

外國語文研究

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法國地區語言的發展與挑戰：以布列塔尼語為例

陳郁君 *、王槐仁 **

摘要

社會語言學家研究的是社會變異性與語言變異性之間的關係，探討一個語言在一段時間內發生的變異，並且不斷地進行歷史變遷，意即語言在社會情境中的表現型態。而歷史語言學家則是著重於語言的長期變遷，探討古代語言在當代的子語，以重建昔日語言的特徵。語言隨著時間而逐漸演變，在演變的過程中會出現兩個面向，其一為語言的變異、傳播與分裂成為子語，如法語及西班牙語是拉丁語的子語；另一個面向是語言的流失，在過去五百年，世界的語言多樣性已減少了一半，且學者預測本世紀將有二分之一的語言會消失。布列塔尼語是法國地區語言與少數民族語言之一，亦是法國唯一來自凱爾特語系的地區語言，本文將針對布列塔尼語在經歷遷徙、戰爭與語言政策的過程後，探討該語言的發展現況與其所面臨的挑戰，期能作為我國發展語言政策之參考。

關鍵詞：布列塔尼語、法國、地區語言、語言政策

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The Development and Challenges of French Regional Languages: The Case of Breton

Chen, Yu-Chun*, Wang Huai-Jen**

Abstract

Sociolinguists study the relationship between social variability and linguistic variability. They explore the variation of a language which has constantly changes over a period of time, the expression of language in social context. Meanwhile, historical linguists deal with the long-term changes of language. They explore the ancient language in contemporary sub-language, to reconstruct the characteristics of the old language, and the language gradually evolves with time. Therefore, there would be two aspects in the process of evolution about it. One is the variation, transmission and splitting of language into sub-language. For instance, French and Spanish are sub-languages of Latin. The other aspect is the loss of language. In the past five hundred years, the world's linguistic diversity has reduced in half, and scholars predict that one-half of the languages will disappear in this century. Breton is one of the French regional and minority languages. It is also the only regional language from the Celtic language in France. This paper tries to approach the evolution of the migration, wars and language policy about Breton in the history and to understand its current state of development and meanwhile the challenges it faces as a reference for the development of minority language in Taiwan.

Key words: Breton, France, regional language, language policy

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法國地區語言的發展與挑戰：以布列塔尼語為例

陳郁君、王槐仁

1. 前言

社會語言學家研究的是社會變異性與語言變異性之間的關係，探討一個語言在一段時間內發生的變異，並且不斷地進行歷史變遷，意即語言在社會情境中的表現型態。而歷史語言學家則是著重於語言的長期變遷，探討古代語言在當代的子語，以重建昔日語言的特徵。語言隨著時間而逐漸演變，在演變的過程中會出現兩個面向，其一為語言的變異、傳播與分裂成為子語，如法語及西班牙語是拉丁語的子語；另一個面向是語言的流失，在過去五百年，世界的語言多樣性已減少了一半，且學者預測本世紀將有二分之一的語言會消失。（徐雨村 161）

在法國共有七種主要的地區語言（*langues régionales*），包含奧克語（*occitan*)¹、加泰隆語（*catalan*）、科西嘉語（*corse*）、阿爾薩斯語（*alsacien*）、佛蘭芒語（*flamand*）、布列塔尼語與巴斯克語（*basque*）等（吳錫德 299-300），其中，布列塔尼語是法國西北部的地區語言，屬於印歐語系的凱爾特語（*langue celtique*），同時也是歐洲大陸最古老的語言之一。

本文將從歷史演化的途徑，以質性研究的方法檢視布列塔尼語在歷經遷徙與戰爭的演變過程，其後受到國家的語言教育政策限制，以及在歐盟制定「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」（*Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires*，英文簡稱 ECRML）和法國開放語言政策之後，探討與分析布列塔尼語目前的發展現況與其所面臨的挑戰。

相對於法國的情境，就我國而言，客家語與原住民語都是地區語言或少數民族語言，同樣經歷過政府在語言教育政策的限制過程。因此，本文希望透過布列塔尼語的研究，瞭解法國政府開放語言教育政策之後，地區或少數民族語言的教育體系如何發展？布列塔尼語在語言教育發展的過程中面臨的挑戰為何？研究成果或許可以作為我國在推動語言教育的政策面與執行面之參考。

¹ 奧克語是法國中、南部地區的語言，其中包括多種語言。

2. 布列塔尼語在法國的發展史

早在 1500 年前，已有人類使用布列塔尼語，此語言源自於印歐語系的凱爾特語。印歐人於 3000 年前占領了整個歐洲的北部，他們分別是來自於羅馬的加利人 (Galli) 與來自希臘的凱爾泰人 (Keltae)，凱爾特人 (peuples celtiques)² 則是印歐人與當地人婚配的後代。當時人們使用的語言是古老的凱爾特語，然而，此文明在受到北方日耳曼文明和南方拉丁文明的雙重壓力之下漸漸消失，但是在不列顛群島的布利頓人 (les Brittons) 與蓋爾人 (les Gaëls) 仍保存及使用凱爾特語。現今，凱爾特語有六個地方語言，區分為二個語群，分別為布利頓語群 (le groupe brittonique) 與蓋爾語群 (le groupe gaélique)³，布列塔尼語屬於前者，源於法國境外，並且與現今英國許多語言有相同的原始語言 (protolanguage)⁴。(徐雨村 161)

在布列塔尼語尚未傳到法國境內前，位於法國西北地區的阿爾莫尼克 (Armorique)⁵ 居住著五個部落，直到西元前 56 年羅馬人贏得海戰後控制阿爾莫尼克 (Le Nevez 105)。在羅馬政權衰敗後，英國人遷來之前，有關阿爾莫尼克的相關記載文件並不足。從西元一世紀開始，在英國的布列敦人 (les Bretons) 已與阿爾莫尼克 (現今的布列塔尼) 居民有互動關係，至西元五世紀，英國經歷數次來自於盎格魯撒克遜人的入侵，以及愛爾蘭的蘇格蘭人 (Scots d'Irlande) 和蘇格蘭的皮克特人 (Pictes d'Ecosse) 的侵襲。由於受到外部勢力的影響，使得布列敦人向阿爾莫尼克遷移，並在西元 851 年建立自己的官方領土。伴隨著布列敦人遷移而來的是其文化和語言，在此期間，他們說著「古布列塔尼語」(le vieux breton)，該語言對於地名與家族姓氏的影響迄今。(Carson 4-5)

在阿爾莫尼克，布列塔尼人成功的整合他們的領地，從西元第十至十六世紀，布列塔尼 (la Bretagne) 是一個公國 (duché)。雖然歷經瘟疫與英法百年戰爭，但是公爵的權力仍十分穩固，由於海上貿易日益頻繁，使得布列塔尼成為歐

² 公元前 5 世紀，居住法國的人大多數為凱爾特人，古羅馬人把凱爾特人稱為高盧人 (les Gaulois)，把高盧人居住的地方稱為高盧 (la Gaule)，因此古代的法國被稱為高盧。

³ 布利頓語群包括高盧語 (gallois)、布列塔尼語 (breton) 和科努瓦耶語 (cornouaillais) 三種子語，蓋爾語群包含愛爾蘭語 (irlandais)、蘇格蘭語 (écossais) 和曼島語 (mannois) 三種子語。

⁴ 數種子語言的源頭語言。

⁵ 阿爾莫尼克是在古代高盧人對於該地區的命名，位於法國西北部塞納河與羅亞爾河之間。

洲與伊比利半島貿易之間的重要樞紐。然而，布列塔尼語並沒有因此而有相同的發展，當時布列塔尼公國人民使用的語言是「中布列塔尼語」(le moyen breton)⁶。

隨著社會的發展，原是一個地方割據且不統一的社會，或是原來幾個獨立的社會都可以統一為一個社會，這時地方語言的分歧將會妨礙社會的完全統一與統一之後的鞏固，於是語言也會適應社會統一的要求而逐步的走向統一。(叶蜚聲，徐通鏘 190-191)

在十四、十五世紀，隨著王權的加強，王室領地的擴大，巴黎逐漸成為法國政治與經濟中心，法蘭西島方言 (le francien) 的地位越來越重要，通行的地區亦越來越多，逐漸成為法蘭西民族的共同語言，各地方的語言或被淘汰，或慢慢降到無足輕重的地位。(梁啟炎 55) 據此，布列塔尼公爵放棄布列塔尼語作為官方語言，以法語取而代之，導致布列塔尼語開始朝向該地區的西部逐漸沒落。西元 1460 年，法國國王路易十四與查理八世覬覦布列塔尼公國，欲將其併入法國，於是查理八世利用貴族之間的鬥爭引發法國與布列塔尼之間的戰爭，西元 1488 年 7 月 28 日，法國贏得在 Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier 的戰役之後，雙方簽訂象徵和平協議的薩布利條約 (le traité de Sablé)。1488 年 9 月至 1514 年之間，經過法國與布列塔尼多次的聯姻，布列塔尼公國於 1532 年成為法國的一個省。⁷ 1539 年，法國國王法蘭西一世(François Ier) 頒佈〈維勒耶－戈特萊敕令〉(Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts)，規定法院的命令及判決必須採用普羅大眾的母語法文，而非官方語言拉丁文，原為司法的法案被視為奠定法文地位的最重要文獻，因為該法案明文禁止使用拉丁文，且視法語為唯一的官方語言。在此過程中，無形地貶抑地區語言，並在法國社會中強化一個觀念，即法語是菁英人士使用的語言，地區語言則是一般農民使用的語言。(Slone 105-125)

在法國大革命發生之前，布列塔尼同時存在拉丁語、法語與布列塔尼語三種語言 (Griffon 15)。1793 年，法國國民公會 (la Convention Nationale) 成立國民教育委員會 (la Comité d'instruction publique)，此委員會成立的目的在於負責法國教育的重新分類，在此體系中僅重視法語，而將其他語言排除在外。在布列塔尼語發展的歷史過程中，法國大革命是一個重要的轉捩點，由於革命的目標在

⁶ 中布列塔尼語為西元第十二至十六世紀布列塔尼人所使用的語言，其母語為古布列塔尼語 (le vieux breton)，子語為現代布列塔尼語 (le breton moderne)。

⁷ 在法國大革命後，法國取消省(province)而重新劃分為省 (département)，之後又變更為區 (région)。

於建立一個統一的國家，而為了實踐此一目標，所有法國人必須說著共同的語言。此外，法律規定老師每天必須教法語與人權宣言（*La Déclaration des droits de l'homme*），因此，導致政府在推動法語與法律的同時，卻犧牲了布列塔尼語的發展。法國大革命期間，政府壓迫地區語言的態度延續數個世紀。在法國大革命之後，法國政府更加重視教育的改革，設立巴黎高等師範學院（*L'École Normale de Paris*）並制訂課綱，當國家參與教學愈多時，意謂著在學校與公共生活中，對於布列塔尼語的壓迫也愈多。對於法國政府而言，在學校使用法語更為重要，教育的目標在於建立法國公民能夠瞭解以法語所書寫的法律條文。此外，法語被視為表達人權的第一語言，且應該以此最優雅的語言繼續教育年輕人。（Carson 7-9）

在拿破崙第一帝國時期（1804-1814），法國政府主導國家的教育發展，當時從未出現任何一所使用布列塔尼語言的學校。法國政治體制恢復君主制後，學校的制度並未產生太大的變化。1833 年，政府頒布法令：凡是具有 500 名居民以上的城鎮皆必須開設一所免費的國小，提供當地的男孩就學；此外，在此法令之下，私立學校得以合法化。然而，政府與教育人員仍是偏好法語勝於地區語言，例如，在 1836 年位於布列塔尼南部的洛里昂區（*arrondissement de Lorient*）制定一條規定：「禁止學生說布列塔尼語與粗話，即使是下課時間，任何布列塔尼語的書籍是不被容許的。」這條規定將布列塔尼語視為是不禮貌的語言，同時也影響布列塔尼人對於自己語言的感受與看法。自從法國大革命以來，在法國的社會中，許多法律與言論均譴責布列塔尼語的使用。在 1833 年，法國政府針對說布列塔尼語的人標籤化（*symbole*）並予以懲戒，若有學生不經意的在學校說布列塔尼語時，將會被要求配戴一塊木板（*bois*），並且在下課期間不能遊戲，直至聽到另一位同學說布列塔尼語，才能將木板交接，解除懲罰。此種懲罰學生說母語的方式，特別具有破壞性，因為這使得孩子們相互對立，並且是一種羞辱。這項懲罰方式不是僅存在於布列塔尼的某些學校，而是在整個布列塔尼地區的學校施行。對於以標誌方式作為鼓勵學生說法語的有效性是值得商榷的，然而，可以確定的是，懲罰已烙印在布列塔尼學生的心靈中，形成自卑感。（Carson 10-12）

法國第二共和期間（1848-1852）是地區語言遭到最嚴重破壞的時期，政府於 1850 年通過法盧（*Falloux*）法案，該法規定法語是學校使用的唯一語言，不允許以地區語言作為教學的語言，但仍可以接受透過地區語言輔助法語教學。

(Kline & Mellerski 71) 在第二帝國期間 (1852-1870)，以布列塔尼語作為輔助法語教學的作法仍在進行辯論。根據 1863 年的一項調查顯示，在下布列塔尼 (Basse-Bretagne)⁸有四分之三的學校同時使用布列塔尼語和法語。雖然法語和布列塔尼語在發展過程中有彼此妥協的現象，但是整體而言，對於破壞地區語言的態度依舊持續存在於學校與社會之中。學者研究發現，在布列塔尼語的延續與發展過程中，宗教扮演相當重要的角色，因為當時的教會在宣講教義時完全是使用布列塔尼語。(Griffon 32-35)

第三共和期間 (1870-1940)，布列塔尼在政治與教育方面發生許多變化，政府持續致力於國家認同與凝聚向心力，然而此時區域主義興起。一方面，由於社會機會的限制與貧窮使得布列塔尼的人口外移，人口數逐漸下降 (Le Nevez 114)；另一方面，法國其它地區的人對於布列塔尼的看待並不是很正面。法國的歷史和地理學家 Yves Le Gallo 曾指出，當時的對立情形是一方是法國文明、城市、書寫、世俗化與傾向世俗主義者，另一方則是布列塔尼文明、鄉村、口語、宗教與神職人員。(Griffon 59) 換句話說，布列塔尼文化被人們視為不如法國文化，法語被視為是現代與進步的語言，而布列塔尼語則被視為是宗教與家庭的語言。人們通常會公開的嘲笑布列塔尼人的服儀、習俗與口音，此外，在學校因說布列塔尼語而遭到懲罰的經驗，使得布列塔尼人捍衛布列塔尼語的處境更加困難。(Le Nevez 134)

法國政府於 1881 年與 1882 年陸續修法更改教育制度，對於地區語言更加嚴苛，修法的內容涉及兩個部分，其一是，免費的義務教育，鼓勵所有法國人民不分年齡必須接受學校教育；其二是，推動世俗主義，意味著宗教在學校是中立的。此法的通過，使得支持布列塔尼語的挑戰更加困難，因為國家對於教育的控制力增強，且國家堅決反對在學校禁止使用地區語言。一般而言，法國的社會是不支持布列塔尼的語言與文化，但是天主教會依然使用布列塔尼語，無論是在佈道、祈禱與宣講教義等場合，都是使用布列塔尼語，因此，宗教的生活有助於布列塔尼語的延續。此外，有些持自由開放態度的學校認為，學習布列塔尼語並不會阻礙法語的學習，反倒是在透過雙語學習的過程，將會有助於學童智力的發展。

(Carson 15)

⁸ 下布列塔尼 (Basse-Bretagne) 位於布列塔尼的西半部，此區大部分人使用布列塔尼語；上布列塔尼 (Haute-Bretagne) 位於布列塔尼的東半部，此區則較少人使用布列塔尼語。

第一次世界大戰期間，估計約有 24 至 25 萬的布列塔尼軍人死於戰爭之中，使得布列塔尼的人口驟減，因為這些死亡的軍人大多是說布列塔尼語（la population britophone）。在第二次世界大戰期間，布列塔尼於 1940 年被德國占領，雖然大多數人對抗德國軍隊入侵，但亦有少部分人試圖藉機向法國爭取自治權。（Carson 16-17）

在第四共和國（1946-1958）和第五共和國（1958 年-迄今）期間，許多關鍵法案與憲章擘劃出今日法國的語言情境。法國政府於 1951 年推動戴克桑（Deixonne）法案，授權布列塔尼語、巴斯克語、加泰隆語與奧克語為選修課程。此法顯示政府對於地區語言的態度有了很大的轉變，對於少數民族語言的認同是一項相當重要的政策；此外，政府於 1976 年頒布阿比（Haby）法案，規定特定地區若有需求，可實施地區語言教學；另在 1977 年，法國政府與布列塔尼行政區簽署布列塔尼文化憲章（La Charte culturelle bretonne），憲章中認同布列塔尼的「文化人格」(personnalité culturelle)，此項認同肯定了布列塔尼的語言與文化在教學中具有一定的地位，同時也促進布列塔尼語的發展。（Kline & Mellerski 72）

儘管戴克桑法案、阿比法案與布列塔尼文化憲章彰顯出法國政府對於地區語言推廣和教學的積極態度與作法，然而，政府於 1994 年制定杜彭（Toubon）法案，重申法語是法國最重要的語言，因為在法案第一條即明文規定：「根據憲法規定，法國的國家語言是法語，該語是法國國格與文化傳承之基本要素。」⁹雖然，此法案的目的主要是抵抗英語對法語的侵襲而訂定，然而，法語是法國官方語言的主流觀點，使得地區語言的發展處於更為不利的情境。（Carson 18）此外，歐洲理事會（Conseil de l'Europe）於 1992 年制定「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」，成員國於 1992 年 11 月 5 日開始簽署此憲章，該憲章於 1998 年 3 月 1 日生效，而法國直至 1999 年 5 月 7 日方才完成簽署，從中可以看出法國政府對地區語言所持之態度，至於此憲章對布列塔尼語的影響，將在後續章節中詳細討論，另一方面，2008 年 7 月 23 日，通過《憲法》增修條文第 75 條第 2 項，其中載明「地區語言為法國文化資產」，確認並彰顯了政府機關保存地區語言以及承認地區語言價值的決心。¹⁰

⁹ Le Service public de la diffusion du droit,
<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=LEGITEXT000005616341>, 最後瀏覽日期：
2018. 07. 30。

¹⁰ Le Service public de la diffusion du droit, « Art. 75-1. - Les langues régionales appartiennent au

3. 語言政策對布列塔尼語發展之影響

在多元族群的國家中，如何規劃語言政策是十分敏感的議題，因為一方面要考慮維持不同族群之間的平衡與和諧，另一方面必須思考有利於國家發展之方案。前者強調在國家社會中多種語言並存，例如比利時的多國語言政策；後者則是主張在國家社會中獨尊一個語言，並透過法律與教育限縮其他語言，例如在法國和我國都曾有類似的語言發展歷史過程。然而，語言政策關乎的不僅是國家與社會的發展，且就語言本身而言，語言政策對於語言的興衰以及語言是否得以延續更是息息相關的，意即語言政策是影響語言發展非常重要的因素之一。

由於法國是歐盟的會員國家，因此本節將探討歐洲語言政策與法國語言政策兩個層面對於布塔尼語發展之影響：

3.1 歐洲語言政策：歐盟計有 28 個會員國家，人口數約 5 億 1,000 萬人，在歐盟規劃的語言政策中有 24 種官方語言（*langues officielles*），「地區或少數民族語言」¹¹則超過 60 種以上，其中使用地區或少數民族語言的人口數超過 4,000 萬人。¹²前揭曾提及「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」，此為歐洲理事會於 1992 年 11 月 5 日在法國史特拉斯堡通過之憲章，迄今，47 個成員國當中簽署且批准同意的國家共有 25 個，僅簽署而未批准同意的國家有 8 個，法國即是其中之一，請參閱表一。¹³

表一 「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」簽署國家一覽表（16/06/2018）

國名	簽署日期	批准同意日期	生效日期
德國	05/11/1992	16/09/1998	01/01/1999
亞美尼亞	11/05/2001	25/01/2002	01/05/2002

patrimoine de la France.»
<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000019237256&categorieLien=id>, 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

¹¹ 是指就傳統而言，該國國民在一國領土上所使用的語言，而其構成的群體人口數量遠低於國家其他群體的人口數，並且與該國的官方語言不同。Conseil de l'Europe：
<https://www.coe.int/fr/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168007c07e>, 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

¹² Union européenne : https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/multilingualism_fr, 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

¹³ Conseil de l'Europe : <https://www.coe.int/fr/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/148>, 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

奧地利	05/11/1992	28/06/2001	01/10/2001
亞塞拜然	21/12/2001		
波士尼亞	07/09/2005	21/09/2010	01/01/2011
賽普勒斯	12/11/1992	26/08/2002	01/12/2002
克羅埃西亞	05/11/1997	05/11/1997	01/03/1998
丹麥	05/11/1992	08/09/2000	01/01/2001
西班牙	05/11/1992	09/04/2001	01/08/2001
俄羅斯	10/05/2001		
芬蘭	05/11/1992	09/11/1994	01/03/1998
法國	07/05/1999		
匈牙利	05/11/1992	26/04/1995	01/03/1998
冰島	07/05/1999		
義大利	27/06/2000		
列支敦斯登	05/11/1992	18/11/1997	01/03/1998
盧森堡	05/11/1992	22/06/2005	01/10/2005
馬其頓	25/07/1996		
馬爾他	05/11/1992		
蒙特內哥羅	22/03/2005	15/02/2006	06/06/2006
挪威	05/11/1992	10/11/1993	01/03/1998
荷蘭	05/11/1992	02/05/1996	01/03/1998
波蘭	12/05/2003	12/02/2009	01/06/2009
摩爾多瓦共和國	11/07/2002		
斯洛伐克	20/02/2001	05/09/2001	01/01/2002
捷克	09/11/2000	15/11/2006	01/03/2007
羅馬尼亞	17/07/1995	29/01/2008	01/05/2008
英國	02/03/2000	27/03/2001	01/07/2001
塞爾維亞	22/03/2005	15/02/2006	01/06/2006
斯洛維尼亞	03/07/1997	04/10/2000	01/01/2001
瑞典	09/02/2000	09/02/2000	01/06/2000
瑞士	08/10/1993	23/12/1997	01/04/1998
烏克蘭	02/05/1996	19/09/2005	01/01/2006

作者自製，資料來源：Conseil de

l'Europe : <https://www.coe.int/fr/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/148>

根據憲章第 7 條第 1 款內容，列舉出憲章所訴求的目標和原則如下：

- 承認地區或少數民族語言是多元文化資產的呈現。
- 尊重每個地區或少數民族語言的地理區域，並確保在現有或新的行政區域劃分中，不會對該地區或少數民族語言的推廣形成障礙。

- 為保護地區或少數民族語言，必須採取堅決的推廣舉措。
- 促進與（或）鼓勵地區或少數民族語言在公領域與私領域的口語和書寫之使用。
- 在現今憲章所含括的領域中，促進使用某一地區或少數民族語言的團體，能與國內使用相同或類似語言形式的其他團體，維持與發展彼此之間的關係，並使國內說不同語言的族群可以建立文化交流。
- 在所有適當的階段中，提供足夠的形式和方法作為教導與學習地區或少數民族語言之用。
- 提供學習管道方法，使得不會說某地區或少數民族語言且住在該地區的人們，如果有學習意願時能夠應用。
- 在大學或同等機構中，推廣地區或少數民族語言的學習與研究。
- 在現今憲章所含括的領域中，推動適當形式的跨國交流，俾使在兩國或多個國家中，說相同或類似的地區或少數民族語言的國家得以彼此交流。

歐洲理事會所通過的「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」雖然具有法律性與理想性，然而，實際上憲章內容並不太具有約束力，仍須尊重各國酌量自身的國情而決定，此觀點可從前表歐洲各國簽署憲章的現況中得知。迄今，法國仍未批准同意該憲章，由此可見，法國境內的地區或少數民族語言，在歐洲理事會的「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」中並沒有得到太多的保障，其發展的關鍵因素仍取決於法國政府的語言政策。

3.2 法國語言政策：

前揭提及，法國於 1539 年便立法通過第一個語言政策，明文規定法語是國家唯一的官方語言。雖然歷經數百年的歷史，且無論國內外的環境如何更迭，法國政府執行單一語言政策從未改變，該立場可從 1994 年法國制定的杜彭法案第一條條文「法國的國家語言是法語」確知。雖然在法國境內有 7 種主要的地區語言，但是法國獨尊法語的單一語言政策，明顯壓縮境內其他語言的生存與發展空間，致使地區語言的文化資產逐漸流失。

法國對外主張多元文化主義或是多語言主義，對內則是堅持單一語言政策，其主要的因素在於防止英、美語的入侵（吳錫德 305）；然而，為了因應歐盟推行「歐洲地區或少數民族語言憲章」，法國政府在表面上是支持地

區語言的發展，但是在執行面上仍是獨尊法語。學者吳錫德歸納法國政府語言政策的主軸有以下四點：體認法語在國際地位的式微、設法阻擋英-美語的大量入侵、結合世界各地法語國家、以及強調法語是人類文化資產的不可替代性，並以多元化、多樣化、多語化的捍衛者自居（吳錫德 314）。因此，吾人一方面可以理解法國政府對於法語生存與發展的潛在隱憂，以及推動法語是唯一的國家語言政策之必要性，另一方面，可以理解在法國獨尊法語的語言政策之下，境內地區語言的生存與發展空間是有其侷限性的，而布列塔尼語教育的發展便是一個明顯的例子。

4. 布列塔尼語教育的發展

雖然法國境內地區語言的生存與發展空間有其侷限性，但在布列塔尼地區仍有許多人致力於語言教育的發展，他們的目的在於延續布列塔尼文化資產的傳承。整體而言，在布列塔尼地區主要有三個學習雙語的渠道，分別為迪萬學校 (*écoles Diwan*)、天主教學校 (*écoles catholiques*) 與公立學校 (*écoles publiques*)，其中迪萬學校是不具宗教性質的私立學校，它與其它二者不同的地方在於直接教授學生學習布列塔尼語，而在天主教學校和公立學校則是先讓學生學習法語，然後再學習布列塔尼語。由於此三種學習雙語渠道的教學方法與性質不同，因此各自吸引了不同的學生，根據布列塔尼語公共辦事處 (*Office public de la langue bretonne*) 於 2017 年統計資料顯示，從幼稚園到高中就讀雙語學校的學生人數，在迪萬學校有 4,318 人，在天主教學校有 5,431 人，在公立學校有 8,009 人，共計 17,758 人（請參考表二）。¹⁴關於布列塔尼語教育除了上述三個學校渠道外，還包括高階教育及成人推廣教育，分述如下。（Carson 24-38）

表二 2017 年布列塔尼語地區從幼稚園到高中就讀雙語學校學生人數統計表

	幼稚園	國小	國中	高中	總和
迪萬學校	1,440	1,606	892	380	4,318
天主教學校	2,157	2,566	629	79	5,431

¹⁴ *Office public de la langue bretonne, le rapport sur l'enseignement bilingue en 2017: www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/47-enseignement.htm.* 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

