* 'see' group and *Ying* 'image' group, is corresponding to high front round [y] in the idiolect.

The *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the division I *hekou mo* 'model' rhyme, with the initial *Ming* 'bright', *Duan* 'beginning' group, *Ni* 'mud' group and *Jing* 'refine' group, is pronounced as [ɣw] in my idiolect. [ɣw] also comes from the Middle Chinese *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the division III *hekou yu* 'fish' and *yü* 'deceive' rhyme with the initial *Zhuang* 'village, serious' group. Moreover, the final from the *Guo* 'fruit' rhyme group of the Middle Chinese is also corresponding to [ɣw] in the idiolect. Therefore *zuo* 'left' 果开一歌韵, 精<sup>11</sup>, *zu* 'hinder' 遇合三鱼韵, 庄<sup>12</sup> and *zu* 'group' 遇合一模韵, 精<sup>13</sup> are all pronounced as [tsɣw<sup>323</sup>] (Appendix character no. 6).

- 5) In my idiolect, [n] and [ŋ] can't be distinguished from each other after [ə] and [i]. Therefore the final from the Middle Chinese *Zhen* 'attain' and *Shen* 'deep' rhyme group are the same with part of finals from the *Zeng* 'formerly' and *Geng* 'stalk' rhyme group, such as [lin] *lin* 'woods' = *ling* 'zero' (Appendix character no. 6).

- 6) The final of the Middle Chinese *Geng* 'stalk' rhyme group the division II *kaikou* is corresponding to [ã] in the idiolect. However, most of these finals are read as [əŋ] in Mandarin. With the influences of the Mandarin, some syllables in my idiolect have

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<sup>11</sup> 果开一歌韵, 精 means the syllable with the final, the *Guo* 'fruit' rhyme group the division I *kaikou ge* 'song' rhyme, and the initial, *Jing* 'refine'.

<sup>12</sup> 遇合三鱼韵, 庄 represents the syllable with the final, the *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the division III *hekou yu* 'fish' rhyme, and the initial, *Zhuang* 'village. Serious'.

<sup>13</sup> 遇合一模韵, 精 is the syllable with the final, the *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the division I *hekou mo* 'model' rhyme, and the initial, *Jing* 'refine'.

already changed into the pronunciation in the Mandarin, such as *Cheng* ‘clear’ and *Geng* ‘change’ (Appendix character no. 7). [ã] also comes from finals of the Middle Chinese *Dang* ‘put off’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou* with the initial *Zhi* ‘knowledge’ group and *Zhang* ‘section’ group, such as *Zhang* ‘a surname’ and *Shang* ‘discuss’ (Appendix character no. 7). Moreover, *Peng* ‘friend’ and *Ben* ‘collapse’ (Appendix character no. 7), from the Middle Chinese *Zeng* ‘formerly’ rhyme group the division I *kaikou* *Deng* ‘ascend’, *De* ‘virtue’ rhyme, are also read as [ã] in the idiolect. The *hekou* [uã] rhyme only has one character in my idiolect, the colloquial readings of “*Heng* ‘violently’” [ɦuã<sup>223</sup>] (Appendix character no. 7), which is from the *Geng* ‘stalk’ rhyme group the division II *hekou* *geng* ‘age’ rhyme with the initial *Xia* ‘case’.

- 7) In my idiolect, [ɔ̃] is from the Middle Chinese *Jiang* ‘river’ rhyme group the division II *kaikou* *jiang* ‘river’ rhyme. [ɔ̃] also comes from *Dang* ‘put off’ rhyme group. In that rhyme group, [ɔ̃] are from three parts: the division I *kaikou* *tang* ‘the Tang dynasty’ rhyme, the division III *kaikou* *yang* ‘the sun’ rhyme with the initial *Zhuang* ‘village, serious’ group and the division III *hekou* *yang* ‘the sun’ rhyme with the initial *Fei* ‘errors’ group. Therefore [sɔ̃] *sang* ‘white mulberry’ = *shuang* ‘straightforward’ = *shuang* ‘pair’ (Appendix character no. 8).
- 8) The number of the rhyme [uõ] in the idiolect is small. It is from the Middle Chinese *Dang* ‘put off’ rhyme group the division I *hekou* *tang* ‘the Tang dynasty’ rhyme with the initial *jian* ‘see’ and *ying* ‘image’ group, the *Dang* ‘put off’ rhyme group the division III *hekou* *yang* ‘the sun’ rhyme with the initial *jian* ‘see’ and *ying* ‘image’

group and the *Geng* ‘stalk’ rhyme group the division II *hekou geng* ‘age’ rhyme with the initial *jian* ‘see’. For example, *guang* ‘light’, *huang* ‘desolate’, *kuang* ‘crazy’, *kuang* ‘condition’ and *kuang* ‘mine’ (Appendix character no. 9). While the rhyme [iĩ] only has one syllable in my idiolect, *wang* ‘prosperous’ (Appendix character no. 9), from the Middle Chinese the *Dang* ‘put off’ rhyme group the division III *hekou yang* ‘the sun’ rhyme.

- 9) In my idiolect, there are some nasal consonants, which also exist in the Wuxi dialect but are distinct from the Mandarin. The nasal consonants are [m̩], [ŋ̩] and [ɲ̩]. For example, *wu* ‘five’ and *yu* ‘fish’ are pronounced as [ɲ̩] (Appendix character no. 10). These nasal consonants come from the Middle Chinese *Yu* ‘meet’ rhyme group the division I *hekou mo* ‘model’ rhyme with the initial *yi* ‘doubt’ and the *Liu* ‘flow’ rhyme group the division I *kaikou hou* ‘marquis’ rhyme with the initial *ming* ‘bright’.

### 3.5 The colloquial and literary readings

In my idiolect, the phenomenon of the colloquial and literary readings mainly comes from the Middle Chinese the division II syllables. In this part, the colloquial and literary readings will be discussed from the Middle Chinese initial and final two parts.

#### 3.5.1 The initial

- 1) The Middle Chinese initial *Wei* ‘tiny’, the division III *hekou* syllable, the literary reading is voiced labial-dental fricative [v] and the colloquial reading is voiced labial nasal [m̩].

For example:

Characters	The literary reading		The colloquial reading	
	reading		reading	
味	[vi] 味之素	‘MSG’	[mi] 味道	‘flavour’
物	[vəʔ] 物理	‘physics’	[məʔ] 物事	‘thing’
万	[vɛ] 万事如意	‘good luck’	[mɛ] 一万	‘Mahjong’
问	[vən] 问题	‘question’	[mən] 问信	‘inquire’
蚊	[vən] 驱蚊	‘mosquito repellent’	[mən] 蚊子	‘mosquito’
闻	[vən] 新闻	‘news’	[mən] 闻起来	‘smells’
望	[vō] 希望	‘hope’	[mō] 望过去	‘view’
忘			[mō] 忘记	‘forget’

*Wei* ‘tail, end’, from the initial *Wei* ‘tiny’, the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group division III *hekou* syllable, is special in this group. Its literary reading is the same as other syllables with the initial *Wei* ‘tiny’, [vi]. But its colloquial reading is different from others. It is pronounced as voiced palatals nasal [ɱ]. Therefore, the colloquial reading of *wei* ‘tail, end’ is [ɱi], such as [ɱipu] *wei-ba* ‘tail’ (Appendix character no. 11).

2) The Middle Chinese initial *Jian* ‘see’, the division II *kaikou* syllable, the literary reading is voiceless unaspirated palatals affricative [tɕ] and the colloquial reading is voiceless unaspirated velars plosive [k].

Rhyme group	Characters	The literary reading	The colloquial reading
<i>Jia</i> ‘fake’	家	[tɕia] 家庭 ‘family’	[ka] 大家 ‘everyone’
	加	[tɕia] 加拿大 ‘Canada’	[ka] 加法 ‘addition’

	假	[tɕia] 假期 ‘holiday’	[ka] 放假 ‘have a holiday’
	甲	[tɕia] 甲鱼 ‘soft-shelled turtle’	[kaʔ] 马甲 ‘vest’
<i>Xie</i> ‘crab’	界	[tɕia] 界限 ‘limit’	[ka] 世界 ‘world’
	解	[tɕia] 解放军 ‘People’s liberation army’	[ka] 解开 ‘untie’
<i>Xiao</i> ‘effect’	交	[tɕiɿ] 交通 ‘traffic’	[kɿ] 上交 ‘hand in’
	胶	[tɕiɿ] 胶囊 ‘capsule’	[kɿ] 胶水 ‘glue’
	教	[tɕiɿ] 教育 ‘education’	[kɿ] 教书 ‘teach’
<i>Shen</i> ‘mountain’	间	[tɕiɿ] 间谍 ‘spy’	[ke] 一间 ‘a (room)’
<i>Jiang</i> ‘river’	江	[tɕiã] 翻江倒海 ‘with an overwhelming force’	[kɔ̃] 长江 ‘the Yangtse River’
	觉	[tɕioʔ] 知觉 ‘consciousness’	[koʔ] 觉得 ‘feel’

3) The Middle Chinese initial *Jian* ‘see’, the division III *hekou* syllable, generally, the literary reading is voiceless unaspirated velars plosive [k] and the colloquial reading is voiceless unaspirated palatals affricative [tɕ]. For example:

Characters	The literary reading	The colloquial reading
贵	[kue] 富贵 ‘rich’	[tɕy] 价钱有点贵 ‘expensive’
鬼	[kue] 牛鬼蛇神 ‘the monsters and freaks’	[tɕy] 小鬼 ‘little devil’

龟 [kue] 龟苓膏 'chelonian ling cream' [tɕy] 乌龟 'turtle'

4) The Middle Chinese initial *Ri* 'sun, day', most of its syllables have different pronunciations in the literary readings and colloquial readings. Generally speaking, the initial *Ri* in the literary readings is read as voiced alveolar fricative [z] or voiceless glottal plosive [ø]. And *Ri* in the colloquial readings is corresponding to voiced palatals nasal [ɲ].

