A Survey of the Rhyme in Cao Zhiqian’s Poems
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Abstract. The rhyme in Cao Zhiqian’s poems reflects the influence of the dialects and Mandarin speech in Jin dialects dominant areas on the Yingzhou dialect in the Jin Dynasty. Zhi-wei rhyme also reflects the process of the influence of the dialects in Jin language dominant areas on the Yingzhou dialect in the same period. As a direct relic of the northwest dialects since the Tang Dynasty, the combined rhymes of Ma 2 and Ma 3 is consistent with the rhyme used by men of letters in the south of Shanxi province in the Song and Jin Dynasties. The unmixed groups of Shen she, Zhen she, Ceng she, Geng she and Tong she reflect the characteristics of the Mandarin speech at that time.

Introduction
Cao Zhiqian (曹之谦), whose courtesy name was Yipu, also called Duizhai (the Eastward House), was from Yingzhou (now Ying County, Shanxi Province), Yunzhong in the Jin Dynasty. Born at the end of the Jin and the early of Yuan dynasties, Cao Zhiqian was a famous scholar and litterateur at that time. He was known as “the man respected by men of letters and followed by many scholars far and near, thus called as Duizhai at that time.” The Collected Works of Duizhai (兑斋文集) written by Cao Zhiqian does not avail now. Only his 44 poems are left in Hefen Collections of Ancient Poems (河汾诸老诗集). The rhyme of Cao Zhiqian’s poems reflects some of the phonetic phenomena of the dialect in Ying County at that time.

The Linguistic Background of Cao Zhiqian’s Poems
Due to the differences between the ancestral home and the place where they lived, the linguistic devices used by ancient men of letters do not necessarily present the linguistic features of the ancestral home. For example, Cao Zhiqian lived in Yingzhou over the course of his childhood and adolescence, though he stayed at Pingyang for a long time after moving to the South and back to the North. As one left home young, his native accent, in fact, would not change much. Consequently, Cao Zhiqian was supposed to speak language with the characteristics of Yingzhou dialect.

Because of the lack of historical evidence, the exact date when Cao Zhiqian was born and died cannot be verified, but his birth year was gauged to be around 1190 and 1200. (Liu, 1992). It is recorded that he passed the Imperial Examination during the period of Xingding (the second reign title of Emperor Xuanzong of Jin, 1217-1221) in An account of Yingzhou (应州记) and A General History of Shanxi (山西通志). It is noted in the preface to Selected Writings of Duizhai (兑斋曹先生文集序) by Wang Yun that he studied hard when young, passing the imperial examination at his early age. Provided that Cao Zhiqian succeeded in the imperial examination when he was around 20, his birth year would not be later than 1200. Cao Zhiqian was once called as a younger brother in a poem by Yuan Haowen, a famous litterateur and historian from the end of the Jin Dynasty to the early Yuan period. Therefore, Cao Zhiqian was born no earlier than 1190 as Yuan Haowen was born in 1190.

It is recorded in An account of Yingzhou that Cao Zhiqian was an honest, upright and studious person who lived in the steep rocks of Ruyue Mountains (now located in 20 miles north of Fanzhi County, Shanxi Province). He studied for his own enjoyment rather than for an official position,
thus famous for his seclusion. *Records on Living in Seclusion* (归潜志) written by Liu Qi records that Cao Zhiqian’s father Cao Heng from Yingzhou was the son-in-law of Gao Ruli, a prime minister in ancient China. Cao Heng was not keen on attending imperial examination for his livelihood. He was too upright and righteous to drift with the current to serve the rich and wealthy. Under the influence of his father, Cao Zhiqian must have stayed with his father in Ruyue Mountains and read books for his own fulfillment. It is noted that Gao Ruli moved with the Jin Dynasty retreating to the South in the second year of Zhenyou (the second reign title of Jin Xuanzong, 1213-1217), and then arrived in Nanjing (now Kaifeng, Henan Province, also Daliang in the ancient times). Thus, it can be inferred that Cao Zhiqian had stayed at Yingzhou until 1214. After that, he went to the South and lived in Kaifeng, and then returned to Yingzhou after his father died. His poem *Thoughts on Crossing Over Ruyue Mountains* (过茹越岭有感) puts that many things happened over the past thirty years, the whole family went South but I returned alone. It can be seen that Cao Zhiqian returned to the North after his father’s death. Later, he lived in Pingyang as a guest. The possible reason behind this is that his grandfather was from Zhaocheng, one of cities of Pingyang in the ancient times. It can be inferred that Cao Zhiqian lived in Yingzhou at the latest before the age of 15. By this time, Cao Zhiqian had formed his dialect although he later lived in Kaifeng and Pingyang, which had little influence on his dialect. Therefore, Cao Zhiqian’s poetry should reflect the dialect of Yingzhou at that time.