公立學校	3,369	3,485	905	250	8,009
總和	6,966	7,657	2,426	709	17,758

作者自製，資料來源：Office public de la langue bretonne, le rapport sur l'enseignement bilingue en 2017: www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/47-enseignement.htm. 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

4.1 迪萬學校

迪萬於 1977 年在布列塔尼地區的菲尼斯泰爾省 (Finistère) 成立，Diwan 這個詞是「種子」的意思，在學校中，採用浸潤式教學法，運用學生融入布列塔尼語情境的教學策略，促使他們成為雙語人才，目前迪萬在布列塔尼地區中設立數所幼稚園、小學以及五所國中和一所高中。迪萬是由 Diwan Breizh 的行政機構所支持，對於迪萬而言，財務是一項重大的挑戰，由於收入有限，若是缺乏政府進一步的支持，組織便無法發展。

迪萬在教學方面也面臨挑戰，主要是因為布列塔尼語被區分為 leonois、tregorais、cornouaillais 與 varmetais 等四種方言，因此，在教科書版本的使用上，容易產生意見分歧。然而，學校在教學時並不選擇方言，而是使用新布列塔尼語 (le néo-breton) 施教，新布列塔尼語是布列塔尼語的標準化語言，這是特別為了語言教學而設計出的教材內容。雖然語言的標準化有利於教學，但卻也容易導致布列塔尼人之間的分歧，主要因素還是在於新布列塔尼語與傳統的布列塔尼語之間的差異。

另一項挑戰是，學生在入學前，使用的語言是法語，因此，法語似乎已成為學生的母語，雖然學生身處在迪萬浸潤式教學的環境中，但是通常會習慣使用法語交談而更甚於使用布列塔尼語。此外，迪萬的升學管道亦是一個值得討論的課題，因為在布列塔尼地區，各地方有多所的幼稚園和國小，也至少有一所國中，但卻僅有一所高中，因為迪萬面臨缺乏經費、師資與校地等問題。

4.2 天主教學校

天主教雙語學校是結合雙語和宗教的學校，但是雙語的教育管道直到 1990 年才由 Dihun 協會所發起。Dihun 協會是由學生家長所組成，目的在於發展布列塔尼語教育，提供學童雙語或多語的學習環境。學校的教育方法是

在幼稚園實施雙語教學一年後，再以一半法語，一半布列塔尼語進行教學。在課堂施教過程中，老師僅以法語或布列塔尼語的單一語言教學。學校並未規定何種科目必須對應以何種語言授課，但是宗教科目通常是以布列塔尼語授課。在天主教學校中所面臨最大的挑戰是如何延續從幼兒到高中的雙語教育，雖然在國小方面有良好的語言發展，然而，一旦到了國中卻逐漸式微，此外，在布列塔尼地區天主教雙語高中並不多，此發展困境與迪萬的學校類似。

4.3 公立學校

公立學校在歷史的發展過程中較為艱難，自從 1951 年戴克桑法案通過之後，在公立學校每週可以教授布列塔尼文化和語言一至三個小時，關於公立學校的雙語部分，則是需要至少十五位家長提出要求並經市政廳同意才能設立。布列塔尼語的公立學校存在著兩個雙語教學系統，學生可以經由分組的方式，在某一特定時間，選擇以單一語言（布列塔尼語）授課的課程，或是選擇以雙語（布列塔尼語和法語）授課的課程。

4.4 高階教育

1982 年，法國教育部長 Alain Savary 公告地區語言教育的三項新原則，其中的一項原則是指地區語言教育應從幼稚園到大學。由於在許多需要布列塔尼語的行業中，必須具有大學學歷，因此在高教體系中，大學得以開設布列塔尼語的相關課程，使得學生可以繼續或開始學習布列塔尼語。在法國有布列塔尼語課程的大學包括雷恩第二大學 (l'Université de Rennes 2)、布列斯特大學 (l'Université de Brest)、上布列塔尼大學 (l'Université de Haute-Bretagne)、西布列塔尼大學 (l'Université de Bretagne Occidentale) 與西天主教大學 (l'Université catholique de l'Ouest) 等五所。在此五所大學中，雷恩第二大學與上布列塔尼大學設有布列塔尼語的學士、碩士與博士等學位課程。在取得布列塔尼語學士文憑之後的就業發展，包括在當地從事媒體(廣播、電視與網路等)、音樂、戲劇與教學等相關行業，若是取得碩士以上學歷者，通常會從事研究與教學等工作。西天主教大學是唯一提供布列塔尼語研究的私立大學，該校於 2001 年開設「職業與布列塔尼語」(métiers et la langue bretonne) 的學士學程，旨在滿足某些行業與工作者所需要較高布列塔尼語的程度，此有助於布列塔尼語在社會中的發展；然而，在研究的過程

中卻發現，由於缺乏布列塔尼語的專業詞典，因此當遇到專業術語時，則必須透過其它的語言描述和解釋，或是借用其它語言的詞彙，採以迂迴的方式進行教學。

4.5 成人推廣教育

成人推廣教育是促進與延續語言發展的關鍵，因為以布列塔尼語為母語的人口數逐年減少，因此必須增加語言的使用者。成人推廣教育有四種類型的課程，包括夜校、實習、工作場所與函授等課程。

- 夜校課程：採每週一次授課，每次 2 至 3 小時，在 2010-2011 年間，有 3,329 位學生參與夜校課程。
- 實習課程：課程內容包括週末、一週與半年等不同期程的實習課程，實習採夏令營的風格，以浸潤的方式使成年學生能確實的學習語言技能，協助他們找到工作。
- 工作場所課程：對於成年人而言，此為相當新型的教育方式，但根據 2008 年的調查顯示，多數員工對此課程並不感興趣。
- 函授課程：布列塔尼語的函授課程是全球性的開放課程，在 2010 年有 375 人透過函授的課程學習布列塔尼語。

5. 布列塔尼語的發展現況與挑戰

根據調查顯示，1999 年，在說布列塔尼語的人口中，有四分之三的人年齡在 50 歲以上，並且有 50% 的人是超過 65 歲。此統計數據對於語言的延續十分重要，因為如果絕大多數說布列塔尼語的人口是存在於年長的年齡層中，那麼在他們過世之後，絕大多數的語言將會隨著他們一起消失。根據 1993 年一項對於跨世代人口使用法國語言的資料指出：在法國不再有人單單僅會說地區語言，會說地區語言的人，同時也會使用另一種語言，而該語言通常指的是法語。從這個資料顯示，當時年輕世代對於地區語言似乎不感興趣。然而，事實並非如此，因為在 1999 年，法國 18 歲以下青少年中有 0.7% 懂得布列塔尼語，但在 1999 年至 2011 年間，此一比例成長將近 150%，在 2011 年，18 歲以下青少年中有 1.6% 懂得布列塔尼語。儘管說布列塔尼語年輕人的比例依然很低，但是，由於在 1999 年至 2011 年間使用布列塔尼語的人口增加，此現象對於未來語言的延續和維護帶來了希望。(Carson 20)

在 2004 年，布列塔尼地方政府採取的語言政策，是主動積極的推動布列塔尼語言與文化的永續發展，而促成這項語言政策的原因，主要是由於每年將近有 10,000 個說布列塔尼語的人過世，致使聯合國教科文組織將布列塔尼語歸類為「嚴重瀕臨滅絕」(sérieusement en danger)¹⁵ 的語言。該語言政策將焦點放在透過語言教育、家庭傳遞、成人訓練與宣傳等方式進行語言的傳播，其主要目標是希望於 2010 年年初時達到 20,000 名的學生學習雙語，雖然最後目標未能實現，但是整體而言，學習布列塔尼語的學生人數是增加的。此外，2017 年布列塔尼語公共辦事處的資料中指出，政府與地區的五年協定 (La convention Etat-Région 2015-2020) 重新訂定 20,000 名雙語學生的目標，即自 2017 至 2020 年，每年均需達到 15% 的成長率。¹⁶

雖然布列塔尼語的教育已有相當程度的進展，然而，在現實環境中仍然存在著諸多挑戰。首先，必須探討教學的標準語言為何？如何在不受到方言的差異以及法語的影響之下，選擇一個標準的布列塔尼語作為教學使用；然而，學校所教學的內容，並非是真正傳統的布列塔尼語，而是所謂的新布列塔尼語，致使說傳統布列塔尼語的人與說新布列塔尼語的人，常常不能相互理解對方的語言，此二者之間的差異，始終是討論的議題。此外，由於布列塔尼語缺乏新技術的詞彙，往往必須從法語借字，然而，有些純粹主義者為保持布列塔尼語的教學而拒絕向法語借字。其次，由於語言的態度和習慣不同，使得世代之間出現脫節的情形；另一方面，由於歷史的經驗教訓，使得年齡較長的母語人士認為，說布列塔尼語有著負面的連結，導致他們習慣在私下場合與親朋好友一起使用布列塔尼語。然而，現今在學校學習布列塔尼語的學生卻較希望能在公共場合使用布列塔尼語，因為他們認為這是文化認同的重要展現 (Le Nevez 167-168)。因此，使用布列塔尼語的世代脫節情形，亦是一個不容易解決的挑戰。(Carson 48)

對於布列塔尼語未來發展所面臨的其它挑戰，還包括教師的培訓、布列塔尼語的學習延續性以及家庭的傳播 (la transmission familiale) 等面向。在教師培訓方面，教師在布列塔尼語的教學中扮演最重要的角色之一，倘若沒有他們就不會

¹⁵ 聯合國教科文組織將世界瀕危語言區分為脆弱語言 (vulnérable)、瀕臨滅絕語言 (en danger)、嚴重瀕臨滅絕語言 (sérieusement en danger)、極度瀕臨滅絕語言 (en situation critique) 以及已滅絕語言 (éteinte)。嚴重瀕臨滅絕語言指的是祖父母輩使用的語言，父母輩可以理解，但是父母之間不使用該語言也不和兒女用此語言溝通。

¹⁶ Office public de la langue bretonne, le rapport sur l'enseignement bilingue en 2017: www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/47-enseignement.htm. 最後瀏覽日期：2018. 07. 30。

有布列塔尼語的課程與實習，然而，培訓雙語教師並非是一件容易的事。目前，公立學校教師的培訓過程由大學教師培訓機構來負責，例如 St. Brieuc 培訓中心與雷恩大學合作，提供公立學校雙語教師專業的培訓。根據布列塔尼語公共辦事處估計，每年至少要有 50 位新進雙語教師（布列塔尼語和法語）的加入，才能滿足布列塔尼語教學師資需求，以及維持雙語教育的發展，然而，在 2007 年有 34 位合格教師候選人，但在 2011 年則僅有 15 位合格。就學習延續性的面向而言，在學習布列塔尼語的過程中，從國小到國中以及從國中到高中的延續性是布列塔尼語教育的另一個挑戰，不同學習層級的學生有顯著的流失情形，原因在於學生的語言程度無法達到學校規定的標準，導致缺乏學習動機；其次是學生想要學習其它的學科，因此沒有時間學習布列塔尼語；第三是由於雙語的國小往往臨近居家，而雙語國中則離家的距離較遠，因此，有些家庭選擇離家距離較近的單語學校就讀。另外，布列塔尼地區的雙語高中十分稀少，例如在迪萬學校的系統中，雙語高中僅有一所，此亦是影響布列塔尼語教學延續性的重要因素。在家庭的傳播面向中，家庭傳播功能的逐漸式微，亦是布列塔尼語的發展所面臨的重要挑戰，因為如果沒有家庭傳播，就沒有母語的傳承，語言的延續只有仰賴在學校學習布列塔尼語的人口。因此，未來為了強化布列塔尼語的生命，則必須在家庭傳播的部分發揮語言傳承的功能。（Carson 52-58）

根據統計，目前法國約有 20 萬人會說布列塔尼語，但是這些人正逐漸老化，而在 18 至 30 歲年齡層說布列塔尼語的人口比例，並不足以彌補流失的老年人口數量。整體而言，布列塔尼語存在於布列塔尼地區和法國的日常生活與政治中，並且在教育、媒體和協會的運作與管理等領域，發揮著重要的作用。長期以來，法國政府的語言政策在學校與社會中，普遍對地區語言存在著系統性的歧視，正如前所述，法國於 1539 年便立法明文規定法語是國家唯一的官方語言，並且政府獨尊法語的單一語言政策，使得境內其他語言的生存與發展空間受到壓縮，進而導致地區語言的文化資產逐漸流失。縱使如此，布列塔尼語仍然從法國大革命和第二次世界大戰等歷史事件中存活下來，但相對的也減緩讓語言延續生存的力道，例如缺乏新詞彙、培訓種子教師不易、以及學校家庭遠距學習困難等因素，皆是受到國家語言政策的影響所致。現今，使用布列塔尼語人口的數量還不夠多，但是布列塔尼地區的居民對於推廣地區語言的態度相當積極，此現象使得各個民間團體在促進布列塔尼語的發展上產生相當大的助力。

我國目前也有類似的情形，根據學者的研究指出，南島語族遍布於太平洋與印度洋各群島，語言總數約有一千種，在二、三百年前，臺灣南島語言至少有二十多種；近七十年來，有 14 種語言仍保存；2010 年 10 月 24 日，最後一位會說平埔族巴宰語的潘金玉老太太過世，現存臺灣南島語言僅 13 種。學者評估，依實際使用情況和語言消失速率推算，大概不出五十年幾乎都會消失。此外，根據 2009 年聯合國教科文組織的公告中，臺灣將有 10 個原住民的族語瀕臨消失，而我國行政院原住民委員會則發現，在少數民族語言中的卡拉卡那富、賽夏與噶瑪蘭等族語消逝程度非常嚴重，現今在部落中，會說族語的耆老都是 8、90 歲，例如日月潭邵族、高雄市那瑪夏區（原高雄縣三民鄉）的卡那卡那富語、高雄市桃源區（原高雄縣桃園鄉）的沙阿魯阿語等語言，則僅剩下幾位老人會說。（李王癸 301）

本文以布列塔尼語作為研究案例，探討法國地區語言的發展與挑戰，縱使在國情、文化、歷史、政治等皆有不同的影響因素，但是，他山之石，可以攻錯，希望藉由此研究提供國家在思考與執行語言教育政策之參考，其中包括在中央政府的部分，能夠整合國家的語言政策，在地方政府的部分，能夠結合地區或少數民族等的民間力量，例如少數民族語言教師師資的培育計畫、語言教學教材的編纂、學習時間的規定以及鼓勵學童學習的方案等，共同積極推動少數民族的語言教育、文化傳承與就業發展，如此將有助於我國語言的生存與延續。

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遊走於紐約大都會之中：哈林文藝復興時期作家克羅德・麥肯詩作中的都市漫遊與種族政治

韓震緯 *

摘要

在此篇論文中，我嘗試透過都市漫遊者（the *flâneur*）的相關概念與討論來探討哈林文藝復興時期的作家克羅德・麥肯（Claude McKay）詩作中關於二十世紀初紐約城市的書寫。在麥肯為數眾多的詩歌作品中，其中數篇關於哈林區以及紐約都會的詩歌裡的詩歌敘述者（speakers）可以被視為在 1920 與 1930 年代時期寓居於此大都會的匿名黑人漫遊者。在這些作品中，麥肯再現了二十世紀初尋常黑人大眾與紐約城市地景的複雜關聯，並進而探索黑人主體與社群所扮演的角色和功能，以及因寓居其中而發展的情感樣貌與文化表述。在論文中，我將先討論克羅德・麥肯如何體現二十世紀初現代都會生活中的詩人，並進一步申論在哈林文藝復興時期的脈絡中，都市漫遊者作為消費者（the *flâneur-as-consumer*）與都市漫遊者作為作家（the *flâneur-as-writer*）的不同都會漫遊經驗。在論文的後半，我將進而探討此都市漫遊的黑人詩人作家如何透過筆下的敘述者從日常的遊走經驗裡考掘、錯置與辯證如夢似幻的現代都會魔幻景況（phantasmagoria）與多重交疊的現實黑人城市歷史與經驗。論文的結尾則討論具有批判意識的詩中敘述者如何在醉心於黑人都會大眾之際，仍繼續揭露與測繪屬於黑人社群的都市地理空間與文化表述。凱肯詩作中的敘述者於是不僅是悠哉閒晃的都會漫遊者，他（們）同時也兼具知識勞動、都會探索與文化批評等多重角色與功能。麥肯與其詩中的敘述者因而在二十世紀初的大都會中體現與實踐了不同面貌與可能的新世紀新黑人（the New Negro）。

關鍵詞：克羅德・麥肯、哈林文藝復興時期、紐約城市、都市漫遊、種族政治、詩歌

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Walking in New York: The Racial Politics of Flânerie in Claude McKay's City Poetry

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Abstract **

In this paper, I employ the relevant concepts and discussions of the modern urban figure of the *flâneur* and hence the concepts of walking to characterize the speakers of McKay's several poems about cities. The speakers of McKay's poems can be regarded as anonymous black figures inhabiting and experiencing the urban milieu of Harlem during the 1920s and 1930s. As the poetic speakers walk around the city, they reveal the material spectacles and intricate histories of the great city, and furthermore, the peculiar roles the ordinary blacks play in the economic and cultural life. Several of McKay's poems hence delineate distinctive relationships between the ordinary blacks and the Harlemite urban landscapes, revealing the emotions and sensations perceived by the black folks. By studying some of McKay's lesser-known poems, I first seek to characterize McKay as an artist of the modern urban life in the early-twentieth-century New York, and then compare and contrast the qualities of the black *flâneur-as-writer* with the white *flâneur-as-consumer* during the Harlem Renaissance. Furthermore, I will continue to explore the black *flâneur-as-writer* who moves from the dreaming state to the multiple and overlapping realities and histories behind the urban phantasmagorias. Ultimately, I will conclude how the critically-minded *flâneur-as-writer* uncovers and charts the alternative Harlemite urban geography while intoxicated by the urban black crowd. By drawing on less conspicuous aspects of the *flâneur* in existing literature, I argue that the historical figure of the *flâneur* embodied by McKay the poet and his poetic speakers is not just an idle loiterer in the streets but an intellectual laborer, an urban explorer and a cultural critic who develops an alternative reading and practice of black urban modernity, and embodies a type of the emerging New Negro in the Negro Metropolis in the early phase of the twentieth century.

Keywords: Claude McKay, The Harlem Renaissance, New York, the *flâneur*
poetry, race

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Walking in New York: The Racial Politics of Flânerie in Claude McKay's City Poetry

1. Claude McKay in Harlem¹

Harlem, the cultural mecca or the Promised Land for people of African descent both inside and outside the United States, has been referred to as Nigger Heaven, Negro Metropolis and Black Manhattan by different writers and artists since the early twentieth century. After centuries of migration and settlement, Harlem gradually became the meeting place of black artists in the fields of literature, music, theater, paintings, dances, singing, musicals and other forms of entertainment and performance. Before the Harlem Renaissance, roughly from the late 1910s to the early 1930s, African-American writers committed themselves to writing the culture and history of black people during and after the Reconstruction era in America, and paved the way for the flourishing of the Black Literary Renaissance, such as the dialect poet Paul Laurence Dunbar, novelist Charles Chesnutt, writer Ida B. Wells, writer Booker T. Washington, writer W. E. B. Du Bois, writer James Weldon Johnson, to name but a few. Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1901), written in the convention of the autographical slave narrative, adopts a reconciliatory attitude toward the continuous white supremacy in America, especially the South, whereas the essays in W. E. B. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk* (1903) manifest a more critical tone in its discontent with the condition of Afro-Americans after their emancipation.

Against a backdrop of the heated explorations of and debates over the racial consciousness, condition, formation and identity during the Post-Reconstruction Era, black Harlemites writers coming from the South, Midwest, Africa and the Caribbean not only enriched the daily life and local culture of the Harlem community but also sought to represent and explore the multifarious aspects and developments of blackness in the past and present. Jean Toomer, born in Washington, DC, in writing *Cane* (1923) directed his glance back to the South, which, for many, embodied the irreconcilable racial tension and inequality in the American soil. The poet Countee Cullen's poetry *Color* (1925) explores the meanings of Africa and its connection with African Americans. The Guyanese writer Eric Walrond brought the Caribbean into his

¹ Harlem, around two square miles at the northern tip of Manhattan, is located around the Manhattan streets between 110th and 158th streets and between the East River and Morningside Drive with Lenox Avenue being the center of this district. Harlem was originally a Dutch settlement "before it became German, then Irish, then Jewish, then black, after a considerable real estate war and subsequent white flight out of Harlem neighborhoods" (Bernard 32). During the period of the Great Migration from the late nineteenth century, diverse black populations moved to Harlem from all directions, creating a unique urban space made up of African American natives of New York, black folks from the South and even immigrants from the West Indies and Africa. Harlem in New York, among all the northern cities, gradually became the Promised Land of black people.

short story collection *Tropic Death* (1926). The female novelist Nella Larsen, whose works *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929), addresses the issues of passing and the complexity of black womanhood; whereas the anthropologist and writer Zora Neale Hurston not only contributed to understanding black American folkways through her field work but also wrote literary works such as the novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), which, in vernacular dialects, contests black femininity and the relationship between the blacks and whites in the South.

In addition to writing about the diverse aspects of blackness in the South and places outside the United States, Harlem itself became “the operative leitmotif, a shared touchstone and image of black American life” (Lee 67). Born in Missouri and later traveling around Europe, Africa as well as Mexico, Langston Hughes, the most notable of all writers in Harlem, is a dedicated observer on the poor urban blacks and their precarious living in Harlem. His poetry *The Weary Blues* (1926), *Fine Clothes to the Jew* (1927) and novel *Not without Laughter* (1930) all expose the dire conditions and consequences of living in poverty in the so-called Nigger Heaven. Another writer who exhibited the same penchant for writing the stories of the urban poor was Jamaica-born Claude McKay. Nevertheless, he was an outsider to the New Negro Movement, for he was a Jamaican immigrant, stayed in Europe most of the time during the 1920s, and was in disagreement with the leading black intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Alain Locke on issues of aesthetics and representation. However, he did contribute to the flourishing of the Black Literary Renaissance by publishing plenty of literary works—his collections of poetry like *Harlem Shadows* (1922), novels such as *Home to Harlem* (1928), and proses like *Harlem: Negro Metropolis* (1940)—during and after the Harlem Renaissance.

Sojourner in Harlem as he was, he attempted to represent the ordinary black people from different social and cultural backgrounds while facing criticisms from some black intellectuals like Du Bois, who did not share his passion for portraying a particular kind of low life in Harlem. The tension between artistic representation and reality is an aesthetic question that every artist must face; moreover, for a minority writer, the question of veritable representation is particularly difficult because s/he has to struggle with the given images and notions of what that minority is in the public mind and simultaneously strive to offer his or her supposedly more authentic versions without being trapped in the problematic prejudices and stereotypes again. As Tyrone Tillery points out in his *Claude McKay: A Black Poet's Struggle for Identity* (1992), the “hostile reactions of Du Bois, whites and other blacks to McKay’s books stemmed in part from their disappointment with the black settings and characters he chose to depict (low-life instead of middle-class life), in part from hostility to McKay as a Western Indian who presumed to be an authority on black Americans and in part from

anger at his assault on middle-class blacks” (112). Therefore, McKay, a migrant black writer, has to confront not only racism in a white-supremacist society when arriving in the United States but also the rigid hierarchy within the black community in New York, which consisted of the black natives of several generations, new migrants from the American South and abroad, the black bourgeoisie, the black literati, the poor black masses, and so on.

Despite quite a few studies on McKay’s poetry and other works, few paid enough critical attention to the contested relationships between the urban milieu and blackness when discussing the issues related to racial tension, mentality and formation in his poems. In this paper, I employ the relevant concepts and discussions of the modern urban figure of the *flâneur* and hence the concepts of walking to characterize the speakers of McKay’s several poems about cities.² The speakers of McKay’s poems can be regarded as anonymous black figures inhabiting and experiencing the urban milieu of Harlem during the 1920s and 1930s. As the poetic speakers walk around the city, they reveal the material spectacles and intricate histories of the great city, and furthermore, the peculiar roles the ordinary blacks play in the economic and cultural life. Several of McKay’s poems hence delineate distinctive relationships between the ordinary blacks and the Harlemite urban landscapes, revealing the emotions and sensations perceived by the black folks. By studying some of McKay’s lesser-known poems, I first seek to characterize McKay as an artist of the modern urban life in the early-twentieth-century New York, and then compare and contrast the qualities of the black *flâneur-as-writer* with the white *flâneur-as-consumer* during the Harlem Renaissance. Furthermore, I will continue to explore the black *flâneur-as-writer* who moves from the dreaming state to the multiple and overlapping realities and histories behind the urban phantasmagorias. Ultimately, I will conclude how the critically-minded *flâneur-as-writer* uncovers and charts the alternative Harlemite urban geography while intoxicated by the urban black crowd. By drawing on less conspicuous aspects of the *flâneur* in existing literature, I argue that the historical figure of the *flâneur* embodied by McKay the poet and his poetic speakers is

² Walking is never just a physical movement; rather, it can be an intellectual movement. Walking with a critical purpose in mind hence is not random loitering but an engaged observation and interpretation of the very environment where one saunters. Exposed to the forces and intensities of intersubjective, inhuman and anonymous conglomerations in the urban milieu, those who walk with a critical intention in mind endeavor to figure out what a city is, how it comes into being, and how the city and its inhabitants are constituted by discourses, practices and representations and vice versa in everyday life. Therefore, there are diverse types of walking in different times and places with multiple and even contradictory purposes and meanings. The phantasmagoric spectacles of the urban environment naturally attract the eyes of either natives or strangers as they move in the city. In addition to voyeuristic, consumeristic, touristic and aesthetic ways, there is always a possibility of a politically conscious and critically engaged approach to the city as it seeks to represent and challenge the taken-for-granted, given and naturalized, assumptions and practices within the urban environment through corporeal perceptions and experiences of dynamic swarms of affects, encounters, interactions and connections.

not just an idle loiterer in the streets but an intellectual laborer, an urban explorer and a cultural critic who develops an alternative reading and practice of black urban modernity, and embodies a kind of the emerging New Negro in the Negro Metropolis in the early phase of the twentieth century.

2. The Poet of Modern Urban Life

Moving from Jamaica to Alabama, Kansas and then to New York, McKay was transformed from a constable in Jamaica to an agricultural student and ultimately to a leftist writer in the USA who combined radical socialist ideas with literary experiments in different genres. Based on his radical political insight, he did not hesitate to explore the downside of the Harlemites black life through his appropriation of the traditional Italian and English sonnets. Creating a tension between violent contents and genteel poetic forms, McKay created his own unique poetic language to express his observations, ideas and emotions when representing the multiple facets of the life in Harlem. Refashioning traditional meters and rhythms to fashion his own modernist expression, which caused quite a few debates on its effects and problems, McKay found the best way for him to engage with both the established literary expressions of Anglo-American traditions and the unspoken social reality in white-supremacist America (Maxwell xxxi-xxxviii). However, what he represented rather than how he represented provoked controversy, especially among his fellow black literati. McKay could not help but moan about the ill reception of his works in his “A Negro Writer to His Critics” (1932): “A Negro writer feeling the urge to write faithfully about the people he knows from real experience and impartial observation is caught in a dilemma...between the opinion of this group and his own artistic consciousness” (133). In his complaint, McKay also described how he worked as a professional writer in modern New York when he sought to delineate the fleeting moments of black life in the hustle and bustle of an American metropolis.