For example:

Characters	The literary reading	The colloquial reading
儿	[ʝ] 儿童 'children'	[ɲi] 儿子 'son'
二	[ʝ] 独一无二 'unique'	[ɲi] 不管三七二十一 'willy-nilly'
耳	[ʝ] 耳机 'earphone'	[ɲi] 耳朵 'ear'
染	[zʊ] 传染 'contaminate'	[ɲi] 染颜色 'dye'
任	[zən] 任务 'mission'	[ɲin] 姓任 'surname ren'
人	[zən] 人民 'people'	[ɲin] 好人 'nice person'
日	[zəʔ] 值日 'on duty'	[ɲiəʔ] 生日 'birthday'

### 3.5.2 The final

1) The Middle Chinese *Geng* 'stalk' rhyme group, the division II *kaikou* syllables, the literary reading is [ən] or [in] and the colloquial reading is [ã]. For example:

Characters	The literary reading	The colloquial reading
牲	[sən] 牺牲 'sacrifice'	[sã] 牲口 'draught animals'
争	[tsən] 竞争 'competition'	[tsã] 争气 'try to win credit for'

睁	[tsən] 眼睁睁 ‘helplessly’	[tsā] 睁开 ‘open (eyes)’
行	[ɦin] 通行 ‘go through’	[ɦā] 行不通 ‘won’t work’

2) The colloquial reading of the syllables from the Middle Chinese *Zeng* ‘formerly’ rhyme group is similar to the *Geng* ‘stalk’ rhyme group, [ā]. The literary readings of these syllables is [ən], alike their pronunciations in the Mandarin.

Characters	The literary reading	The colloquial reading
崩	[pən] 天崩地裂 ‘earth shattering’	[pā] 崩开 ‘break’
朋	[bən] 高朋满座 ‘Many guests of exalted rank were presented.’	[bā] 朋友 ‘friend’
剩	[zən] 剩女 ‘leftover woman’	[zā] 剩饭 ‘leftover’
彭	[bən] 汹涌澎湃 ‘surge’	[bā] 姓彭 ‘surname peng’

3) The Middle Chinese *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group, the division III *hekou* syllables, the literary reading is [ue] and the colloquial reading is [y]. For example,

Characters	The literary reading	The colloquial reading
贵	[kue] 富贵 ‘rich’	[tɕy] 价钱有点贵 ‘expensive’
鬼	[kue] 牛鬼蛇神 ‘the monsters and freaks’	[tɕy] 小鬼 ‘little devil’
龟	[kue] 龟苓膏 ‘chelonian ling cream’	[tɕy] 乌龟 ‘turtle’
跪	[kue] 下跪 ‘kneel’	[dzy] 跪下来 ‘kneel down’



柜 [kue] 木柜 'wood cabinet' [dzy] 柜台 'counter'

### 3.6 The syllable

The syllable in my idiolect, consisted of the initial, final and tone, will be presented in the table 3.6. Here are some instructions.

- 1) The syllable with “\_” means this syllable presents its colloquial reading. With “=”, the syllable pronounces its literary reading.
- 2) “□” means the syllable is too difficult to print it out or even can't figure out the character.
- 3) The table will list the initial, final and tone. The initial will be divided into seven groups according to the place of the articulation, which are bilabial ([p], [p<sup>h</sup>], [b], [m]), labio-dental ([f], [v]), alveolar ([t], [t<sup>h</sup>], [d], [n], [l]), alveolar ([ts], [tsh], [s], [z]), palatals ([tʃ], [tʃ<sup>h</sup>], [dʒ], [ŋ], [ç]), velar ([k], [k<sup>h</sup>], [g], [ŋ]) and glottal ([ɦ], [h], [ø]).

Table 3.8 The syllable of my idiolect

韵 <sup>14</sup>	ɿ						i						u					
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223
p							比 臂 披 屁 皮 陛 避 迷 米 谜						巴 把 簸 玻 怕 爬 耙 麻 马 骂					
p <sup>h</sup>																		
b																		
m																		
f							非 匪 废 肥 尾 未						敷 府 付 符 腐 附					
v																		
t							低 底 帝 梯 体 替 题 弟 第 黎 礼 丽											
t <sup>h</sup>																		
d																		
n																		
l																		
ts	姿 紫 雌 此 次 斯 死 四 瓷 柿 自																	
ts <sup>h</sup>																		
s																		
z																		
tɕ							基 纪 记 欺 起 器 奇 技 忌 尼 腻 牺 喜 戏											
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																		
dʒ																		
ɲ																		
ɕ																		
k													姑 古 固 枯 苦 库 瓦					
k <sup>h</sup>																		
g																		
ŋ																		
h							姨 以 意 依 倚 意						花 虎 化 胡 户 互 污 坞 恶					
ɦ																		
∅																		
韵	y						ɥ						a					
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223
p													摆 拜					

<sup>14</sup> 韵: final; 声调: tone; 声: initial; 阴平: upper even; 阴上: upper rising; 阴去: upper departing; 阳平: lower even; 阳上: lower rising; 阳去: lower departing.

p <sup>h</sup>																			派
b																			牌
m																			埋 买 卖
f																			
v																			
t																			戴
t <sup>h</sup>																			态
d																			
n																			奶
l																			癩
ts																			渣 者 债
ts <sup>h</sup>																			差 扯 蔡
s																			奢 洒 晒
z																			柴 社 射
tʂ																			
tʂ <sup>h</sup>																			珠 主 注
ʂ																			吹 耻 翅
ʐ																			书 水 试
																			殊 竖 树
tɕ	拘 举 句																		
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	区 去																		
dʒ					渠 巨 具														
ŋ					女 具 语														
ɕ	虚 许																		
k																			街 解 界
k <sup>h</sup>																			揩 楷
g																			
ŋ																			涯 外
h																			蟹
ɦ					余 雨 芋														鞋
ø	淤																		
韵	ia						ua						Λ						
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	
p																			包 饱 报
p <sup>h</sup>																			泡 炮
b																			跑 抱 暴
m																			貌 毛
f																			
v																			
t	爹																		刀 岛 到

t <sup>h</sup>			滔 讨 套															
d			桃 稻 盗															
n			脑 闹															
l			劳 老 涝															
ts	姐 借		遭 早 照															
ts <sup>h</sup>	且		操 草 糙															
s	写 卸		烧 扫 少 <sup>15</sup>															
z	斜 谢		曹 皂 召															
tɕ	解 假																	
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																		
dʒ																		
ɲ																		
ɕ																		
k		乖 拐 怪	高 稿 告															
k <sup>h</sup>		夸 快	敲 考 靠															
g	茄		熬 咬 傲															
ŋ																		
h			蒿 好 耗															
ɦ	谷 野 夜	怀 坏	豪 浩															
ø	鸦 哑 亚	蛙	坳 袄 奥															
韵																		
韵	iɛ						u						yɛ					
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223
p	标 表						搬 半											
p <sup>h</sup>	飘 漂 票						潘 判											
b						嫖 秒 妙						盘 伴 叛						
m						描 秒 妙						馒 满 漫						
f																		
v																		
t	刁 鸟 钓						端 短 锻											
t <sup>h</sup>	挑 跳						贪 探											
d						条 调						团 断 段						
n												南 暖						
l						聊 瞭 料						卵 乱						
ts	焦						专 展 转											
ts <sup>h</sup>	悄 俏						穿 喘 串											
s	消 小 笑						酸 闪 扇											

<sup>15</sup> 少: juvenile(少年).

z																				蝉 善 禅
tɕ	娇 矫 叫																			捐 捲 绢
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	巧																			圈 劝
dʒ				喬		轿														拳 犬 倦
ɲ				饶		绕 绕														
ɕ	噐 晓 孝																			喧
k									官 管 冠											
k <sup>h</sup>									宽 款											
g																				
ŋ																				岸
h								欢 罕 汉												
ɦ				摇 舀 耀						寒 旱 汗										员 远 院
ø	妖 杳 要							安 碗 案												冤 怨
韵																				
韵	ii						e						ue							
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去		
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223		
p	边 扁 变						杯 板 背													
p <sup>h</sup>	偏 片						胚 配													
b				便 辩 便						陪 佩										
m				棉 免 面						梅 每 妹										
f							翻 反 泛													
v										凡 范 饭										
t	颠 典 店						堆 胆 对													
t <sup>h</sup>	天 舔						推 腿 退													
d				田 电						谭 淡 队										
n										难 内										
l				莲 练						蓝 览 滥										
ts	尖 剪 箭						灾 宰 再													
ts <sup>h</sup>	迁 浅						猜 彩 菜													
s	仙 选 线						腮 赛													
z				钱 践 贱						才 在 载										
tɕ	坚 检 见																			
tɕ <sup>h</sup>	谦 遣 歉																			
dʒ				乾 件 健																
ɲ				年 染 念																
ɕ	掀 险 献																			

<sup>16</sup> 便: cheap(便宜).