Regarding the locality of Cao Zhiqian’s poems, Fang Qi had discussed in *Hefen Collections of Ancient Poems* that, “or rather, Duizhai was from Yingzhou, Yunzhou. He belonged to Hefen (joint name of the Yellow River and the Fenhe River). No one is against with me? If not, Duizhai was indeed from Yingzhou, then lived in Bianliang (Kaifeng) and Pingyang for 30 years. He invented Taoism and taught backward students, being a good example for ancient scholars to follow. He could teach in villages or towns, or enter officialdom in imperial court… When alive, he was the glory of Fenhe River basin; when dead, he was buried there. Wouldn’t he be from Hefen?” It is inevitable that the poems of Cao Zhiqian who came from the Jinbei (north of Shanxi) included in *Hefen Collections of Ancient Poems* which collected local poems of famous poets from Jinzhong (central part of Shanxi) and Jinnan (south of Shanxi) were questioned by people at that time. Therefore, the editors give the reason that he had a wide influence after he lived in Pingyang, instead of his hometown and dialect between the Yellow River and the Fenhe River.

The Rhyme of Cao Zhiqian’s Poems

There are 44 poems by Cao Zhiqian in *Hefen Collections of Ancient Poems*. Among them, there are 7 ancient-style poems (a form of pre-Tang poetry, usu. having five or seven characters to each line, without strict tonal patterns or rhyme schemes), 15 Qilv (an eight-line poem with seven characters to a line and a strict tonal pattern and rhyme scheme), 13 Wulv (an eight-line poem with five characters to a line and a strict tonal pattern and rhyme scheme), and 9 Qijue (a four-line poem with seven characters to a line and a strict tonal pattern and rhyme scheme). In the ancient-style poetry, there are rhymes in the middle, and there is also one rhyme from beginning to end; or there is one rhyme in four lines, or one rhyme in ten lines, the rhyme is relatively free. Qilv and Qijue often have the first sentence into the rhyme, and Wulv generally do not have the first sentence rhymed. The rhyme of the poetry is as follows:

1. chuan 传, nian 年, ran 然, yuan 源, tian 天, yuan 缘, yan 研, qian 齐, xuan 悬, yan 言, bian 边, yan 燕, yan 烟, tuan 湮, xuan 旋
2. cao 草, hao 好, bao 保, zao 早, biao 表; chi 池, lei 累, shi 时, wei 为, chui 吹
3. si 死, ci 此; liu 流, xiu 羞, tou 头; xin 蕉, chen 臣, jin 近; qi 齐, shi 时, zhi 知
4. shui 睡, li 利, shi 市, di 地, shui 水, shi 事
5. long 龙, rong 容, long 笼; shi 史, shui 水, wei 伟; jiang 降, gang 杠; xi 昔, xi 息
6. fei 飞, si 滞, zhi 之; ku 苦, yu 语, nu 奴
7. jian 涧, yan 晏, yan 雁
Features of Rhymes in Cao Zhiqian’s Poems

(1) The rhyme of ancient-style poetry is flexible, and there are even and departing tones, rising and departing tones, even and rising tones.

For example, among the rhymes xīn-chén-jìn (薪臣近) from Song of Hair Turning Grey (变白头吟), “jìn” is a departing tone, “xīn and chén” are even tones.

Among the rhymes shuì-lì-shì-di-shuǐ (叶睡利市地水事) from Idle Song (闲中作), “shuǐ” is a falling-rising tone, others are departing tones.

Among the rhymes kǔ-yǔ-nú (苦语奴) from Picture of Wind and Snow all Over Face (风雪障面...
"nú" is an even tone, the other two are falling-rising tones.

(2) Zhi-wei Rhyme (支微同韵)

There are 9 poems of Zhi-wei rhyme in the poems of Cao Zhiqian with same use of the Zhi (支脂之同用) being 3 poems, Wei rhyme (微韵) being 3 ones, and Zhi-wei rhyming the same (支微通押) is 3 ones.

Among the rhymes chi-lei-shi-wei-chi (池累时为吹) from Feelings on My State (感遇), "lei" is the rhyme of Zhi (脂韵), "shi" is the rhyme of Zhi (之韵), others are the rhyme of Zhi (支韵) and the rhymes shi-zhi (时知) and Zhi rhyming the same (之支通押).

Among the rhymes of Zhi (支) and Wei (脂) is not much seen in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. In the Tang and Five Dynasties, Tang Yanqian from Tai Yan used the same rhyme of Zhi and Wei in his poetry. At the end of the Tang Dynasty, the poet Wen Tingjun from Shanxi adopted the mutual rhyming of Zhi-wei (支微相叶) in modern-style poetry. During the Song and Jin Dynasties, Zhi-wei-hui rhyme (支微灰同韵) was used by poets from Shanxi, such as Wang Anzhong, Wen Yanbo, Zhao Ding, and Taoist Hou Shanyuan and other poets from Linfen of the late Jin Dynasty. However, the above phenomena were not presented in the poetry of Jinbei people at that time. Zhi-wei was not rhymed with hui in the poems of Gao Daokuan from Huai Ren in the Jin Dynasty. (Qiao, 2008, 162-164) In Cao Zhiqian’s poems, Zhi-wei rhyme is not combined with Hui rhyme.