The French poet Charles Baudelaire, a modern Parisian artist who is generally regarded as one of the examples of the *flâneur* through his artistic views and practices, in his renowned essay “The Painter of Modern Life” (1863) elaborates his concepts of the modern artist exemplified by the French painter Constantine Guys. Although Baudelaire does not employ the term *flâneur* in this article, his painter of modern life bears resemblances to the *flâneur*, especially his relationship to the urban crowd in the public space. Baudelaire’s ideal painter of modern life is “the painter of the fleeting moment and of all that it suggests of the eternal” (Baudelaire 218). The duty of the modern painter is to capture what is in flight through his personal observations and experiences on the streets instead of painting the religious, historical and mythical subjects in his own studio like the former painters did. Constantine

Guys, for Baudelaire, is such an artist who “loves mixing with the crowds” and “loves being incognito” (Baudelaire 218). In addition, he is “a great traveler and very cosmopolitan” (Baudelaire 219) and “a man of the whole world, a man who understands the world and the mysterious and legitimate reasons behind all its customs” (219). Abandoning himself to the crowd as if intoxicated, the modern painter, whose passion is to “merge with the crowd” (Baudelaire 221) desires “[t]o be away from home and yet to feel at home everywhere” (221), and also “to see the world...and yet to be unseen of the world” (221) because as an observer, he is “a prince enjoying his incognito wherever he goes” (221). The modern painter by moving “into the crowd as though into an enormous reservoir of electricity” (Baudelaire 221) is in search of modernity; that is, he endeavors “to distil the eternal from the transitory” (223). The modern artist should seek to observe, register and express the essence of modern life in their own styles instead of emulating the classical or previous styles and subject matters.

The modern painter as the *flâneur*, hence goes botanizing on the streets incognito, feels homely and leisurely in his eager perambulation, abandons himself to the crowd, and at last, hurries back to draw what is registered in his memory and processed in his imagination—“hurried, vigorous, active, as though he was afraid the images might escape him, quarrelsome though alone, and driving himself relentlessly on” (Baudelaire 223). As Janet Wolff in her essay “The Invisible *Flâneuse*: Women and the Literature of Modernity” points out, Constantine Guys, the Parisian *flâneur*, is the modern hero who has “a freedom to move about in the city, observing and being observed, but never interacting with others” (39). Maintaining subtle proximity with the urban crowd that fascinates him greatly, the *flâneur* enjoys “the possibility and the prospect of lone travel, of voluntary uprooting, of anonymous arrival at a new place” (Wolff 39).³

³ The gender issue of the *flâneur* has become a hotly debated topic since the rise of feminism in literary and cultural studies in the 1980s. For more elaborate discussions, please refer to the articles written by Griselda Pollock. In her study of two often neglected French impressionist painters Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot in “Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity” (1988), she traces the development of the gendered separate spheres of ideology and the male gaze both in the cultural consciousness and artistic practice of the late-nineteenth-century Paris. The subject matters of both Cassatt and Morisot are restricted because they cannot roam the streets and the public arenas at will and direct and enjoy their gaze like their male counterparts do. Janet Wolff in her article “The Invisible *Flâneuse*: Women and the Literature of Modernity” (1990), though providing a more historically nuanced representations of different kinds of women both in the private and public spheres, does not consider that it is possible to argue for a female version of the *flâneur* in the urban life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Elizabeth Wilson in “The Invisible *Flâneur*” contends that there is in reality no such a figure as the heroic *flâneur* depicted in the male-dominated literature of modernity. On the one hand, she criticizes that Wolff poses a too pessimistic picture of women in the public sphere in a big city; on the other hand, she further challenges the given, monolithic notion of the mythical, heroic *flâneur* by arguing that in fact the male *flâneur* is someone who tries to make a living on the streets and suffers financial, emotional and even sexual anxiety and insecurity. In short, it is not the *flâneuse* who does not exist but the *flâneur* who is from the very

McKay and his poetic speaker embody the wanderlust of the Baudelairean painter of modern life in several poems about New York. McKay is eager to roam the streets, observes the urban spectacles, perceives the external stimuli, immerses in the urban masses, captures the daily fragments and pens the materiality and spirituality of the metropolitan life through his artistic imagination. In other words, he is the modern artist committed to depicting the transient, the ephemeral and the contingent of the modern life in the urban milieu exemplified in the embodied experiences of ordinary citizens of an emerging global city. McKay is anonymous as an observing onlooker and a marginal black person, and the urban crowd is less an asylum for him than a narcotic or electric reservoir providing raw materials for him to ponder and understand the status quo of black life and its underlying operating logic and social structure. Through his engaged but distanced observation of and participation in the urban space, sometimes he feels at home in the streets, sometimes he feels alienated in the crowd, and sometimes he feels empowered by the urban landscapes and soundscapes of Harlem. Therefore, with all the economic, social and cultural difficulties, McKay was still dedicated to writing poems about the daily experiences of the black folks jammed in the small, overcrowded area of Harlem. In fact, he harbored a peculiar passion for depicting the urban experiences and phenomena in American and European metropolises. In the opening poem of the “Cities” group, the poetic persona of McKay declares his enthusiasm for the city:

Oh cities are a fever in my blood,
And all their moods find lodgement in my breast,
Whether they sweep me onward like a flood
Or torture me as an unwanted guest,
With wormwood flavoring my scanty foods,
I love all cities, I love their changing moods.

I love all cities, I love their foreign ways,
Their tyranny over the life of man,
Their wakeful nights and never-resting days,
Their mighty movements seeming without plan,
Their pavement stones on which the broken fall,
Their damning wickedness: I love it all. (“Cities” 1-10)

In this short poem, the speaker announces his love for all cities with all their moods

beginning invisible in reality. Mica Nava in “Modernity’s Disavowal: Women, the City and the Department Store” instead offers a very positive portrayal of women and the city, contending that there is the *flâneuse* in public urban life like the *flâneur* described in the traditional literature of modernity. The *flâneuse* in her daily life, especially during her shopping in department stores and her philanthropic work in the working-class slums, enjoys the autonomy, independence and sovereignty of the bourgeois, voyeuristic male seeking entertainment and self-exploration from urban spectacles.

and foreign ways despite the fact that what he enumerates is the negative and grim aspects and that he does not receive hospitality all the time. The cities and their urbanization are founded on capitalist industrialization and consumerism at the expense of the working-class proletarians, who like mere cogs in the economic and social machinery, suffer the tyranny of the cities in their restless and repetitive toil from home to work day after day; that is, they bear the brunt of the wickedness of the modern developments in the pursuit of enrichment and emancipation of human beings. But why does the speaker still love cities in spite of his awareness of the urban problems without retiring to the countryside and nature instead like so many of his literary predecessors did? His tone may be ironic, as he does not really love all the moods and foreign ways of all cities; or he might genuinely love what he witnesses in cities, as he still discovers the vitality, diversity and excitement underneath the bleak reality of city life.

Claude McKay, as a matter of fact, developed ambivalent attitudes to cities in his poems, for he was simultaneously impressed by the rapid and awe-inspiring infrastructural growth of big cities such as New York, disturbed by the abject living conditions of his fellow black folks, amazed by their spontaneous and sophisticated cultural developments, and frustrated by the inherent racism and racial violence in the city. McKay, in his poems about cities, hence observed, experienced and assessed the phantasmagoric experiences of the city life in New York, mostly in Harlem. In addition, he uncovered the unspeakable and unspoken experiences and cultures of the black masses beneath the glamorous cultural activities and nightlife of Harlem, and also exposed the vulnerable foundation of this New Negro Movement.

3. The Libertine *Flâneur-as-Consumer* and the Laboring *Flâneur-as-Writer* in the Labyrinthian Metropolis

McKay was the writer and artist of the modern urban life in New York during the early phase of the twentieth century. He emerged in the urban crowd and landscape so as to create manifold and contradictory images of the life in a big city by exposing himself to numerous urban encounters. Although his physical involvement and response in the creative process in the streets resembled the leisure and privileged activity of the *flâneur*, the modern writer in the street is also the urban loiterer who makes a living from the street too. In other words, the figure of the *flâneur* is not always a heroic modern figure as represented in the urban myth and dominant literature of modernity. The reader can have a more subtle and poignant understanding of the relationship between the black artists as the laboring *flâneur* and the white patrons as the idle *flâneur* during the Harlem Renaissance when reading poems such as “The Harlem Dancer” (1917).

The speakers in McKay's poems seek to not only map the ordinary experiences of people, especially blacks, in New York, characterized by restless movement and everyday transactions, but also delve into the social processes that support the temporary and ostensible prosperity of the Harlem Renaissance. Harlem in the 1920s was not only renowned for its artistic and intellectual activities and publications but also for its entertainment in the nightlife and the various material resources for artistic creation for both black and white artists and writers. In the novella *Passing* (1929), written by the black woman writer Nella Larsen, one of the two protagonists Clare asks the other one Irene why certain white people throng in Harlem. The latter answers that they are here "to see Negroes" (69), "to enjoy themselves" (70), and "to get material to turn into shekels" (70). Irene herself then is clearly aware of the ingrained racism under the seemingly equal interactions between the whites and blacks. Most of the whites came to Harlem because they were drawn by "the spectacle of Harlem nightlife" (Bernard 32) and sought pleasures from such places as cabarets, buffet flats, speakeasies, ball rooms and nightclubs where they were entertained by dancers, singers and musicians (32). It was the white interest and financial support that fueled the prosperity of the cultural and social life of the Harlem Renaissance. Furthermore, as Langston Hughes notes in his autobiography *The Big Sea*, "the strangers were given the best ringside tables to sit and stare at the Negro customers—like amusing animals in a zoo" (225). In a famous tourist site of urban pleasures, Harlem's Cotton Club, "a mob-owned center of Jim Crow entertainment with a plantation atmosphere" (Walkowitz 180), for example, white urban sophisticates could see Harlem luminaries such as Duke Ellington and "Cab" Calloway perform exclusively for white patrons (180).

In "The Harlem Dancer" (1917), the speaker vividly portrays the erotic relationship between the (white) customers and the black dancing girl:

Applauding youths laughed with young prostitutes
 And watched her perfect, half-clothed body sway;
 Her voice was like the sound of blended flutes
 Blown by black players upon a picnic day.
 She sang and danced on gracefully and calm,
 The light gauze hanging loose about her form;
 To me she seemed a proudly-swaying palm
 Grown lovelier for passing through a storm.
 Upon her swarthy neck black shiny curls
 Luxuriant fell; and tossing coins in praise,
 The wine-flushed, bold-eyed boys, and even the girls,
 Devoured her shape with eager, passionate gaze;

But looking at her falsely-smiling face,
I knew her self was not in that strange place. (1-14)

This short poem presents a female Harlem dancer who displays her sexual charm to intoxicate the customers, while the latter indulges in their insatiable desire to consume the exotic and erotic other. However, the female singer and dancer, for the speaker, wears a “falsely-smiling face” (13) in “that strange place” (14) in contrast to the intoxication of the customers. The Harlem dancer and singer, compared to those black folks dancing and singing spontaneously and gleefully in the later poem “Lenox Avenue” (1938), earns her modest wages by selling her body and charm to the unquenchable customers in the process of commodification, and thus she becomes a kind of commodity fetishism, since she seems to embody the licentious nature of female blackness that meets the imagination of the white guests. The American philosopher and historian Susan Buck-Morss in her article “The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering” (1986)⁴ points out the importance of the figure of the prostitute and the activity of the prostitution in Benjamin’s *The Arcade Project*. Prostitution is the symbol and embodiment of the operating logic of capitalist consumerism, for the prostitute is simultaneously the producer, seller and commodity and is embedded with advertisement, fashion and exhibition—all that glitters on the surface—and most important of all, with sexuality (120-21). The Harlem dancer through her bodily movement and performance willingly or reluctantly becomes the embodiment of the problematic object of sexuality, spectacle and commodity in the capitalist market. And for those eager to purchase and possess her temporarily, “[t]o desire the fashionable, purchasable woman-as-thing is to desire exchange-value itself, that is, the very essence of capitalism” (Buck-Morss 121). With her falsely-smiling face, the Harlem dancer might deliberately perform the role of the lascivious fallen woman responsible for the moral corruption of the white men, and thus creates and accepts her own exchange value as desirable, erotic and exotic blackness coveted by white male gazes and tastes in the urban wilderness.

The white consumers in this poem remind the reader of the urban *flâneur* as the figure of the loiterer, idler, fritterer and libertine in “the new urban pastimes of shopping and crowd-watching” (Wilson 75). Having leisure time and money, the *flâneur* is a prototype of the urban loiterer who is “the ultimate ironic, detached observer, skimming across the surface of the city and tasting its pleasure with curiosity” (78), as he is “a man of pleasure, but more, as a man who takes visual pleasure of the city” (78). The feminist cultural critic Sara Ahmed in *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (2000) delves into the peculiar

⁴ Buck-Morss in this article does not use *flâneur* but flaneur instead.

psychological and cultural mechanisms of contemporary western subjects when consuming a foreign or exotic commodity. In fact, it is not only contemporary western subjects specifically but also generally the members of the dominant group in a given society who usually tend to receive, if not reject, the cultural differences and otherness without really accepting and understanding them. Those who belong to the predominant community have the leisure and privilege to consume and contain the exotic otherness embodied by certain authentic commodities in the process of consumption as if they were willing and able to challenge and even shatter the hierarchical binary between the self and other. However, in their close, bodily encounter with a distant other through consumption, the other is generally still imagined and produced as the figure of the stranger (Ahmed 114). Ironically, in the proximity of the distant other through consumption, the literal distance and cultural estrangement are not reduced but further reinforced, and the objects which are believed to “contain the ‘truth’ of the strange or exotic” (Ahmed 114) can be consumed from a safe distance. In their wild fantasy, those enjoying economic, political and cultural advantages in a given society transform differences into a “style that can be consumed” (Ahmed 117); in other words, any “difference is fixed onto the bodies of others,” who “appear as strangers (with ‘a life of their own’) in order to enable the consumer to take on their difference, that is, to take on their style” (117). The right and power to gaze and enjoy the body of the other are reserved for the privileged whites, whereas the blacks are forbidden to saunter and stay in many places in New York, not to mention to gaze at the white folks there.

The sensual dancer who attempts to arouse the interest and desire of the spectator/consumer through her sexualized and commoditized body is also suggestive of the black writer and artist within the white-dominant sphere of artistic production. The *flâneur* who goes botanizing on the street is also making a living on the street through the production, promotion and advertisement of his artistic production. In fact, not only modern artists but also other urban figures who are seen walking and laboring on the street to transform their labor time and power to exchange value in certain domain of capitalist production and market. Benjamin in *The Arcade Project* claims that “[t]he sandwichman is the last incarnation of the flaneur” (qtd. in Buck-Morss 109). As one of the loiterers on the streets, the sandwichman seems far removed from the original Parisian *flâneur*, who takes to the street with leisure. However, the *flâneur* is not just those idlers who goes botanizing on the asphalt with impressionistic observations and daydreaming reveries. In other words, the *flâneur* is not just somebody who is in flanerie. There are actually many conspicuous loiterers in urban spaces who do not simply loiter. Compared to the Parisian *flâneur*, the sandwichman, who also goes botanizing on the asphalt, does not feel at home, or

literally does not have a home, in a big city and certainly does not have leisure to roam around the city. Compared to the Parisian *flâneur*, the gentleman of leisure “who indulge[s] in the perambulations of the *flâneur* only if as such as he is already out of place” (Benjamin, “Some” 129), The Parisian *flâneur* is simultaneously in the urban masses as well as out of them because he can maintain his own pace and space from the crowd. The sandwichman, also known as the urban nomad, wanderer, costermonger and lumpenproletariat, who also abandons himself in the crowd, is also out of it because the city does not belong to him. He advertises the commodities of a consumer society, taking part-time, unstable work, and hardly make a living in the city. Although these idlers-on-the-street are part of the urban landscapes, they are at the same time visible as human billboards and invisible as human beings.

The sandwichman and his like are not the only ones who make a life in the street by loitering around. The modern writer, for Benjamin, is another derivative or descendant of the original *flâneur*. The “flaneur-as-writer” is “not the aristocrat: not leisure but loitering is his trade” (Buck-Morss 111). He walks in the streets, observes the city and writes about what he sees, remembers and imagines. Therefore, The *flâneur*-as-writer is “the prototype of a new form a salaried employee who produces news/literature/advertisements for the purpose of information/entertainment/persuasion” (Buck-Morss 113) so as to “fill the ‘empty’ hours which time-off from work has become in the modern city” (113). Abandoning himself in the city in order to produce what they see and experience—though the writer may write “fiction” that does not reflect the reality of urban life but simply offers a reassuring picture of modern life—the *flâneur*-as-writer relies on the masses, the market, and “goes to the marketplace as flaneur, supposedly to take a look at it, but in reality to find a buyer” (Buck-Morss 112). And much like the sandwichman, the *flâneur*-as-writer ultimately has to advertise his own work as coming commodities to idle consumers who also wander in the street for pleasure, entertainment and even excitement.⁵

⁵ Elizabeth Wilson in her article “The Invisible *Flâneur*” (2001) shares the similar perspectives on the ambivalent characteristics of the *flâneur* as a prototype of the urban loiterer. She first characterizes the *flâneur* as “the ultimate ironic, detached observer, skimming across the surface of the city and tasting its pleasure with curiosity” (78), as he is “a man of pleasure, but more, as a man who takes visual pleasure of the city” (78). However, the *flâneur* is more likely to be a male figure who suffers “emotional ambiguity” (86), that is, anxiety, melancholy, depression, and angst. Wilson argues that the heroic, mythical *flâneur* does not exist, or is invisible, because he is more “the embodiment of the special blend of excitement, boredom and horror evoked in the new metropolis” (87) than “a solid embodiment of male bourgeois power” (87). The more heroic the figure of the *flâneur* in the literature of modernity is, the more vulnerable he actually is in a big city. He is “actually working as he loiter[s] along the pavement or delve[s] into the underworld of the ‘marginals’” (86) in order to survive in the commodity society. In addition, living in a metropolis as a labyrinth full of strangers, objects and events, he generally sees without really understanding what he witnesses, and under his impressionistic and voyeuristic perceptions, “life ceases to form itself into continuous narrative but becomes instead a series of anecdotes, dreamlike, insubstantial or ambiguous” (86). This results in

“The Harlem Dancer” represents the contradictory images of the figure of the *flâneur* in a white-supremacist city. On the one hand, there is the leisured and privileged class of white consumers who search for urban spectacle, commodity and pleasure in their chance encounters in the society of commercialization and commoditization of racial and cultural others in daily life. On the other hand, there is the laboring *flâneur*-as-writer represented metaphorically by the black Harlem dancer in a nightclub. The black *flâneur*-as-writer struggles to make a living by eagerly creating artistic works, entertainments and pleasures to seduce and satisfy the gendered and racialized gaze of the white patrons much like the lascivious black female dancer described in “The Harlem Dancer.” Such representations of blackness may not respond to the bleak reality of the black folks in their daily life; on the contrary, these vivid, carnal, and textual performances—as suggested by the swaying bodies and seductive voices in the poem—might only offer “a rhapsodic view of modern existence only with the aid of illusion, which is just what the literature of flanerie—physiognomies, novels of the crowd—was produced to provide” (Buck-Morss 103). Moreover, the white audiences and readers in their voyeuristic and impressionistic viewing may be content with such illusory representations of black history, culture and community instead of confronting the dark social reality that makes illusory images and presentations possible. Under the avid gaze of the white consumers, who spends generously out of unquenchable curiosity and voyeurism, the black artists, who “depend for employment on those capitalist pleasure-industries which hold that audience captive” (Buck-Morss 113), are “in the privilege position of making the time for the production of his use value observable for public evaluation” (113). Like the black female dancer who both produces, commoditizes and advertises her own body and voice to entertain in a lecherous manner, the black artist not only creates works that cater to the racialized tastes of the white consumers but also exhibits the process of creation before their curious eyes. Ultimately, the black artist, though perhaps financially successful, like the sandwichman—the lowest and the

fragmented and incomplete experiences, for as Benjamin claims in *The Arcade Project*, there is only “[t]he phantasmagoria of the flaneur: reading profession, origins, and character from faces” (qtd. in Buck-Morss 106). On the other hand, the anxious, melancholic *flâneur* in a labyrinthian metropolis not only confronts “the enormous, unfulfilled promise of the urban spectacle, the consumption, the lure of pleasure and joy” (86), but also is “always destined to be somehow disappointed, or else undermined by the obvious poverty and exploitation of so many who toil to bring pleasure to the few” (86). In consequence, the *flâneur* is sexually insecure, as the “voyeurism encouraged by the commoditized spectacle” (87) only “leads to the attenuation and deferral of satisfaction” (87). For Wilson, Benjamin’s fragmentary but critical reading of the mythical figure of the *flâneur* in *The Arcade Project* debunks the myth of the *flâneur* who has “no material base, living on his wits, and, lacking the patriarchal discourse that assured of him of meaning, is compelled to invent a new one” (87). The more heroic and privileged the figure of the *flâneur* is represented in the urban myth, the more anxious and vulnerable he *de facto* is in the modern metropolitan life.

most unexpected *flâneur* on the street—cannot help but feel estranged and out of place in their proximity to the white patrons when wearing their weary, false smile to ingratiate themselves with these libertine *flâneur*-as-consumers.

In other words, the figure of the urban loiterer may not saunter in leisure and feels at home because such a figure is “actually working as he loiter[s] along the pavement or delve[s] into the underworld of the ‘marginals’” (Wilson 86) in order to survive in the commodity society. The *flâneur*-as-writer “scan[s] the street scene for material, keeping themselves in the public eye and wearing their own identity like a sandwich board” (Buck-Morss 113). In order to cater to the need of the white patrons who cast their consuming gaze at alien attractions, the black artists like their fellow dancing entertainers cannot but wear false smiles in their representations of blackness, urban and rural, to strengthen the ingrained ideologies and discourses about the Negro. Finding themselves in the strange place of consumerism and commodification of black life and culture, the black writers and entertainers find it difficult to challenge the given notion and fixed reception of the blackness and the assumed authority on blackness displayed by the white sympathizers in their proximity and exposure to black communities and creations.

4. From Dreaming Phantasmagorias to Urban Social Realities

The speakers in McKay’s poems represent the phantasmagorias of the urban life of New York as they walk, observe and record all kinds of fragments around the city, and therefore present New York as a place intersected by multiple social processes and cultural influences initiated and created by over-there others and back-then pasts. A phantasmagoria was originally referred to as a kind of magic lantern performance popular in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century (Pile 19). The audience could only see the movement of images without being able to see the lanterns, since the processes of production were hidden from the audience. Not able to know how these peculiar images were produced but enchanted by the moving images before the eyes, the audience hence had a dream-like and ghost-like visual experience. The phenomenon of a phantasmagoria is appropriate for describing urban spectacles, since a city is a fluid and shifting conglomeration composed of swarms of impressions, encounters, flows, interactions and connections. When Walter Benjamin employed the concept of the phantasmagoria, he intended to emphasize both the “new forms of experience visible in modern cities” (Pile 20) and “also the invisibility of the social processes that create the city’s many spectacles” (20). Moreover, he used the phantasmagoria to delineate what he called “the dreaming collective” (Pile 20) as a “general condition of modernity in which people sleepwalk their way through their lives, unable to wake up to their desires” (20).

The poetic personae in McKay's poems, as they drift around New York, mostly in Harlem, experience multiple events and contradictory emotions in different areas at different times. For instance, in "On Broadway" (1920), the speaker broods over his detachment and segregation from certain areas of the city, where "young and careless feet / Linger along the garish street" (1-2) with the "bright fantastic glow / Upon the merry crowd" (4-5). There are those libertine and idle *flâneur*-as-consumers who roam in the pavements and boulevards to search urban spectacles, commodities and pleasures. In their fleeting and impressionistic encounters with urban novelties, they walk at will and experience the dream-like landscapes and soundscapes of a big city. As an invisible stranger to the merry atmosphere of the urban nightlife, the poetic speaker does not share this "illusory, false consciousness, a collective *unconscious* in which reality takes on the distorted form of a dream" (Buck-Morss 109):

Desire naked, linked with Passion,
Goes strutting by in brazen fashion;
From playhouse, cabaret and inn
The rainbow lights of Broadway blaze
All gay without, all glad within;
As in a dream I stand and gaze
At Broadway, shining Broadway—only
My heart, my heart is lonely. (9-16)

Contrasting between heaven and hell, greatness and triviality as well love and repugnance, the speaker in "On Broadway" contrasts the fun-seeking crowd in the incandescent sites with the lonely outsider. The physical and social boundaries between the insider and outsider reveal not only the class distinction but also the unequal power relations inherent in the racial relations in daily activities as indicated by the unequal right to enjoy a city. The pleasure-seeking individuals who go botanizing on the boulevard embody the "consumerist mode of being-in-the-world" (Buck-Morss 105), for they seek immediate gratification from their visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile and gustatory enjoyment from one place to another. These *flâneur*-as-consumers indulging their senses and desires feel homely and leisured as they try to escape urban boredom, alienation and blasé. In contrast, the poetic speaker in "On Broadway," who also inhabits in "the commodity-filled dreamworld of the flaneur/consumer" (Buck-Morss 107) develops the critical consciousness to "jolt people out of their dreaming state" (109) in his marginalized position defined by the racial and class hierarchies.

One of the challenges facing the *flâneur* is whether in his roaming and browsing of a city he is capable of reading beyond the urban surface. Baudelaire's modern painter commits himself to knowing and understanding what he sees when he

emerges with the crowd. Benjamin also notes that as the *flâneur* abandons himself in the crowd for whatever purposes, the crowd intoxicates the *flâneur*, but he is not oblivious to the dark social reality (“Paris” 59). However, Elizabeth Wilson in her “The Invisible *Flâneur*,” comments that the *flâneur* “spends most of his day simply looking at the urban spectacle; he observes in particular new inventions...although he understands nothing about them” (75). Is the urban figure *flâneur* simply a solitary onlooker of a city without really engaging with the urban developments? Susan Buck-Morss, in her seminal study of Benjamin’s *The Arcade Project* in “The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering” (1986), remarks that the figure of the *flâneur* who goes botanizing on the asphalt is the modern subject in his “consumerist mode of being-in-the-world” (105) through “the distracted, impressionistic, physiognomic viewing” (105). To the modern *flâneur* who strolls the streets in the commodity society, “things appear divorced from the history of their production and their fortuitous juxtaposition suggest mysterious and mystical connections” (Buck-Morss 106) because, for the *flâneur*, “[m]eanings are read on the surface of things” (106).

