# 支持性團體對國小輔導教師自我照顧之影響

# The Effects of a Support Group on Self-Care for Elementary School Counselors

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(收件日期 110年2月5日;接受日期 110年5月15日)

### 摘要

本研究旨在探討支持團體方案對國小輔導教師自我照顧之影響。本研究採單組前後測設計,研究對象爲中部地區國小輔導教師共7名,對其實施爲期8週,每週1次,每次2小時之實驗處理。研究者以「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」爲研究工具,所得資料以Wilcoxon符號等級檢定進行統計考驗,以探討實驗處理的效果。此外,研究者整理歸納團體歷程及焦點團體訪談等質性資料並進行分析,以作爲研究結果的佐證及輔助。本研究發現,支持團體方案對於國小輔導教師之自我照顧,在「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」之總分及「心理層面」分量表得分具有效果。在質性資料分析結果中,支持團體方案對於整體自我照顧行爲與「心理層面」之正面影響,以及對其自我照顧的品質與態度的轉變。其中包含深入理解自我,承認自身限制,鬆綁自我評價,從不同角度展開新的行動,甚至藉由團體回饋塑造出更具彈性的自我。此外,團體介入更增加成員對自我照顧的重視,促使自我照顧行爲樣態多元化,以及將日常生活賦予意義感,進而豐厚生命。

最後,根據本研究結果的發現進行討論並提出若干建議,以提供學校輔導工作者與主管機關,及未來研究之參考。

關鍵字:支持性團體、自我關懷、學校諮商師

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#### Abstract

The study aimed to examine how a support group affected the working challenges of elementary school counselors, and to develop suitable self-care strategy in accordance with the research findings. Applying the one-group pretest-posttest design as the research method, seven target audiences who matched the criteria were selected from elementary schools in central Taiwan, receiving a group consultation two hours a week, for a total of eight weeks. The research retrieved quantitative data both from the pretest and the posttest of the self-care sheet, and processed the statistical analysis of the Wilcoxon signed rank test to explore parts of the research findings. Additionally, accompanying the focus group interview, this study thoroughly collected qualitative data such as the perceptions of participation in the academic research, which significantly helped to demonstrate the effectiveness of the support group on self-care. The following conclusions were the results of the study: The support group had counseling effects on the self-care of elementary school counselors, as shown by the total scores in the self-care sheet and the scores of the "mental facet" subscale. The qualitative data analysis shows similar results, i.e., the support group had a positive impact on the overall self-care behavior and mental facets. Furthermore, it presents rich information related to the changes in the quality and attitude toward to their own self-care.

Finally, suggestions for future study, and clinical applications based on results of this study were provided for researchers, school counselors and the competent authority.

**Keywords:** Support group, self-care, school counselor.

# 壹、緒論

### 一、研究動機

本研究探討應用支持性團體於國小輔導教師,對其自我照顧造成之影響爲何。探究此 議題之動機爲下列3點:

### (一) 國小輔導教師之設置,進而衍伸之困境

近幾年政府爲了符合相關法規要求,逐年甄選一批又一批的新血,投入學校輔導工 作的行列。輔導教師一職並非新興職業,在歐美數個先進國家已推行學校輔導工作模式多 年,並設置專責人力執行相關業務。我國則深受美國影響,自民國初年即在中小學校園從 職業輔導開始,逐步推動學校輔導工作(林幸台、宋湘玲、鄭熙彥與謝麗紅,2004)。

近幾年更因校園安全新聞事件頻傳,在社會輿論壓力下,修正現有法規,並加速完 成《學生輔導法》之立法。爲體現立法精神,除了發展出符合國情之本土學校輔導工作模 式之外(王麗斐、杜淑芬、羅明華、楊國如、卓瑛、謝曜任,2013),並設置專業輔導人 員,規劃人力補充期程,及規範其工作職掌功能(宋宥賢,2016;張偉誠,2018)。

輔導教師雖與一般教師同有「教師」之名,然而工作性質與其內涵卻有天壤之別。 其身兼教師與輔導人員的雙重身分,在學校輔導工作裡擔任的特殊角色,進而延伸出各項 工作上的困境。工作困境會降低其工作滿意度(林雅惠,2015),降低專業認同與敬業態 度(劉泳君,2015),甚至出現離職或轉換工作的念頭(宋宥賢、林顯明,2016),影響對 個案之直接服務品質 (Mullen & Gutierrez, 2016)。另一方面,若工作困境仍未改善,將使 輔導教師經歷職業倦怠(劉雅惠,2011)與專業耗竭(張畹平,2015)。同時會導致各種 身心症狀產生,影響輔導教師個人健康狀態等(劉淑慧,2018)。致使輔導教師的身心狀 態,留下難以平復的傷害,重要人才因而損耗、流失。因此輔導教師的身心照顧値得被重 視。

# (二)現行策略之有限性

爬梳過往相關研究,無論是質性分析(沈雅婷,2016)或是量化統計(陳秀樺, 2013: 林雅惠, 2015: 劉泳君, 2015: 郭珮君, 2018), 雖使我們得以窺知輔導教師工作 困境的樣貌,但在因應策略方面,專業督導不見得能回應輔導教師在專業服務以外,較爲 細緻的需求;個人調適作爲雖有部分效果,但缺乏他人支持,難以面面俱到;倡導並推動 政策雖然有其必要性,然則影響層面甚廣,需要考量的太多而緩不濟急。但學校輔導工作 漫漫長路,旅程中仍需要集結衆人的經驗與智慧,方能一起倚靠彼此的支持繼續走下去。 團體介入方式或許爲一帖良藥。

多數學者如周美玲 (2015) 以成長團體或訓練團體等形式介入,但無法脫離專業增能 的框架,而有疊床架屋之虞。自李玉嬋(1992)起,留意到支持性團體應用於學校場域之

#### 4 臺中教育大學學報:人文藝術類

可能性。近幾年地方政府開始爲中小學輔導教師安排同儕支持團體(洪郁筑,2018),雖 然立意良善,但施行上仍有很大的進步空間。因此需要調整方法,以彌補現行策略之不 足,並有效維持輔導教師之身心照顧。

#### (三) 運用支持性團體全面提升自我照顧

自我照顧 (Self-care) 一詞源自於護理學,由 Orem 率先提出並致力於豐富其理論架構 (Orem,2001)。自我照顧在助人工作領域裡,則被定義為「以健康的方式來補給或充飽自我」(Coaston,2017)。自我照顧的內涵,因不同學者依其需求,從不同角度切入而有不同的面向。張吟慈 (2008) 則在其研究中,參考前述多位學者之研究,將助人者自我照顧策略,大致分爲身體、心理、人際、靈性、專業等五個向度。

與壓力調適相較,自我照顧除了預防耗竭、削減自身困擾的影響、避免情緒消耗、因應工作壓力、避免專業耗損(Baker, 2003)等消極性功能,還擁有穩定工作品質(黃靖淳,2015)、提升幸福感(Baker, 2003)、促進自我實現(葉建君,2010),豐厚生命內涵(李素玲,2009)等積極性功能。因此推動自我照顧對心理從業人員的全人身心健康有其重要性。