<sup>17</sup> 便: convenient(方便).

k							该 改 概							规 诡 桂						
k <sup>h</sup>							开 凯 慨							盔 傀 块						
g													碍							
ŋ																				
h							海 喊							灰 悔 晦						
ɦ	炎 演 焰						孩 亥 害							违 唯 位						
ø	烟 掩 宴						哀 爱							威 委 慰						
韵	ei						ɤw						iɤw							
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去		
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223		
p																				
p <sup>h</sup>																				
b																				
m																				
f																				
v																				
t	兜 斗						多 躲 剃													
t <sup>h</sup>	偷 □ 透 <sup>18</sup>						拖 楠 唾													
d	头 豆						图 肚 度													
n													糯							
l	流 柳 漏						罗 裸 路													
ts	周 帚 咒						租 祖 做													
ts <sup>h</sup>	秋 凑						粗 楚 醋													
s	修 首 秀						苏 所 诉													
z	绸 受 授						坐 座													
tɕ													纠 九 救							
tɕ <sup>h</sup>													抽 丑							
dʒ													求 舅 旧							
ɲ																				
ɕ													休 朽 嗅							
k	沟 狗 够						歌 果 过													
k <sup>h</sup>	抠 口 寇						科 可 课													
g	厚																			
ŋ	藕 偶						鹅 我 饿													
h	吼																			
ɦ	喉 后						河 贺						游 有 又							
ø	欧 呕												优							

<sup>18</sup> □: shake the clothes(抖衣服).

韵	ã						iã						uã						
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	
p	浜  棚 蚌 盲 孟																		
p <sup>h</sup>																			
b																			
m																			
f	打																		
v																			
t																			
t <sup>h</sup>																			
d	冷						良 两 亮												
n																			
l																			
l																			
ts	章 掌 障 昌 厂 唱 生  常 上 尚						将 奖 酱 枪 抢 箱 想 相 19  详 像												
ts <sup>h</sup>																			
s																			
s																			
z	僵 羌  强 娘 酿 香 享 向																		
tɕ																			
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																			
dʒ																			
ɲ																			
ɕ																			
k	硬																		
k <sup>h</sup>																			
g																			
ŋ																			
h	杏						洋 养 样						横 20						
ɦ																			
ø																			
ø	央																		
韵	ĩ						iĩ						uiĩ						
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	

<sup>19</sup> 相: appearance(相貌).

<sup>20</sup> 横: disorder(横七竖八).

声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223
p	帮 榜 谤																	
p <sup>h</sup>	滂 胖																	
b	旁 傍																	
m	忙 蟒 忘																	
f	方 纺 放																	
v	房																	
t	当 挡 当 <sup>21</sup>																	
t <sup>h</sup>	汤 躺 烫																	
d	堂 荡 宕																	
n	囊																	
l	郎 朗 浪																	
ts	脏 葬																	
ts <sup>h</sup>	仓 闯 创																	
s	桑 嗓 丧																	
z	藏 撞																	
tɕ																		
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																		
dʒ																		
ɲ																		
ɕ																		
k	刚 讲 降												光	广	逛			
k <sup>h</sup>	康 慷 抗												筐		旷			
g	昂															狂		
ŋ																		
h	杭 项 巷						旺						荒	谎				
ɦ																黄	晃	旺
ø													汪	枉				
韵																		
	əŋ						in						uəŋ					
声	阴	阴	阴	阳	阳	阳	阴	阴	阴	阳	阳	阳	阴	阴	阴	阳	阳	阳
调	平	上	去	平	上	去	平	上	去	平	上	去	平	上	去	平	上	去
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223
p	奔 本						彬 饼 柄											
p <sup>h</sup>	喷						拼 品 聘											
b	盆 笨						平 病											
m	门 闷						明 皿 命											
f	芬 粉 奋																	
v	文 份																	

<sup>21</sup> 当: mortgage(典当).





ts							踪 总 纵											
ts <sup>h</sup>							充 宠											
s							松 忪 送											
z							虫 仲											
tɕ	均												窘					
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																		
dʒ	裙 菌 郡												穷					
ɲ													浓					
ɕ	熏 训												凶					
k							公 拱 贡											
k <sup>h</sup>							空 孔 控											
g													共					
ŋ																		
h							轰 哄											
ɦ	匀 允 运						虹						雄 勇 用					
ø	熨												雍 拥					
韵																		
	ə						ɱ						ɨ					
声调	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去	阴平	阴上	阴去	阳平	阳上	阳去
声	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223	44	323	35	223	24	223
p																		
p <sup>h</sup>																		
b																		
m							姆 亩											
f																		
v																		
t																		
t <sup>h</sup>																		
d																		
n																		
l																		
ts																		
ts <sup>h</sup>																		
s																		
z																		
tɕ																		
tɕ <sup>h</sup>																		
dʒ																		
ɲ																		
ɕ																		
k																		
k <sup>h</sup>																		

g									鱼 五			
ŋ												
h												
ɦ	耳											
ø												
韵												
韵	a?		a?		ia?		ua?		ə?		iə?	
声调	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入
声	5	23	5	23	5	23	5	23	5	23	5	23
p	百拍		八						拨			
p <sup>h</sup>									拨			
b	白陌		拔									
m									沫			
f			法						勿			
v			乏						佛			
t			答踏						德脱			
t <sup>h</sup>												
d			达捺辣						突			
n												
l					略				勒			
ts	拆册		眨插杀		雀				质出说			
ts <sup>h</sup>									十			
s	石		闸				刷					
z												
tɕ					甲洽						洁吃	
tɕ <sup>h</sup>											及热	
dʒ					剧捏						吸	
ɲ												
ɕ												
k	格客		夹掐				刮		割磕			
k <sup>h</sup>												
g			轧额									
ŋ												
h			瞎盒		药		豁		黑合		叶	
ɦ							猾					
ø			压		约		挖		扼		噎	
韵												
韵	uə?		yə?		iɪ?		o?		io?			
声调	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入	阴入	阳入		

声	5	23	5	23	5	23	5	23	5	23		
p					毕		博					
p <sup>h</sup>					匹		泊					
b						别		薄				
m						密		膜				
f							福					
v							服					
t					跌		托					
t <sup>h</sup>					帖			独				
d						叠		诺				
n								鹿				
l						列						
ts					接		竹					
ts <sup>h</sup>					妾		畜					
s					雪		速					
z						捷		熟				
tɕ		决						菊				
tɕ <sup>h</sup>		缺						曲				
dʒ			掘						局			
ɲ									肉			
ɕ		血						蓄				
k	国						角					
k <sup>h</sup>	阔						哭					
g												
ŋ												
h	忽						霍					
ɦ		或		月				学		浴		
∅	屋						握					

Some instructions for the combination of the initial, final and tone in my idiolect:

- (1) The [p] group combines with *Kaikou hu*<sup>24</sup> and *Qichi hu*<sup>25</sup>. As for the *Hekou hu*<sup>26</sup>, it only can spell with [u]. There are no rhymes from the *Cuokou hu*<sup>27</sup> can be combined with the [p] group.

<sup>24</sup> *Kaikou hu*: The rhyme does not contain the media [j], [w], [ɥ] nor the main vowel is [i], [u], [y].

<sup>25</sup> *Qichi hu*: The rhyme has the media [j] or the main vowel is [i].

<sup>26</sup> *Hekou hu*: The rhyme has the media [w] or the main vowel is [u].

<sup>27</sup> *Cuokou hu*: The rhyme contains the media [ɥ] or the main vowel is [y].

- (2) The [f] group spells with *Kaikou hu*, rhyme [i] from the *Qichi hu* and *Hekou hu*'s rhyme [u]. It doesn't combine with other rhymes from the *Qichi hu* and *Hekou hu*. Moreover, it can't spell with the *Cuokou hu*.
- (3) The [t] group combines with *Kaikou hu* and *Qichi hu*. While it doesn't spell with *Hekou hu* nor *Cuokou hu*. However, initial [n] is a little different from this group because it only combine with *Kaikou hu*. When [n] spell with the *Qichi hu*, the initial will be pronounced [ɲ].
- (4) The [ts] group combines with all the rhymes from the *Kaikou hu* and some rhymes from the *Qichi hu*. It doesn't spell with *Hekou hu* nor *Cuokou hu*. The [tʂ] group will spell with the rhyme [ʅ].
- (5) The [tʃ] group spells with *Qichi hu* and *Cuokou hu*. But it doesn't combine with *Kaikou hu* nor *Hekou hu*.
- (6) The [k] group combines with all the rhymes from the *Kaikou hu* and *Hekou hu* except [ɿ] and [ʅ]. However, neither *Qichi hu* nor *Cuokou hu* can be spelt with the [k] group.
- (7) [ɦ] and [ø] are combined with *Kaikou hu*, *Hekou hu*, *Qichi hu* and *Cuokou hu*.
- (8) The rhyme [ɿ] only spell with the [ts] group. While the rhyme [ʅ] combines with the [tʂ] group.
- (9) The rhyme [ɤ], [ɯ] and [ɨ'] do not spell with the initial. They form the syllable by themselves.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A XIN'AN IDIOLECT

My idiolect, a Xin'an idiolect, mainly belongs to the Wuxi dialect. But with the special geographical position and the unique development progress, it has distinctive characteristics. Study these features will help us not only figure out how Mandarin and the surrounding dialects affect my idiolect but also understand the evolution of Wuxi dialect. In this chapter, the characteristics of my idiolect will be analyzed and discussed.

#### 4.1 The [tʂ] group

In *Xiandai Wuyu DE Yanjiu* (1928), Yuanren Zhao recorded that there were retroflex initials [tʂ, tʂ<sup>h</sup>, ʂ, z] existing in the Wu dialect. This group came from the Middle Chinese Zhi Zhang group's division III syllables. But in northern Wu dialect, it only appeared in Changshu, Suzhou and Wuxi. There were twenty seven examples listed in that paper which were distributed in Yu rhyme, Zhi rhyme, Xiao rhyme, Liu rhyme, Shan rhyme, Zhen rhyme, Dang rhyme, Zeng rhyme, Geng rhyme and Tong rhyme. But after *Xiandai Wuyu DE Yanjiu* (1928), all papers, which described the phonological system of Wuxi dialect, identified [tʂ, tʂ<sup>h</sup>, ʂ, z] as the old generation's unique initials. In *Dangdai Wuyu Yanjiu* (1992), Nairong Qian recorded those Middle Chinese Zhi Zhang group's division III syllable pronounced as [ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s, z]. At that time, the retroflex has already changed into alveolar. *Jiangsu shengzhi-fangyanzhi* (1998) did not contain this retroflex initial group as well. Xiaoyan Cao (2003) and Zhidan Hu (2007) proved the retroflex has already merged into alveolar in Wuxi dialect and it only can be occasionally found in the conversation of the aged. Yizhi Wang (2011) studied different towns of Wuxi city and found the [tʂ] group did exist in some areas which includes Xin'an town. Since the

internal difference is distinct in Xin'an dialect, comparing the [tʂ] group in my idiolect and Xin'an dialect will help us understand the evolution of the retroflex.