For Chris Jenks, in the article “Watching Your Step: The History and Practice of the *Flâneur*”, the *flâneur* is “the spectator and depicter of modern life” (29) when he “moves through space and among the people with a viscosity that both enables and privileges vision” (29). He is “an inquisitive *boulevardier*” (Jenks 29), that is, an urban loiterer who is “simultaneously with an inquisitive wonder and an infinite capacity to absorb the activities of the collective—often formulated as ‘the crowd’” (29). Furthermore, the *flâneur* is “the newly articulate pioneer explorers of the working-class districts” (Jenks 35) not for “seeking entertainment or self-exploration” (35) but to “shock and to awaken the public consciousness to the socially generated and socially reproduced evils within, to the threats subsequently presented to a stable civil society” (35). In fact, “[t]he *flâneur* sees and walks, and...is not fearful of (his) tread” (Jenks 36), as he maintains his passionate and invigorating vision, perception and interest in order to explore “the bizarre, the wholly unexpected, even the mysterious and spell-like occurrences within modernity” (37). Therefore, the *flâneur* becomes a “cultural critic” (Jenks 33) and stages his personal protest against the consumerist and commoditized way of living that shapes any urban life and spectacle.

Not sleepwalking in his daily life around the urban space, the poetic speaker of McKay’s poetry further endeavors to uncover the unspoken and unspeakable aspects of urbanism which exist side by side with the phantasmagorias of the urban spectacles. As “Cities” (1935) indicates, the speaker is fascinated by all the moods and foreign ways of all cities despite his awareness of the tyranny of the cities. The city is then imagined as a monster-figure, as the economic, political and social

mechanisms of a modern city tend to be indifferent to the predicaments of the masses in its pursuit of progress, mobility and expansion. Despite the dreary life in the city, the speaker does not recoil from the disagreeable sights before him; instead, he steps forward to gaze at them in order to register the peculiar moods and ambiances of the urban life staging before his eyes. In another poem “The White City” (1921), the speaker displays his “life-long hate” (3) in the “white world’s hell” (7) despite the fact that he is impressed by the urban landscape before him:

I see the mighty city through a mist—
The strident trains that speed the goaded mass,
The poles and spires and towers vapor-kissed,
The fortressed port through which the great ships pass,
The tides, the wharves, and the dens I contemplate,
Are sweet like wanton loves because I hate. (9-14)

The latter six lines of this sonnet are incompatible with the former eight lines, which states clearly the speaker’s “dark Passion” (6), that is, hate, that buttresses his will and determination to live in this racist city. For all his conspicuous aversion to this white city, the speaker cannot help but admit the greatness and abundance of this place, as manifested in the conglomeration of trains, masses, architectures, wharves, goods and so forth. The speaker sees and then contemplates what he witnesses in this white city on an ordinary day, and concludes that these urban phenomena are his sweet loves. He, on the other hand, cannot but hate this place and its prosperous transactions because he, as one of a racial minority and underclass, might not be able to benefit much from the booming activities and enjoy their products and outcomes as a member of “the goaded mass” (10), who instead has to struggle to make his “heaven in the white world’s hell” (7).

Although he contributes to the urban spectacles, this “mighty city” (9) is a hell, from which he has to create a place of belongingness and comfort. Nobel Literature Laureate and Afro-American writer Toni Morrison in her essay “City Limits, Village Values: Concepts of the Neighborhood in Black Fiction” analyzes that: “Black people are generally viewed as patients, victims, wards, pathologies in urban settings, not as participants. And they could not share what even the poorest white factory worker or white welfare recipient could feel: that in some way the city belonged to him” (37). The speaker hates what he loves because he exists as a mere cog, which is easily replaceable and dispensable, in the economic activities. He hates what he loves because as a black he is not granted full citizenship even in the Northern cities away from the South dominated by discriminatory Jim Crow laws. Despite their contributions, the exploited blacks still live in poverty in the poorest areas of New York, and hence are regarded as mere pathologies of the great city instead of its

participants as white folks, both rich and poor. The more flourishing the white city is, the more abject the blacks might become. In short, the speaker of “The White City” moves in, looks over and contemplates on this beloved yet abominable city, and reveals the experiences and moods of the black minority in this place, which fails to meet their desire to lead a decent and respectable life.

5. Mapping the Negro Metropolis

The figure of the *flâneur* who strolls in the street may be an idle libertine seeking delight, entertainment and exploration, an anonymous detective in search of criminals, an unknown culprit taking refuge in urban masses, or a middle or working class person make a living on the streets. The *flâneur* in the midst of urban spectacles and dream-worlds might know nothing of what he sees and perceives, whereas he might seek to observe, know and understand what he encounters in order to gain knowledge of the social reality in the consumerist and commoditized world. Moreover, the urban figure of the *flâneur* may want to develop not only a critical perspective of urban realities but also a reformist zeal to challenge the status quo and offer alternative practices.

This critical concept of the *flâneur* is further developed later to challenge the dominant way of perceiving, understanding and practicing everyday life in the capitalist vein. Chris Jenks in “Watching Your Step: The History and Practice of the *Flâneur*” comments that Guy Debord and the Situationist International develop the methodology of psychogeography in order to have an alternative approach to urban milieu and living. The walker loiters the city without any prior plan and motif, and sees and then follows any clues on the street, that is, is “being drawn into events, situations and images by abandonment to wholly unanticipated attraction” (Jenks 37). This playful, perhaps risky and daring, way of strolling a city is one of the methods to develop alternative mappings of a city by uncovering “compulsive currents within the city along with unprescribed boundaries of exclusion and unconstructed gates of opportunity” (Jenks 37). Furthermore, this critically-minded *flâneur* then can “playfully and artfully see the juxtaposition of the elements that make the city in new and revealing relationships” (Jenks 38) through “a perpetual and infinite collage of imagery and a repository of fresh signification” (38). Jenks then links this kind of peculiar personal practice to a collective—not just individual wandering, mapping and creating—way of walking in the city elaborated by Michel de Certeau especially in his *The Practice of Everyday Life*. That is to say, the walkers, not the individual *flâneur*, “follow the thick and thins of an urban ‘text’ they write without being able to read it” (Jenks 39). Ultimately, they together create, though unintentionally, the “networks of these moving, intersecting writings” which “compose a manifold story

that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and infinitely other” (Jenks 39).

In McKay’s later poem “Lenox Avenue” (1938), the poetic speaker steps into the very heart of the Harlem district after years away from the city. The blacks in New York inevitably faced discrimination and segregation because they were not welcome or allowed to live in other areas, and had to pay higher rents for lower-quality tenements in the West Side of Manhattan. The region around Lenox Avenue was built later after a new subway line had been built, but it was quickly overcrowded as the West Side had been due to the over-flow of migrants from the South and overseas (Kahn 251-3). In “Lenox Avenue,” the speaker, instead of registering the low quality of life due to the lack of proper urban planning and rush of immigrants from all sides, records the festive mood of this area and his merry feeling as he walks past this north-south thoroughfare in Harlem. In contrast to “On Broadway,” instead of suffering intense desolation due to the (in)visible border drawn between him and the fun-seekers along the Broadway, here in Lenox Avenue, he experiences unprecedented gaiety and vibrancy as the whole road for him is like a “Negro theatre” (McKay, “Lenox” 2) performed by a race with “accents strong and colors of every hue” (3). During the Great Migration, black migrants from the South, the West Indies, Africa and elsewhere “mingled with African American natives of New York across culture and class lines, both outdoors—along the elegant avenues and broad sidewalks that characterized Harlem—and indoors—inside cabarets, buffet flats, speakeasies and ballrooms that dominated nightlife in Harlem” (Bernard 32). It is here that the speaker can develop a sense of belongingness as a participant of the city life, since he receives hospitality from the residents in their struggle to lead a joyous life with a strong political awareness. The speaker witnesses that “[m]eanwhile a white-and-black parade deploys / Its banners shouting for Scottsboro boys” (McKay, “Lenox” 9-10). The trial of the Scottsboro Boys was a cause célèbre during the 1930s when nine young black men were falsely charged with the rape of two white girls on a train in rural Scottsboro, Alabama. In the midst of the gratifying ambiance, the presence of the parade for the Scottsboro boys manifests the omnipresent racial imaginary about black masculinity and sexuality, white femininity and body, and the implacable hostility to racial crossing in both literal and metaphorical senses.

Compared to the speakers in “Cities,” “The White City” and “On Broadway,” the speaker in “Lenox Avenue” exhibits a rather different mood in this specific area of Manhattan. He observes the interactions between the black bodies, rhythms and spaces in this contact zone of Harlem, which features the hybridization of cultures of black immigrants from diverse roots and routes. The sounds of music of various kinds

ranging from “cloying chords and simple melodies” (McKay, “Lenox” 11) and “[n]otes old and modern classical and hot” (12) to “[d]uets and quintettes, choirs and symphonies” (13) fill the air and places of Harlem; therefore, “...Harlem sways its body dark and warm, Enthralled, enraptured by the medley charm” (19-20). Harlem as a whole is personified as a black dancer in his ecstatic mood as he is at ease when swaying his body attuned to varied types of music. Mixing residents from multifarious backgrounds, Harlem gradually develops its peculiar form of vernacular English as opposed to standard Anglo-English spoken by the middle-class whites and other types of English spoken by other groups, as the rapt speaker notes, “[f]rom pool-room and saloon the rich and rude / Vernacular of Harlem takes the air” (5-6). McKay in this poem provides an alternative vision of life in Harlem as opposed to the more conventional understanding. As the American historian Gilbert Osofsky describes in *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (1966):

For those who remained permanently [in New York] the city was a strange and often hostile place—it was so noisy and unfriendly, so cold, so full of temptations and moral perils, a pernicious influence, a fast and wicked place. Many of those who come North complain of the cold and chills from the like of which they had not previously suffered. (31)

A meeting place intersected by lots of social forces and processes initiated and practiced by diverse individuals and social groups, the city is an amorphous assemblage of material developments and imaginary constructions. As shown by the previous discussions, New York City is definitely a malicious and problematic place for racial minorities as Osofsky later elucidates; nonetheless, in poems like “Lenox Avenue,” the reader gets a rare glimpse of the flourishing grassroots cultural developments of the New Negro Movement.

Langston Hughes in his autobiography *The Big Sea* (1940) recollected that he “had an overwhelming desire to see Harlem. More than Paris, or the Shakespeare country, or Berlin, or the Alps. I wanted to see Harlem, the greatest Negro city in the world” (62). The attraction of Harlem during the Harlem Renaissance consisted in not only the artistic and intellectual achievements of a handful of black artists and literati but also the cultural interactions and developments of folk music, dances and performances that seduced the white consumers to frequent Harlem over and again in order to enjoy racial and cultural alterity imagined to be exotic and erotic. Claude McKay in his *Harlem: Negro Metropolis* (1940) likewise observes:

Harlem is more than the Negro capital of the nation. It is the Negro capital of the world. And as New York is the most glorious experiment on earth of different races and diverse groups of humanity struggling and scrambling to live together, so Harlem is the most interesting sample of

black humanity marching along with white humanity. (16)

The speaker in “Lenox Avenue,” while rambling through this thoroughfare, collects the fragments of the folk part of urban life and thus unsettles the accepted notions of black urbanism, for he discloses the unique black community existing in a modern urban milieu, where developments of individuality are generally considered a primal feature of urbanization. However, for a racial minority in a white-supremacist society,

Harlem, the closest thing in American life as well as literature to a Black city, and a mecca for generations of Blacks, held this village quality for Black people—although on a grand scale and necessarily parochial. The hospitals, schools, and buildings they lived in were not founded nor constructed by their own people, but the relationships were clannish because there was joy and protection in the clan. (Morrison 38)

As a city of migrants, Harlem became a contact zone where diverse cultural forms and contents encountered and interacted. And in this home of settlement, black migrants strived to create a place called home in this alien and even hostile land by changing and creating the peculiar urban ambiance through music, dance and performances not only in specific locations of entertainment but also in the streets spontaneously and collectively. By doing so, they successfully constructed their Negro Metropolis, Black Mecca or Black Manhattan by means of their spatial practices and space of representations in their daily life.

The speaker in “Lenox Avenue” is so rapt that he exclaims that

Here is a vaudeville that never stops!
The radios sound, the youngsters start to shake
Along the blocks, they execute neat hops,
Taking with music every step they make. (21-24)

Experiencing the unique urbanism of the black metropolis, the speaker is hence intoxicated “to take the rhythm of Harlem’s moving feet” (30). Walking leisurely and feeling homely along Lenox Avenue, the poetic speaker resembles the idle *flâneur* who takes to the street to see, encounter and enjoy the peculiar urban spectacles and pleasures of Black Manhattan. Though politically conscious of the bleak reality of black life everywhere in the city, the poetic speaker, like the critically-minded *flâneur* discussed in Jenks’ article mentioned above, is drawn into the specific cultural landscape and soundscape of Lenox Avenue. Upon his meandering along the boulevard, he discovers and charts another kind of dreaming phantasmagoria, like a theatre, vaudeville and swaying body, by absorbing and giving fresh significance to diverse kinds of elements and images such as spontaneous black music, accents and dances in daily life. Unlike the erotic and exotic body depicted in “The Harlem

Dancer,” the collective body made up of individual swaying bodies in the public and private spaces as well as at work and leisure is not the dreaming collective who just sleepwalk and cannot awaken to its true desire. Quite the contrary, this collective conglomeration of fragmented, swaying black bodies is energized by complex and multifarious music, dance and performances, all of which originate from elsewhere and flourish in the Black Mecca of Harlem. This kind of urban bodies embody and simultaneously write various and overlapping stories shaped by different migrant routes and cultural roots. The folks in the whole black community are simultaneously creators, performers and audiences of their daily corporeal performances; in other words, it is difficult to detect the line between the author and spectator. Unlike the commercialized and thus reified performances before the gaze of the white consumers, these daily, spontaneous and fragmented performances in the black urban village of Harlem are the more authentic, challenging otherness for the white consumer to read, appreciate and even accept. These performing practices are the everyday resistance that defines their right to the city while they are economically, politically and spatially disempowered and marginalized in the great American metropolis. By collecting and juxtaposing diverse urban fragments from his intoxicated observations, the poetic speaker is hence able to present a different collage and trajectory of black urbanism through his merging with the black crowd in his solitary, anonymous walk in Harlem.

6. Conclusion: Reimagining and Reshaping the New Negro

How do the poems discussed above shed new light on the identity of the New Negro and his or her relationship to the urban landscape during the early twentieth century? The New Negro is usually considered as “a special, elite group” (Gibson 45), most of whom are not “forced to the city by relentless economic necessity” (45), and hence has “leisure to learn to appreciate fine art and skills highly enough developed to produce art” (45). On the other hand, for Alain Locke, one of the leading intellectuals during that time, the New Negro cultural citizenship was “always...a dialectical engagement with whiteness and blackness in the formation of an alternative cultural idea” (Stewart 17). Besides, the New Negro was “a new kind of educated American subject, someone who had mastered both the culture of the masses and the culture of international modernism” (18), and hence embodies “an on-going complex transaction between a black sense of self and a sense of self as urban, industrialized, and also white” (18). More specifically, the New Negro, the “race cosmopolitan” (Stewart 19), “was an outstanding group of intellectuals as well as artists, men and women as comfortable in the white intellectual world as the black” (19), yet “remain committed to the race and the transformation of America through the culture of the black

community” (19).

How can the poetry of McKay intervene in this cultural debate from the quotidian, embodied experiences of everyday life in Harlem and New York? The New Negro as illuminated in McKay’s poems is neither the emancipated slaves haunted by the colonial legacies of slavery nor the southern sharecroppers still imprisoned by the victim mentality caused by the perennial Jim Crow Law. The New Negro is neither the mimic man in his eagerness to desire assimilation into the white-supremacist society by adopting the essentialist and dualistic notions of blackness and whiteness nor the nationalist separatists, who in their exclusive imagination of blackness, seek to combat the unequal power relations by simply wishing to reverse the hierarchical structures of whiteness and blackness. Corresponding to Locke’s vision of the intellectual New Negro committed to cultural intervention and transformation, the modern urban black poet McKay with his poetic personae, as an urban explorer, intellectual laborer and cultural critic, unlike the prototype, or perhaps stereotype, of the idle, white, middle-class *flâneur* in European metropolises, observes, experiences, maps and assesses the distinctive life of the black community in Harlem and New York as a whole. Unsettling the given perceptions of New York and unveiling the marginal and neglected aspects of this modern city, McKay and his poetic personae as the examples of the New Negro in his city poems endeavor to awaken the common blacks and their artists from the illusory, dreamy nature of the Harlem Renaissance or the New Negro Movement, and thus urge them to recognize as well deliberate on the complex and multiple aspects and developments of the modern urbanism of New York in the early twentieth century.

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韓語補助詞在《標準國語大辭典》的文法記述之探討

-以形態特性和項目設定為中心-

郭秋雯 *

摘要

補助詞的研究題材非常多，多以語意和語用的研究為主，句子結構的研究較集中在補助詞前面所能連接的各種詞語及其排列順序。補助詞和格助詞不一樣，前面除了名詞類之外，助詞類、副詞語、連結語尾、終結語尾都可以出現，但不是每個補助詞所接的詞語種類都一樣，因此學者們對於補助詞的識別標準和項目設定也不同，例如최현배(1946)主張23個、홍사만(2004)17個、채완(1993)20個、이남순(1996)14個、남윤진(2000)39個、임홍빈(1999)36個、임동훈(2004)17個…，這幾位代表性學者的主張可謂差距甚大。

本論文先以國立國語院《標準國語大辭典》為對象進行探討，登錄在字典的補助詞約有60個，若扣除現代韓語不太使用的詞(如，곧, 서껀, 손)、異形態(如，ㄴ/은/는, 나마/이나마)和複合型(如，치고는)，剩下35個，其中沒有爭議的只有7個(까지, 는, 도, 만, 부터, 야, 조차)。本文先整理學者們對補助詞文法特性的主張，再針對這35個補助詞在字典的記述進行整理，包含語意、文法說明、例句等，找出優點及待補強部分，希望能透過本研究找到適合的辨別標準方法，同時也提供國立國語院在編寫補助詞的文法記述上些許改善的建議，以及對補助詞的研究與學習有所幫助。

關鍵詞：補助詞、特殊助詞、助詞、文法特性、識別標準

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An Analysis of Grammatical Descriptions of Korean Bojosas in <Standard Korean Dictionary> - Focus on Morphological Characteristics and List Definitions

Kuo, Chiu-Wen *

Abstract

There is a lot of study material available about Bojosa, most studies are based on semantics and pragmatics; while the studies of syntax concentrate more on all kinds of morpheme that can be in conjunction with Bojosas, as well as their sequence. Different from case particles, Bojosas can be used with particles, adverbials, connective endings, and final endings, but not with nominals. However, not all morphemes connected to Bojosas are the same, therefore scholars have different identification criteria and list definitions about Bojosas.

Before the thesis discovers the reasonable identification criteria, we will be investigating <Standard Korean Dictionary> by the National Institute of Korean Language as the source. There are about 60 Bojosas registered in the dictionary, and if we omit the less frequent modern Korean words (such as 곧, 서연, 손), allomorph (such as ㄴ/은/는, 나마/이나마), and combining-form (such as 치고는), there are 35 Bojosas remaining, in which only 7 Bojosas are not controversial. This thesis will collate opinions of various scholars first. And then to sort out the dictionary descriptions, including semantics, grammatical characteristics, example sentences etc., and discovering the advantages and improvements from the descriptions about the 35 Bojosas. The purpose of this study is to determine the standard methods appropriate for differentiating Bojosas, and to advise on improvement with regard to grammatical descriptions defined by the National Institute of Korean Language. Moreover, the study findings may serve as a guide for further research and studies on Bojosas.

Keyword : Bojosa, Special particle, particle, grammatical characteristic, identification criteria

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1. 前言

1.1 研究動機與方法

對母語為中文的韓語學習者來說，助詞是錯誤率很高的品詞之一。助詞包含了格助詞、補助詞¹與接續助詞，登錄在國立國語院《標準國語大辭典》的助詞約有 152 個，格助詞約有 72 個、補助詞 73 個、接續助詞 17 個，格助詞+補助詞有 5 個、格助詞+接續助詞有 6 個，補助詞+接續助詞為 1 個。73 個補助詞中，若扣除現代韓語不太使用的詞(如 ㄴ/인 즉, 곧, 서껀, 손, 새로에)、方言、異形態(如，나마/이나마, ㄴ/은/는)和複合型(如，치고는, 라야만)，剩下 35 個，使用頻率較高的約 20 多個。即便數量不多，但補助詞在教材或學校文法裡的解釋過於簡略，甚或只就語意說明，不談其文法形態或結構，但補助詞的文法特性與句子結構不像格助詞般有規則性，因此學習者對補助詞的認知與學習常有誤寫情事發生。

學習者遇到問題最先求助的就是字典，韓國國立國語院《標準國語大辭典(以下稱為《國語大辭典》)》對補助詞的解釋為：「체언, 부사, 활용 어미 때 위에 붙어서 어떤 특별한 의미를 더해 주는 조사. ‘은’, ‘는’, ‘도’, ‘만’, ‘까지’, ‘마저’, ‘조차’, ‘부터’ 때위가 있다.」，清楚說明補助詞可以接在體言(即名詞類)、副詞、活用語尾等之後，為添加特別意義的助詞，比高中文法的說明更加完整。然，即便辭典已經定義如此，但이희자·이종희(2001)的《語尾·助詞辭典(어미·조사 사전)》裡對補助詞的定義卻令學習者更加混淆，提到補助詞接在體言或用言的名詞形(「‘는’, 도, 만’ 등과 같이 체언이나 용언의 명사형에 붙어서 말의 뜻을 정밀히 표현해 주는 조사. 그것이 붙은 말의 기능은 나타내지 않는다.」)，但補助詞不一定只限接在名詞類後面，也可以接在副詞語或動詞活用語尾之後，如~해서부터, ~고부터, 만나야만~，工具書在對語詞的定義上差異太大，將令學習者無所適從。

此外，在以外國學習者為對象編撰的教材裡，對補助詞的說明並沒有多加著墨，僅以「可取代格助詞、添加一層意義」的陳述帶過。例如，首爾大學語言教育院出版的《韓國語 1A》第一課出現的‘은/는’解釋為：「문장의 주제를 나타낼 때 사용한다.」，完全沒標示其詞性；高麗大學韓國語文化教育中

¹ 補助詞又稱為特殊助詞、限定詞、後置詞、添詞，本文以國立國語院《標準國語大辭典》的用語，即「補助詞」稱之。

心出版的《재미있는 한국어 1》則多加說明了은/는是助詞；其餘各大學語言教育院出版的各階段教材皆大同小異，著重在語意的呈現，也都沒提到「補助詞」這三個字。也許是編撰者認為外國學習者不需要了解這些深奧的文法問題，若想深入了解者，應可透過其他管道，所以教材中皆以內文出現的用法做簡要說明，正因如此，外國學習者對補助詞的認知多集中在語意層面，甚至不知道은/는, 도, 만等助詞是補助詞，對於其文法結構、形態等方面的知識當然也無從得知。

本文想要探討的是，補助詞用法的複雜性遠遠超過學校文法的規範，對學習者而言，所能觸及到的教材、參考書或辭典裡的解釋是否足夠？會不會有誤導學習之虞？補助詞在辭典的文法記述有什麼問題？怎麼說明會比較清楚？本文並不打算從韓語教育面著手，為了全盤了解補助詞的文法結構與形態，決定由文法的角度切入，並以外語學習者常常接觸的《標準國語大辭典》為主要探討對象，第一步先整理出大辭典對補助詞的文法記述，接著對照學者們的主張，從中找出差異點，希望透過整理的過程中，能找到一個較為合理、具體的說明，提供學習者，尤其是外國學習者得以更清楚且正確學習的參考依據，更期盼本研究能成為後續研究的基礎。

1.2 補助詞的名稱與特性

補助詞的名稱依學者的主張又被稱為特殊助詞、限定詞、後置詞、添詞，但除了特殊助詞外，其餘的名稱在學校文法上並沒有和補助詞視為同一，以《國語大辭典》中的定義為例，可以看到後置詞和補助詞明顯的區分，添詞就只是就字面的解釋，而限定詞沒登錄在《國語大辭典》裡。

補助詞: 체언, 부사, 활용 어미 따위에 붙어서 어떤 특별한 의미를 더해 주는 조사. 은, 는, 도, 만, 까지, 마저, 조차, 부터 따위가 있다. े도움 토·도움토씨·보조 조사·특수 조사.

後置詞: 체언 따위의 실질 형태소를 포함하는 단어의 뒤에 놓여, 그 단어가 다른 단어와 맺는 관계를 표시하여 주는 말.

添詞: 어떤 뜻을 더하기 위하여 붙이는 말.

서태룡(1988)將補助詞稱為後置詞，之後이남순(1996)和임동훈(2004)亦採用此名稱，不過이남순最後以補助詞和添詞來設定項目。양인석(1972)和서정수(1996)稱為限定詞，이기갑(2005)最為特別，稱補助詞為附置詞(adposition)，即介詞。有關補助詞的定義和特質，本文整理出13位學者代表性的主張，分述如下。²

- ① 최현배(1946): 補助詞接在實質型態素之後，但不是為句子成分添加一定的格，只是擔任補充該成分各種語意的功能。³
- ② 양인석(1972): 將補助詞以‘限定詞’來處理，認為在補助詞句子的構造中，補助詞的領域只限定在先行名詞項，所以對於補助詞出現在副詞或語尾之後的現象，難以說明其一貫性。⁴
- ③ 홍사만(1983, 2002): 特殊助詞在國語文法體系中屬於曲折接詞的下位範疇，是為依存型態，和表示文法功能的格標誌有明顯的差異，乃語意限定語。名稱所謂的特殊性主要是指帶有語意、語用的性質，如果說格助詞是文法的助詞的話，特殊助詞就是語用的助詞。⁵
- ④ 서태룡(1988): 後置詞基本上帶有談話上的機能，所以在句子結構上，統合與否並不會影響句子的文法性。後置詞的存在比起統辭論，對語用論的影響較大。⁶
- ⑤ 김승곤(1996): 這個助詞應該稱為語意助詞才對，但因為是補助語意的助詞，所以稱為補助詞。依照筆者的假設‘韓語助詞的發展原理’，補助詞從名詞、動詞、形容詞、副詞中發展而來，因此也具有某些相關的特質。⁷

² 함병호(2011:17-21)再引用。

³ 도움 토씨(補助詞)는 생각씨 뒤에 붙어서, 그것들에 월의 조각(成分)으로의 일정한 자리(地位,格)를 주는 것이 아니요, 다만 그 조각의 뜻을 여러 가지로 돋는(補助하는) 구실을 하는 토를 이른다.

⁴ 보조사를‘한정사’로 다루었는데 보조사 구문의 구조에서 보조사의 영역을 선행명사향에만 한정시켜 보조사가 부사나 어미 뒤에 오는 것에 대해서는 일관성 있는 설명이 어렵다고 설명했다.

⁵ 특수조사는 국어 문법 체계에서 굴절 접사의 하위 범주에 속해 있는 의존 형식으로서, 격에 대한 문법 기능이인 격표지와는 확연한 이질성을 드러내는 의미 한정어이다. 명칭이 말해 주는 특수성이란 주로 의미적·화용적 성격을 띠는 것으로 설명될 수 있다. 격조사를 문법적인 조사라고 한다면 특수조사는 화용론적인 조사라고 할 것이다.