雖然目前坊間已有針對心理從業人員,結合自我照顧概念之工作坊或團體,但尚未探究其成效,並進而探討對學校輔導人員的效果,甚至是對職場身心健康的影響。據此本研究探討支持性團體應用於提升國小輔導教師自我照顧的效果,期以從分析中獲取結論,作爲實務與研究上的參考。

# 二、研究目的

- (一) 探究支持團體方案對輔導教師自我照顧的效果。
- (二) 根據研究結果,提出具體建議,作爲未來自我照顧團體實施之參考。

# 貳、文獻探討

# 一、支持性團體的意涵與理論

支持性團體,又譯爲分享團體(林萬億,2007)。藉由帶領者引導有相同困境的一群人相互自助,面對生活中相似的壓力事件,強化其因應與解決問題能力的運作方式,使其有別其他處遇性團體(Toseland & Rivas, 2016)。支持性團體有結合社會支持和小團體的特性(熊德筠,1990),同時也具備對成員增能賦權的功能(李宛芸、陳彥如,2013)。此外,自助團體與支持團體兩者經常被混合使用(徐森杰,2004),但比起自助團體,心理專業人員在支持團體涉入較深,多半會擔任團體帶領者(Kurtz,1997),透過技巧引發成員互助以提升因應壓力能力。

Kurtz (1997) 從支持性團體的歷程及其改變機轉分析,歸納出提供支持、提供訊息、

傳遞歸屬感、經驗交流、教導因應技巧等5項的療效因子。透過語言及非語言的形式給予 支持,是支持性團體的首要目標,亦爲關鍵療效因子。無論是透過外部專家或團體成員提 供的資訊,可讓參與者找到適合的額外協助。團體聚會也爲參與者集結一群與自己相似遭 遇的人,創造歸屬感。成員在聚會中各自敘說個人的故事,彼此的經驗得以交流傳遞。最 後,支持性團體也可以教導參與者因應困境的技巧。

隨著實務經驗的累積與學術研究的發展之下,支持性團體的類型相當多元化。首先, 若依對象來區分,可分爲病友支持性團體、家長支持性團體(黃漣華,1989),以及專業 人員支持性團體 (Vinogradov & Yalom, 1989)。其中關於輔導教師相關的團體,多數研究 如周美玲(2015)以增能團體形式試圖改善其輔導工作困境,屬於附加支持性功能的成長 團體,雖附帶情感支持的效果,但團體設計仍著重於輔導技巧的提升。此外,雖坊間與教 育主管單位已辦理衆多研習、督導課程與工作坊,但尚未有團體方案可讓輔導教師全然關 注在自身福祉,以因應增能課程無法觸及的工作困境。再者,各縣市政府嘗試安排同儕支 持團體,但洪郁筑(2018)根據參與成員經驗所彙整之訪談結果,發現此種作法雖立意良 善,但並未事先針對成員需求進行評估,同時在成員篩選分組、活動內容規劃並不明確, 以至於無法滿足個別成員需求。因此本研究之方案設計,以前述研究爲鑑,設計有系統化 之輔導教師支持性團體。

值得一提的是,無論何種對象或形式的團體,帶領者都可能會經歷僵局。林淑君、 王麗斐、謝珮玲 (2012) 歸納團體中可能出現的五大類僵局,包含團體氣氛凝滯、成員挑 戰帶領者、成員互動所形成的衝突、成員展現問題特質,以及協同帶領所形成的衝突。其 中,專業人員所形成的團體,較容易因其帶著工作角色進入團體中,以致討論難以深化而 使氣氛凝滯。帶領者若遭遇此類僵局,可協助成員去角色化,促進其針對事件所產生感受 的表達。

若依其目的,可將支持性團體區分爲教育訓練取向、情感支持取向、教育訓練與情 感支持兼具取向等三類(湯麗玉、葉炳強、陳良娟、謝碧容,2000)。其中教育訓練與情 感支持兼具取向的團體,帶領者除了提供相關資訊與技巧,同時也允許成員彼此討論分享 的空間,因此成員除了獲取因應壓力事件必要的知識技巧,也能藉由情緒支持來減少孤立 感。據此,本研究之方案設計,以教育訓練與情感支持兼具取向之專業人員支持性團體爲 方向。

### 二、自我照顧的意涵與理論

自我照顧的概念源自於護理界,由 Orem (2001) 率先提出,著重於提升病人自主性, 在疾病因應與維持健康上不全然依賴醫護專業,並將焦點放在生理與身體上的護理作爲。 後續學者將之應用在專業工作人員的身心調適。起初,自我照顧的研究多從預防耗竭開始 (O'Halloran, Linton, 2000),從 Porter (1995)進而留意到提升個體不同層面的福祉有其必要 性。張吟慈 (2008) 則納入國內助人工作的觀點,將自我照顧定位在個人爲了維持或增進 其健康,所進行的一連串自我覺察、自我調節以獲得各個層面平衡狀態之過程。可見自我 照顧內涵隨著研究的發展,逐漸走向全人觀點而愈加豐富。

進一步來看,自我照顧的策略可略分爲生理、心理、靈性、人際及專業等 5 個層面 (張吟慈,2008)。正因爲我們的生活並非只有一個層面就能涵蓋,因此唯有運用多重策 略來支持生活中的每個部份,才能夠獲取完整的幸福感:

- (一)身體方面:其策略著重在採取適切的行動,培養良好的生活習慣,以促進身體、 生理方面等需求的滿足。
- (二)心理方面:其策略涵蓋認知、情緒、行爲等需求的滿足,覺察、接納自己的內在 情緒與社會角色,妥善處理內在議題並發揮自身正向功能。
- (三)人際方面:其策略包含各種關係的參與、建立與維繫,以獲取歸屬感等人際需求 的滋養。
- (四)靈性方面:其策略著重在關照心靈或靈性層次上的需求,對自己的生命產生意義 感與希望感,獲取內在平靜,達到心靈層次的滿足感。
- (五)專業方面:其策略著重在透過各種管道獲取專業知識與相關資源,滿足自身專業 成長的需求。

因此,自我照顧對助人者而言,並非僅有消極性的功能,更扮演著積極性的角色,關 照且平衡助人工作者的全人面向。除能維持效能引領個案度過生命低潮,並以身作則爲個 案示範更好的生活方式,創造雙贏局面:

- (一) 消極性功能: Baker (2003)發現透過自我照顧可因應工作壓力。進一步可減緩專業耗竭、替代性創傷、反移情等助人專業工作危機所造成的傷害(汪淑媛,2006),並使其恢復正常生活(吳珮瑱,2004)。另外,爲了提供案主妥善的服務,透過自我照顧以維持其人性與專業,是助人專業倫理的最低要求(Corey,2017)。
- (二)積極性功能:自我照顧除了可促進助人者專業工作的穩定與效能(黃靖淳, 2015),進一步提升其在專業與個人層面的幸福感(Baker,2003),帶來自我實 現的滿足感(葉建君,2010),進而豐厚生命的廣度與深度(李素玲,2009) ,維持身心靈各方面平衡的全人健康狀態(Skoyholt,2001)。

然而,我們對於助人者的自我照顧,經常抱持著錯誤的期待。助人工作者在其成長背景及專業訓練過程中,逐漸養成並強化其將焦點關注他人身上,縮限其自我照顧行為(Skovholt,2001)。同時我們也常誤以爲助人者的自我照顧不需要教導就自然會去做,也懂得怎麼做(林映伶,2015)。因此有必要透過前述提及之支持性團體的介入,讓同爲助人工作者的輔導教師,體悟到自我照顧的重要性。