Yizhi Wang (2011) in her study concluded that Wuxi was divided into northwest and southeast two areas according to the pronunciation of the [tʂ] group. In the northwest, this group is read similarly to the retroflex in Mandarin, round lip, the blade against the place which connected the hard palate and gum, and both sides of blades slightly wrapped. Narrow transcription recorded it as [tʂ<sup>ʷ</sup>, tʂ<sup>hʷ</sup>, dz<sup>ʷ</sup>, ʂ<sup>ʷ</sup>, z<sup>ʷ</sup>]. Nan Quan town as the transition zone from the northwest to southeast, the [tʂ] group is pronounced a little different from the northwest area but still be defined as [tʂ<sup>ʷ</sup>, tʂ<sup>hʷ</sup>, dz<sup>ʷ</sup>, ʂ<sup>ʷ</sup>, z<sup>ʷ</sup>]. While the pronunciation of the [tʂ] group in southeast, including Xin'an, the tip of the tongue against the upper gum, sounds more like the alveolar. But apparently, it comes with a medial [ɿ]. Therefore Narrow transcription labeled it as [tʂɿ, tʂ<sup>h</sup>ɿ, dzɿ, ʂɿ, zɿ].

Table 4.1 The evolution of [tʂ] group

Initial group	Middle Chinese			Character	Nanquan (Wang) <sup>28</sup>	Xin'an (Wang)	Idiolect
	Rhyme group	<i>Kai/He kou</i>	Division				
<i>Zhang</i>	<i>Jia</i> 'fake'	<i>Kai</i>	III	蛇 'snake'	za	zo	zu
<i>Zhi, Zhang, Ri</i>	<i>Yu</i> 'meet'	<i>He</i>	III	猪 'pig'	tʂɿ	tʂɿ	tʂɿ

<sup>28</sup> Wang: examples in Yizhi Wang(2011)'s study.

<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Xie</i> ‘crab’	<i>Kai</i>	III	制 ‘make’	tʂʉ	tʂʉ	tsɿ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Zhi</i> ‘end’	<i>Kai</i>	III	是 ‘right’	ʒʉ	zɿ	zɿ
<i>Zhang</i>	<i>Zhi</i> ‘end’	<i>He</i>	III	水 ‘water’	ʂʉ	ʂʉ	ʂʉ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Xiao</i> ‘effect’	<i>Kai</i>	III	潮 ‘moist’	dzo	zɐ	zʌ
<i>Zhang</i>	<i>Xian</i> ‘salted’	<i>Kai</i>	III	占 ‘occupy’	tsuɣ	tsø	tsu
	<i>Ye</i> ‘leaf’	<i>Kai</i>	III	褶 ‘pleat’	tʂʉʔ	tʂʉʔ	tsəʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang,</i>	<i>Shen</i> ‘deep’	<i>Kai</i>	III	针 ‘needle’	tʂʉʔən	tʂʉʔən	tsən
<i>Ri</i>	<i>Qi</i> ‘arrest’	<i>Kai</i>	III	十 ‘ten’	dzʉʔ	zʉʔ	zəʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Shan</i> ‘mountain’	<i>Kai</i>	III	扇 ‘fan’	suɣ	sø	su
	<i>Xue</i> ‘a surname’	<i>Kai</i>	III	折 ‘break’	tʂʉʔ	tʂʉʔ	tsəʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Shan</i> ‘mountain’	<i>He</i>	III	穿 ‘cross’	tʂʉ <sup>hʉ</sup> ʉ	tʂʉ <sup>hʉ</sup> ʉ <sup>29</sup>	tsu
	<i>Xue</i> ‘a surname’)	<i>He</i>	III	说 ‘speak’	ʂʉʔ	ʂʉʔ	səʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Zhen</i> ‘attain’	<i>Kai</i>	III	珍 ‘treasure’	tʂʉʔən	tʂʉʔən	tsən
	<i>Zhi</i> ‘matter’	<i>Kai</i>	III	质 ‘matter’	tʂʉʔ	tʂʉʔ	tsəʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Zhen</i> ‘attain’	<i>He</i>	III	春 ‘spring’	tʂʉ <sup>hʉ</sup> ʔən	tʂʉ <sup>hʉ</sup> ʔən	ts <sup>h</sup> ən
	<i>Shu</i> ‘skill’	<i>He</i>	III	术 ‘skill’	zʉʔ	zʉʔ	zəʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang,</i> <i>Ri</i>	<i>Dang</i> ‘put off’	<i>Kai</i>	III	张 ‘a surname’	tʂʉ <sup>ʔ</sup> æ̃	tsæ̃	tsã

<sup>29</sup> 穿: Wang labeled 穿 as tʂʉ<sup>hʉ</sup>ʉ in Nan quan and Xin’an dialect. 穿 is read as the entering tone is not reasonable. I suppose it was a typo.



	Yao 'medicine'	<i>Kai</i>	III	弱 'weak'	z <sup>ʷ</sup> aʔ	zaʔ	zaʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Zheng</i> 'evaporate'	<i>Kai</i>	III	蒸 'evaporate'	tʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> ən	tʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> ən	tsən
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Zhi</i> 'job'	<i>Kai</i>	III	直 'straight'	dz <sup>ʷ</sup> əʔ	dz <sup>ʷ</sup> əʔ	zəʔ
<i>Zhi, Zhang</i>	<i>Geng</i> 'stalk'	<i>Kai</i>	III	声 'sound'	ʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> ən	ʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> ən	sən
	<i>Xi</i> 'formerly'	<i>Kai</i>	III	适 'fit'	ʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> əʔ	ʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> əʔ	səʔ

The retention or vanish of the retroflex depends on the strength of the vowel which can be figured out from the table 4.1. When the main vowel is stronger than the media [ɻ], the media will be easily ignored and gradually disappear in the pronunciation. Gradually, all the syllables lose their medial [ɻ]. At that time, the [tʂ] group totally merges into alveolar like today's Wuxi dialect. While, in the idiolect, the retroflex seems only existing with the vowel [ɻ].

In order to analyze the situation of the [tʂ] group my idiolect in detail, this research chooses the Middle Chinese *Zhi Zhang* group division III syllables from the *Fangyan Diaocha Zibiao* to study the initial's pronunciation. Zhidan Hu (2007) also selected ninety seven syllables from *Fangyan Diaocha Zibiao* to research the evolution of the [tʂ] group in Wuxi dialect. In order to compare with it, this study uses the same ninety seven syllables. Since the Middle Chinese rhyme group evolved into different finals in the idiolect, considering their influences on the initial, the specific final is also listed in the study.

Table 4.2 The [tʂ] group in the idiolect

Rhyme	Syllable	Meaning	Final	Initial
<i>Jia</i> 'fake'	车	'car'	u	ts <sup>h</sup>
	蛇	'snake'	u	z
	社	'society'	a	z
<i>Yu</i> 'meet'	猪	'pig'	ɥ	tʂ
	除	'divide'		ʒ
	书	'book'		ʂ
	处	'dwell'		tʂ <sup>h</sup>
	如	'as'		ʒ
	朱	'a surname'		tʂ
	输	'lose'		ʂ
	主	'main'		tʂ
	蛀	'moth'		tʂ
	树	'tree'		ʒ
<i>Xie</i> 'crab'	世	'world'	ɿ	s
	税	'tax'	e	s
<i>Zhi</i> 'end'	知	'knowledge'	ɥ	ts
	纸	'paper'	ɿ	ts
	是	'right'		z
	师	'teacher'		s
	指	'figure'		ts

<i>Zhi</i> 'end'	屎	'excrement'	ɿ	s
	之	'this'		ts
	诗	'poem'		s
	时	'time'		z
	市	'city'		z
	吹	'blow'	ʉ	tʂ <sup>h</sup>
	追	'chase after'	e	ts
	水	'water'	ʉ	ʂ
<i>Xiao</i> 'effect'	超	'exceed'	ʌ	ts <sup>h</sup>
	朝	'to, toward'		ts
	赵	'a surname'		z
	招	'beckon'		ts
	照	'illuminate'		ts
	烧	'burn'		s
	少	'few'		s
<i>Liu</i> 'flow'	州	'state'	ei	ts
	守	'defend'		s
	受	'suffer'		z
	寿	'longevity'		z
<i>Xian</i> 'salted'	摺	'fold'	əɿ	ts
<i>Xian</i> 'salted'	涉	'involve'	əɿ	z
<i>Shen</i> 'deep'	针	'needle'	ən	ts

<i>Shen</i> 'deep'	深	'deep'	ən	s
	枕	'pillow'		ts
	审	'examine'		s
	十	'ten'	əʔ	z
<i>Shan</i> 'mountain'	然	'so'	u	z
	战	'battle'		ts
	扇	'fan'		s
	传	'pass'		ts
	砖	'brick'		z
	穿	'wear'		ts <sup>h</sup>
	船	'ship'		z
	喘	'gasp'		ts
	说	'speak'	əʔ	s
<i>Zhen</i> 'attain'	陈	'a surname'	ən	ts
	镇	'town'		ts
	真	'real'		ts
	神	'god'		z
	身	'body'		s
	质	'matter'	əʔ	ts
	实	'actual'		z
	失	'lose'	əʔ	s
	人	'person'	ən	z