⁶ 후치사는 기본적으로 담화상의 기능을 가지기 때문에 문장 구성에서 그것의 통합여부가 문장의 문법성에는 영향을 미치지 않는다. 후치사의 대체는 통사론적인 영향보다 화용론적인 영향을 미치게 된다.

⁷ 이 토씨는 의미토씨라 하여야 옳으나 의미적으로는 돋는 토씨라는 뜻에서 도움토씨라 한 것이므로 종래의 명칭을 그대로 따르기로 한다. 필자의 가설인 ‘한국어 조사의 발

- ⑥ 서정수(1996): 限定詞就是一直被稱為補助詞或特殊助詞的詞，限定詞可以接在各種語詞之後，和文法機能標誌無關，帶有語意的限制功能。⁸
- ⑦ 이남순(1996): 格助詞、特殊助詞和添詞皆為接尾的要素，和句子成分統合。但是格助詞用來標示體言的格，具有文法的機能，而特殊助詞則是賦予特殊的語意，具有語意的機能。添詞和特殊助詞類似，賦予句子特殊的語意，但兩者不僅在歷史的形成過程不一樣，在句子的統合順序也不一樣。⁹
- ⑧ 최동주(1997): 特殊助詞的統辭特性非統辭的核，而是附加在片語的要素，和先行要素的文法機能無關。¹⁰
- ⑨ 채완(1993): 特殊助詞常和格助詞做比較，非文法的關係而是添加一定的語意，除了名詞之外，也接在副詞或用言的活用形態之後。¹¹
- ⑩ 임동훈(2004): 特殊助詞在統辭上的位置不固定，從語意論來看，不管先行語的統辭範疇為何，具有限定先行語的特徵。¹²
- ⑪ 이익섭(2005): 特殊助詞並沒有主格助詞、處格助詞這樣的名稱。特殊助詞不是給予格的機能，而是賦予某些語意的助詞，所以若從語意來看，應該可以分為排除助詞、唯一助詞等名稱，但一般而言特殊助詞之下並不會再賦予這名稱。¹³
- ⑫ 이기갑(2005): 附置詞通常是用來支配名詞的，但隨著語言的不同，也可以支配句子或片語。這樣的附置詞大多在句子命題語意上呈現話者的意圖或感情，抑或表

달원리’에 의하면 도움토씨는 이름씨, 움직씨, 그림씨, 어찌씨에서 발단되므로 어떤 일정한 특성을 가지는 것이다.

⁸ 한정사는 종래에 보조사 또는 특수조사라고 부르던 것들을 말한다. 한정사는 다양한 선행어에 두루 덧붙는 외부적 첨가 형태이다. 한정사는 문법 기능의 표지와는 관계없이 의미적인 제약을 드러낸다.

⁹ 격조사, 특수조사 그리고 첨사는 문장성분에 통합되는 접미적 요소들이라는 점에서 공통적이다. 그러나 격조사는 체언의 격을 표시하는 문법적 기능을 지니고 있으며, 특수조사는 그 조사들이 담당하는 특수한 의미를 문장에 부여하는 의미적 기능을 지니고 있다. 첨사는 특수한 의미를 문장에 부여한다는 점에서 특수조사와 비슷하지만, 역사적인 형성과정이 다를 뿐만 아니라 문장성분에 통합되는 순서에 있어서도 특수조사와 구별된다.

¹⁰ 특수조사의 통사적 특성은 (가) 통사적 핵이 아니며, 구(XP)에 부가되는 요소이다.
(나) 선행요소의 문법기능과 무관하다고 하였다.

¹¹ 특수조사는 주로 격조사와 비교되어 문법적 관계가 아니라 일정한 의미를 더해 주며, 명사 뿐 아니라 부사나 용언의 활용형에도 연결된다는 특성을 지니고 있다.

¹² 특수조사는 통사적으로 출현 위치가 고정되어 있지 않고, 의미론적으로 볼 때 선행어의 통사 범주가 무엇이든지 선행어를 한정한다는 특징이 있다.

¹³ 특수조사에는 주격조사, 처격조사와 같은 이름이 따로 없다. 특수조사는 격을 나타내 주는 것이 아니라 어떤 의미를 나타내 주는 조사들이므로 이름을 붙인다면 그 의미를 따서 배제조사, 유일조사 등의 이름을 붙여야 할 텐데 일반적으로 특수조사에는 이런 이름을 붙이지 않는다.

示對聽者的尊敬等語用上的效果。¹⁴

- ⑬ 고영근· 구본관(2008): 補助詞無格機能，是呈現自己所具備的特殊語意的助詞，因此和格助詞不同，不能省略，且可以出現在主格、目的格、副詞格之後。¹⁵

從上面論述可得知，雖然學者的見解不盡相同，有的著重句子結構、有的著重話用、亦有兼具者，但多認定補助詞的功能在語意或語用，有限定或補充先行詞語意且不能省略等特性，這些和文法標誌的格助詞有很大的區別。就名稱而言，이남순(1996:218-219)從通時的角度主張補助詞是從後置詞衍生而來的，因此視後置詞和補助詞如一，但主張添詞和補助詞需區分使用，並以統合句子成分的順序作為區別的要件，如添詞需接在補助詞之後。

임동훈(2004)將補助詞依照句子結構統合的特徵和語意性質分為後置詞和添詞，認為後置詞不受先行名詞形態的影響，一般會接在意味格助詞¹⁶之後，是補助詞的特性；而添詞總是接在整個名詞句的最後面，其語意不會只限定先行名詞，故主張這兩個詞性不一樣，應區分使用。

이기갑(2005)以語言類型論的角度切入，將補助詞稱為附置詞(adposition)，即英文的「介詞」，但介詞包含前置詞和後置詞，因此文中說明附置詞在韓語中較接近後置詞，並區分為語彙的附置詞和語意的附置詞，同時也和印歐語、中文的介詞做了比較。

由於補助詞的韓文名稱不一致，也因此影響了英文名稱的界定，筆者整理眾多論文對補助詞的英文翻譯，發現最常使用的是 Bojosa 或 Particles(Bojosa)，即보조사的羅馬拼音；其他還有 special particles, delimiter, focus Particles, some particles, auxiliary particle, Semantic markers 等名稱，可見補助詞的特殊性及其定位的困難，正因如此，筆者較傾向使用「特殊助詞」一詞，但本文以學校文法的《標準國語大辭典》為依歸，因此仍採用「補助詞」一詞。

¹⁴ 부치사는 본질적으로 명사를 지배하는 것이 일반적인데, 언어에 따라서는 문장이나 어절을 지배하는 경우가 있다. 이런 부치사들은 대체로 문장의 명제적 의미에 화자의 의도나 감정 또는 청자에 대한 존대 표시 등 화용적 효과를 나타내는 것이 보통이다.

¹⁵ 보조사는 격을 표시하지 않고 자기 자신의 특수한 뜻을 더해 주는 조사이며, 따라서 격조사와 달리 생략이 가능하지 않으며 주격, 목적격, 부사격 자리에 두루 쓰인다.

¹⁶ 임동훈(2004)將格助詞分為文法格和意味格，이/가，을/를，의屬於前者，에게，에서，로，와/과屬於後者。

1.3 補助詞的項目

補助詞項目的設定標準在韓國語學界一直是個爭點，因為標準不一，因此項目從 14 個到 39 個皆有¹⁷，最早的研究是 최현배(1946)，他整理出 23 個補助詞項目，之後 신창순(1975)列出 14 個補助詞項目、성광수(1979)列出 15 個、홍사만(1983)列出 14 個、김승곤(1989)列出 23 個、이남순(1996)將添詞從補助詞中分流出來，列出 9 個補助詞和 5 個添詞；項目最多的是 남윤진(1997)，將補助詞分為三種，高達 39 個項目；其次是 임홍빈(1999)將補助詞分為‘典型的補助詞’‘超補助詞(分布廣泛的)’‘分布有些限制的補助詞’‘分布很多限制的補助詞’等四個種類，共列出 36 個；임동훈(2004)和 이남순(1996)的主張類似，列出 5 個添詞和 12 個補助詞，但他將補助詞稱為後置詞；고영근·구본관(2008)則將補助詞分為終結補助詞(4 個)和通用補助詞(12 個)兩種，共列出 16 個項目。而常被引用的 채완(1993)在文中整理出沒有爭議的共通項目和依主張而有變動的項目各 10 個，但 채완(1998)又更新區分為確定的 17 個和不確定的 3 個，總項目一樣維持 20 個。相較於眾學者們的主張，登錄在《國語大辭典》的補助詞約有 60 個，若扣除現代韓語不太使用的詞(如，ㄴ/인즉, 곧, 서껀, 손, 새로에)、異形態(如，ㄴ/은/는, 나마/이나마,)和複合型(如，치고는, 라야만)，篩選後剩下 35 個。各學者和《國語大辭典》所列舉的補助詞項目整理如<表 1>。

<表 1 各學者的補助詞清單>

學者	補助詞清單
최현배 (1946)	는, 도, 마다, 만, 부터, 까지, 야, 야말로, 인들, 라도, 나, 든지, 조차, 마저, 나마, 커녕, 로,로서, 치고, 밖에, 안으로, 가운데, 서껀(23 개)
신창순 (1975)	는, 도, 마저, 만, 부터, 까지, 뿐, 조차, 나마, 인들, 나, 라도, 야, 야말로(14 개)
성광수 (1979)	는, 도, 야, 라도, 부터, 까지, 만, 조차, 마저, 나마, 서, 씨, 다가(13 個)。但文中提到마다, 更可能為補助詞,因此也有 15 個項目一說。
홍사만 (1983)	는, 도, 마다, 만, 부터, 뿐, 밖에, 조차, 까지, 마저, 야, 인들, 나, 든지, 라도, 나마 (14 개)。홍사만(2004)中又增加了야말로,共 17 個。
김승곤 (1989)	는, 마다, 만, 까지, 도, 마저, 조차, 나, 든지, 인들, 라도, 나마, 야, 야말로, 밖에, 뿐, 더러, 씩, 서, 대로, 부터, 에서부터, 이라면(23 개)
채완 (1993)	는, 도, 만, 부터, 까지, 조차, 마저, 나마, 라도, 야(공통적 10 개) 뿐, 나, 야말로, 마다, 씩, 서, 씨, 대로, 다가, 커녕(주장에 따름 10 개)
채완 (1998)	까지, 나, 나마, 는, 다가, 도, 들, 라도, 마다, 마저, 만, 부터, 씩, 야, 야말로, 조차, 커녕(확실한 보조사 17 개) 대로, 뿐, 든지(불확실한 보조사 3 개)

¹⁷ 함병호(2011:47-49)。

이남순 (1996)	특수조사: 보다, 부터, 까지, 조차, 마저, 만, 만큼, 대로, 처럼(9 개) 첨사: 는, 도, 야, 나, 나마(5 개)
남윤진 (1997, 2000)	보조사 1: 도, 만(단독), 만(비교), 은/는, 이나(강조), 이라도, 이란, 이야, 이야말로, 일랑(10 개) 보조사 2: 따라, 마냥, 마다, 말고, 갖고, 같이, 까지, 다가, 대로, 마저, 만치, 만큼, 밖에, 부터, 뿐, 서, 이라고(양보), 조차, 치고(19 개) 보조사 3: 가량, 깨나, 껏, 께(어림), 꼴, 끼리, 들, 씩, 짜리, 쯔(10 개)
임홍빈 (1999)	가. 은/는, 도, 만, 부터, 조차, 까지, 마저, 마다, 만큼, (이)야말로, 냐들, (이)나, (이)나마, (이)라도, 이/가, 을/를 (전형적 보자소 16 개) 나. (이)요, (이)야, 들 (초보조사 3 개) 다. 대로, 르/을랑, 르/일랑, (이)란, (이)라고는, 만치, 밖에, 은커녕, 깨나, 따라 (분포가 다소 제약되는 보조사 10 개) 라. 그려, 그래, 다가, 마는, 뿐, 서, 곧 (분포가 크게 제약되는 보조사 7 개)
임동훈 (2004)	후치사: 만 1, 까지, 다가, 밖에, 부터, 조차, 처럼. 같이, 보다, 만큼, 만 2(비교), 뿐, 대로(12 개) 첨사: 는, 도, 야, 나, 라도(5 개)
고영근 구본관 (2008)	종결보조사: 요, 마는, 그려, 그래(4 개) 통용보조사: 까지, 나, 나마, 대로, 도, 마저, 만, 부터, 야, 야말로, 은/는, 조차(12 개)
국어사 전	가/이, 거나, 그래/그려, 까지, 깨나, 냐/은/는, 냐/인들, (이)나, (이)나마, 다가, 대로, 도, (이)든지, 들, 따라, 르/을, 르/을/일랑, (이)라고, (이)라도, (이)라야, (이)란, 마는, 마다, 마저, 만, 부터, 밖에, 뿐, (이)야, (이)야말로, 요, 조차, 치고, 커녕, 토록(35 개)

如<表 1>11 位學者所主張的補助詞項目中，最多的남윤진(1997, 2000)將補助詞分為三類，但以字典的標準來看，第 3 類顯然是接詞，以接尾詞為主，理當排除，但這當中的깨나在字典中列為補助詞，들則有接頭詞、接尾詞和補助詞三種文法機能，標準不一；第 2 類的項目中也有不少爭議，例如，말고, 갖고都是由動詞加上卫形成的，很難被視為補助詞，但是，另一個치고同樣也是動詞+卫的組合，卻被列為補助詞。

第二多的임홍빈(1999)，將補助詞分為四類，是唯一將眾學者不曾討論의 이/가, 을/를等補助詞放入項目中的學者，雖然學習者多認為這兩個詞屬於格助詞，但他們確實有補助詞的用法¹⁸。另，如그래/그려, 르랑/을랑/일랑, 든지/든가等異形態，是否要分列兩個項目，意見也分歧。例如，임홍빈(1999:22)提到그래和그려只是尊待法上的差異，兩者沒有不同，但文中仍視為兩個項目，字典也是，只不過字典是以其前面所接的語尾不同做區分，即그려之前接的是

¹⁸ 방이 깨끗하지가 않다./ 철수는 김치가 먹고 싶었다.
너는 어쩌자고 혼자 시장에를 갔니?/ 내 말도 좀 들어를 보세요.

하게체, 하오체, 합소체語尾, 그레接的是구먼, 군這樣的해체。¹⁹又, ㄹ랑/을랑/일랑使用頻率較低，多數學者不列為補助詞項目進行討論，因為是異形態，常被視為一個項目處理，但임홍빈(1999:22)將ㄹ/을랑和ㄹ/일랑分為列為兩個項目，字典則是每個形態都列為一個項目。從以下字典裡三個項目的文法記述可得知他們的用法都一樣，只是構詞特性上的差別而已，例如，일랑和을랑都是接在有尾音的體言後面，前者可以拆為(으)ㄹ랑，也就是和(으)나, (으)라도類型一樣的項目，後者是受格助詞을再加랑的用法，但為何要區分使用，與이다繫辭的關係為何，並沒有詳細說明。ㄹ랑則是接在無尾音的名詞之後，此外也可以接在에, 에서助詞、고서, 어서, 지等部分語尾後面。不過像這種‘用法同、構詞特性不同’的異形態項目，本文皆暫時歸為一個項目。

- a. 술일랑 다시 마시지 마라./ 미련일랑 두지 말자.
- b. 이런 책을랑 아이들에게 읽히지 마세요./그런 일을랑 걱정을 하지 마세요.
- c. 그 반질랑 아예 팔 생각 마라./ 강엘랑 가지 마라./ 옆이 이에 불어설랑 잘 안 떨어진다.

除了남윤진和임홍빈之外，其餘學者所列舉的補助詞項目皆是使用頻率較高者，在這些不一致的主張中，本文盡可能地梳理出以下幾個脈絡。

- ① 11位學者的共同項目：까지, 는, 도, 만, 부터, 야, 조차等7個。雖然在主張補助詞與添詞分開的이남순和임동훈兩位學者見解中，는, 도, 야是屬於添詞，但本文不區分添詞和補助詞的差異，暫時皆視為補助詞。
- ② 10位學者的共同項目：나, 마저等2個，성광수沒將나列為補助詞，이남순和임동훈兩位學者則列為添詞；마저則沒出現임동훈的清單中。
- ③ 9位學者的共同項目：나마, 라도等2個，임동훈和남윤진沒將나마列為補助詞；이남순和고영근將라도排除在外，임동훈則視為添詞。
- ④ 7位學者的共同項目有대로, 마다, 뿐, 야말로等4個，將대로排除的有최현배, 신창순, 성광수, 홍사만；將마다排除的有신창순, 이남순, 임동훈, 고영근；將뿐排除的有최현배, 성광수, 이남순, 고영근；將야말로排除的有홍사만。

¹⁹ 전에 나갔던 놈이 이제야 돌아왔네그려./ 앞으로는 자주 만납시다그려.
자네 오늘은 기분이 좋아 보이는구먼그래./그것 참 신통하군그래.

至排除的有최현배, 성광수, 이남순, 임동훈等四位。야말로總被視為야의異形態，但홍사만, 채완和고영근皆主張야말로和야應該區隔，成為補助詞的一個項目，本文亦暫以此為準。

- ⑤ 6位學者的共同項目只有밖에一個，신창순, 성광수, 채완, 이남순, 고영근等五位學者將밖에排除，其中채완(1993)主張밖에應為名詞句。

在研究補助詞的文獻中，早期最常被引用的就是홍사만和채완兩位學者，尤其是채완，從1977年的學位論文『現代國語 特殊助詞의 研究』開始，接連的幾篇論文常成為重要的參考依據。在<表1>的項目，채완認為는, 도, 만, 부터, 까지, 조차, 마저, 나마, 라도, 야這10個是所有學者共通的，但本文經整理後發現，이남순將마저, 나마排除，라도被이남순和고영근排除。因此本文決定更新채완(1993)的結論，將完全沒有爭議的補助詞下修為7個，即까지, 는, 도, 만, 부터, 야, 조차。

本文從<表1>11學者所列的補助詞項目中，扣除7個共同主張的項目如下列(A)，整理出相同者由多至少的項目如(B)（括號中的數字為相同主張的學者數）。在這些有爭議的項目中，서、만큼和더러在字典皆列為格助詞，雖然서有4位學者共同主張、만큼有3位、더러有兩位，但本文仍以字典為主，予以排除。此外，남윤진(1997)列出了말고, 갖고, 치고都是補助詞，但字典卻僅收錄치고，一樣地，本文排除말고, 갖고。綜合上述，重新整理出14個爭議項目如(B)，字典尚有14個使用頻率較低的補助詞整理如(C)(不含古用語)，最後按照韓文字母順序排出本文要討論的35個項目如(D)。

- (A) 까지, 는, 도, 만, 부터, 야, 조차 →7個
- (B) 나(10), 마저(10), 나마(9), 라도(9), 대로(7), 마다(7), 뿐(7), 야말로(7), 밖에(6), 냐들(5), 다가(5), 듣지(3), 커녕(3), (으)란(2) →14個，扣除서(4), 만큼(3), 더러(2)
- (C) 가/이, 거나, 그래/그려, 깨나, 들, 따라, 르/을, 르/을/일랑, (으)라고, (으)라야, 마는, 요, 치고, 토록 →14個
- (D) 가/이, 거나, 그래/그려, 까지, 깨나, 냐/인들, (으)나, (으)나마, 는/은, 다가, 대로, 도, (으)듣지, 들, 따라, 르/을, 르/을/일랑, (으)라고, (으)라도, (으)라야, (으)

란, 마는, 마다, 마저, 만, 밖에, 부터, 뿐, (이)야, (이)야말로, 요, 조차, 치고, 커녕, 토록

從上述可清楚看到，除了各學者對補助詞的判別標準不一之外，《國語大辭典》和學者們的主張也有相左之處。學校文法沒能對補助詞訂標準，對於有爭論的項目，學者眾說紛紜，學習者，尤其是外國學習者更是難以判斷。由於補助詞的判別標準不一，因此早期常常被當作研究的主題，但也因為沒有標準答案，成為未解的課題，近幾年更少見創新的研究。正因如此，成了身兼外國學習者與韓語教育者的筆者想嘗試全盤性探究的動機。不過，在進行這困難的課題之前，本文先整理這 35 個補助詞在《國語大辭典》的文法記述，試著從中發現一些問題及值得論述的文法點。

2. 補助詞在《國語大辭典》的文法記述

如下所示，以是為例，一個補助詞項目在《國語大辭典》的文法記述通常包含了①標題語(는 1)、②品詞(「조사」)、③文法形態(받침 없는 체언이나 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아, -게, -지, -고’，合成 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어)、④語意說明(어떤 대상이 다른 것과 대조됨을 나타내는 보조사.)、⑤例句、⑥參考語彙(「참고 어휘」 └ 02 ; 은 05)、語源(<부터<석상>←불-+어)等 6 種，第 6 種並非每個語詞都會出現。

는 1

「조사」

「1」(받침 없는 체언이나 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아’ , ‘-게’ , ‘-지’ , ‘-고’ 합성 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어)어떤 대상이 다른 것과 대조됨을 나타내는 보조사.

¶ 산에는 눈 내리고 들에는 비 내린다./비가 많이는 오지 않았다.

「참고 어휘」 └ 02 ; 은 05

這裡想再強調的是標題語，由於字典裡把每個形態都列為一個項目，所以像└/은/는在字典就是三個項目，本文後面會探討異形態的文法記述差異問題

，但在這之前先將異形態歸為一個項目。此外，由於版面的限制，本章省略了語意(或只留下與本文論述相關之部分)和參考語彙等項目，例句則配合說明擇之節錄。以下依韓文字母順序將上述篩選出的 35 個補助詞文法記述整理如下，並從中找出記述上的問題點。(每個()括號為一種語意用法、畫底線部分為差異之處)

가/이

가:

[2] (받침 없는 체언이나 부사어 뒤, 또는 연결 어미 ‘-지’ 나 ‘-고 싶다’ 구성에
서 본동사의 목적이나 받침 없는 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

이:

[2] (받침 있는 일부 부사 뒤에 붙어) (‘-고 싶다’ 구성에서 본동사의 목적이나
받침 있는 부사어 뒤에 붙어) (받침 있는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

『방이 깨끗하지가 않다./ 철수는 김치가 먹고 싶었다.

『힘껏 도와주겠다더니, 힘껏이 겨우 이거야? /도대체 우리 행동이 무엇이 잘못되
었다는 거야?

異形態的가/이有不兩種以上的用法，每個用法的文法記述不太一樣，在第[2]用法的第 1 種記述中，如底線所示，이比가少了體言、副詞也變成‘一部 일부’；第 2 種記述則是少了終結語尾지；이有第三種用法：「앞말을 지정하여 강조하는 뜻을 나타냄」，但與第一種的用法一樣，建議可以刪除，以免引起學習者的混淆。一般學習者會認為이/가只是異形態，文法特性應該一樣，但從上面的文法記述中得知，他們幾乎是各自表述，不僅所接的文法形態不同，連用法也有所差別，因此字典將每個異形態列為一個項目有其重大意義，但過去並沒有學者探討過這個議題，是否應該重新定義補助詞的項目設定標準，是值得再考慮的課題。

거나 2(종결 어미 ‘-다’ , ‘-ㄴ다’ , ‘-는다’ , ‘-라’ 따위의 뒤에 붙어)

『공부를 한다거나 일을 한다거나 하여 잡념을 없앤다. →補助詞

거나沒接在名詞之後，只接在某些終結語尾之後，這和下面的그래/그려有類似之處。

그래/그려 (하게할 자리나 하오할 자리 또는 합쇼할 자리의 일부 종결 어미 뒤에 붙어)

¶그 집 사정이 참 딱하네그려./ 자네 오늘은 기분이 좋아 보이는구먼그래.

까지 3 (체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

¶서울에서 부산까지/ 집을 나가면서까지/ 저렇게까지

깨나 어느 정도 이상의 뜻을 나타내는 보조사.

¶돈깨나 있다고 남을 깔보면 되겠니?/ 얼굴을 보니 심술깨나 부리겠더구나.

까지接在名詞和副詞與之後，這是典型的補助詞特性；깨나在字典裡沒有任何文法形態的說明，只有語意和例句，無法得知是否只接在在名詞之後。

ㄴ/인들 1 「조사」 (받침 있/없는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

ㄴ들 「어미」 (‘이다’ 의 어간, 받침 없는 용언의 어간, ‘ㄹ’ 받침인 용언의 어간 또는 어미 ‘-으시-’ 뒤에 붙어)

ㄴ들有補助詞和連結語尾的用法，但인들在字典中只有補助詞的用法，接在有尾音的名詞之後；語尾ㄴ들接在語幹和이다之後，和補助詞一樣皆為‘-다고 할지라도’之意。然，如下列例(1)中的인들常被混淆，字典中(1a)是接在有尾音的補助詞인들，(1b)是繫辭-이]+ㄴ들，但乍看之下實難以區分哪個是補助詞、哪個是語尾？有關帶著‘-이’的補助詞辨別標準，채완(1993)、이원근(1996)、엄정호(1997)、최동주(1999)等學者皆有論述，例如채완(1993)以“先語末語尾介入的可能性”和“母音下‘-이’的脫落與否”為基準，來判別帶有‘-이’的補助詞是否真為補助詞，因此判定이든지和인들非補助詞。類似例子還有(이)나, (이)나마, (이)든지, (이)라고, (이)라도, (이)라야, (이)란, 일랑, (이)야, (이)야말로等，共11個，先一併集中說明如下。

- (1) a. 네 마음인들 오죽하겠니? →補助詞
b. 그놈이 제아무리 장사인들 이 바위를 들겠느냐? →連結語尾

(o)나 10 [1]보조사 (받침 없는 체언이나 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아, -게, -지, -고’, 합성 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어)(받침 있는 체언이나 부사어, 합성 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어) [2] 접속조사 (받침 있/없는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

¶자기가 무슨 대장이나 되는 것처럼 굴더라. →補助詞
¶바자회 물품으로 책이나 옷을 받고 있다. →接續助詞

如標底線所示，沒有尾音的形態可以接在連結語尾之後，但有尾音的形態則不行。這又再次說明每個異形態都有其獨特的性質，未來的研究課題似乎應該像字典一樣，將每個異形態列為一個項目。此外，(o)나也有接續助詞的功能，但語意不一樣，較不易混淆。

(o)나마 7 「조사」 (받침 있/없는 체언류나 부사어 뒤에 붙어) 「참고 어휘」-나마 08

나마 8 「어미」(‘이다’의 어간, 받침 없는 용언의 어간, ‘ㄹ’ 받침인 용언의 어간 또는 어미 ‘-으시-’ 뒤에 붙어) 「참고 어휘」나마 07 ; -으나마.