另一方面,關於自我照顧的研究,仍多以護理學的角度來探討慢性或長期病患的自我 照顧。至於專業人員的自我照顧,相較於護理人員(蔡昌雄、蔡淑玲、劉鎭嘉,2006)與 諮商心理師(胡峯鳳,2007),高中以下各級學校輔導教師的研究較少,尤以國小場域的 研究(沈雅婷,2016)更少;再者,無論採用質性或量化方法,研究內容仍停留在描述現 象的基礎研究,尚未有提供明確方案以解決問題的應用研究出現。據此,本研究在此議題 中,無論是對象或方法,都具備進一步探究的價值。

# 參、研究設計與實施

### 一、研究架構

本研究採用前實驗研究法的「單組前後測」設計,探討支持團體方案對國小輔導教師 之自我照顧是否具有影響效果。研究者以支持團體方案做爲實驗處理,並根據研究者自編 之「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」做爲測驗工具,在實驗處理前、後各進行一次施測,比 較兩者之間的分數差異,以探究實驗處理是否具有效果。另外,爲能深入探究其團體方案 對輔導教師所造成的影響爲何,在實驗處理後1週進行焦點團體訪談,以及蒐集相關表單 等輔助性資料進行質性分析。遂擬研究架構如圖 1 所示之自變項與依變項。

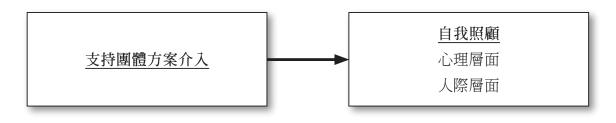


圖 1. 研究架構

# 二、研究參與者

#### (一) 研究對象

本研究實驗期間爲 108 年 10 月 16 日至 12 月 11 日,所招募之對象爲臺灣中部地區小 學之輔導教師,其取樣方式如下:

- 1. 招募成員:透過社群網站與即時通訊軟體,以及廣發官傳文官至各校輔導主任電子 信箱進行官傳。另於輔導教師團體督導與輔導知能研習等相關場合公開激請受試 者,並商請同事與親友協助轉發資訊等方式,將相關訊息公告周知,吸引有動機且 符合身分的受試者前來參加。
- 2. 篩選成員:透過電話與面談等方式,團體帶領者自我介紹並說明團體性質,實施方 式、地點、時間,進而瞭解其動機、期待與過往團體經驗,並告知本研究之目的與 實施流程,回答參與教師對於團體的疑問。排除身心特殊疾患或是重大創傷議題之

後,針對有意願參與研究者,邀請其簽署同意書,確定其充分瞭解研究方式後進入 團體。

關於受試對象的基本資料概況如表 1。全數成員均爲女性,大多數曾有參與團體的經驗。此外,成員多數爲學士學歷,並自諮商、輔導相關系所組畢業,已取得專任輔導教師資格。再者,雖然正式與代理教師的人數接近各半,但多數成員因爲年齡較輕,在教學資歷與輔導工作資歷較少。最後,全數成員均任教於中型規模的公立小學。

表 1. 團體成員	員基本資料
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資料成員	性別	年齡	團體 經驗	學歷	資格	身分	輔導 資歷	任教 資歷	學校 類型	學校 規模
J	女	20~29	有	學士	相關學歷畢業	正式	2年	3年	公立	25 班
P	女	20~29	有	學士	相關學歷畢業	正式	2年	2年	公立	30 班
S	女	30~39	無	碩士	綜合活動教師證	正式	7年	11年	公立	56 班
I	女	30~39	有	碩士	相關學歷畢業	代理	1年	1年	公立	16 班
Τ	女	40~49	有	學士	加註輔導專長	代理	1年	15年	公立	17 班
Н	女	20~29	有	學士	相關學歷畢業	代理	1年	1年	公立	23 班
C	女	20~29	無	學士	相關學歷畢業	正式	2年	2年	公立	25 班

由此可推知,大部分的成員對團體的歷程會有先備知識,有助於帶領者推展團體。此外,多數成員的年齡、性別,以及任教資格與相關資歷相仿,創造出同質性較高的團體,在語言的使用上貼近,以利彼此想法溝通與關係建立。再者,成員目前任職的場域規模與屬性相仿,使其對彼此的學校環境與文化較能理解與想像,在經驗交換與意見回饋上也較能貼近各自的需求。然而,在這同質性高的團體中,各自的背景脈絡仍有差異,使得彼此的討論得以激盪出不同的火花,內涵更加豐富。

#### (二) 團體帶領者

本研究設計之支持團體方案的團體帶領者,由研究者自行擔任。基礎知識方面,研究者曾於大學就讀教育系輔導組,另修畢 26 輔導學分班取得國小教師加註輔導專長,並於攻讀碩士學位,均修習諮商理論與技術、諮商實務、團體諮商,並參與諮商實習等相關課程。此外,利用課餘時間參與團體動力工作坊、團體研究論文寫作工作坊、心理劇工作坊、表達性藝術治療工作坊,以增進帶領與研究團體的基本知能。另有參與各類團體擔任成員的經驗,包含人際關係、自我照顧與親密關係、自我探索等主題。據此,研究者具備帶領本團體的基本學理知識。

另外,實務帶領經驗方面,研究者爲現任國小專任輔導教師,熟知國小輔導教師工作

環境,並於每學期帶領兒童團體諮商,目前累積時數 53 小時。另曾於實務課程與社區機 構中,由督導協助下帶領家暴相對人處遇團體 8 小時,以及設計並執行教師自我照顧團體 方案 12 小時。據此,研究者具備帶領團體的基礎實務經驗,且能理解目標成員的職場文 化與工作性質。

# 三、研究工具

### (一) 國小輔導教師自我照顧量表

研究者參考相關文獻之後,自編「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」。內容分爲基本資料 與自我照顧量表。本研究經由3位專家學者針對內容效度進行審查,提供寶貴意見,以修 正預試問卷。預試問卷回收後,經下列步驟形成正式量表。

#### 1. 項目分析

本研究以極端組比較法與相關分析法之所得,作爲項目分析的指標。極端組比較法採 用獨立 t 檢定,逐題比較高分組與低分組之平均數差異,將未達顯著水準 (p < .05) 且決斷 值低於 3.0 的題項刪除:相關分析法則採用 Pearson 積差相關係數,求參與量表題項與總 分之間的相關,若未達顯著水準 (p<.05) 且相關係數低於 .30 題項則不予保留。

本量表經項目分析後,獨立 t 檢定唯有 BA06 之決斷值未達 3.0;相關分析中,所有 題項相關係數均高於.30。綜合以上結果,將BA06刪除,其他題項予以保留。

#### 2. 因素分析

本研究之建構效度,採用探索性因素分析。進行因素分析前,須誘過 KMO 值與 Bartlett 球型檢定,考驗其資料是否適合進行因素分析。通過 KMO 值與 Bartlett 球型檢定 考驗後,進一步主成分分析法進行萃取,各分量表設定萃取1個因素。