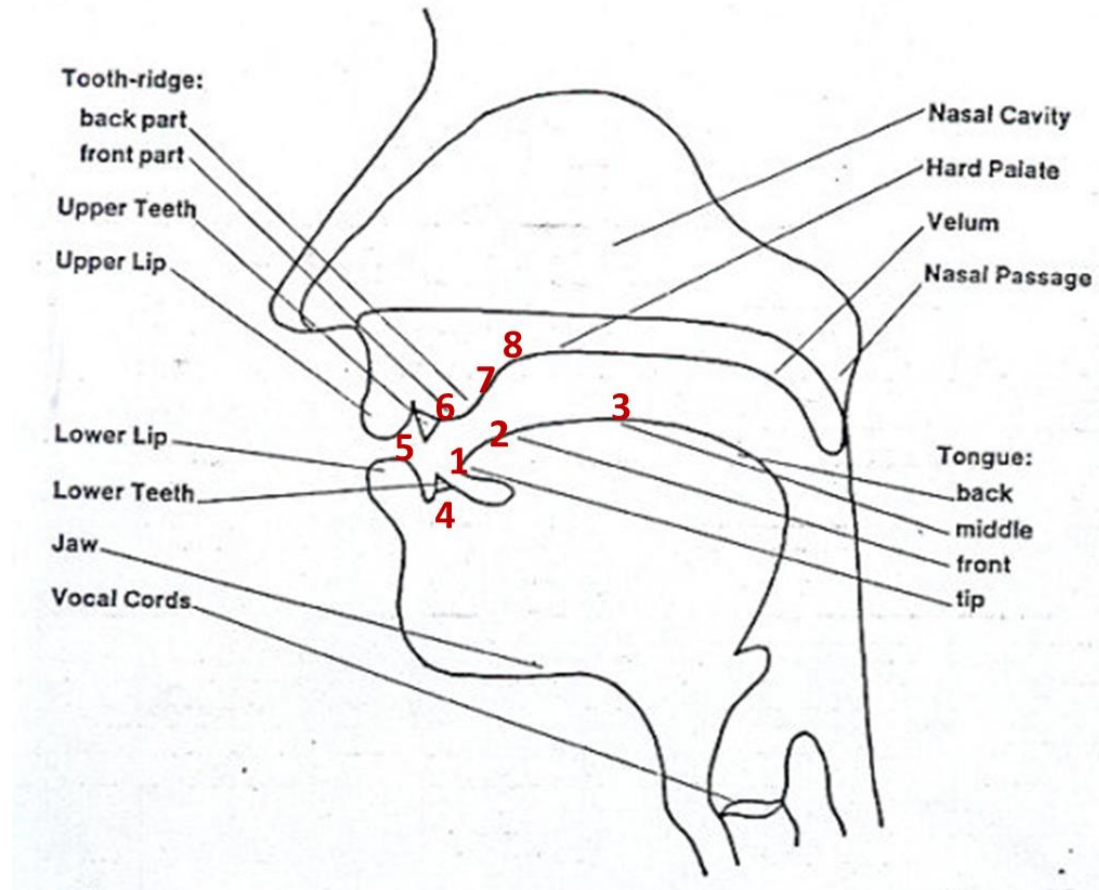
<i>Zhen</i> 'attain'	春	'spring'	ən	ts <sup>h</sup>
	順	'along'		z
	出	'go out'	əʔ	ts <sup>h</sup>
<i>Dang</i> 'put off'	张	'a surname'	ã	ts
	长	'long'		ts
	厂	'factory'		ts <sup>h</sup>
	伤	'injure'		s
	常	'often'		z
	上	'above'		z
	账	'bill'		ts
	唱	'sing'		ts <sup>h</sup>
<i>Zeng</i> 'formerly'	直	'straight'	əʔ	ts
	色	'colour'	əʔ	s
	蒸	'steam'	ən	ts
	称	'fit'		ts <sup>h</sup>
	绳	'rope'		z
	剩	'remain'	z	
	职	'job'	əʔ	ts
	食	'food'		z
<i>Geng</i> 'stalk'	郑	'a surname'	ən	ts
	整	'whole'	ən	ts
	正	'just, exactly'		ts

<i>Geng</i> 'stalk'	成	'become'	ən	z
	尺	'scale'	ɑ?	ts <sup>h</sup>
	石	'stone'		z
<i>Tong</i> 'go to'	中	'centre'	oŋ	ts
	虫	'insect'		z
	众	'numerous'		ts
	缩	'shrink'	o?	s
	祝	'wish'		ts
	叔	'uncle'		s
	熟	'ripe'		z
	触	'touch'		ts <sup>h</sup>

Zhidan Hu concluded that only the person older than fifty-five years old still keep the [tʂ] group and only 37% of the ninety seven syllables are pronounced as the retroflex. While in my idiolect, the retroflex accounts for 12%. Moreover, it only combines with the vowel [ɿ], which exists in the *Yu* 'meet' and *Zhi* 'end' rhyme group. Compared with various areas' pronunciation of the [tʂ] group, the retroflex in my idiolect sounds more like the old generation's pronunciation in the Wuxi dialect, which is stretching the tongue, the blade against the upper gum and round lip. When the initial from the Middle Chinese *Zhi* / *Zhang* group division III syllables combined with other vowels, rather than [ɿ], it is pronounced as the alveolar, the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The pronunciations of the retroflex in different areas of Wuxi are illustrated

by the sketch of the speech organs (figure 2). The various pronunciations are listed in Table 4.3.

# The Organs of Speech



(Fig 2: The organ of speech)([www.dianliwenmi.com](http://www.dianliwenmi.com))

In order to make the explanation clearly and concisely, places of the articulation are labeled with numbers.

- |  |                            |                             |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1: the tip of the tongue                           | 2: the front of the tongue | 3: the middle of the tongue |
| 4: the lower teeth                                 | 5: the upper teeth         | 6: the upper gum            |
| 7: the place connected the gum and the hard palate |                            |                             |
| 8: hard palate                                     |                            |                             |



Table 4.3 The various pronunciation of [tʂ]

Dialect	Symbol	The place of articulation	
Mandarin	[tʂ]	1 → 8	The tip of the tongue is against the front part of the hard palate.
Dialect of Northwest of Wuxi (Yu Qi town)	[tʂ <sup>ʷ</sup> ]	2 → 7	The blade is against the place which connected the hard palate.
Dialect of Southeast of Wuxi (Xin An town)	[tʂʷ]	1 → 6	The tip of the tongue is against the upper gum.
Dialect of Wuxi City(The aged)	[tʂ]	2 → 6	The blade is against the upper gum.
Idiolect			
Mandarin	[ts]	1 → 5 or 1 → 4	The tip of the tongue is against the upper or lower teeth.

Table 4.3 clearly shows the tongue's position of the [tʂ] group from Mandarin to my Idiolect continues to stretch forward until merges into alveolar. Therefore according to these areas' various pronunciations of the retroflex, the different stages of the evolution of the [tʂ] group can be concluded. The first stage is [tʂ<sup>ʷ</sup>] and then [tʂʷ]. The third stage is the pronunciation of the aged in Wuxi city. The last stage is like my idiolect. Although the pronunciation of the [tʂ] group between the old generation of Wuxi city and my idiolect are the same, the number of the vowel which can be combined with the retroflex initial is different. Compared to many vowels are available to be

selected in the third stage, the retroflex initial only combines with one vowel, [ɻ], in the last stage .

#### 4.2 The sharp and rounded sounds

Combined with the *Xiyin* (细音), the Middle Chinese initial *Jian* ‘see’, *Xi* ‘brook’ and *Xiao* ‘dawn’ are pronounced as palatal, [tɕ, tɕ<sup>h</sup>, ɕ]. While the Middle Chinese initial *Jing* ‘refine’, *Qing* ‘clear’, *Xin* ‘heart’, *Cong* ‘from’ and *Xie* ‘evil’ are read as alveolar, [ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, s, z]. That means some homophones in the Mandarin are different in my idiolect, such as *jing* ‘scripture’/ ‘refine’, *qian* ‘pull’/ ‘sign’ and *xi* ‘hope’/ ‘west’ (Appendix character no. 12). This linguistic phenomenon is called the division of the sharp and rounded sounds. In Northern Wu dialect, the sharp and rounded sounds exists in Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou and Shanghai city. However, since the fifties of the twenty century, the sharp sounds gradually mergers into the rounded sounds. “The combination of the sharp and rounded sounds in Shanghai dialect takes nearly twenty or thirty years. Now it cannot be found in the conversation of the middle-aged”(Nairong Qian, 2003). In Suzhou, “the person, even older than fifty years old, cannot distinguish the sharp and rounded sounds correctly” (Ji Yang, 2004). While in Changzhou, the confusion of these two sounds happened as early as in the fifties of the twenty century (Ping Wang, 2003). Nowadays Wuxi dialect still keeps the separation of the sharp and rounded dialect is very uncommon and valuable, especially under the popularization of the Mandarin. But some scholars have already found that some syllables in Wuxi dialect have already changed into the rounded sounds (Xiaoyan Cao, 2012).