¶조금이나마 도움이 됐으면 합니다. →補助詞

和ㄴ/인들一樣，나마有補助詞和連結語尾的用法，이나마只登錄為補助詞，接在有尾音的名詞之後；語尾나마可接在이다語幹之後，因為語意類似，易造成混淆，但字典裡並沒有舉이다+나마的句子，因此上列的舉例也很難直觀認定是否為補助詞。此外，補助詞和語尾나마在字典的記述下方皆有彼此的「參考語彙」(如底線標示)，說明兩個不同品詞的語彙具有類似的用法，但這樣的說明恐怕會更引起學習者的混淆，似乎有修正必要。

(o)든지 1 「조사」(받침 없는 체언이나 부사어, 또는 종결 어미 ‘-다, -ㄴ다, -는다 -라’ 따위의 뒤에 붙어)(받침 있는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

든지 「어미」(용언의 어간 또는 어미 ‘-으시-’, ‘-었-’ 뒤에 붙어)

¶**사과든지 배든지** 다 좋다. →補助詞

¶**봄이든지 가을이든지** 한번 여행을 다녀와야겠다. →補助詞

든지有補助詞和語尾的用法，이든지只登錄為補助詞，但語尾든지和나、-들不一樣，沒有接在이다後面的情況，因此較易區分。然，성광수(1979:106)曾舉下列(2)說明든지是句子接續的助詞，即接續助詞，並非補助詞，對此，채완(1993:83-86)也有相同的論點。問題是字典對든지的文法記述只有補助詞和語尾兩種，因此例句(2)究竟補助詞還是接續助詞，仍是未解的問題。

(2) 철수든지 영자든지 한 사람이 가야 한다. →接續助詞 (성광수 1979:106)

(으)라고 2 「조사」 (받침 있/없는 체언 뒤에 붙어)

라고 「어미」(‘이다, 아니다’ 어간이나 어미 ‘-으시-’, ‘-더-’, ‘-으리-’ 뒤에 붙어)

¶**시골 아이라고** 그것도 모르겠니? /**선생님이라고** 무엇이든 다 아나? →補助詞

¶**서로 잘 아는 친구 사이라고** 무례하게 대해서는 안 된다. →連結語尾

¶**이웃사촌이라고** 면 친척보다 가까운 이웃이 좋다. →連結語尾

라고也有補助詞和連結語尾的用法，이라고在字典中只登錄為補助詞，但是如上面字典中的例句，라고前面不管有沒有‘-으’都很難分清楚其詞性。另，字典的語尾라고並沒有列舉接在‘-으시-, -더-, -으리-’後面的例子；又語尾和補助詞的라고都有表示‘原因理由’的用法，更分不清楚哪個是補助詞。下面的라도，라야都是一樣的情形，不再贅述。

(으)라도 1 「조사」(받침 없는 체언이나 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아, -게, -지, -고’ , 합

성 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어) (받침 있는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

라도 2 「어미」(‘이다, 아니다’ 어간이나 어미 ‘-으시-’, ‘-더-’, ‘-으리-’ 뒤에 붙어)

¶아무리 선생님이라도 모르는 것이 있다. →補助詞

¶그것이 금덩이라도 나는 안 가진다. →連結語尾

(의)라야 1 「조사」 「1」(받침 있/없는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어) 어떤 것을 들어 말하면서 꼭 그것임을 지정하여 말함을 나타내는 보조사. 「2」(받침 있는 체언 뒤에 붙어) 대수롭지 않게 여기며 그것을 들어 말함을 나타내는 보조사. 라야 「어미」(‘이다’, ‘아니다’ 의 어간이나 어미 ‘-으시-’ 뒤에 붙어) 앞 절의 일이 뒤 절 일의 조건임을 나타내는 연결 어미.

¶이 일은 그 사람이라야 할 수 있다. →補助詞

¶신호등이 초록색이라야 건널 수 있다. →連結語尾

(의)라야的第一種用法比第二種用法多了副詞語可接，語尾的라야接在이 다後面一樣會產生混淆。

(의)란 4 「조사」(받침 있/없는 체언 뒤에 붙어)

란 ‘-라고 하는’ 이 줄어든 말.

「1」(이다, 아니다’ 의 어간이나 어미 ‘-으시-, -더-, -으리-’ 뒤에 붙어)
「2」(받침 없는 동사 어간, ‘ㄹ’ 받침인 동사 어간 또는 어미 ‘-으시-’ 뒤에 붙어)
「3」(‘이다, 아니다’ 의 어간이나 어미 ‘-으시-, -더-, -으리-’ 뒤에 붙어)
「4」(받침없는 동사 어간, ‘ㄹ’ 받침인 동사 어간 또는 어미 ‘-으시-’ 뒤에 붙어)

¶친구란 어려울 때 도와주는 것이 참다운 친구야. →補助詞

¶사람이란 제 분수를 지킬 줄 알아야 하느니라. →補助詞

¶철수란 아이가 이 연극의 주인공이다. →-라고 하는的縮語

¶가란 소리 못 들었니? →-라고 하는的縮語

¶이 이야기가 거짓이란 이유가 뭐였냐? →-라고 하는的縮語

¶먼저 그만두란 사람이 누군데 이제 와서 후회냐? →-라고 하는的縮語

表示「라고 하는」縮語的란在字典的文法記述有四種，但很明顯看出「1」和「3」、「2」和「4」是一樣的，可以說是兩種而已，不知道為何字典要如此陳述？又，在「1」說明下卻舉了沒有이다的例子「철수란(上面第3個例句)」，造成與補助詞란的混淆。

근랑 「조사」(받침 없는 체언이나 조사 ‘에, 에서’, 어미 ‘-고서, -어서, -지’ 따위 뒤에 붙어)

을랑 「조사」(받침 있는 체언 뒤에 붙어)

일랑 「조사」(받침 있는 체언 뒤에 붙어)

¶이런 책을랑 아이들에게 읽히지 마세요.

¶술일랑 다시 마시지 마라.

如同前面提及，**근랑**除了沒有尾音的名詞，也可以接在助詞、部分語尾之後；**을랑**，**일랑**只接在有尾音的名詞之後，三個的語意一樣。但是，同為接在有尾音名詞的**을랑**和**일랑**差別在哪裡、兩者是否可以互換？字典並沒有說明。

(으)야 11 「조사」(받침 없는 체언이나 부사어 또는 어미 뒤에 붙어)(받침 있는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

야 「어미」(끝음절의 모음이 ‘ㅏ, ㅓ’이고 받침 없는 용언의 어간 뒤에 붙어)

¶한 달이 지나서야 소식이 왔다. →補助詞

¶장을 건너야 집에 가는 차를 탈 수 있다. →連結語尾

接在無尾音的名詞與副詞語之後的補助詞야，還可以接在語尾之後；連結語尾的야則只能接在沒有尾音的語幹之後，這樣的差異很清楚能分辨이야的이不是이다來的。

(으)야-말로 「조사」(받침 있/없는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

이야말로和上面的이다系列補助詞不一樣，야말로和이야말로都只有補助詞用法，但存在一個爭點是，字典裡(으)야和말로中間有「-」，有些學者主張(

이)야말로是(이)야+말로的複合形態，不列為補助詞，例如성광수(1979:175)主張(이)야말로是(이)야的強調構造，所以只列了(이)야為補助詞項目(홍사만, 이남순, 임동훈等學者也未將야말로列為補助詞項目)。但채완(1993:88-90)則舉了例句(3)反駁了성광수(1979)的說法，認為如果야말로是야的強調形態，那麼야말로應該可以替代야的使用，反之應該通用，但事實並非如此。另，字典對야말로記述中「참고 어휘」標示「야 11」，意味著야말로和야是類似詞，如此是否又造成學習者的混淆，值得探討。

(3)a. 철수{야, *야말로} 똑똑하지만 동생이 걱정이라오.

- b. 꼭{야, *야말로} 장담할 수 없지만 노력해 보지요.
- c. 철수가 머리{야, *야말로} 물론 좋지요. 노력을 안해서 그렇지.
- d. 한글{이야말로, *야} 우리의 자랑거리다.
- e. 영이{야말로, *야} 철수의 이상형이다.

은/는 1 「조사」

「1」(받침 없는 체언이나 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아’, ‘-게’, ‘-지’, ‘-고’ 합성 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어) (받침 있는 체언이나 부사어, 합성 동사의 선택 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어) 어떤 대상이 다른 것과 대조됨을 나타내는 보조사.

「2」(받침 있/없는 체언 뒤에 붙어) 문장 속에서 어떤 대상이 화제임을 나타내는 보조사.

「3」(받침 있/없는 체언이나 부사어, 일부 연결어미 뒤에 붙어) 강조의 뜻을 나타내는 보조사.

從上面畫底線部分得知，은/는隨著用法的不同，文法記述也有些許差異。表示對象和對照的「1」는除了名詞、副詞語之外，也可以接在連結語尾 ‘-아’, ‘-게’, ‘-지’, ‘-고’ 和合成動詞的先行要素之後，但字典沒有例句；「1」的異形態은只能接合成動詞的先行要素，同時舉了“이 방이 깨끗은 하지만, 너무 좋다。”的例句，比「1」는的說明較為清楚。另，表示強調的「3」은/는的文法記述中提到可接在「部份連結語尾」之後，也舉了“무엇이든 열심히 하면은 좋

은 일이 있을 것이다.” 說明，但還有哪些連結語尾，字典並沒有列出。

다가 2 「조사」(장소나 방향, 수단, 대상을 나타내는 일부 조사나 체언, 어미 ‘-아 /어’ 따위에 붙어)

字典裡雖然舉出了幾個例子(어디다가, 책상에다가, 병으로다가)說明可接在表場所/方向/手段的名詞和助詞後面，但仍然無法得知所謂部分助詞或名詞是指哪些？另外也沒有例句說明可接於아/어語尾的用法。又，다가接在아/어之後，容易和語尾아/어다가混淆，這兩種的差異也無法從字典中查明。

아/어다가 「어미」 (끝음절의 모음 동사 어간 뒤에 붙어)

『빛을 얻어다가 사업을 시작했다.

接著，下面的補助詞都是只接在名詞(或名詞類)之後，共有대로, 따라(部份名詞), 마다, 마저, 밖에(名詞或名詞型語尾), 조차, 치고, 커녕, 토록(部份名詞)等 9 個，在此一併整理。但這當中，值得一提的是，조사的舉例和文法記述有些出入，(4a)的‘에게서’是格助詞，非名詞；此外，像밖에說明中的‘名詞形語尾’在字典也會以‘名詞類’出現，例如(4b)的‘-기’定義為名詞形語尾，但(4c)的기卻稱為名詞類，專有名稱應該統一使用較好。

대로 10 「조사」(체언 뒤에 붙어)

따라 「조사」 (주로 ‘오늘’ ‘날’ 따위의 체언 뒤에 붙어)

마다 4 「조사」(체언 뒤에 붙어)

마저 「조사」 (체언 뒤에 붙어)

밖에 「조사」(주로 체언이나 명사형 어미 뒤에 붙어)

조차 8 「조사」(흔히 체언 뒤에 붙어)

치고 「조사」(체언 뒤에 붙어)

커녕 「조사」(체언 뒤에 붙어)

토록 2 「조사」(일부 체언 뒤에 붙어)

- (4) a. 그는 자기 자식들 에게서조차 벼름받는 신세가 되었다.
b. 떨어져 봤자 조금 다치기밖에 더하겠니?
c. 그는 돕기는커녕 방해할 생각만 하고 있는 듯했다.

此外，커녕有「-는」/「은」/「는커녕」三個異形態，字典中清楚說明這些是補助詞「-」/「은」/「는」加上補助詞커녕而成的，屬複合型的補助詞，因此임홍빈(1999)以「은커녕」為項目(見<表 1>)，似乎有再探究之必要，本文因排除複合形補助詞，故以커녕為代表項目。

ㄴ/은/는커녕 「조사」(반침 없는 체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어) 보조사 ‘ㄴ’에 보조사 ‘커녕’이 결합한 말이다.

도 15 「조사」(체언류나 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아, -게, -지, -고’ , 합성 동사의 선행 요소 따위의 뒤에 붙어)

들 5 「조사」(체언, 부사어, 연결 어미 ‘-아, -게, -지, -고’ , 합성 동사의 선행 요소, 문장의 끝 따위의 뒤에 붙어)

들 9 「접사」(셀 수 있는 명사나 대명사 뒤에 붙어)

들 3 「의존명사」(명사 뒤에 쓰여) 두 개 이상의 사물을 나열할 때, 그 열거한 사물 모두를 가리키거나, 그 밖에 같은 종류의 사물이 더 있음을 나타내는 말.

¶이 방에서 텔레비전을 보고들 있어라./다 떠나들 갔구나. →補助詞

¶사람들/그들/너희들/사건들. →接詞

¶과일에는 사과, 배, 감들이 있다. →依存名詞

對外國學習者再熟悉不過的들竟有補助詞、接詞和依存名詞三種用法，這樣的區分說明不曾出現在教材中，學習者唯有透過字典才會發現，不過，字典雖然很清楚作了區分，但補助詞들下面沒有接在名詞之後的例句，接詞들的例句也很簡單，應可再多加補充。

ㄹ/를/을 「조사」

ㄹ/를[2] (조사 ‘에, 으로’, 연결 어미 ‘-아, -게, -지, -고’, 받침 있/없는 일부 부사 뒤에 붙어)

을[2] (받침 있는 일부 부사 뒤에 붙어) 강조하는 뜻을 나타내는 보조사.

¶네가 먹고 싶은 대로 맘껏을 마셔라.

¶너는 또 어쩌자고 그곳엔 갔니?

¶너는 어쩌자고 혼자 시장에를 갔니?

補助詞ㄹ/을/를和格助詞列在同列在‘助詞’下，但三個異形態分為ㄹ/를和을兩組，前面可以接的形態種類不一樣。을只能接在部分副詞之後，ㄹ和를還可以接在助詞에, 으로以及連結語尾-아, -게, -지, -고之後，ㄹ比를更口語。

마는「조사」(종결 어미 ‘-다, -냐, -랴, -지’ 따위의 뒤에 붙어)

마는沒接在名詞之後，只接在終結語尾之後，常被歸類為終結補助詞。

만 14 「조사」

字典沒有任何文法形態的記述，只有語意和例句的解說。下面的부터和畢竟都是沒有爭議的補助詞，字典中的說明也足夠，不再贅述。

부터「조사」(체언이나 부사어 또는 일부 어미 뒤에 붙어)

畢竟2「조사」(체언이나 부사어 뒤에 붙어)

요 17 「조사」(주로 해할 자리에 쓰이는 종결 어미나 일부 하게할 자리에 쓰이는 종결 어미 뒤에 붙어), (체언이나 부사어, 연결 어미 따위의 뒤에 붙어)

「1」 ¶돈이 없어요. /기차가 참 빨리 가지요.

「2」 ¶마음은요 더없이 좋아요. /그렇게 해 주시기만 하면요 정말 감사하겠어요.

表示敬語的補助詞요有兩種用法，「1」只接在終結語尾之後，就是學習者所認知的表尊敬的語尾，另一個「2」接在名詞、副詞語、連結語尾後，話眾所熟悉的口語用法。但這兩種的요非語尾，而是助詞。

以上將 35 個補助詞在《國語大辭典》中的文法記述一一做了檢視，並對照學者的主張，指出了《國語大辭典》在記述上的優點及待補強之處。優點方面，特別是異形態部分，本文雖然將異形態列為一個項目，但從文法記述中發現其實每個異形態所接的文法形態並不一樣，甚至像 는 或 은，雖為同一個用法但卻會因語意不同所接的文法形態也隨之改變，這是學習者容易疏忽而犯錯的部分，因此本文將這些異形態的區別一一整理為〈表 2〉。缺點方面，《國語大辭典》裡的舉例偶會和記述的內容有所出入，若能夠一一搭配說明，學習者更能夠清楚掌握用法。另外，從〈表 2〉中補助詞前面可接的助詞類一欄可得知，字典中標示可接在助詞類的補助詞只有 **다가**, **ㄹ/를**, **ㄹ랑** 等三個，但大家都知道到，**은**, **부터** 前面是可以加助詞類的(-까지도, -만은, -에서부터)，然字典卻沒有陳述出來，如此不一致的陳述問題，恐有修正必要。

〈表 2〉 《國語大辭典》中補助詞前面可結合的詞

編號	項目	名詞類	助詞類	副詞類	連結語尾	終結語尾	其他
1	가	v		v	v		고 싶다
	이	v		v			고 싶다
4	거나					v(部分)	
5	그래/그려					v (部分)	
2	까지	v		v			
3	깨나	無說明					
6	ㄴ들	v		v			
	인들			v			
7	나	v		v	v		合成動詞
	이나	v		v			合成動詞
8	(이)나마	v		v			
9	는	v「1-3」		v「1,3」	v「1,3」		合成動詞 1,3
	은	v「1-3」		v「2,3」	v「3」		合成動詞 1,3
10	다가	v(部分)	v(部分)		v(아/어)		
11	대로	v					
13	도	v		v	v		合成動詞
14	든지	v		v		v	
	이든지	v		v			
15	들	v		v	v		合成動詞/문장 끝
12	따라	v(오늘, 날)					
16	ㄹ/를		v(에, 으로)	v(部分)	v		
	을			v			
17	ㄹ랑	v	v(에, 에서)		v(고서, 아서, 지)		
	을/일랑	v					
18	(이)라고	v					

19	라도	v		v	v		合成動詞
	이라도	v		v			
20	(이)라야	v		v			
21	(이)란	v		v			
22	마는					v	
23	마다	v					
24	마저	v					
25	만(?)	無說明					
26	밖에	v					
27	부터	v		v	v(部分?)		
28	뿐	v		v			
29	야	v		v	v		
	이야	v		v			
30	(이)야말로	v		v			
31	요	v「1」		v「1」	v「1」	v「2」	
32	조차	v					
33	치고	v					
34	커녕	v					
35	토록	v(部分)					

3. 結言與課題

字典是學習者最依賴的工具書，如果將文法記述上的疏漏補充得更完整，相信可以減少學習者的誤用，希望本文的整理能提供給國立國語院一些參考。本文乃韓語補助詞研究的初試探，因為資料相當複雜繁多，學者的主張也很分歧，與學校文法又有出入之處，本文僅將問題點揭露出來，尚未找到解決方法。本文透過地毯式的分析整理，對於初步了解補助詞的用法有其助益，但對於更進一步的補助詞識別標準並未探討，這也是接下來要研究的重大課題，希望諸多不足之處能在後續的研究中得到改善。

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索洛古勃小說《創造的傳奇》中的諾斯替主題

徐孟宣 *

摘要

費奧多爾・索洛古勃(Фёдор Сологуб, 1863-1927) 是俄國象徵主義派老一代的作家之一，終其一生所創作的詩歌與散文等量並重。許多研究者指出，叔本華(Arthur Schopenhauer, 1788-1860)的悲觀主義哲學與諾斯替主義思想是探討索洛古勃作品的兩大關鍵，後者對台灣的俄國文學研究界仍顯陌生。近年海峽兩岸出現一些相關論文，但仍有許多探討的空間。

本文擬就諾斯替主義的視角切入分析索洛古勃的長篇小說《創造的傳奇》，先釐清諾斯替主義的源起、發展與諾斯替主義語境的象徵意義，進而分析小說中展現的諾斯替主題。本文研究結果顯示：小說《創造的傳奇》隱含諾斯替主義造物主(Demiurg)的創造、否定此世界，肯定彼世界、以及掙脫束縛，追求救贖的主題，由此得以更進一步理解這本三部曲的小說。

關鍵詞：索洛古勃、《創造的傳奇》、諾斯替主義、造物主

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The gnostic Themes in F. Sologub's *The Created Legend*

Schu, Meng-I^{*}

Abstract

Fedor Sologub (Фёдор Сологуб, 1863-1927) was a Russian symbolist writer, who created both poetry and prose. According to recent researches, Schopenhauer's philosophical pessimism and Gnosticism were two key points to comprehend Sologub's literary works. This article focused on discussing Sologub's novel *The Created Legend* from the perspective of Gnosticism. Firstly, the author expounded the origin and development of Gnosticism, and elaborated the symbolic meanings of gnostic context. Furthermore, author analyzed the gnostic theme presented in the novel. The study concluded that *The Created Legend* implied the three themes of Gnosticism: the creation of Demiurge; denying real world, affirming another world, and struggling for salvation.

Keywords: F. Sologub, *The Created Legend*, Gnosticism, Demiurge

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前言

費奧多爾・索洛古勃（Фёдор Сологуб，1863-1927，本名費奧多爾・庫茲米奇・捷捷爾尼科夫 Фёдор Кузьмич Тетерников）是俄國象徵主義派老一代的作家之一，終其一生所創作的詩歌與散文等量並重。同時代人對索洛古勃的評價呈現兩極狀態：作家與斯想家如伊凡諾夫(Вячеслав И. Иванов, 1866-1917)、高爾基(Максим Горький, 1868-1936)、舍斯托夫(Лев И. Шестов, 1866-1938)等人肯定他的創作，認為他是當代著名的作家；而一般讀者與評論家眼中，索洛古勃則是「頹廢派分子、是死亡、妨害社會利益、個人主義、否認道德和色情文學的謳歌者」¹。索洛古勃行文淺白，並不刻意運用生澀冷僻的字句，但如同所有的象徵主義派同儕與後輩，索洛古勃的作品背後，也有其個人倚重的宗教與哲學脈絡，其中尤以諾斯替主義(гностицизм)²思想和叔本華(Arthur Schopenhauer, 1788-1860)悲觀厭世的哲學最為特出，許多研究者也常藉此作為解讀索洛古勃詩文的鑰匙。

縱觀西方學者對白銀時期文學的論述可以看出，出自相同或相近歷史文化傳承的學者並不額外詮釋叔本華與諾斯替主義。相較於哲學家叔本華，諾斯替思想應是令海峽兩岸俄國文學研究者更感陌生的議題。近年來諾斯替主義已引起中國學者的關注，例如梁坤在〈俄羅斯文學傳統中女性崇拜的宗教文化淵源〉中指出索菲亞對俄國思想界的重要性，另一篇〈俄羅斯魔鬼學說的宗教哲學淵源〉一文中提及諾斯替主義對於白銀時期惡魔學的影響³；王安從諾斯替主義觀點分析納博科夫(Владимир В. Набоков, 1899-1977)的小說，並概述諾斯替主義的世界觀、人類學與象徵語言⁴；李志強在《索洛古勃小說創作中的宗教神話主題》一書中，也將諾斯替主義納入考量⁵；景劍峰則是從諾斯替主義中的索菲亞概念論及白銀

¹ 布羅伊特曼著。譚思同譯。〈費奧多爾・索洛古勃〉。俄羅斯科學院高爾基世界文學研究所集體編寫。谷羽、王亞民等譯。《俄羅斯白銀時代文學史》II，蘭州：敦煌文藝出版社，2006，頁381。

² Гностицизм 中文無固定翻譯，除了諾斯替主義之外，也譯成諾斯替(教)派或簡稱之為諾斯替。除了音譯的諾斯替之外，另有意譯的靈知主義/靈知派一稱。

³ 梁坤。〈俄羅斯文學傳統中女性崇拜的宗教文化淵源〉，《中國人民大學學報》。2006，第3期，頁138-143；〈俄羅斯魔鬼學說的宗教哲學淵源〉，《俄羅斯文藝》。2007，第4期。頁29-34。

⁴ 王安。〈《斬首之邀》中的諾斯替主義〉，《俄羅斯文藝》。2007，第4期。頁35-38。

⁵ 李志強著。《索洛古勃小說創作中的宗教神話主題》。成都：四川大學出版社，2010。

時期的索菲亞崇拜⁶；臺灣除了筆者先前研究索洛古勃小說略為提及諾斯替主義之外⁷，另有陳志豪援引諾斯替宗教之概念分析索洛古勃的短篇小說⁸。儘管如此，諾斯替主義與白銀時期作家與作品的關聯仍有許多值得探討的空間，也能提供理解作家與作品的另一方向。

索洛古勃的《創造的傳奇》(Творимая легенда, 1914)是他的長篇小說中篇幅最大的一部作品，小說以三部曲的形式組成，原本以第一部《陰間的誘惑》(Навьи чары)為名，自 1907 年開始陸續發表，1914 年經過刪改更名為《創造的傳奇》⁹。這部小說反應出索洛古勃的理性思考和神祕主義世界觀，延續與拓展作家的創作理念。小說主角特里羅多夫(Триродов)被賦予創造傳奇的身份，與當時象徵主義作家所偏好的諾斯替造物主德穆革(Демиург)有緊密關聯，小說中的人物與情節也受到諾斯替思想的渲染。本文擬以諾斯替主義為切入點，首先概述諾斯替主義的由來與特點，尤其是造物主德穆革的概念，進而以此探討諾斯替主題對小說《創造的傳奇》的型塑與影響，以求更深入理解索洛古勃的這部小說。

1. 諾斯替主義的源起與核心概念

1.1. 諾斯替主義的源起與發展

諾斯替主義(гностицизм, Gnosticism)這個名稱，通常用來指稱西元前後出現於猶太教、基督教內部和周圍的許多派別學說的集合詞，它來自希臘語的「諾斯」(gnosis)一詞，原本的意思為「知識」。在諾斯替宗教語境當中，「知識」並不是客觀理性思維下的產物，而是獲得拯救的手段¹⁰。最早期的諾斯替文獻，幾乎都

⁶ 景劍峰。〈論諾斯替教中的索菲亞觀念〉，《基督教斯想評論》。2012，總第十四輯。頁 142-156。

⁷ 徐孟宜。〈索洛古勃短篇小說裏的二元論世界觀〉，《俄語學報》。1999，第 2 期。頁 212-231；〈索洛古勃小說《小魔鬼》中的惡〉，《俄國經典文學與人生》——國立政治大學俄文系 2003 年國際學術研討會論文集》。2004，頁 195-212。

⁸ 陳志豪。《索洛古勃短篇小說中的厭世情結》。臺北，2013。

⁹ 《創造的傳奇》俄文與德、英文出版與增刪與改寫之過程參見 Сысоева А. История прижизненных изданий романа Федора Сологуба «Творимая легенда» // Пвалова М. М. Федор Сологуб: Биография, творчество, интерпретации: Материалы IV Международной научной конференции. СПб: ООО «ИПК «Коста», 2010. С. 397-409.

¹⁰ 約納斯著。張新樟譯。《諾斯替宗教——異鄉神的信息與基督教的開端》。香港：道風書社，2003，頁 43。

是間接保存於虔誠護教的基督教教父或是新柏拉圖主義者的駁斥文論之中，他們視諾斯替教派為自身宗教或希臘哲學的偏離和誤解，因此將諾斯替思想劃為異端，或是歸類於異教¹¹。在他們眼中，諾斯替信徒運用《聖經》的形式，以自己的建構破壞了基督教學說的根本：貶低上帝所創造的世界，〔…〕毀謗舊約中的造物主¹²，似是而非、甚至完全悖反的諾斯替信仰，令他們難以容忍。

西元前後幾個世紀的古代時期是諾斯替主義開端、發展與興盛之時，其中包括從基督教發展出來的瓦倫廷(Valentinian)體系、崇拜大蛇的弗利吉亞的納塞內派(Phrygian Naassenes)、前基督教的猶太諾斯替主義，例如西門·馬古(Simon Magus)¹³、希臘化異教的諾斯替主義、希臘化影響範圍之外的東方諾斯替主義，例如曼達派(Mandaean)¹⁴。再者，如果不以「諾斯」當作取捨標準，那麼教義之中含有二元論的摩尼教(Manichaeism)也應歸入諾斯替派。¹⁵

除了摩尼教曾持續發展擴張了幾世紀，曼達派一直延續到今日，在伊朗、伊拉克仍有少數教徒之外¹⁶，其他幾個體系都先後被冠上「異端」而逐漸失去影響地位，隱沒在歷史洪流之中。但事實上諾斯替思想從沒有真正滅絕¹⁷，俄羅斯因

¹¹稱之為「間接保存」諾斯替文獻，是因為早期的教父們(例如伊里奈烏(Irenaeus, 約 120~200)、奧利金(Origenes, 約 185~約 254))在批評論證的過程當中，常常整段引用所駁斥的文獻內容，或是描述教派活動及領導人物等等，諾斯替教派的大概輪廓得以以此方法留存下來。詳見約納斯著。《諾斯替宗教》，同註 10，頁 49-51；Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1994, S.15f, 20f.