經 KMO 值與 Bartlett 球型檢定, KMO 值分別為「心理方面分量表」.775、「人際方 面分量表」.821,且達顯著水準(p<.001),顯示適合進行因素分析。進一步以主成分分 析法進行萃取,各分量表設定萃取1個因素,「心理方面分量表」特徵值3.951,解釋變異 量 35.920%; 「人際方面分量表」特徵值 3.946, 解釋變異量 56.370%。

#### 3. 信度分析

本研究量表經因素分析後,爲使其更具穩定性,進行內部一致性信度分析,以 Cronbach's α 係數爲其考驗之依據。當量表信度在 .70 以上時爲佳,可使量表具備一致性 與穩定性,作爲編制正式量表之依據(顏志龍、鄭中平,2016)。

此外,輔導教師工作困境量表預試結果經 Cronbach's  $\alpha$  係數考驗後,工作負荷的  $\alpha$ 係數爲 .908,角色衝突的  $\alpha$  係數爲 .725,人際互動的  $\alpha$  係數爲 .826,整體的工作困境 α 係數爲 .897。分析結果顯示其內部一致性高,具備良好信度。

經前沭步驟完成預試分析後,形成正式問卷共 18 題,題項內容與構面對照如表 2。

表 2. 輔導教師自我照顧量表題項及研究構面對照表

研究構面	正式題項	題幹
	BA01	我會經常覺察自己當下的感受。
	BA02	我會留意自己面對個案的反應。
	BA03	我能調整對工作的期待。
	BA04	我會接納自己當下感受到的情緒。
	BA05	我會欣賞自己在工作中的表現。
心理 方面	BA06	我能瞭解自己的限制並接納這些限制。
∕1 ш	BA07	我會運用下班時間或假日讓自己休息或做些感到愉快的活動。
	BA08	我選擇以健康的方式來釋放自己的負向情緒。
	BA09	我會關注有關身心健康的資訊。
	BA10	當遇到困難時,我會試著去面對與解決。
	BA11	當感到壓力太大時,我會暫停手邊工作讓自己喘息。
	BB12	我會時常聯絡親人、朋友,維繫良好的人際關係。
	BB13	我會試著讓家人或朋友理解與尊重我的工作。
	BB14	我會建立諮詢名冊與網絡,當我在工作上面臨問題時,得以尋求 專業人士協助。
人際	BB15	在心情低落時,我會找信任的人聊聊心事。
方面	BB16	在我遇到困難時,我會尋求有相似經驗的其他人提供建議。
	BB17	當工作理念與內容被質疑時,我嘗試透過溝通來獲取同事的認同與支持。
	BB18	當和同事溝通有困難時,我會試著表達心裡的想法或處理自己的情緒。

# (二) 各項活動表單

### 1. 單元活動回饋表

由研究者針對研究需求自編而成,主要目的在於評估團體介入目標於各次聚會之達成概況,以及研究對象對於整個團體的氣氛、活動內容、於過程中與其他成員的互動、自我表現的滿意度,以及對帶領者的領導方式予以回饋及建議,作爲處遇成員的成效評估之一。內容共 10 題,有 9 題以 Likert5 點選項形式呈現,1 題以開放式問題呈現,蒐集成員的看法並作爲改進團體的參考依據。

#### 2. 團體總回饋表

依研究者針對研究需求自編而成,在第 10 次聚會結束後邀請成員填寫。旨在了解成 員對於參與本研究團體方案整體回饋,藉此檢視成員對本研究方案的整體反應爲何。內 容包含「團體活動安排」、「團體成員感受」、「團體裡的收穫」、「學習成效與建議」等4 部分。其中前3部分題項以Likert5點選項形式呈現,「非常同意|計5分、「同意|計4 分、「普通」計3分、「不同意」計2分、「非常不同意」計1分,分數越高代表同意程度 越高,第四部分則以開放式問題呈現,讓成員得以充分表達看法。

#### 3. 團體活動歷程紀錄表

取得成員同意後,每次團體歷程都會進行錄影,以利研究者詳細瞭解每次聚會活動歷 程、成員間的互動狀況、並掌握團體中發生的事件。本記錄表由研究者於每次聚會結束後 進行填寫,將過程中的重要內容轉爲文字,紀錄成員在聚會過程中的表現、參與情形以及 特殊事件等,作爲提供研究者觀察成員接受團體介入的歷程與改變情形,透過接受督導及 檢討,作爲修正活動內容與帶領方式的參考,並作爲分析個別成員參與團體歷程的重要依 據。

#### 4. 錄影紀錄

在取得成員本人同意後,將每次團體過程以錄影方式,以便研究者於每次團體聚會結 束後,透過影音更加瞭解活動歷程、成員之間的互動狀況,以及團體中所發生的特殊事件 脈絡,作爲分析個別成員與團體歷程時的重要依據。

#### (三) 焦點團體訪談大綱

本研究使用之焦點團體訪談大綱,係參考王韋琇(2010)、丘育君(2013)、王宥匀 (2015)、陳佩雯 (2017)、張在蓓 (2017) 等人之訪談大綱與團體後訪談紀錄表,並參考 Krueger(2000) 所建議的提問大綱內可涵蓋的題目架構,以及依本研究目的編制而成,再 與指導教授討論進行修正。經實驗組成員同意後,於團體結束後一週,由研究者主持訪 談,過程中實施錄音及錄影。其目的在於了解成員的團體經驗、感想、收穫等看法,作爲 調整活動與設計上的參考。

### 四、資料處理

### (一) 量化資料統計分析

本研究以受試者填寫之「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」所收集到的前測、後測等分 數,採用 SPSS 23.0 統計套裝軟體進行資料處理,以描述性統計、Wilcoxon 符號等級檢定 等,考驗其前測與後測分數差異情形是否達到統計水準,以驗證本研究假設。再者,爲兼 顧第一類型及第二類型錯誤,定以  $\alpha = .05$  的統計考驗水準,以觀察實驗處理後之效果, 作爲接受或拒絕虛無假設之依據。

### (二)輔助性資料整理與分析

本研究除了量化資料的統計分析之外,並將各次聚會歷程與焦點團體訪談等輔助性資料,予以歸納整理後與協同分析者進行分析。輔助性資料主要擔任輔助量化資料分析結果的角色,其觀察焦點環繞在支持性團體如何影響自我照顧,包含成員獲得提升的面向、團體方案中致使提升的因素,以及自我照顧之行爲效益如何被提升,進而了解研究團體方案對成員的影響。

# 肆、結果與討論

# 一、支持團體方案對國小輔導教師的自我照顧之效果

### (一) 國小輔導教師自我照顧量表結果

研究者先以描述性統計,計算研究參與者在實驗前後,分別於「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」各項得分之平均數與標準差。計算結果發現,研究參與者在心理方面分量表的後測得分 (M=43.14,SD=4.45) 高於前測得分 (M=36.86,SD=5.24),人際方面分量表的後測得分 (M=28.14,SD=3.44) 高於前測得分 (M=25.71,SD=2.81)。另外,總量表的後測得分 (M=71.29,SD=6.87) 也高於前測得分 (M=62.57,SD=5.53)。上述結果如表 3 所示。