My idiolect, with its special position (at the boundary of Wuxi and Suzhou), with the influence of the surrounding dialects and the Mandarin, how will it perform on the sharp and rounded sounds? In order to compare with the change in the Suzhou and Wuxi dialect, the sharp sound's syllables table (See Appendices), which concluded by Ji Yang (2004), will be borrowed to analyze in this study. The result is listed in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 The change of the sharp sounds

stage syllables	U	V	C
<i>Jing</i> 'refine'	尖接浸煎剪进奖蒋酱即 鲫晶睛井积精	浆雀	姐借祭际挤济焦蕉椒箭 荐节津尽晋将浆笺爵绩
<i>Qing</i> 'clear'	切七清筴蛆签侵迁浅亲 蜻	千青	砌漆趋取娶趣妻悄俏寝 抢鹊请绿
<i>Xin</i> 'heart'	屑宣选雪锡写泻宵心仙 鲜线先新信息惜星腥	削泄辛薪	薛罄卸絮须需西洗细 婿消销小笑箫薛讯悉 迅恤相箱湘襄想熄省 姓性醒析膝
<i>Cong</i> 'from'	截净全情静泉钱绝秦嚼 晴	聚	践贱墙匠前集齐捷剂 辑
<i>Xie</i> 'evil'	习寻橡	旬祥席序象	像循旋巡袭详邪斜谢 徐序绪羨

According to lexical diffusion (William Wang, 1969, 1979), the sound change usually goes through three stages: unchanged, variation and changed. Table 4.2.1 shows

the stages of the sharp sounds' changes in my idiolect. Stage U: in this stage, the pronunciation is stable, still keeps the sharp sound. Stage V: the syllables in this stage, the pronunciation varied in different word group or context. While the stage C represents the sharp sounds have already changed into the rounded sounds. Therefore, the sharp sounds in my idiolect are now undergoing the change to the rounded sounds. The reason for the change will not be analyzed in this paper since Xiaoyan Cao (2012) and Ji Yang (2004) have already done it. The sharp sounds in the Suzhou, Wuxi dialect and my idiolect are all in the variation. Compared with the progress of the changes among these three languages, my idiolect falls behind the Suzhou dialect but is faster than the Wuxi dialect, which shows in table 4.5. Therefore my idiolect will provide a good sample to research the change of the sharp sounds in Wuxi dialect.

Table 4.5 The comparison of the sharp sounds among three dialects

dialect \ stages	U	V	C
	Wuxi dialect	98 59.5%	43 26.38%
Idiolect	59 36.2%	15 9.2%	89 54.6%
Suzhou dialect	7 4%	35 21%	121 74%

### 4.3 The combination of [(i)aʔ] and [(i)ɑʔ]

The rhyme [(i) aʔ] comes from the Middle Chinese *Xian* ‘salted’ and *Shan* ‘mountain’ rhyme group, while [(i)ɑʔ] is from the Middle Chinese *Dang* ‘put off’ and *Geng* ‘stalk’ rhyme group. *Xiandai Wuyu De Yanjiu* recorded them as two different rhymes. While in the *Dangdai Wuyu Yanjiu*, these two rhyme groups have already merged together and are labeled as [A], whose position of the tongue is between [a] and [ɑ]. *Zhidan Hu* (2007) concluded [(i)ɑʔ] had already merged into [(i)aʔ] in the Wuxi dialect. Only the aged can tell the difference between [(i)ɑʔ] and [(i)aʔ] now. In the Suzhou dialect, *Jiahua Yuan* (1960) found the combination of these two groups earlier in the sixties. In order to analyze the situation of the [(i)aʔ] and [(i)ɑʔ] in my idiolect, the common syllables which listed by *Yuanren Zhao* in his *Xiandai Wuyu De Yanjiu* will be cited in table 4.6.

Table 4.6 The syllables with the rhyme [(i)aʔ] and [(i)ɑʔ]

Initial	aʔ	iaʔ	ɑʔ	iaʔ
p p <sup>h</sup> b m	八 拔 抹		百柏伯 拍 白 陌卖脉	
f v	法发 乏伐罚			
t t <sup>h</sup> d n l	答搭 踏塔塌 达 纳捺 蜡腊辣			略掠
ts ts <sup>h</sup> s z	眨札 插擦察 萨杀 杂闸		着（著） 拆 勺芍若弱宅	雀鹊 削 爵嚼
tɕ		甲		脚

tɕh dʒ ŋ ɕ		恰		却 剧 虐
k k <sup>h</sup> g ŋ	夹 掐 轧		格 革 客 额	
h ɦ ø	喝 瞎 匣 鸭 押 压	匣 悦 阅 越	吓	药 钥 跃 约

Study the pronunciation of the syllables in table 4.6, some rules might be summed up. In the Wuxi dialect, the pronunciation of *ba* 'eight' is same as *bai* 'hundred' ([paŋ<sup>5</sup>]), while these two characters can be distinguished from each other in my idiolect. However the character *jia* 'first' ([tɕiaŋ<sup>5</sup>]) is read the same as *jiao* 'feet' ([tɕiaŋ<sup>5</sup>]( [tɕiaŋ<sup>5</sup>])) in my idiolect, which is similar to the Wuxi dialect (Appendix character no. 14). Therefore, in my idiolect, [iaŋ] has merged into [iaŋ]. However, [aŋ] and [ɑŋ] are still distinct from each other. Compared with Wuxi and Suzhou dialect, the change of the rhyme group [(i)aŋ] and [(i)ɑŋ] in my idiolect seems behind it in the Wuxi and Suzhou dialects. Moreover, *Ji Yang* (2004) mentioned the nasal rhyme of [a, ɑ], which is [ã, iã, ẽ, iẽ], started to combine together in Suzhou dialect, which still not happened in Wuxi dialect and my idiolect. The different processes of the change of the rhyme group [a,ɑ] in the Wuxi, Suzhou dialect and my idiolect are listed in table 4.7.

Table 4.7 The process of the change of the rhyme group [a, a]

stages dialect	aʔ	iaʔ	ã	iã
Suzhou	C	C	V	V
Wuxi	C	C	U	U
Idiolect	U	C	U	U
	aʔ	iaʔ	ã	iã

Therefore, the change of the rhyme group [a, a] can be separate into three stages.

The first stage is [iaʔ] merged into [iaʔ], like my idiolect. The second stage is [aʔ] changed into [aʔ], such as the Wuxi dialect. The third stage is [ã, iã] combined with [ã, iã], for example the Suzhou dialect. At the end of the third stage, [aʔ, iaʔ, ã, iã] will disappear in the dialect. However, there is a factor which may influence the evolution of [ã, iã]. In the Mandarin, the nasal rhyme is [aŋ] not [aŋ]. With the popularization of the Mandarin, it may hinder the process of [ã, iã] changed into [ã, iã] or even reverse the change.

#### 4.4 Some [ɿ] changed into [ɿ]

From the table of the final comparison of the Middle Chinese and idiolect, it can be figured out that in the idiolect, [ɿ] mainly comes from the Middle Chinese *Zhi* 'knowledge', *Zhang* 'section' group with the *Yu* 'meet' rhyme group the division III *hekou*, the *Xie* 'crab' rhyme group the division III *kaikou*, the *Zhi* 'end' rhyme group the division III *kaikou* and the *Zhi* 'end' rhyme group the division III *hekou*. While [ɿ] is from the *Jing* 'refine' and *Zhuang* 'village, serious' group with the *Zhi* 'end' rhyme group the division III *kaikou*. However, with the influence of the Mandarin, some [ɿ] now has already changed

into [ɿ]. This linguistic phenomenon mainly happened in the syllables which with the *Xie* ‘crab’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou* and the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou*. The syllables in these groups in the *Fangyan Diaocha Zibiao* are listed in table 4.8 to analyze the condition of [ɿ]’s change in my idiolect.

Table 4.8 The change of [ɿ]

Stages Rhyme	U	V	C
	[ɿ]	[ɿ]or [ɿ]	[ɿ]
<i>Xie</i> ‘crab’ /III / <i>kaikou</i>		制製	滯世勢誓逝
<i>Zhi</i> ‘end’ /III / <i>kaikou</i>	知蚶智池馳支枝迟 稚致至止址志痣	翅芝始脂试	纸只是侈施匙豉师 狮尸视示旨指矢屎 之齿诗时市

The change of the [ɿ] is over 50% in my idiolect’s *Xie* ‘crab’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou* and *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou*. This change is consistent with the situation of [ɿ] in the Wuxi dialect. [ɿ] in the *Yu* ‘meet’ rhyme group the division III *hekou* and the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *hekou* is stable, no changes happened in these two groups. But in the *Xie* ‘crab’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou* and the *Zhi* ‘end’ rhyme group the division III *kaikou*, [ɿ] merges to [ɿ] fast (Xiaoyan Cao, 2012). Then what factors lead to this change? Since [ɿ] is the pronunciation of those syllables in Mandarin, the influence of the Mandarin is the most important factor with no doubt. Moreover, the strong surrounding dialects also affect my idiolect, such as Suzhou dialect. “In the Suzhou dialect, these two rhymes have already started to



merge together. In some children’s conversation, some [ɿ] from the *Yu* rhyme group have changed into [ɿ], although it does not accept by the public “(Ji Yang, 2004).

#### 4.5 The confusion of the entering tone [əʔ] and [oʔ]

[əʔ] and [oʔ] are two distinctive rhymes in the idiolect. They have different sources from the Middle Chinese. [əʔ] comes from the *Xian* ‘salted’, *Shan* ‘mountain’, *Zhen* ‘attain’, *Zeng* ‘formerly’ and *Geng* ‘stalk’ rhyme group. While [oʔ] is from *Dang* ‘put off’, *Jiang* ‘river’ and *Tong* ‘go to’ rhyme group. However, some syllables with [əʔ] now changes into [oʔ] and some characters with [oʔ] are pronounced as [əʔ]. The condition of the entering tone [əʔ] and [oʔ] seems a little disordered in my idiolect. In order to analyze the entering tone [əʔ] and [oʔ] in my idiolect, the syllables from *Fangyan Diaocha Zibiao* are listed in the table 4.9 and table 4.10.