¹²梁坤。〈俄羅斯魔鬼學說的宗教哲學淵源〉，同註 3，頁 32。

¹³ 詳見 Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*, 同註 11，頁 315ff; Еремеев С. И. (состав.) *Гностики или о "ложеменном знании"*. Київ: "УЦІММ-ПРЕСС", 1997. С. 149-153.

¹⁴西元一、二世紀流行於約旦河東岸，認為人的靈魂終將從肉體桎梏中解脫，救贖者是一位類似基督的「曼達」，即人格化的生命知識。詳見任繼愈主編。《宗教辭典》下冊。台北：恩楷，2002 頁 774。

¹⁵約納斯著。《諾斯替宗教》，同註 10，頁 44；摩尼教在瑣羅亞斯德教的基礎上吸收基督教、佛教和諾斯替教等思想材料，摩尼自稱是上帝選派的最後一位先知。摩尼教在西元八、九世紀成為中亞高昌王國的國教，傳入中國之後，也被稱為明教。詳見任繼愈主編。《宗教辭典》同註 13，頁 1073。

¹⁶ 羅賓遜、史密夫編。楊克勤譯。《靈知派經書》卷上。香港：漢語基督教文化研究所，2000，頁 7。

¹⁷例如五世紀開始流傳於亞美尼亞與小亞細亞的保羅派(Paulicians)、於中世紀流行於地中海沿岸各國的潔淨派(Cathari, 亦稱卡特里派)、法國南部的阿爾比貞派(Albigense)、十世紀至十五世紀流行於巴爾幹、保加利亞、小亞細亞的鮑格米勒派(Bogomilen, 或譯為上帝之友會)，這些教派的

為接受了東正教的信仰，十四世紀中葉之後，諾斯替思想就透過拜占庭和東正教傳入俄國¹⁸。

作為宗教派別的諾斯替主義雖然式微，但它的思想理念除了在少數小型宗教團體獲得延續之外，還保留在諸如玫瑰十字會(розенкрайцеры)與共濟會(масонство)的祕密結社之中。十九世紀下半葉布拉瓦茨基夫人(Helena Blavaasky, Елена Блаватская, 1831-1891)將諾斯替思想納入她的神秘學體系，對英國的祕修團體黃金黎明(Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn)產生重大影響，她的著作隨著神智學會也流傳到俄國，一度在藝文圈中流行。一九四五至一九四六年上埃及發掘出一批名為拿戈·瑪第(Nag Hammadi)的古抄本，其中有許多諾斯替思想的文獻，補全了古代駁斥諾斯替思想文論裡的殘篇，也因此帶動西方對諾斯替主義的研究。¹⁹

諾斯替主義是一種混合主義，它包含東方神話、巴比倫占星學、伊朗神學、猶太傳統、基督教和柏拉圖主義中的重要元素，而各項成分的多寡和取捨，則成為諾斯替各派相互區隔的指標。諾斯替思想的多樣性，顯現此一教派對外或是對內都抱持容忍的態度：諾斯替沒有明確統一的教會組織、沒有標準的教規或教義、沒有所謂的宗教正典，各教派的文獻呈現一種繁複並存的面貌，常可見相互矛盾之處，甚至可以說，諾斯替教徒不僅不關心統一文獻，反而以其豐富多樣的面貌彰顯神蹟。²⁰

1.2. 諾斯替主義的宇宙觀

諾斯替教派有許多相似與不同的版本詮釋宇宙的生成，大致上可分為兩類：一類以曼達派和摩尼教為代表，認為世界形成是光明和黑暗偶然接觸所產生，由男性神所主導；另一類以瓦倫廷派為代表，認為世界形成是神性墮落的結果，由

宗教理念當中，都有鮮明的諾斯替色彩。

¹⁸ 劉小楓編。朱雁冰、李秋零、吳增定等譯。《靈知主義及其現代性謀殺》。香港：道風書社，2001，頁236：斯拉夫使徒基利爾將諾斯替色彩濃厚的托名狄奧尼休斯(Dionysius the (Pseudo-) Areopagite)的神祕神學作品翻譯為斯拉夫文字。

¹⁹ 羅賓遜、史密夫編。楊克勤譯。《靈知派經書》卷下。香港：漢語基督教文化研究所，2004，頁308-315。

²⁰ Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*, 同註11，頁59-60。

女性神所造成，惡沒有先前存在的本質。²¹以下所概述的諾斯替宇宙觀，基本上是以瓦倫廷派思想為藍本。諾斯替思想中的世界創造者和整個世界的來源，追根究底是神界的錯誤：至高無上神曾經流溢出最初的光明體，其中一個是挪斯(Nous)，是「心靈」之意。挪斯想通過自己的創造來榮耀父，於是又流溢出許多移湧(Aeon)，從這些移湧當中產生智慧，即索菲亞(Sophia)²²。索菲亞意圖模仿神的創造，卻因而墮落至下界，神界因索菲亞的衝動創造，不再和諧平靜；為了拯救索菲亞，新的移湧出現，後來又流溢出稱為耶穌的移湧，擔負拯救的使命。

低階的索菲亞以物質和魂造出德穆革(Demiurge)(有的諾斯替文本稱之雅達巴沃(Yaltabaoth))，德穆革不知道至高無上神的存在，以為自己就是原初與唯一的神：他們的首領乃是瞎眼的，〔由於他的〕能力並無知〔和〕驕傲的緣故，他帶著他的〔能力〕說：「我是上帝，〔除我以外〕沒有別的上帝。」²³出於自負與傲慢，他開始依照自己的形象創造人和世界。德穆革先創造天地，然後創造擁有雙重性別的子嗣，命令他們管理各星層，並且在各星層造出他們的邪靈和天使。世界是拘禁與隔離人和神的場域：宇宙就像一所巨大的監獄，而地球則是它最裏層的牢房，是人類生活的場所。宇宙的各個層面就像圍繞共同核心的密封的殼層，一層層地排列在地球的周圍與之上²⁴。

在諾斯替的神學之中，排斥一切神人同形論(anthropomorphism)，也排除了神對創世的任何參與。諾斯替的至高無上神超越世俗，既不創造宇宙、也不統治宇宙，至高無上神所居住世界只有光明，同時也只有善的存在，但這個宇宙和人類所在的宇宙互不相關，神的世界和人的世界是相對立的。相對於基督教的「世界和人是由完美的上帝所造」的概念，諾斯替思想中的世界與人都是神的墮落體——德穆革的產物。世界由神所造的原生原創性意義消失殆盡，取而代之的是世界為不完美的次等產物之概念。

1.3. 人類與世界的關係

按照諾斯替觀點而言，德穆革和他所造的眾掌權者所創造的第一個人是亞

²¹ Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*, 同註 11, 頁 74。

²² Sophia 一詞即是「智慧」之意。

²³ 羅賓遜、史密夫編。《靈知派經書》卷上，同註 16，經文出自〈掌權者的本質〉，頁 201。

²⁴ 約納斯著。《諾斯替宗教》，同註 10，頁 58。宇宙結構圖參照 Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*, 同註 11, S. 78: 此處所繪的版本在七星層與恆星層之間有古蛇利維坦(Liviathan)環繞。

當，但亞當沒有屬靈的成分，癱瘓不能行走。上界下來的天使勸說創造者將氣吹入亞當體內，他所不知的靈的成分就進入亞當身體中：這樣，身體便動了，也得了力量。他發出光來，他的身體是明亮的²⁵。因此，亞當及其後代的人類是從世界和超世界的雙重根源產生，並且由三部分組成：肉體、魂與靈，只有靈當中含有上界落下的神聖成分，被包裹與限制在肉體當中。因此人的身體也如同小型宇宙，囚禁著靈。

以亞當為首的全體人類，被德穆革和掌權者置於一個沉睡不醒的世界，沒有拯救知識的人通常呈現麻木與遺忘的狀態，唯有通過「諾斯」，才能從無知中解放。人生在世的目的是獲得拯救的知識，讓遺忘消失，擁有諾斯的人即是屬靈的人(pneumatics)，人若有知識，就是從上面來的。他若被呼召，就必聽見，並回答，且歸向呼召他的那一位，而且上升到他那裏去，〔…〕有知識的人認識自己從哪裡來、往哪裡去。他明白知道，就像喝醉酒的人從沉醉中醒來，既清醒了，就回到自己，並糾正自己的事²⁶。他們能憑藉靈的火花通過層層枷鎖與關卡，最後回到至高無上神的光明世界，認識超越世俗的神和他自己。

由於人肉體之內靈的成分來自此世界之外的「彼世界」，因此人的靈被喚醒後，一種不屬於這個世界的疏離感便油然而生。此世界對人而言是陌生的異鄉，也是格格不入的和懷有敵意的²⁷，這個宇宙以及自身的肉體都只是暫時狹仄的寓所，無法提供歸屬感。對於彼世界的渴望，使人只要存在這個世界上一天，就有無法消除的鄉愁。

諾斯替經文中常以墮落、牢籠、囚禁、異鄉描述此世界，沒有拯救知識的人處於沉睡、麻木、昏醉與遺忘的蒙昧黑暗狀態；靈知覺醒的人則是清醒、光明，同時又憂愁而思鄉的。

人類想要獲得靈的火花「諾斯」並得到拯救，須依賴光明信使的啟示。光明信使必須瞞過世界的掌權者，對人發出召喚，喚醒人身體裡面的靈，再將拯救的知識傳授給他。諾斯替教派對於光明信使的詮釋與命名並不統一，或稱之為拯救者，或將他等同於耶穌。一旦人獲得了諾斯，即是獲得拯救的保證。他不再認同這個世界，某些教派因此發展為極端禁慾，與世界劃清界線，藉此保持靈的潔淨；另一些教派則演變為極端縱慾，理由是身體的所有作為都與靈無關，靈也不會因

²⁵ 羅賓遜、史密夫編。《靈知派經書》卷上，同註 16，經文出自〈約翰密傳〉，頁 139。

²⁶ 羅賓遜、史密夫編。《靈知派經書》卷上，同註 16，經文出自〈真理的福音〉，頁 55-6。

²⁷ 劉小楓編。《靈知主義及其現代性謀殺》，同註 18，頁 293。

此受到污染和腐朽。

大部分的諾斯替教派主張：靈被喚醒的人只是具備獲得拯救的資格，因為靈只有在人死後才能與魂和肉體分離，因此對於諾斯替信徒來說，死亡是一種解脫，也是獲得拯救的必要之途。靈的上升或靈的升天之旅是人的拯救中重要的環節，每一教派有不同程度的敘述，但大致上，上升之路就是下降之路，沿途必須克服各星層邪惡勢力的阻撓²⁸。某些諾斯替體系同時提出了相應的末世論：靈的元素散落在人世當中，表明了神自身完整性受到損失，神為了恢復自身的完整，才會派遣光明使者干預人的世界，因為神拯救人的行為，實際上是拯救神自身。一旦所有的靈或光明元素都返回上界，這個宇宙也因為失去光明因子而滅亡，這個結局並無悲劇意味，只是原初秩序的恢復，光明再度居於上界，而黑暗則永遠被毀滅，呈現一片死寂狀態。²⁹

2. 諾斯替思想觀照下的《創造的傳奇》

俄國的宗教思想家在十九世紀末、二十世紀初紛紛從東正教以外的信仰尋求起發，諾斯替的索菲亞形象與索洛維約夫(В. С. Соловьёв, 1853-1900)的索菲亞學說不無關聯，除了影響了由弗洛連斯基(П. А. Флоренский, 1882-1937)、布爾加科夫(С. Н. Булгаков, 1871-1944)到梅列日科夫斯基(Д. С. Мережковский, 1865-1941)、別爾嘉耶夫(Н. А. Бердяев, 1874-1948)、洛斯基(Н. О. Лосский, 1870-1965)的聖靈母親拯救世界之思維³⁰之外，奉索洛維約夫為心靈導師的布洛克(А. А. Блок, 1880-1921)、別雷(А. Белый, 1880-1934)則以索菲亞為典範寫出各自的「永恆女性」；而諾斯替思想中的造物主德穆革更受到象徵主義派作家們的青睞，為其詩文創作提供模仿的身分與靈感。作家將創作書寫等同於德穆革的創造世界，是自身作品的上帝，同時也因德穆革是衍生次級的造物主，使作家意識到：創造者/作家的身分事實上也是被創造出來的。索洛古勃曾在詩中表達他的

²⁸ 羅賓遜、史密夫編。《靈知派經書》卷下，同註 19，經文出自〈塞特三柱〉，頁 116；另一篇〈約伊二書〉中對此過程有詳盡的解說，並有各星層封印的圖解，詳見 Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*, 同註 11，頁 188-190。

²⁹ 約納斯著。《諾斯替宗教》，同註 10，頁 278-281。

³⁰ 詳見梁坤。〈俄羅斯文學傳統中女性崇拜的宗教文化淵源〉，同註 3，頁 140-143；景劍峰。〈論諾斯替教中的索菲亞觀念〉，同註 6，頁 151、154-156。

體會：Я сам – творец и сам – своё творенье,/ Бесстрастен и один.³¹ 此外，作家延續諾斯替思想中的否定了現世存有(бытие)與價值，轉而嚮往彼世界(мир иной)³²，散文作品則常以此世皆非、空無和否定對照肯定彼世界的一切存在皆美。此外，索洛古勃強調創作的神祕性，值得尋求的美是正在創造的，因而也是永遠富有朝氣的³³，索洛古勃的觀點也闡明了小說名稱的由來³⁴。

《創造的傳奇》是三部曲小說，第一部分〈血滴〉(Капли крови)敘述伊麗莎白・拉緬耶娃(Елизавета Рамеева)結識莊園鄰居特里羅多夫(Георгий С. Триродов)，莊園主人與他所辦的兒童夏令營、莊園內恬靜的小孩(тихие дети)皆令她好奇並產生好感。不久伊麗莎白與特里羅多夫相戀，後者改變幽居的生活方式，開始參與省城斯科羅多日(Скородож)的社運團體的活動。與此同時，城鎮內各種團體的集會與工人罷工，引起哥薩克騎兵鎮壓，守舊的教育界人士則批評特里羅多夫所辦的夏令營傷風敗俗。伊麗莎白在一次遇襲獲救之後，回憶起奧爾特魯達女王(королева Ортруда)的一生。

第二部分〈奧爾特魯達女王〉情節發生在地中海聯合群島王國(Королевство Соединенных Островов)，女王與坦克連德(Танкренд)王子結婚十年，卻對丈夫有無數情人一無所知。女王原本就對權力利益爭鬥不休宮庭政治感到厭煩，在得知丈夫的背叛之後，更常逃避政務，沉溺在密儀祈禱與縱情之中。群島的火山日益不穩定，女王在情人相繼死亡之後失去生存之志，意欲平息火山，卻死在火山噴發之時。第二部曲結束在女王死後王子決定競選國王，反對他的工人團體開始示威遊行。

第三部分〈煙與灰〉(Дым и пепел)敘述特里羅多夫持續關注聯合群島王國的時勢，認為群島王國適合實現他的幻想，決定參加國王競選。聯合群島的首相決定支持特里羅多夫，社運團體的首領則與特里羅多夫保持聯繫。西歐與俄國論壇嘲諷特里羅多夫，但經過投票特里羅多夫仍然當選。俄國省城的社會動亂擴

³¹ Сологуб Ф. *Избранное*. СПб: Диамант, 1997. С. 176. 象徵主義派作家作為惡魔般的德穆革藝術家之論述詳見 Hansen-Löve, A. A. *Der russische Symbolismus. System und Entfaltung der poetischen Motiven. I. Band: Diabolischer Symbolismus*, Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989, S. 345-387.

³² Hansen-Löve, A. A. *Der russische Symbolismus*. 同註 31，頁 70-71。

³³ 布羅伊特曼著。〈費奧多爾・索洛古勃〉，同註 1，頁 379。

³⁴ 《創造的傳奇》俄文 *Творимая легенда*，精確的翻譯即是「正在被創造的傳奇」。

大，特里羅多夫被勒令關閉學校，不久亂民開始攻擊特里羅多夫的莊園。特里羅多夫讓親朋與教師、學生進入溫室，啟動飛行裝置，溫室變成球體飛行器飛往聯合群島王國。

三部曲中的人物、情節與場景以相互映照(взаимообратимость)³⁵的手法呈現，〈血滴〉是俄國小城鎮的具體描繪，〈奧爾特魯達女王〉中虛構的聯合群島王國則充滿詩意化的宮廷騎士生活，兩個世界在〈煙與灰〉中交融，創造出新的幻想的現實³⁶。但不論是相對現實的俄羅斯場景，或是明顯虛構的聯合群島王國，都因小說主角特里羅多夫意識到本身可能也是「被創造的」人物，使得虛實世界的相互映照之結果仍凸顯此世界的虛幻性。

2.1. 創造者特里羅多夫

許多研究者都指出，特里羅多夫(Триродов)這一姓氏含有的數字三(три)，數字三在許多宗教、神祕學傳統與民俗學中具有神聖與神祕的意義，並意味著交織兩個對立極端之後的創新³⁷，既是小說構成的基調三部曲——現實、虛構、與虛實相融的世界——，也是小說的三個主旨：以幻想創造、改早庸俗墮落的生活和戰勝死亡。除此之外，數字三也散見在小說各處細節³⁸，例如特里羅多夫莊園大門傳說曾有的神祕留言「進去三個，出來兩個」(13)³⁹、小孩葉戈爾卡(Егорка)困在棺材裡，害怕地唸著咒語似的「三塊皂石，三個林中居民，三種失落的力量」⁴⁰、甚至是奧爾特魯達女王的三個崇拜者等等……。主角姓氏中央的詞跟 род

³⁵ Полонский В. В. Поэтика Фёдора Сологуба: Основные принципы, мифологические образы, литературные аллюзии // Известия РАН. Серия литературы и языка, 2016, том 75, № 2. С. 7.

³⁶ 弗·阿格諾索夫主編。石國雄、王加興譯。《白銀時代俄國文學》。南京：譯林出版社，2001，頁 116。

³⁷ 例如三位一體的聖父、聖母、聖子；或是童話故事中，兩個失敗案例後出現的成功的第三方。詳見王紅旗著。《數字——神奇的含義》。北京：中國對外翻譯出版公司，2002，頁 192-199。

³⁸ Соболев Л. О Фёдоре Сологубе и его романе // Сологуб Ф. Творимая легенда II. М.: Художественная литература, 1991. С. 273; 李志強著。《索洛古勃小說創作中的宗教神話主題》，同註 5，頁 128；戴卓萌。〈索洛古勃長篇小說《編織的傳說》中的兩個世界〉，《俄羅斯文藝》。2012，第 2 期。頁 74。

³⁹ 費·庫·索洛古勃著。張冰譯。《創造的傳奇》。北京：新星出版社，2006，頁 13。以下引用僅標出頁數。

⁴⁰ 原文是 Три жировика, три лесовика, три отпадшие силы!前兩者也可翻譯成「三個油燈，三個林妖」。俄文出自 Сологуб Ф. Собрание сочинений в шести томах. Т. 4. М.: НПК «Интелвак», 2002. С. 168。以下引用僅標出頁數。

是斯拉夫人曾經崇拜的生育之神羅德(Род)，神力滲透天上、人間和地下三界⁴¹。特里羅多夫的名字格奧基爾(Георгий)則令人與基督教的屠龍者聖喬治或民間傳說中的屠龍者產生聯想，因此與小說中的火蛇/火龍太陽、甚至德拉戈涅爾島(Драгонер,龍之島)的火山皆難以和諧共存⁴²。特里羅多夫集化學家、發明家、思想家、教育者、魔法師等多種身分於一身，擁有德穆革一般的創造能力，但他與德穆革不同的是：後者不知至高無上神的存在，以為自己就是原初與唯一的神，而特里羅多夫則臆測到自己可能是被創造的人物：

可是，或許我和您〔伊麗莎白〕壓根兒就不是什麼活人，而不
過是一部長篇小說裡的人物，而這部長篇小說的作者壓根兒不
會費心去思考什麼外在的逼真性問題。他用他那奇妙無比的想
像力虛構了這片陰鬱的土地，然後又用這塊黑乎乎的、罪孽深
重的土地，培植出了這些奇美的韃靼械，這些高大的黑楊，這
些躲在灌木叢裡嘰嘰喳喳的小鳥兒和我們。(117)

特里羅多夫認為他是從陰鬱、黑暗又充滿惡的土地被創造出來，而敘述者在小說起始即開宗明義地點出：他是擷取一段粗陋乏味的生活，然後用它來創作一則甜蜜的傳奇(3)，兩相對照可以看出：不論是敘述者/創造者，或是被創造的創造者特里羅多夫，兩者都如同諾斯替信徒般認為：這個世界的本質是惡與庸俗的。

儘管特里羅多夫意識到自己是被創造的人物，他的創造也有別於德穆革帶有強制性的變態瘋狂⁴³，是理智思考後的產物。他曾表示：我們此刻正在創造的生活，本身就是由現實的日常生活和幻想的烏托邦這兩種成分融合而成的(70)。事實上，特里羅多夫確實將他閱讀的烏托邦幻想實踐在他的日常生活當中⁴⁴：莊園建築會讓來訪者產生時空扭曲的感受；占地廣大的溫室在〈煙與灰〉中變成水晶體飛行器；緊鄰莊園的兒童夏令營(在第三部曲轉變為寄宿學校)則是類似伊甸園的存在；莊園前主人馬托夫(Дмитрий А. Матов)的身軀被特里羅多夫以藥水縮小成一俄尺(大約 30 公分)，禁錮在六面立方柱狀物當中，預計在適當的時刻讓馬托夫恢復原本的身量復甦；與伊麗莎白喝下魔法藥水，前往馬伊爾(Майр)星照

⁴¹ 梁坤。〈俄羅斯文學傳統中女性崇拜的宗教文化淵源〉，同註 3，頁 139。

⁴² Соболев Л. О Фёдоре Сологубе и его романе, 同註 38，頁 273。

⁴³ Hansen-Löve, A. A. *Der russische Symbolismus*. 同註 31，頁 347。

⁴⁴ Соболев Л. О Фёдоре Сологубе и его романе, 同註 38，頁 271：可以飛向月球的飛行船出現在威爾斯(H. G. Wells, 1866-1946，英國科幻小說家)的作品當中，將人體縮小則令人聯想到王爾德(O. Wilde, 1854-1900，英國作家)的《葛雷的畫像》中葛雷溶解畫家朋友屍體的場景。

耀的奧伊拉(Ойла)大地⁴⁵旅居的過程，則充滿鍊金術與意識轉換的精神旅行之色彩。

原本特里羅多夫離群索居，活在他創造的小世界與幻想中，然而他對伊麗莎白的愛情，促使他改變想法，他心中生起了用創造藝術的力量來改造生活以及以兀傲的意願創造生活的歡樂的理想(166)。第一部曲〈血滴〉中的創造規模較小，一些屬於個人隱私，無法公開；對外的創造實驗多半侷限在兒童夏令營的教育方式與日常作息，涉及社會國家層級的議題的仍停留在言論與幻想層面。特里羅多夫試圖透過兒童夏令營，重現希臘時期崇尚肢體美的烏托邦境界，但是周遭庸俗的社會無法理解他的意圖，並以猥瑣的眼光看待兒童夏令營，斥責教師與孩子裸露肢體是道德敗壞的行徑，並否定學生可以有思考的自由與能力，將之視為資質低劣。

兒童夏令營不僅體現特里羅多夫的教育理念，也是他意欲在塵世中創造純真樂園的嘗試，而莊園中蒼白的恬靜小孩則是他令無辜枉死的孩子再度存在於塵世的創造。男孩葉戈爾卡被母親責打致死，葬入墓園之後被特里羅多夫以魔法喚醒，從此成為恬靜小孩的一員。從葉戈爾卡的遭遇不難推測，其他的恬靜小孩與他有類似的經歷。特里羅多夫為他們創造了免於淪為孤魂野鬼、但也非復活的異類存在的狀態，恢復他們全然純淨與天真的特質與預知的特殊能力⁴⁶。特里羅多夫家的花園與溫室如同母親的子宮，給與夏令營孩童與蒼白的恬靜小孩天堂般保護的空間⁴⁷。特里羅多夫曾對伊麗莎白表示：實際上，只有孩子們是在真正地活著。我對他們嫉妒得心疼。〔…〕活著的只有孩子們。成年是死亡的開始。(116)

神祕訪客埃馬努伊爾·奧西波維奇·達維多夫(Эммануил Осипович Давидов)⁴⁸譴責特里羅多夫施於恬靜小孩身上的作為，則代表僵化的基督教對特

⁴⁵ 索洛古勃曾寫詩組《馬伊爾星》，詩中的行星奧伊拉被詩人賦予「永恆之美的極樂之土」的涵意。詳見索洛古勃著。張冰譯。《創造的傳奇》，同註 39，頁 506 之譯者註解。

⁴⁶ Соболев Л. О Фёдоре Сологубе и его романе, 同註 38，頁 278：依照俄國民間傳說，只有受洗的小孩死後才能成為天使，意外或枉死的孩子則不能進入天堂，被母親殺死的孩子常成為不潔之力，須經教會儀式才能「漂白」靈魂。

⁴⁷ Кондо Ф. Образ тела в творчестве Ф. Сологуба // Пвалова М. М. Федор Сологуб: Биография, творчество, интерпретации: Материалы IV Международной научной конференции. СПб: ООО «ИПК «Коста», 2010. С. 130-131.