表 3. 研究參與者在「自我照顧」的前、後測得分之平均數與標準差

面向	心理方面		人際	人際方面		自我照顧總面向	
	前測	後測	前測	後測	前測	後測	
平均數	36.86	43.14	25.71	28.14	62.57	71.29	
標準差	5.24	4.45	2.81	3.44	5.53	6.87	

接著,研究者進一步以 Wilcoxon 符號等級檢定,考驗研究參與者於「國小輔導教師 自我照顧量表」之前測、後測分數差異情形是否達到統計水準。結果如表 4 所示。

表 4. 研究參與者在「自我照顧」的前、後測差異分數之統計考驗摘要

面向		人數	等級平均數	等級總和	Z檢定
	負等級 a	0	.00	.00	-2.201*
心理方面	正等級 b	6	3.50	21.00	
	等値結 c	1			

面向		人數	等級平均數	等級總和	Z檢定
	負等級 a	2	2.50	5.00	-1.529
人際方驗	正等級 b	5	4.60	23.00	
	等値結 c	0			
	負等級 a	0	.00	.00	-2.023*
自我照顧 總面向	正等級 b	5	3.00	15.00	
₩ <b>©</b> ЕЦ [ ]	等値結 c	2			

表 4. 研究參與者在「自我照顧」的前、後測差異分數之統計考驗摘要(續)

註: a. 後測 < 前測, b. 後測 > 前測, c. 後測 = 前測, \*p<.05

統計結果顯示,研究參與者在「國小輔導教師工作困境量表」中,心理方面分量表 的前測、後測平均値有顯著差異,z=-2.201,p=.028。人際方面分量表的前測、後測平均 值沒有顯著差異,z=-1.529,p=.126。另外,總量表的前測、後測平均值也有顯著差異, z=-2.023, p=.043。據此,研究參與者在工作困境中的心理方面與整體前、後測表現達顯 著水準,但在人際方面的前、後測表現則未達顯著水準。

綜合上述資料,研究參與者在「國小輔導教師自我照顧量表」中,各分量表的後測平 均數均低於前測平均數。經統計考驗後,心理方面與整體表現均達顯著水準,但人際方面 則未達顯著水準。亦即研究參與者接受支持團體方案介入後,其自我照顧整體行爲,以及 在心理層面行爲的改變,在統計上達顯著水準;然而,在人際層面行爲的改變,在統計上 未達顯著水準。意即國小輔導教師在參加支持團體方案後,雖然對於其人際層面的自我照 顧的改善效果並不明顯,但在心理層面可獲得實質的改善,進而促使整體的自我照顧品質 都隨之提升。

#### (二)輔助性資料分析

藉由各次團體聚會歷程與焦點團體訪談等資料之質性分析,顯示受試者經支持團體方 案介入後,覺察到在心理、身體與人際等面向的自我照顧品質獲得提升。另外,成員也反 映支持團體裡的活動設計,參與成員彼此的分享與回饋,以及帶領者本身,均在提升自我 照顧中扮演重要的角色。最後,支持團體對成員的影響,包含提升對自我照顧的重視、增 加自我照顧行爲的面向,以及賦予原有行爲新的意義感等正面效益。

#### 1. 支持團體促進心理層面自我照顧

成員從其他夥伴給予的回饋中,去拓展對自己的認識與覺察。當其中一方開始分享 自身的工作經驗,另一方回饋自己傾聽後所得到的理解時,往往都會發現未曾留意過的自 我,可以被另一種方式詮釋,進而「得到一些『我原來不知道原來我自己長這樣』的那種

感覺。(J-F-038-1-B)」,使得對自己覺察的內涵更佳豐富。

另外,成員也會從團體的討論分享中,去看見自己在身爲輔導教師的角色限制。「我 覺得有時候我們要了解自己的限制…不是一個人的力量可以改變的。我們需要更多的資 源,或者是跟網路之間互相合作。(S-F-026-2-B)」除了接納並承認自己的限制之外,成員 也會從不同角度來思考還可以再做些什麼,或者是持續調整自己的行爲模式。

團體的討論歷程,可使成員獲取更深一層的洞察。原先已有一定程度的覺察,但透過分享與回饋的過程,對工作情境中的自我狀態更加理解。「記得我在分享畫作的時候,自己下意識沒有發現,可是P說她有注意我一直提到「覺得很空虛,我想要填滿這些東西…」。後來回到工作現場的時候,發現我在學校工作也會喜歡把每一件事情都塞得很滿,好像忘記留一些空白。(C-F-025-3-B)」當成員將新的詮釋帶回到職場中,會催化出更深一層的洞察。

最後,透過團體討論,為成員呈現每個人的做法,背後有其脈絡及考量,沒有絕對正確的答案。「我就會覺得,原來他這樣子的考量可能是什麼原因,或單純就是我想怎麼樣。…就是大家個性都好不一樣,我們都是專輔老師,但是都不一樣,可是就都、很、棒。(H-8-002-1-B)」經由這樣的示範,使得成員放下對自己的過度評價,增加自己面對事情的彈性,進而自我肯定。

#### 2. 支持團體促進成員的身體層面自我照顧

成員原先會是在上班期間讓自己持續處於忙碌狀態,將行程塞得很滿。但經由團體介入之後,會重新看待自己的需求,認爲做好工作的方式,不見得一定得把時間塞滿,而能給自己適度的時間休息。「我透過那一次的體驗之後,我會告訴自己說:『我應該要留一些時間照顧自己。』然後這節課就算休息,沒有去找導師也沒關係。我還是把我的工作有做好,可是我有留一些給自己喘息的空間。(C-F-025-4-B)|

#### 3. 支持團體促進人際層面自我照顧

成員原先在職場上較不擅於開口表達,自己在執行輔導工作時所需要的協助。透過自 我照顧練習活動,成員能覺察到周遭同事的善意、可運用的資源,進而主動連結資源或提 出自身需求。「就是會知道說,身邊其實有蠻多資源可以幫助自己。…我甚至會比較敢去 跟主任,或者是跟同仁,開口說:『我需要些什麼,那你可以幫助我嗎?』然後我發現他 們其實都蠻樂意的。(P-F-024-6-B)」

#### 4. 活動設計有助於提升自我照顧

成員透過活動體驗獲得正向經驗,進而願意擴展自我照顧行為類型。「…好像那時候是在練習,不知道是在腹式呼吸還是什麼…。我還記得那一次我的回家作業,就是我想要做這個。…在還沒有那次活動之前,我是不會在平常的時候,停下來給自己一段時間,…當下那樣的感覺—只有跟自己在一起的感覺—我覺得非常舒服…,我就決定當次的回家作業,就是回去做這件事情。(H-F-21-1-B)」由於成員在過程中感到舒適,同時覺察到自己

過往經驗中,未曾讓自己有過這樣的體驗,因此願意將新的自我照顧行爲落實在生活中。

成員透過回家作業嘗試各種自我照顧行為,進而擴展自己的自我照顧面向。在每一次 團體結束前,都會讓成員選擇一項自我照顧行動,在一週內實踐。「我覺得每次的回家功 課,真的都會 push 我去做一些自我照顧,覺得很棒。(J-F-53-1-B)」成員在實踐過程中, 發現自己會有意識地嘗試每一種行為,也會督促自己實踐,並在過程中體驗到這些行爲帶 來的益處,甚至進而改善工作上的困境。「那我覺得這一些方法,或者是策略回去用了之 後,對我來說,都是有幫助的。(S-F-26-1-B)」