Table 4.9 The syllables with the entering tone [əʔ]

Rhyme/ <i>kai, he kou/ Division</i>	<i>Xian/ Kaikou/I</i>			<i>Xian/ Kaikou/III</i>		
Syllables	鸽	合	磕	摺	摄	涉
Meaning	‘pigeon’	‘combine’	‘knock’	‘fold’	‘shoot’	‘involve’
Idiolect	[əʔ]			[əʔ]		
Mandarin	[ɿ]			[ɿ]		
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he kou/ Division</i>	<i>Shen/ kaikou/III</i>					
Syllables	蛰	涩	汁	湿	十	入
Meaning	‘hibernation’	‘astringent’	‘juice’	‘damp’	‘ten’	‘enter’

Idiolect	[əʔ]					
Mandarin	[ʌ]	[ɿ]				[ʌ]
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he kou/</i> Division	<i>Shan/ hekou/ I</i>					
Syllables	拨	泼	末	沫	脱	夺
Meaning	'dial'	'sprinkle'	'end'	'foam'	'take off'	'rob'
Idiolect	[oʔ]	[oʔ]	[əʔ] /[oʔ]	[əʔ] / [oʔ]	[əʔ]	[əʔ] /[oʔ]
Mandarin	[o]				[uo]	
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he kou/</i> Division	<i>Shan/ hekou/ III</i>		<i>Zhen/ kaikou/ III</i>			
Syllables	拙	说	质	实	失	室
Meaning	'clumsy'	'speak'	'matter'	'actual'	'lose'	'room'
Idiolect	[oʔ]	[əʔ]	[əʔ]			
Mandarin	[uo]		[ɿ]			
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he kou/</i> Division	<i>Zhen/ hekou/ I</i>		<i>Zhen/ hekou/ III</i>		<i>Zeng/ kaikou/ I</i>	
Syllables	突	没 <small>沉没</small>	出	术	北	墨
Meaning	'protrude'	'sink'	'go out'	'skill'	'north'	'ink'
Idiolect	[oʔ]	[əʔ] / [oʔ]	[əʔ]		[oʔ]	[əʔ]
Mandarin	[u]	[o]	[u]		[ei]	[o]

Rhyme/ <i>kai,he</i> <i>kou</i> / Division	<i>Zeng/ kaikou/ I</i>					
Syllables	默	得	德	特	肋	则
Meaning	'silent'	'get'	'virtue'	'especially'	'rib'	'norm'
Idiolect	[əʔ]					
Mandarin	[o]	[ʌ]				
Rhyme/ <i>kai,he</i> <i>kou</i> / Division	<i>Zeng/ kaikou/ III</i>					
Syllables	直	测	侧	色	职	食
Meaning	'straight'	'measure'	'side'	'colour'	'job'	'food'
Idiolect	[əʔ]					
Mandarin	[ɿ]	[ʌ]			[ɿ]	
Rhyme/ <i>kai,he</i> <i>kou</i> / Division	<i>Zeng/ kaikou/ III</i>			<i>Geng/ kaikou/ II</i>		
Syllables	式			责	革	扼
Meaning	'style'			'responsibility'	'leather'	'clutch'
Idiolect	[əʔ]			[əʔ]		
Mandarin	[ɿ]			[ʌ]		

Table 4.10 The syllables with the entering tone [oʔ]

Rhyme/ <i>kai,he</i> <i>kou</i> / Division	<i>Dang/ Kaikou / I</i>					
---	-------------------------	--	--	--	--	--

Syllables	博	薄	膜	摸	托	诺
Meaning	'abundant'	'flimsy'	'film'	'touch'	'support'	'promise'
Idiolect	[oʔ]					
Mandarin	[o]			[uo]		
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he</i> <i>kou/ Division</i>	<i>Dang/ Kaikou / I</i>					
Syllables	落	乐	作	昨	各	阁
Meaning	'drop'	'happy'	'make'	'yesterday'	'each'	'pavilion'
Idiolect	[oʔ]				[əʔ]	[əʔ] / [oʔ]
Mandarin	[uo]	[ʌ]	[uo]		[ʌ]	
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he</i> <i>kou/ Division</i>	<i>Dang/ Kaikou / I</i>				<i>Jiang/ Kaikou/ II</i>	
Syllables	搁	鹤	噩	恶	剥	朴
Meaning	'lay aside'	'crane'	'upsetting'	'evil'	'peel'	'plain'
Idiolect	[əʔ] / [oʔ]	[əʔ]		[əʔ] / [oʔ]	[oʔ]	
Mandarin	[ʌ]				[o]	[u]
Rhyme/ <i>kai, he</i> <i>kou/ Division</i>	<i>Jiang/ Kaikou/ II</i>					
Syllables	桌	卓	浊	捉	学	握
Meaning	'table'	'eminent'	'turbid'	'catch'	'learn'	'hold'
Idiolect	[oʔ]					
Mandarin	[uo]				[yɛ]	[o]

Rhyme/ <i>kai,he</i> <i>kou/ Division</i>	<i>Tong/ hehou/ 1</i>					
Syllables	卜	木	秃	独	读	鹿
Meaning	'foretell'	'wood'	'bald'	'alone'	'read'	'deer'
Idiolect	[oʔ]					
Mandarin	[o]		[u]			
Rhyme/ <i>kai,he</i> <i>kou/ Division</i>	<i>Tong/ hehou/ 1</i>					
Syllables	族	速	谷	哭	屋	
Meaning	'race'	'speedy'	'grain'	'cry'	'house'	
Idiolect	[oʔ]					
Mandarin	[u]					

From these two tables, we find some syllables keep their original pronunciations. Some has changed and some are in the variation. This phenomenon is accordance with William Wang's lexical diffusion theory: the change starts in the small group and then spreads to other words. Then what kinds of factors cause this linguistic phenomenon happen in my idiolect? The reason mainly is the influence of the Mandarin. Some syllables' pronunciations just approach the Mandarin's. For example, *po* 'sprinkle', which supposed to be read as [p<sup>h</sup>əʔ], now is pronounced as [p<sup>h</sup> oʔ] in my idiolect, which is close to the pronunciation in Mandarin [b'o]. Another reason which affect the change is the character's frequency of using in the spoken language. The word which is usually

used in the daily language will generally be easier to keep its pronunciation. Take *mo* 'ink' as the instance, although its pronunciation is [mo] in Mandarin, it still keeps reading as [məʔ] in my idiolect (Appendix character no. 13).

## CHAPTER 5

### LANGUAGE CONTACT

The variation of the language mainly caused by two aspects: one is due to the imbalance of the inner structure and integration of the language itself, the other one is created by the contact of different languages (Qingxia Dai, 2006). The language contact refers to the linguistic phenomenon that in a certain circumstance, different languages or dialects communicate with each other frequently in a short term or long term and cause the mutual influence and interpenetration of these languages (Xiru Jia, 2006).

For most people, they would speak two or more varieties of the language (e.g. the standard language and regional dialect) under different situations in many speech communities. The American linguist C. A. Ferguson (1959) defined this phenomenon as 'diglossia'. For convenience of reference, C. A. Ferguson defined the standard language, usually used on public occasions, in diglossias as the high variety or simply "H", and named the regional dialect as the low variety or simply "L" (C. A. Ferguson, 1959). In China, Mandarin, as the official language of the whole nation, is definitely the high variety. It is communicated with speakers from various dialect regions and on public occasions. Moreover, it can be used as the written language and learned through education. The dialect is usually used at home or among family or friends of the same dialect region, so the dialect is considered as the low variety.

Rulong Li concludes that the specific language contact may lead to two different results: "One is that the languages affected and absorbed the ingredients from each other. The other result is caused by the so-called levels of languages (the high and low variety). The weak language may decline under the constraints of the power one (Rulong

Li, 1988). With the huge social status difference, Mandarin is gradually changing the dialect. Some of the dialect characteristics merge into Mandarin and some of the dialect features are borrowed from Mandarin. The language contact between the Mandarin and dialect enriches both two language systems and meanwhile makes them more comprehensive.

In recent years, the language contact has aroused great interest among the Chinese language scholars. They mainly focus on three aspects of this topic: (1) the relationship between regional dialect and Mandarin, (2) the variation and change of the dialect and (3) Mandarin with dialect accent. Some well-known scholars in this field among many others include Ping Wang (2003) (2006), Xiaoqing Su (2002) (2004) (2005).

Since no language exists in authority linguistic environment, contacting other languages in varying forms and to different extents, it is definitely influenced by others. Existing on the bounty of the Wuxi and Suzhou cities, my idiolect is impacted by surrounding dialects. The popularization of the Mandarin also makes an impact on the idiolect with no doubt. Therefore the variation of my idiolect is the product of the Mandarin and surrounding dialects' joint effects. In order to understand the variation of the unique idiolect's phonological system thoroughly, the influences of the Mandarin and the surrounding dialect need to be analyzed respectively.

### **5.1 The influence of the Mandarin**

In my idiolect, both initials and finals show the influence of the Mandarin. Some syllables' pronunciations in my idiolect have already changed into the Mandarin pronunciations, especially those syllables which are not usually used in the daily



language. Take the Middle Chinese initial *Ri* as an example, most of its syllables are read the same as in the Mandarin although the Middle Chinese initial *Ri* is corresponding to three initials in my idiolect. The syllables with the initial from the Middle Chinese initial *Ri* in *Fangyan diaocha zibiao* are analyzed in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 The syllables with the initial from the Middle Chinese *Ri*

Initial in the Idiolect	Syllables
z	惹任入润
z <sub>l</sub>	如
ɲ	儿耳二染软绕
Read as Mandarin	汝儒乳芮而饵扰柔揉冉然瓢壤攘嚷仍扔戎绒冗辱褥

With the influence of the Mandarin, syllables from the Middle Chinese initial *Ri* seem disorganized in my idiolect. No rule can be figured out to describe the change of the Middle Chinese initial *Ri* in my idiolect. Moreover, most of these syllables can't be read in my idiolect. Therefore, the situation of the Middle Chinese initial *Ri* in my idiolect is a mixture of the Mandarin and dialect. The same situations are also in the sharp and rounded sounds, the combination of [ɿ] and [ɿ̌] and the confusion of [əʔ] and [oʔ], which have already been discussed in chapter 4. All in all, with the influence of the Mandarin, it is difficult to construct tidy classification of the idiolect's phonological system. Some phonological categories and phonetic values are still in variation. Therefore, idiolect, recording a component of the dialect change, is a good sample to analyze the dialect itself.