⁴⁸ 關於訪客姓名實際上是俄國化的耶穌基督之論述，參見弗·阿格諾索夫主編。《白銀時代俄國文學》，同註 36，頁 117；此外，特里羅多夫與彼得·馬托夫的爭論則影涉對梅列日科夫斯基當時提出的綜合新基督教之質疑，詳見李志強著。《索洛古勃小說創作中的宗教神話主題》，同

里羅多夫的批判。面對達維多夫要求他放棄異端邪說，特里羅多夫的回應也顯示他對固守教條的基督教的否定：

[…] 特里羅多夫又說：「您記住，我永遠都不會跟您走，永遠都不會接受您那種安慰理論。您全部的文學和佈道活動在我眼中全部都是徹頭徹尾的錯誤。是一個致命的錯誤。您如此雄辯講述的取悅弱者的一切，我根本一點兒都不信。我不信。」

[…]

「請您放過我吧！」特里羅多夫堅決地說：「不會有奇蹟的。沒有什麼復活。任何人也休想戰勝死亡。在這個醜陋腐朽的世界上恢復統一的意志——這是個還沒有被人實現的功勳。」(206)

代表基督的達維多夫為特里羅多夫的不受教感到遺憾，後者則以德穆革的姿態肯定自己正在進行的創造才是奇蹟，並自負傲慢地表示：「我知道正確的路。那就是我走的路。」(206)

直到第三部曲〈煙與灰〉，特里羅多夫才得以爭取落實以社會主義治國與自由新生活的實驗。〈煙與灰〉並未描繪未來理想國逐步建設的過程，而是結束在特里羅多夫降落聯合群島王國之時。此場景不無諷刺：特里羅多夫的科技取代了聖經中傳福音的天使，在他抵達的前一天，天空上出現了光明的信號，火光灼灼的字母(626)宣告國王即將來到。隔天清晨行星一般的飛行器降落，特里羅多夫如天神下降般來到他將統治的王國，即將展開他的創造志業。

2.2. 厥棄塵世與追尋救贖

人類所生存的世界，在諾斯替信仰的觀點下是不完美與惡的世界，人體內的靈性火花若沒有覺醒，則會生活得如行屍走肉，言行庸俗、無恥與殘忍，甚至以行惡事為樂，索洛古勃前一部長篇小說《小魔鬼》(Мелкий бес, 1907)中的主角彼列多諾夫(А. Б. Передонов)與其周遭的眾人，正是這類昏瞶麻木、無惡不做的典型代表。《創造的傳奇》中，彼列多諾夫式的人物充斥在俄國省城與聯合群島王國，他們的存在相互映照且相互補述：出現在第一部曲〈血滴〉中的勒索惡棍、守舊學界與教會、殘忍父母、無恥暴徒，在第二部曲〈奧爾特魯達女王〉仍能看見他們的同類人。這些與阿里曼(Ahriman)和撒旦⁴⁹集結成夥的無明之人，為身

註 5，頁 133。

⁴⁹約納斯著。《諾斯替宗教》，同註 10，頁 253：摩尼教承襲瑣羅亞斯德教的傳統，把人格化的

邊之人帶來痛苦與迫害，更是社會與國家的亂源。

小說中受到壓迫的多半是女性與小孩，在他們還未明顯感受到周遭惡意之前，通常熱愛生活、追求思想與肢體的自由，肯定自然界與肉體之美，其中以夏令營師生、伊麗莎白和奧爾特魯達女王最為明顯。特里羅多夫的兒童夏令營與寄宿學校，由於師生的古希臘式穿著、裸體游泳、赤腳走路，引來外界惡意的眼光；來到夏令營視察與考試的學界眾人，也因學生答題不符他們的刻版期望而大肆批評。孩子因訪客粗魯的態度感到無所適從，而教師事實上更早就感受到外界的惡意，一位女教師曾告訴伊莉莎白：「人們建造城市是為了躲避野獸，可人自己反倒變得像野獸一樣凶惡。〔…〕我們離開城市隱居森林，就是為了逃避城裡的野獸和野蠻的風習。」⁽¹⁰⁾ 但是美與自由在庸俗與惡的勢力下無法存在，特里羅多夫的教育實驗與改革最終在俄國土地上以失敗收場。

厭棄塵世的主題，在奧爾特魯達女王的命運之路展現得最為淋漓盡致。聯合群島王國是天主教國家，但是女王傾心的信仰卻帶有多神教和諾斯替信仰的混合色彩。某次女王向霞光之神斯維塔札爾內(Светозарный)祈求啟示卻沒有得到回應，宮廷女伴阿夫拉(Афра)表示：「宣告真理的人不是從上天下來的。斯維塔札爾內是從黑暗的深淵升上來的。」女王回答阿夫拉的話顯示她對塵世的看法：

「德穆革(Демург)向我們隱瞞了真正的知識。他珍藏著把所有知識和所有的智慧統一起來的秘訣，而讓我們處於無知狀態，讓我們忍受絕望的痛苦，精神的貧乏和無法忍受的苦惱。安慰者睿智的蛇，從大地裡，從紅紅的黏土裡，像初人一樣，站了起來。他想向人們公布真正的知識——而那些人卻害怕得要死，他們不敢堅守自己的天堂，卻膽怯地躲入黑暗之中。」⁽²⁵²⁾

這裡的安慰者睿智的蛇指的並非天空中肆虐的太陽火蛇，而是伊甸園中教導亞當和夏娃吃下知識樹果實的蛇。猶太教與基督教信仰中被貶斥的蛇，在諾斯替思想中卻是給與知識、使人覺醒的指導者^{⁵⁰}。

知悉丈夫的背叛，強化了奧爾特魯達對塵世的厭煩與失望，密道與地下宮殿

黑暗叫做阿里曼，有積極為惡的特性；李志強認為〈血滴〉是阿里曼型的群魔小鬼，而聯合群島王國的坦克連德王子則是撒旦型的魔首，詳見：李志強著。《索洛古勃小說創作中的宗教神話主題》，同註 5，頁 124-126。

⁵⁰Rudolph, K. *Die Gnosis*, 同註 11，頁 111；羅賓遜、史密夫編。《靈知派經書》卷上，同註 16，頁 203。

為她提供逃避之處，首次進入地下通道的女王覺得這條路一路上都十分可怕，猶如走在地獄之路，但她隨即感到狂喜：這難道不是陰間生活的樂天福地嗎，這種生活絕然不同於我們如今所過的那種日復一日煩悶無聊的生活。這是按照意志創造出來的異樣的生活。(269)遁入地下宮殿祈禱與進行儀式使奧爾特魯達喟嘆：啊，這才是真正的生活！這才是我的生活！猶如去了另一個世界！擁有了另一種存在。(325)奧爾特魯達開始對她的世界產生虛幻感，懷疑自己的生活可能是一場夢，同時另一世界卻變得日漸真實：她彷彿覺得自己仍是異國他鄉裡的一個幸福而勇敢的少女，〔…〕她常常能清晰地看見一條清澈的小河和河上的伊麗莎白，那條河就在她的坦克連德常常給她講述的那個地方。(326)

另一世界以幻想的形式滲透進入奧爾特魯達的世界，只能給與短暫的安慰，她雖然憧憬伊麗莎白的生活，卻發現自己踏上與祖先金涅夫拉(Джиневра)女王同樣的道路，胸中充滿惡毒的狂喜和野獸般的鬱悶(407)，一心想要報復不忠的丈夫和他的情人們。女王挑逗秘書萊默斯(Реймерс)與宮庭侍衛阿斯塔利夫(Астольф)，並唆使後者殺死坦克連德王子的情婦，萊默斯與阿斯塔利夫最後以自殺結束無望的愛；阿夫拉被催眠假死，才得以逃離毀滅。

女王的行徑引起教會的批評，紅衣主教希望女王告解懺悔，——聯合群島王國上的高官貴婦往往在教會懺悔之後，自認罪過已獲上帝赦免，因此言行依然故我，由此可見信仰僵固後的虛偽性——，主教和女王的對話反映了兩人宗教信仰上的差異：紅衣主教認為人已被逐出天堂，因此裸體會誘人墮落，應受譴責；奧爾特魯達則認為是否處於天堂完全是個人認知，心思齷齪的人才會視肉體為惡。對於紅衣主教聲稱的教會給人指出了一條拯救之路，奧爾特魯達則回應：在我和我的上帝之間沒有也不應該有任何中間人。(397)女王的反駁是典型的諾斯替思維：救贖之路是透過個人身上靈的覺醒，不需教會與神職人員的力量⁵¹。奧爾特魯達原本如古希臘人對肉體美的讚賞轉變成陰鬱的情慾，求而不得的愛使她更感生活的沉重與空虛，追求死亡成了她唯一的救贖與解脫之路。

與奧爾特魯達女王命運相映照的是伊麗莎白的另一種道路，伊麗莎白與妹妹首次拜訪特里羅多夫家的經驗，促使她對所居住的世界產生不同以往的感受。特里羅多夫的兒子吉爾沙(Гирша)帶領兩姊妹走穿過山洞的地下通道進入莊園，她們行進間感到沉重、疲倦與昏昏欲睡，回程時甚至在地下走道睡著，回家後也產生記憶模糊的現象。這裡的沉重、昏睡和遺忘，正是諾斯替觀念中未覺醒的人會

⁵¹ Iwersen, J. *Gnosis zur Einführung*, Hamburg: Junius Verlag GmbH, 2001, S. 62.

有的感覺。特里羅多夫刻意安排的地道之行，令伊麗莎白有感而發：

伊麗莎白小聲說：「這裡的光都是不知從何而來的死光，太可怕了，可此刻我最害怕的，是那張可怕的怪物的嘴臉，渾身熱氣，在咱倆頭頂上燃燒著。」

「那是可愛的太陽。」葉蓮娜輕輕地說。

「那輪太陽是會死寂的，」伊麗莎白說：「它會死寂的，那非正義的發光體，可是，在地底深處的通道裡，那些擺脫了烈焰灼人的蛇和深入骨髓的寒冷的人們，會建設一種理性的新生活的。」(22)

伊麗莎白意識到火蛇太陽——索洛古勃作品中一貫的意象——對世界的殘酷統治，但沒有因此退縮，基本上她和還未為情所苦的奧爾特魯達一樣，相當喜歡陽光下的自然美景，並且充滿熱情地想實現自己的幻想。地道經歷如同埋下覺醒的種子，與特里羅多夫的往來讓伊麗莎白窺見塵世中不尋常的面向，而突如其来地擁有奧爾特魯達一生的記憶之後，也預示女王未竟之夢將由她接續。

在第一部曲〈血滴〉當中，伊麗莎白也和奧爾特魯達一樣肯定肉體的美，也一樣曾有情慾勃發的時刻，但感官慾望並未將伊麗莎白引向縱慾與墮落之路，有研究者指出，伊麗莎白喜愛打扮成男孩意味著在成熟女人與孩子兩者之間，她更傾向保有孩童純真的特質：伊麗莎白把自己打扮成一個小男孩。她喜歡男裝，並且常常做這樣的惡作劇。我們的生活實在是太單調乏味了——改扮男裝至少可以向我的有限性來個挑戰！(84)男孩打扮在外表與心理上使伊麗莎白增添模棱兩可的色彩，藉此暫時擺脫身分性別的束縛⁵²。即使在伊麗莎白與特里羅多夫相戀之後，女性的風華開展，她的孩童質地仍使她多一份純真的韻致。

索洛古勃過往小說中的女性形象，在《創造的傳奇》中產生一些變化。原先二元對立分明的特質，例如日/月、火紅/蒼白、壓迫/受害、喧囂/寧靜……仍然存在，但先前否定前一項而肯定後一項的詮釋已有所鬆動。上文所述的如孩子般的女性，往往經受不住塵世的壓迫，只能以瘋狂或死亡逃離世界(例如〈光與影〉(Свет и тени, 1894))；肯定自己身體的美，也會在外界質疑的眼光中畏縮萎頓(例如〈美〉(Красота, 1899))。但是《創造的傳奇》中的伊麗莎白不因太陽火蛇的肆虐而退怯，勇敢地參與社會運動與追求愛情；奧爾特魯達雖然因被叛而扭曲情慾，以至了無生趣，卻仍堅持自己的信仰與對未來的信心。

⁵² Кондо Ф. Образ тела в творчестве Ф. Сологуба, 同註 47, 頁 131。

出現在〈紅唇客〉(Красногубая гостья, 1909)當中的莉莉特(Лилит)⁵³之形象，在《創造的傳奇》中，她的特質被切分到兩個角色身上：致命的紅唇與蒼白的面貌這個衝突的特徵出現在特里羅多夫的情婦阿爾金娜(Алкина)身上：〔阿爾金娜〕恬靜、冷艷、安詳，一頭深紅色的頭髮，有一張細膩的粉白的臉。這張臉上，一張大嘴和鮮艷的紅唇顯得十分突兀，就好像這張臉上全部的肉感和秀色，都被納入這鮮艷得令人感到突兀的充滿罪惡感的可怕紅唇中了。(73)裸體的阿爾金娜則像一條白蛇(75)。而特里羅多夫的亡妻則擁有莉莉特這個名字與死亡的意象，她的影像封存定格在照片當中，或是在特里羅多夫魔法的召喚下不得不出現，但已失去如在〈紅唇客〉中的主動攻擊性。特里羅多夫對亡妻的留戀，其中不無消極與厭世的涵意，但他的態度在伊麗莎白出現之後有所轉變，並將他對兩個女人的感情衍生為抽象的思維和概念：

一個人永遠被賦予兩個妻子，而且永遠被賦予兩個真理。
 […] 前妻是莉莉特月亮般的理想，四周環繞著寂靜、神祕和類似於寂靜和神秘的墳墓。這是永恆的姊妹，親愛而又遙遠的、神祕的女友，永遠在召喚他登上遙遠的路的未知的女伴侶。他的第二為妻子是太陽般的、深藍色的、黃金色的夏娃，伊麗莎白。這是永恆的情人，一個異己但親近的女人，是他家的女主人，是他孩子的母親，也是永遠吸引他走向寧靜的女人。(501)

特里羅多夫先前沉迷於莉莉特的美，致使他否定此世界，趨近幻想或死亡，而被伊麗莎白吸引之後，則對此世界產生積極與肯定之心。敘述者緊接著表示，肯定此世界必然伴隨諷刺，因為無法對此世界難以調和的矛盾視而不見。奧伊拉大地之旅事實上也是短暫逃離塵世的途徑，卻讓特里羅多夫和伊麗莎白再次看清：永恆完美的一直是彼世界，兩相比較之後的此世界更顯庸俗不堪。即便如此，兩人仍願意致力創造，尋求實踐理想的可能性，這份勇氣是索洛古勃先前小說角色所缺乏的。

3. 結語

諾斯替主義是解讀索洛古勃詩文的關鍵之一，近年海峽兩岸對諾斯替主義與

⁵³ 猶太傳統經文中的莉莉特(或譯莉莉斯)是亞當的第一任妻子，因不馴服而被逐出伊甸園，化為魔女為惡。詳見 <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%8E%89%E8%8E%89%E6%96%AF>

俄國文學的關連已有部份研究，但敘述多半簡短，值得再更深入論述。本文以諾斯替主義為切入點，首先概述諾斯替主義的由來與特點，尤其是造物主德穆革的概念，進而以此探討諾斯替主題對小說《創造的傳奇》的型塑與影響。

諾斯替主義一詞來自希臘語的「諾斯」，意思為「知識」。在諾斯替宗教語境當中，「諾斯」是獲得拯救的手段。諾斯替世界觀認為世界與人是由索菲亞墮落產生的德穆革所創造，是不完美與罪惡之存在。沒有「諾斯」的人常呈現麻木與遺忘的狀態，唯有死亡才能讓靈的火花脫離肉體，上升回歸完美至善的神域，因此諾斯替信仰視死亡為解脫。

索洛古勃的三部曲小說《創造的傳奇》中，現實的俄國省城與虛構的聯合群島王國相互映照，主角特里羅多夫是被創造的創造者，在他身上可看見與造物主德穆革相似與相異之處，他的創造帶有神祕與鍊金術色彩。

厭棄塵世的主題在奧爾特魯達女王的命運之路展現得最為極致。女王捍衛自己帶有諾斯替色彩的信仰，丈夫的背叛強化她對塵世的厭煩與失望，使對世界產生虛幻感，最後認定死亡是她唯一解脫與獲得救贖之路。

伊麗莎白與奧爾特魯達女王兩相映照，雖然感受到火蛇太陽的惡意，伊麗莎白卻仍堅持在此世界創造的夢想與勇氣。《創造的傳奇》依舊延續索洛古勃否定此世界諾斯替式觀點，但小說中受苦受壓迫的角色則多了些勇氣與對未來的期盼。

諾斯替思想中的不完美造物主、否定此世界的庸俗麻木、嚮往彼世界的自由完美之主題在小說《創造的傳奇》中扮演重要角色，梳理諾斯替思想的象徵意涵，有助於深入理解索洛古勃的作品。

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編輯室報告

1. 本期受理投稿總篇數為 6 篇（4 篇為校外稿，2 篇為校內稿），連同前期餘稿共受理 8 件投稿，已審查完畢者共 7 篇，其中 4 篇通過審查，通過率約為 57%。
2. 本期所刊登的第一篇為二十九期通過審查之論文；其餘皆為第三十期通過審查之論文。
3. 本刊採隨到隨審制，固定於每年六月與十二月出刊，歡迎從事外國語言、文學及文化相關研究之研究者踴躍投稿！來稿不限書寫語言，惟需符合本刊稿件格式要求；相關規定與細則請參考《外國語文研究》徵稿章則及稿件格式要求。
4. 查詢網址：
<https://foreign.nccu.edu.tw/學術能量-學術期刊-外國語文研究/>
5. 投稿請將稿件之 word 電子檔寄至《外國語文研究》電子信箱：
fls@nccu.edu.tw。

《外國語文研究》徵稿章則

《外國語文研究》(以下簡稱本刊)為國立政治大學外國語文學院(以下簡稱本院)發行之外國語文學術期刊。本刊定期出版各國文學及文化相關研究領域之原創性學術論文。

為符合《外國語文研究》多文化之多元特色，本刊鼓勵各語種及文化相關研究之投稿，惟本刊接受以中文(以簡體字撰稿者，需自行轉為繁體字)及英文撰寫之稿件，且論文格式(含引用書目)之編排需符合本刊格式要求。(詳見《外國語文研究》稿件格式要求)

本刊亦接受書評(Book Review)及研究紀要(Research Note)之稿件。書評乃針對國內外出版之學術刊物所撰寫之評論，篇幅以三千字為原則。研究紀要則就特定議題或研究方法論進行討論，以三千字為原則。本刊也接受邀稿，每期至多以一篇為原則。

本刊採隨到隨審制，全年收稿，定期於每年六月、十二月出版。投寄本刊之稿件不得在其他刊物出版，作者必須於投稿時簽署聲明書，投稿論著之原稿內文中，應避免出現作者姓名、職銜、研究計畫案名等任何足以辨識、推定作者身分的資訊。來稿將送兩名評審委員雙向匿名審查，送審時以同校不互審、師生關係不互審、低階不審高階為原則。本刊受理投稿稿件後，約半年內提交審查結果，通過審查後，校對工作由作者自行負責，並將校正後之文稿電子檔寄回本刊。

投稿之論著如因審查、修改、校對等流程而不及於通過審查後刊登在當期期刊，則順延至下一期刊登，本刊編輯委員會亦得依當期篇幅容量、論文之語種領域及時效性等原則，決定接受刊登文章之刊登期數。通過審查之論文作者須簽署著作權授權書，版權歸本刊所有，其電子版論文將收錄於國家圖書館臺灣期刊論文索引系統、國立政治大學學術期刊資源網、華藝線上圖書館、凌網科技臺灣全文資料庫、碩亞臺灣引文資料庫、聯合百科臺灣人社百刊、元照月旦知識庫等本刊授權之線上資料庫，作者可免費獲得當期期刊全文電子檔光碟及論文抽印本，本刊不另致贈稿酬。

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2. 請另將稿件之 Word 電子檔，以附加檔案的方式 e-mail 至：fls@nccu.edu.tw。
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本章則經本刊編輯委員會通過後實施，修正時亦同。

《外國語文研究》稿件格式要求

一、 稿件格式

- (一) 來稿請用 Word 文字檔處理，以 A4 紙隔行橫打；摘要每頁 34 字*38 行，論文每頁 34 字*30 行。
- (二) 稿件以 2 萬字、不超過 A4 規格 20 頁為原則，全文請統一以 12 級字體繕打，中文部分請使用新細明體，英語部分請以 Times New Roman 橫式隔行繕打。(每頁版面上下各空 2.54cm 及左右各空 3.17cm)
- (三) 參考文獻如中外文並存時，依中文、英文順序排列。中文文獻應按照作者或編者姓氏筆劃排列(如為機構亦同)，英文則依作者或編者姓氏字母順序排列。
- (四) 來稿首頁為中文、英文摘要，須載有：
- 1.論文題目：題目宜簡明。
 - 2.作者姓名：作者姓名列於論文題目下方。
 - 3.論文摘要：論文應附中、英文摘要(五百字以內)及關鍵詞(6 個以內)。以英文之外的其他外文書寫之論文，請一併附上中文、該外文、英文共 3 頁摘要(五百字以內)及關鍵詞(6 個以內)。
 - 4.所屬單位與職稱：請在作者姓名之後插入註腳*書寫，包括作者姓名、職稱、所屬學校、系所或研究單位。作者如不只一位，則以**、***...等符號類推，以便識別。
- (五) 來稿的裝訂順序為中文、英文摘要(及關鍵詞彙)、正文(及參考文獻或註釋)、末頁資料及圖表。圖表編號必須與正文中之編號一致。

二、 標點符號

論文之中文部分請用全形之新式標點符號。「」(引號)用於平常引號；『』(雙引號)用於第二級引號(即引號內之引號)；《》(書名號)用於專書、期刊等標題，如《外國語文研究》；〈〉(篇名號)用於論文及篇名。

三、 子目

篇內各節，如子目繁多，請依各級子目次序標明。

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| 例：第 1 章 | → 1. |
| 第 1 章、第 2 節 | → 1.2 |
| 第 1 章、第 2 節、第 3 項 | → 1.2.3 |
| 第 1 章、第 2 節、第 3 項、第 4 分項 | → 1.2.3.4 |

四、分段與引文

- (一) 每段第一行第一個字前空全形兩格。
- (二) 直引原文時，短文可逕入正文，外加引號。
- (三) 如所引原文較長，可另行抄錄，每行前空全形四格。

五、註釋

- (一) 註釋置於每頁下方，中文註釋以新細明體 10 級字，外文註釋以 Times New Roman 10 級字橫式書寫，每註另起一行，以細黑線與正文分開，其編號以每篇論文為單位，順次排列。
- (二) 註釋號碼，請用阿拉伯數字，如 1、2、3。如為正文之文字，請以上標方式置於正文右上角之標點符號後方。如為引文，則以上標方式置於引文末之右上角，如：新思潮派¹，是以東京大學的學生為中心的同人雜誌「新思潮」²為據點，在文壇上活躍的新銳作家集團。³
- (三) 引用文獻格式（依 MLA-Style），方式如下：
在 正文 中直接列出作者及頁數，如：(劉崇稜 133-134)
或：楊永良在文中提及……(18-21)。

凡該引用作者超出兩筆文獻，需於頁數前加上該篇文獻之篇名「簡稱」，如：

正文：

Hypertext, as one theorist puts it, is “all about connection, linkage, and affiliation” (Moulthrop, “You Say,” par.19).

文獻：

——. “You Say You Want a Revolution? Hypertext and the Laws of Media.” Postmodern Culture 1.3 (1991): 53 pars. 12 July 2002 <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/postmodern_culture/v001/1.3moulthrop.html>.

請避免以文獻之「出版年」代替文獻篇名之「簡稱」。詳細說明請見《MLA 論文寫作手冊》。

註釋 內引用文獻的型式與正文同，惟須在全篇論文之後的參考文獻中，詳細列出完整出版資料。其他各外國語文參考文獻之寫法，見格式要求「九、參考文獻」中所列型式。

六、製圖與圖片

- (一) 圖片面積不可過大，能清楚辨識內容即可。
- (二) 圖片須附有編號、標題或簡短說明，皆置於圖形之下。
- (三) 字體不宜過大，應配合圖形之尺寸，以能清楚辨識為限。
- (四) 放大的圖形應說明放大比例，並請注意縮小製版後線條是否清楚，字體

是否足以辨識。

七、 製表

- (一) 表之製作，須在表格比文句更能表達文義時方為之。
- (二) 表格須配合正文加以編號，並書明表之標題。若有進一步的解釋，則可另作註解。標題應置於表之上方，註解應置於表之下方。
- (三) 表格文字使用簡稱時，若簡稱尚未約定俗成，或未曾在正文中出現，則須註記全稱。

八、 誌謝

誌謝詞應於中英外文摘要頁的「摘要」二字後方插入雙米號註腳，謝詞宜力求簡短扼要。

九、 參考文獻

不以註釋方式引用文獻書目之完整出版資料者，須在全篇論文之後列出全部參考（引用）文獻之完整資料，依中文、英文排列。各參考文獻寫法如下：

(一) 專書：

- (中文) 林壽華。《外語教學概論》。台北：書林，1998。
- (英文) “You Say You Want a Revolution? Hypertext and the Laws of Media.” *Postmodern Culture* 1.3 (1991): n. pag. *Project Muse*. Web. 12 July 2002.

(二) 期刊：

- (中文) 張月珍。〈英語帝國的解構與再建議：網際網路全球化時代的語言文化政治〉。《文山評論》1.35 (2003年1月)：105-126。
- (英文) Eilola, John. “Little Machines: Rearticulating Hypertext Users.” 3 Dec. 1994. Web. 14 Aug 1996.

(三) 電子資源參考文獻範例

- (中文) 劉維公。〈現代社會之工作與休閒〉。《現代社會電子期刊》，15。2001。 <http://homelf.kimo.com.tw/lamshuikuen/> (瀏覽日期：2002.5.18)
- (英文) Eilola, John. “Little Machines: Rearticulating Hypertext Users.” 3 Dec. 1994. 14 Aug 1996. <<ftp://ftp.daedalus.com/pub/CCCC95/jo>>

(四) 文獻或書目資料

參考文獻請以MLA格式呈現。以英文撰寫之原稿，參考文獻如為英文以外之其他語文(含中文)，請以英文呈現或自行轉換為羅馬拼音。以中文撰寫之原稿，中文參考文獻可原樣保留，無需轉換；但參考文獻如為英文以外之

其他語文，請以英文呈現或自行轉換為羅馬拼音。中、外文參考文獻請分別呈現（依序為中文在前，外文在後）。

(五) 已接受刊載但尚未發表的參考論文題目，需加註「排印中」字樣，置於刊載期刊或書名之後。若引用未發表的調查資料或個人訪談，則須在正文或註釋內註明，不得列入參考文獻。

十、校正

所有文稿均請作者自行校正，務請細心檢視（特別是圖表與公式）。若有錯誤，請在最後校稿上改正，校正完畢請儘速回傳電子檔。

◎中、英文摘要格式範例：中文請用 1.15 倍行高，外文請用 1.5 倍行高

範例一：

中文題目（標楷體 18p、置中）

(空一行)

作者中文姓名（新細明體 12p）(插入註腳*)

(空一行)

摘要（標楷體 15p、置中）

(空一行)

中文摘要內文（標楷體 12p）.....

.....

(空二行)

關鍵詞：第一個、第二個、第三個、第四個、第五個

* 作者所屬單位與職稱（中文）（新細明體 10p）

範例二：

英文題目（Times New Roman 18p、置中）

(空一行)

作者英文姓名（Times New Roman 12p）(插入註腳*)

(空一行)

Abstract (Times New Roman 15p、置中)

(空一行)

英文摘要內文（Times New Roman 12p）.....

.....

(空二行)

Key words：第一個，第二個，第三個，第四個，第五個

* 作者所屬單位與職稱（英文）（Times New Roman 10p）

本章則經本刊編輯委員會通過後實施，修正時亦同

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