### 5. 成員之間的回饋有助於提升自我照顧

在團體討論歷程中相互分享與回饋,也有助於成員提升自我照顧。「聽別人的經驗, 看到自己跟別人的不同或相同,給我更大的感覺就是有比較勇敢,不會那麼害怕。因爲相 信每個人立場都不一樣,你可能更找到自己,比較相信自己的感覺。(H-8-001-2-B)」

#### 6. 支持團體促進成員重視自我照顧

經由每週一次固定聚會,討論相關議題、參與活動體驗,安排每週任務實踐,逐漸 在生活中體會到自我照顧的重要性,甚至將其優先規劃在行程中。「以前我就會覺得說, 我想到的時候再做自我照顧。現在變成自我照顧這件事情,應該被我列爲蠻優先的一個事 項,要被我排進我的 Schedule 裡面。(I-F-031-2-B)」

另外,其他夥伴的回饋與分享,也能讓成員謹記在心,以提醒自己優先照顧自己,而 不是任自己對這份工作或個案的使命感,將自己燃燒殆盡。「你有講一句話,就是同事跟 你分享的那一句:「你想幫助那些孩子,你要先幫助自己。你其實要多點時間給自己。」... 給我很多共鳴。(T-2-049-1-B)」

最後,參加團體之前,對成員而言,日常的休閒行動就只是放鬆與休閒而已,反映 出我們社會文化賦予休閒的價值感較低。透過團體過程中的心理教育,使得成員發現原先 的休閒活動即是自我照顧的一種。「本來在做那件事情的時候沒想那麼多;可是,現在再 做那件事情─比如説去爬山···我就會特別覺得,這其實也是自我照顧的一種。(C-F-027-1-B)」進而賦予這些活動意義感,提升其價值與重要性。從事這些活動則更有充實感與價 值感, 並非只是虛度光陰的行爲而已。

#### 7. 支持團體促進成員自我照顧行為多元化

部分成員有意識到,自己的自我照顧面向較以往來得豐富。在參與團體之前,成員較 偏向特定類型的自我照顧,「以前我只會看棒球,真的就只會看棒球而已。可是這次團體 的那一個單子,讓我知道自己還有一些事情可以嘗試,...就是可以嘗試不同的休閒活動。 (P-F-037-1-B) | 成員在每次團體結束前檢視講義選擇回家作業,促使成員嘗試新的行動, 使得自我照顧行為的面向更加豐富、多元。

# 二、綜合討論

本研究在量化分析結果顯示,實施支持性團體對國小輔導教師之整體自我照顧,以及心理層面的照顧品質具有立即性的效果,但對於人際層面的照顧品質不具立即性效果。若從質性分析結果來看,支持團體有助於成員獲取心理、人際及身體層面的自我照顧,而且心理層面的收穫較人際、身體層面來得顯著。甚者,團體並非僅提供情境給成員進行自我照顧,更提高其在平時自我照顧的品質,包含自我照顧的行爲樣態越來越多元,並將日常生活習慣賦予意義感,而增加執行自我照顧的意願與動機。最後,成員覺知到活動設計、討論回饋等元素,有助於提升其自我照顧的質與量。

心理層面之結果與周美玲 (2015)、洪郁筑 (2018) 部分吻合,即透過團體介入後,成員的自我覺察與理解提升,但本研究受試者所獲更加豐富。人際層面之結果與周美玲 (2015) 部分結果相仿,受試者較聚焦於表達自身需求以取得團隊合作的共識,若參照回家作業實施結果,則有多位成員均達成人際自我照顧。

歸納產生上述結果之原因,可能有以下幾種:

- (一)受試者在實驗介入前,已常用人際自我照顧。除了受試者人數過少須納入考量之外,從自我照顧量表前測來看,人際層面整體平均分數略高於心理層面;若逐一檢視個別題項與整體表現相仿。另外,從介入前自我照顧實施概況來看,多數受試者均使用過人際自我照顧,因此團體介入的效益有限。
- (二) 成員在團體歷程中較少提及職場衝突情境。頂多以隱晦的方式間接表示。其中原因可能是團體的安全感尚待提升;或是與輔導專業角色期待不符,怕反得到 負向評價,而與林淑君、王麗斐、謝珮玲(2012)的觀察接近。
- (三)調整團體型態與介入方式,使得受試者自我照顧品質顯著提升,有效克服洪郁筑 (2018)所述,當團體遇到定位不明確、團體人數過多所延伸之種種困境。相較於 增能團體(周美玲,2015),也較常提起職場適應策略。

# 伍、結論與建議

# 一、結論

- (一)支持性團體應用在提升國小輔導教師自我照顧上,對其「整體自我照顧」及「心理層面」具有效果,但在「人際層面」之效果則不明顯。
- (二)分析焦點團體訪談與各次團體聚會歷程等資料後,顯示支持團體有助於提升人際、身體層面之自我照顧,但在心理層面的內涵提升更加豐富。此外,發現團體介入可提高成員自我照顧的效能,包含增加成員對自我照顧的重視,促使自我照顧行為樣態多元化,以及將日常生活賦予重要的意義,進而豐厚了自己的生命。

### 二、建議

### (一) 學校輔導工作方面

- 1. 鼓勵輔導教師籌組並參與支持團體:透過心理教育、體驗練習、指派作業等團體活 動安排,以及針對個人在工作中遇到的困難進行討論,除可提供國小輔導教師必要 的支持,符合其需求與期待,並協助提升自我照顧知能,促使其體認自我照顧的重 要性並積極實踐,在職場與生活均能保持較佳身心狀態。據此鼓勵輔導教師籌組並 參與支持團體。
- 2. 教育主管機關應主導支持團體之推動:若想永續經營輔導教師的身心福祉,需要教 育主管機關積極推動,除能減輕成本壓力與招募困境,並對第一線輔導人員無疑是 一大鼓舞。
- 3. 規劃進階、高階團體以滿足不同需求:研究結果反應受試者希望能繼續參與,並發 現長期經營有助於維繫其身心健康與工作效能。但考量本方案因研究限制未能兼顧 所有層面的自我照顧需求,建議可將本團體方案視爲初階團體,並規劃辦理進階、 高階團體,增加不同主題的探討,並逐漸降低團體結構,一年一次讓成員持續返回 團體更新自我,以滿足成員不同階段的需求。

# (二) 未來研究方面

- 1. 增加研究參與者人數,以提高統計考驗力:由於在招募階段中因時間安排、交通距 離以及托育照顧需求等遇到困境。若能分別在不同地點開設兩個以上的支持團體, 以及提供托育服務,或能提高潛在成員之參與意願。
- 2. 改變研究設計,以控制內在效度之威脅:建議後續研究可改以不等組前後測實驗設 計,並搭配前項建議將多位帶領者分派進入不同團體中。除了可降低內在效度威 **春**,並加以排除治療師效果的干擾,利於檢核團體方案成效。
- 3. 更換研究構念以檢驗支持團體之效能:除了自我照顧,亦可透過增權賦能、社會支 持、自我效能、工作滿意度、幸福感、專業認同、自我復原力…等構念,從不同角 度檢驗支持團體的介入效能。