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Among the rhymes wei-hui-tai-lai (嵬灰苔来) from the Old Autumn Pavilion (秋风亭故基), the rhyming of Hui-hai (灰咍通押) is not the same with Zhi-wei rhyme. This further illustrates that Zhi-wei rhyme was not combined with Hui rhyme in the poetry works of the Jinbei people at that time. Nowadays, this phenomenon is reflected in shanxi dialect in Fenhe River area of Jinnan, Bingzhou of Jinzhong, but rare in Jinbei dialect. At present, mei (眉) reading as mi (迷) and bei (被备) reading as bi (闭) in the Ying County dialect should be influenced by the dialects in Jin language dominant areas.

(3) Five Unmixed Groups of Shen, Zhen, Zeng, Geng, Tong (深臻曾梗通五摄)

At present, the rhyming of Shen-she (深摄), Zhen-she (臻摄), Zeng-she (曾摄), Geng-she (梗摄), Tong-she (通摄) is the same in Jin dialects, which covers widely, including Dabao cluster (大包片) and Wutai cluster (五台片). The five_vowels of Shen, Zhen, Zeng, Geng and Tong conflating into one group of finals can be traced back to the Tang and Five Dynasties. After the Song Dynasty, the literati from Shanxi, such as Wang Anzhong, Wen Yanbo, Zhao Ding, Duan Keyi and Taoist Hou Shanyuan and other poets from Linfen of the late Jin Dynasty all used mixed rhyme of the Five Groups of Shen, Zhen, Zeng, Geng, Tong more or less. (Qiao, 2008, 208-215) In Cao Zhiqian’s poems, the Five Groups are not mixed, but there were mixed rhymes within the Five Groups of Shen, Zhen, Zeng, Geng, Tong, such as zhen-chun-wen-hun (真谆文魂通押) rhyming the same as Zhen-she (臻摄), geng-qing-qing (梗清青通押) rhyming the same as Geng-she (梗摄), tong-zhong
Among the rhymes chun-xin-bin-chen-ren (春新宾尘人) from Farewell to Wang zhongtong (送王仲通), Zhen and Chun are used the same (真谆同用).

Among the rhymes chen-chun-xin-xin-jin (尘春辛新巾) from Reflections on Shangsi (上巳日感怀), Zhen and Chun are used the same (真谆同用).

Among the rhymes xin-chun-ren-ren-chun (新 春 疆 人 椿) from Zhao Jifu Planting Deyuan Garden (赵吉甫种德园), Zhen and Chun are used the same (真谆同用).

Among the rhymes chun-fen-yun-xun-wen (春汾云薰闻) from After Zhao Cheng’s Return (自赵城还府), Wen and Chun are rhymed the same (文谆通押).

Among the rhymes ren-lun-xin-min (人纶新旻) from the Elegy on Yelv (中书耶律公挽词), Zhen and Chun are used the same (真谆同用).

Among the rhymes ren-hun-hun (人魂昏) from Plum Shadow (梅影), Chun and Hun are rhymed the same (谆魂通押).

Among the rhymes qing-sheng-ying-ming (清生楹明) from To Worship Confucius at Temple of Yingzhou (应州庙学释奠), Geng and Qing are used the same (庚清同用).

In the Jin Dynasty, there were only two cases of mixed rhyme of Zhen-wen (真文韵) and Geng-qing (庚青韵) in the poems of Liu Ji, which explains that the Five Groups of Shen, Zhen, Zeng, Geng did not begin to mix with each other and the mixture of the Five Groups occurred after the Jin Dynasty.

(4) The Combined Rhymes of Ma 2 and Ma 3 (麻二麻三合用)

In the era of Zhongyuan Yinyun, Ma 2 (麻二) and Ma 3 (麻三) were divided into rhyme jiama (家麻韵) and chezhe (车遮韵). Wang Li said that Ma rhyme (麻韵) had not yet been divided into rhyme jiama and chezhe in the Song Dynasty. The same was true in the poems in Shanxi in the Song and Jin Dynasties. The rhyme in the poems of Wen Yanbo and Sima Guang in the Song Dynasty showed that Jinzhong and Jinnan dialects were consistent with the northwest dialects of the Tang and Song Dynasties in the 11th century, and the rhyme had not yet been differentiated (Qiao, 2008: 152).

Among the rhymes hua-zhe-jia (花遮家) from Abandoned Palace (废宫), “zhe” is Ma 3, “hua and jia” belong to Ma 2.

The rhyme in Cao Zhiqian’s poems explains that there was also consistency between the Jinbei dialects and the northwest dialects of the Tang and Song Dynasties.

Cao Zhiqian’s rhyme of poems is consistent with the rhyme of Jinzhong and Jinnan literati poetry, but there are also differences. Combined with Cao Zhiqian’s life, the rhyme of his poetry reflects the voice of Yingzhou dialect in his hometown. Judging from the rhyme of Cao’s poems, as early as the Song and Jin Dynasties, the dialects of Jin language dominant areas have already affected the Jinbei dialect at that time.

References