## 5.2 The influence of the surrounding dialects

Although my idiolect is influenced by the Mandarin and gradually evolves closer to it, some changes are still kept away from the Mandarin. It is due to the affect of the surrounding dialects. Taking the entering tone [aʔ] and [ɑʔ] as an instance, [aʔ] and [ɑʔ] are from the Middle Chinese *Xian* 'salted' / *Shan* 'mountain' rhyme group and *Dang* 'put off' / *Geng* 'stalk' rhyme group respectively. The different pronunciation of entering tone from the Middle Chinese *Xian/ Shan* and *Dang/ Geng* rhyme group in Mandarin, the Shanghai dialect, the Suzhou dialect, the Wuxi dialect and my idiolect will be listed in table 5.2.

Table 5.2 The pronunciation of the Middle Chinese *Xian/ Shan* and *Dang/ Geng* rhyme group's entering tone

Rhyme group	idiolect	Mandarin	Shanghai dialect <sup>30</sup>	Suzhou dialect <sup>31</sup>	Wuxi dialect <sup>32</sup>
<i>Xian/ Shan</i>	[aʔ]	a ia ɤ	[aʔ]	[aʔ]	[aʔ]
<i>Dang/ Geng</i>	[ɑʔ]	ɤ ai ʅ o uo au			

The different Middle Chinese rhyme group still can be distinguished according to the various pronunciations of the entering tone of the *Xian/ Shan* and *Dang/ Geng* rhyme group in Mandarin. While in the Shanghai, Suzhou and Wuxi dialect, these rhyme groups are all merged together. The variation in my idiolect is different from the Mandarin but the same as the Shanghai, Suzhou and Wuxi dialects. It proves that the

<sup>30</sup> Reference: Baohua Xu and Zhenzhu Tang. 1988. Shanghai Shiqu Fangyan Zhi.

<sup>31</sup> Reference: Ping Wang. 1996. Suzhou Fangyan Yuyin Yanjiu.

<sup>32</sup> Reference: Xiaoyan Cao. 2003. The research about Wuxi dialect.

combination of [aʔ] and [ɑʔ] in my idiolect is influenced by the surrounding dialects, rather than the Mandarin. However, [aʔ] and [ɑʔ] in Shanghai, Suzhou and Wuxi dialect have already been united which evolve faster than they are in my idiolect. That is reasonable because the dialect in suburban area is usually much more conservative than urban area.

Generally speaking, the neighboring dialects influence each other. The variation among these dialects keeps consistent. Therefore, when the surrounding dialects' influence is greater than the Mandarin's, the variation will differ from the rule in the Mandarin. How to decide how great the influence is? It depends on how strong the language component is, which is related to universal markedness, similarity and so on. The stronger one will be easier to be reserved intact in the language and influence other languages. For example, in the Mandarin, velar nasal ending [ŋ] is contrast to alveolar nasal ending [n]. Therefore the pronunciation of *ying* 'flower' is different from *yin* 'sound' (Appendix characters no. 15). While in my idiolect, these two characters are both read as alveolar nasal ending [n] which means 'flower' = 'sound'. This feature, the loss of distinction between [n] and [ŋ] after [i] and [ə], also influences the way to pronounce the consonants in Mandarin and creates the accent Mandarin. Language contact allows languages to interact with each other and absorb or lose some language features during the interaction which makes the variation of the language. However, with the prominent characteristic, which is usually the strong component, remains in the language, the language still keeps its distinctiveness.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This study describes the phonological system of my idiolect and analyzes the characteristics of the idiolect. My idiolect belongs to Wuxi suburban dialect. Therefore it carries most of the Wuxi dialect's features, such as the tripartite division of the manner of articulation of initial stop consonants. However, with the special geographic position, on the bounty of Wuxi dialect from northwest area to southeast area and connected with Suzhou city, my idiolect shows its unique features as well, such as the pronunciation of the retroflex and the distinction between [ɑʔ] and [aʔ]. Since the dialect of the suburban area of the Wuxi is rare and the research of the idiolect is limited, this study may enrich these records and get more attentions from the scholars to focus on these kinds of study.

With the influence of the Mandarin and the surrounding dialects, some phonological features of my idiolect are in the variation, such as the sharp and rounded sounds. This thesis also applied the theory of the language contact to explain the variation in my idiolect. Under the constraint of the knowledge and time, the explanation is still far-fetched from a complete comment on the linguistic phenomenon. And looking into the future, further studies dealing with more lateral aspects and based upon the current research is expected to contribute better to the full picture of the localized dialect.

## APPENDIX A

### THE SYLLABLES WITH SHARP SOUNDS

All these syllables are selected from “Fangyan Diaocha Zibiao” and concluded

by Ji Yang(2004).

Table 6.1 The syllables with sharp sounds

精母	睛 眼睛	心母	薪 年薪 薪金	泉 泉水 矿泉水
姐 姐姐 表姐	井 井水 一口井	薛 薛宝钗	信 信心 写信	集 集中 集邮
借 借书	积 积水 面积	屑 头皮屑	讯 通讯	齐 齐门 整齐
祭 祭祀 拜祭	绩 成绩	宣 宣传	悉 熟悉	钱 钱笃笄
际 国际 人际	精 精肉 门槛精	选 选举 挑选	迅 迅速 鲁迅	绝 绝对 太绝
挤 拥挤	清母	雪 雪珠 落雪	恤 体恤	捷 敏捷 捷报
济 济公 救济	切 切菜 一切	鳖 鳖鱼	相 相亲 相门	秦 秦始皇
焦 烧焦 焦饭	七 七十 十七	削 削削尖 剥削	箱 箱子 皮箱	嚼 多嚼嚼 嚼烂
蕉 香蕉	砌 砌墙头 堆砌	锡 锡箔 无锡	湘 湘妃 潇湘	晴 晴天 天晴
椒 青椒 椒盐	千 一千块 千万	写 写信 大写	襄 襄王	聚 聚会 欢聚
尖 尖血血 笔尖	漆 油漆 漆工	泻 腹泻	想 想想看 思想	剂 剂量 药剂师
接 接人 迎接	清 清爽 拎不清	卸 推卸 卸下来	息 休息 息肉	辑 编辑
浸 浸辣水里 浸没	筮 筮过去	絮 柳絮	熄 熄灯	邪母
煎 煎蛋 油煎	蛆 一条蛆	须 必须	省 反省	旬 上旬
剪 剪刀 修剪	趋 趋势	需 需要 必需	姓 姓名 大姓	祥 吉祥 祥子
箭 射箭 弓箭	取 取经 吸取	西 西园 东西	性 性别 阴性	习 习惯 学习
荐 推荐	娶 娶亲	洗 洗衣机 干洗	惜 爱惜	像 好像
节 节疤 春节	趣 兴趣 趣味	细 细心 粗细	星 星星 五角星	席 席子 揩席
津 天津 津津牌	妻 妻子 夫妻	婿 女婿	腥 腥气 鱼腥	循 循环
尽 尽管	悄 悄悄	消 消息 取消	醒 醒过来 清醒	旋 旋转
进 进去 上进	俏 俏丽 俊俏	宵 元宵	析 分析	巡 巡逻
晋 晋国	签 签字 竹签	销 报销 销量	膝 膝关节	袭 袭击
将 将军 将来	侵 侵略 入侵	小 大小 小人	从母	详 详细 周详
浆 豆浆 浆糊	寝 寝室	笑 笑话 痴笑	践 实践 践踏	邪 邪气 有点邪
奖 奖品 得奖	迁 迁户口 拆迁	箫 吹箫	贱 贱骨头	斜 斜过来 倾斜
浆 船浆	浅 深浅 浅水区	心 心脏 中心	截 截一段	谢 谢谢
蒋 蒋介石	亲 亲眷 相亲	仙 仙人 八仙	净 干净 净菜	徐 徐向前
笺 信笺	抢 抢劫	鲜 鲜味 味道鲜	全 全部 安全	序 序一序 次序
酱 酱油 浓油赤酱	鹊 喜鹊	薛 牛皮薛	墙 墙头 城墙	叙 记叙
爵 伯爵 爵士	请 请客 邀请	线 线条 棉纱线	情 情况 爱情	绪 情绪
雀 麻雀 雀斑	青 青菜 知青	泄 泄露 发泄	静 静下来 安静	寻 寻着
即 立即 即使	蜻 蜻蜓	先 先生 领先	匠 匠人 木匠	羨 羡慕
鲫 鲫鱼	縠 縠边	辛 辛苦 艰辛	前 前头 观前街	象 象鼻头 大象
晶 晶体 亮晶晶		新 新闻 擦刮拉新		橡 橡皮

APPENDIX B

LIST OF CHARACTERS REFERRED TO

No.	Characters
1	解 精 经 荐 剑
2	八 百 甲 脚
3	平 病 平 房 病 房
4	a 尾 巴 b 祭 c 吕 d 嘴
5	主 嘴 脂
6	左 阻 组 林 零
7	澄 更 张 商 朋 崩 横
8	桑 爽 双
9	光 荒 狂 况 矿 旺
10	五 鱼
11	尾 尾 巴
12	经/精 牵/签 希/西
13	泼 墨
14	八 百 甲 脚
15	英 音

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