# 試謝

本研究是由第一位作者之碩士學位論文所改寫。感謝兩位審查者的專業意見,讓本研 究的內容有修改機會,增加學理性與實務性。

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# 論李海鵬詩歌中的譬喻詩境 On Li Hai's Metaphorical Poem

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(收件日期 110年3月20日;接受日期110年7月22日)

# 摘要

本文的研究著重在「中國當代詩歌」與「修辭學:譬喻」兩方面,探討新生代中國 詩人李海鵬詩歌中的譬喻詩境。從詩作的閱讀中發現詩人在詩意的營造上多使用「比喻、 譬喻」的創作技巧,來塑造他對此詩的意境營造及其意涵,不禁讓筆者產生研究的問題意 識:詩人如何藉由譬喻修辭的大量使用,產生他所追求、探索的詩心與詩境,且在修辭 格的運用上,運用哪些喻體、喻依等類比或跳脫,展現其運用譬喻的特殊性。本文分爲三 節:譬喻修辭格概說、人與風景的聯想、動物與風景的聯想,企圖指出詩人著重的風景主 題與其他聯想譬喻之間的關聯性,並提出詩人寫作的風格誕生。

關鍵字:中國當代詩、李海鵬、譬喻、詩境、風景

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#### **Abstract**

This paper focuses on the two aspects of "contemporary Chinese poetry" and the "practice learning: metaphor ", and discusses the metaphorical poetic environment in the poems of the new generation Chinese poet Li Hai. It is found from the poem that the poet uses the creative skills of "metaphor and metaphor" to shape his artistic conception and the meaning of the poem. This approach cannot help but bring consciousness of certain problems to mind. For example, how can the poet produce the poetic heart and poetic environment he pursues and explore through the extensive use of metaphor and practice? Moreover, how does the poet use metaphor, what kinds of metaphors or other analogies or jumps does he use, and what is particular about these usages? This paper is divided into three sections: the general description of metaphor, the connection between people and scenery, the relationship between animals and scenery, the relationship between the theme of the poet's heavy scenery and other related metaphors, and the style of the poet's writing.

Keywords: Contemporary Chinese Poetry, Li Haiyi, Metaphor, Poemland, Landscape.

# 壹、前言

中國大陸現當代文學發展,大約可以分爲:一、五四時期 (1917-1949)二、中國共產 黨與文革期 (1950-1976) 三、新時期 (1977-)。然這樣的分期,影響了中國詩歌發展的美學 走向,也受到中國文化、歷史等有所變化。中國大陸的新時期文學,從文革解放後開始有 條件、有意識的蓬勃發展,包括政治體制、社會風情的重大改變,以及詩歌創作與文化環 境的變異,然詩歌則是不落人後,早於文革時期就有地下詩歌社團的組成並發行刊物,例 如《今天》雜誌,包括詩人北島、芒克也有參與並發表。而從 1970 年代末期開始,朦朧 詩成爲詩歌的主流。在目標上,帶有與「當代」前 30 年的詩歌主流「斷裂」的詩歌思潮 開始湧動,這一詩潮當時難以爲「主流詩界」所認可。'朦朧詩反映了在文革期間成長的 「一代人」深刻體會,這些體驗結合了複雜的國家、民族、文化、社會問題,流露了文革 一代人的痛苦與希冀、覺醒與探求。2這樣的詩潮是以北島、芒克等人爲首,而最早的新 詩潮刊物爲《今天》雜誌,頗具標誌性。但,朦朧詩的出現讓批評家出現了兩派聲音,支 持者普遍指出,青年詩歌唾棄空洞、虛假的調頭,厭惡陳腐的套式,探索新的題材、新的 表現方式和風格,是「對權威和傳統的神聖性」的挑戰,是「新美學原則的崛起」;它推 動了當代詩歌的自由創造、多元並立的藝術創新局面的出現。批評者則以爲「朦朧詩」思 想藝術傾向不健康,摭拾西方「現代派」的餘唾,表現了「反現實主義」的性質。3而這 樣的「先鋒性」也讓中國新時期詩歌發展有了一項較大的共通性,且「青年」總是扮演重 要的角色,茱萸於〈青年之著陸——「陸詩叢」總序〉指出,肇因於1970年代末的中國 大陸「先鋒詩」,亦起始於彼時仍是青年的「今天派」諸子對陳腐文學樣式的自覺反叛。 這是文學領域富有生命力的象徵。4包括後朦朧詩人、第三代詩人也都在試圖與前世代詩 人進行對話與自我實踐。

1990年代後,中國詩歌注重的風格與走向有明顯的變化,包括散文化與邊緣化的問 題,新生代的詩人多已重視自我意識,也在詩句運用上多呈顯趨近「非詩」的狀態。洪子 誠指出,90 年代的詩歌,最主要的方面,是向著詩人的個性、詩人的個人經驗收縮的詩 歌,「個人化」是重要(但也不斷引起爭議)的詩歌徵象。⁵所以目前多有批評家或詩人貫 以「主題式」或「關鍵詞」的方式來論述這些新一代的詩人,包括「知識分子寫作」、「個 人寫作」、「日常性」、「敘事性」等。這些關鍵詞涉及的是寫作身分、立場、詩歌修辭、風 格等多方面的。'從此或許可以發現,90年代以後的中國詩歌寫作,很難像朦朧派、後朦

<sup>1</sup> 洪子誠,《中國當代文學史》,北京:北京大學出版社,1999年8月,頁234。

<sup>2</sup> 莊柔玉,《中國當代朦朧詩研究——從困境到求索》,臺北:大安出版社,1993年5月,頁1。

<sup>3</sup> 洪子誠,《中國當代文學史》,北京:北京大學出版社,1999年8月,頁237。

<sup>4</sup> 茱萸、〈青年之著陸——「陸詩叢」總序〉、收錄於李海鵬、《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 — 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁3。

<sup>5</sup> 洪子誠,《中國當代文學史》,北京:北京大學出版社,1999年8月,頁337。

<sup>6</sup> 洪子誠,《中國當代文學史》,北京:北京大學出版社,1999年8月,頁337。

臘、或是第三代詩人有共通的集體或代表性,他們各自在自己的詩學或詩創作領域奮鬥、 發表、參與文學獎等,爲的是能藉由詩歌抒心,或是與自身、社會、環境溝通的一種方 式。

90年代後重要的詩人,包括西川 (1963-)、王家新 (1957-)、歐陽江河 (1956-)、臧棣 (1964-)等人,雖筆者只舉四位在 90 後大放異彩的詩人,但可發現的是,在年齡分布上仍屬於「中生代」詩人,而非年輕一代詩人,且臺灣關於中國當代詩歌的研究,也多以他們的詩創作或詩論爲研究中心。<sup>7</sup>而出生於 90 後的新生代詩人,他們生長的環境就已是所謂的新世代,他們沒有經過文革,更沒有活於朦朧派、後朦朧時期之詩創作環境,所以這些年輕一輩的詩人,他們沒有包袱,更缺少所謂「爲國爲民」的時代抱負,他們著重關心自己的時代以及對詩創作的想像,然他們已有一定的發表量且有文學獎項的肯定。或許,直面他們的詩作,會發現某些已形成的風格、意識或主題,更是我們需要更進一步研究的目標。

李海鵬 (1990-),生於中國遼寧瀋陽,現在於南京大學文學院擔任助理研究員。曾前往美國俄克拉荷馬大學擔任訪問學者。文學獎項部分:曾獲詩東西 (DJS) 青年詩人獎、未名詩歌獎、光華詩歌獎、櫻花詩賽一等獎。詩創作見於《詩刊》、《星星》、《詩林》、《上海文學》、《飛地》等刊物。李海鵬寫詩、也從事中國現當代新詩研究及批評,兼事詩歌翻譯、詩學翻譯及詩歌翻譯理論研究,我們可以稱其爲學院派詩人。2019 年,楊小濱與茱萸兩位學者選錄六位新生代詩人,多半是尚未出版第一本詩集之年輕詩人,包括李海鵬 (1990-)、砂丁 (1990-)、秦三澍 (1991-)、蘇畫天 (1991-)、穎川 (1991-)、萊弦 (1993-),出版整套詩選《陸詩叢》(共六本)。本文的研究對象即以李海鵬《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 — 2018》詩選爲文本討論。

李海鵬的詩,呈現「風景」、「自我」與「反憂鬱」的抒情性格,思考語言與時代的關係,並在傳統與創新之間找到某種平衡點,包括他書寫將逝去的自然、山水,但卻是有其自我與現代性的觀點,如王辰龍所言,李海鵬的寫作正是發生在這樣的現代性狀況之中,對被放逐的自然空間竭力地進行言說與紀念,這本身即有介入當代生活進程的文化意圖。8然筆者在閱讀其詩作的過程中,發現一個有趣的現象,就是在其詩作的鋪排與敘事的過程,多使用「比喻、譬喻」的創作技巧,來營造他對此詩的意境營造與意涵,不禁讓筆者產生研究的動機。本文的兩大重點在於:中國新生代詩人及其作品,以及譬喻修辭學,從這兩個主題,討論究竟這位年輕的中國新生代詩人,如何藉由譬喻修辭的大量使用,產生他所追求、探索的詩心與詩境,且在修辭格的運用上,運用哪些喻體、喻依等類

<sup>7</sup> 例如:林淑瑩,《中國大陸 1990 年代詩歌實驗寫作——以于堅、西川爲例》,臺北:淡江大學中國文學學系博士論文,2018 年。黄子揚,《游弋與漂移:論前期臧棣的詩論、批評和實踐》,新竹:國立清華大學中國文學系碩士論文,2017 年。楊小濱、〈爽意:臧棣詩(學)的語言策略〉,《臺大中文學報》第五十二期,2018 年 3 月,頁 135-172 等。

<sup>8</sup> 王辰龍,〈風景的肉身及其消逝——論李海鵬的詩〉,收錄於李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010-2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁114。

比或跳脫,展現其運用譬喻的方法。

# 貳、譬喻修辭格概說

李海鵬的詩目前尚未有研究者藉長篇論文進行討論,只有收錄在詩選集中王辰龍的 評論而已。但關於詩歌與譬喻修辭的研究卻是許多研究者都已關注的問題。仇小屛是專門 研究修辭學與新詩的學者,其文〈連連看:談譬喻格在新詩寫作中的運用〉。討論新詩教 學寫作法的問題,如何藉由「譬喻修辭格」引領學生進行新詩的寫作等相關問題;而〈論 喻體形成之相關性——以新詩爲考察對象〉10一文則談喻體與喻依的關聯性,從「喻依與 喻體相關」以及「喻依與全詩」兩種現象分析新詩之譬喻運用之連結,並進一步探究「想 像力」在新詩創作中的重要性,需要巧妙的產生關聯性,也能讓全詩的美感提升。筆者認 爲,此文的討論有助於筆者討論李海鵬詩作之譬喻與詩境營造的連結與生發。然其他關於 修辭學的研究,有楊牧詩之修辭探究、11蘇東坡詩之譬喻修辭研究、12以及吳晟現代詩的 修辭討論, 13 都能協助本文的討論。本節除文獻回顧討論外,亦須先說明修辭格:譬喻之 方法與運用。

根據許慎《說文解字》中所提及的修與辭,諸多前行研究都已提及,主要即爲:修 辭指的就是修飾語辭和文辭的藝術。14 然現今不只是指語辭和文辭,也擴大到篇章、語法 的問題,可見修辭在文學作品當中牽涉的面向甚廣。而修辭學的修辭方法,黃慶菅依據 修辭格的形成,將修辭分爲表意方法的調整與優美的形式設計兩類,然譬喻修辭格屬表 意方法的調整這類。15 所以我們看到很多文學作品中都運用了譬喻來作爲寫作者表達、書 寫的方式,然修辭亦不是多用就一定好,修辭是研究如何調整語文表意的方法,設計語 文優美的形式,使精確而生動地表出說者或作者的意象,期能引起讀者之共鳴的一種藝 術。16 所以如多用但語句不順,或是情境鋪排有邏輯上的錯誤,這也不是好的語文表意, 適度的調整或運用才有修辭存在的意義。本文將使用的譬喻修辭格方法,立基於黃慶菅 《修辭學》一書,輔以陳正治《修辭學》爲參閱,綜合上述兩本專著,指出譬喻修辭的 類型、用法與原則。

<sup>9</sup> 仇小屏,〈連連看:談譬喻格在新詩寫作中的運用〉,收錄於《詩從何處來:新詩習作教學指引》, 臺北:萬卷樓出版,2002年9月,頁133-141。

<sup>10</sup> 仇小屏,〈論喻體形成之相關性——以新詩爲考察對象〉,《嘉大中文學報》5期,2011年3月,頁 61-86 °

<sup>11</sup> 呂佩,《楊牧詩修辭探究》,高雄:國立中山大學中國文學系碩士論文,2017年。

<sup>12</sup> 盧韻琴,《東坡詩譬喻修辭研究》,高雄:國立高雄師範大學國文教學碩士論文,2004年。

<sup>13</sup> 蔡英鳳、〈吳晟《向孩子説》在語言要素上之修辭研究〉、《問學集》9期,1999年6月,頁 98-116 °

<sup>14</sup> 陳正治,《修辭學》,臺北:五南出版,2001年9月,頁2。

<sup>15</sup> 黄慶萱,《修辭學》,臺北:三民出版,1975年1月,頁7。

<sup>16</sup> 黄慶萱,《修辭學》,臺北:三民出版,1975年1月,頁9。

譬喻是一種「借彼喻此」的修辭法,凡二件或二件以上的事物中有類似之點,說話作文時運用「那」有類似點的事物來比方說明「這」件事物,就叫做譬喻。<sup>17</sup>回望韻文之祖《詩經》,其分類與寫作方式之「詩六藝」,包括風、雅、頌、賦、比、興,其中的「比」,即爲比喻的概念,也就是修辭格中的譬喻用法。譬喻的效果很大,好的譬喻,不但把意思說得明白、清楚,生動有力,甚至收到「一言興邦」的效果。<sup>18</sup> 而它的理論架構,是建立在心理學「類化作用」的基礎上——利用舊經驗引起新經驗。通常是以易知說明難知:以具體說明抽象。使人在恍然大悟中驚佩作者設喻之巧妙,從而產生滿足與信服的快感。<sup>19</sup>

「譬喻」這個修辭格,是由「喻體」、「喻詞」、「喻依」三者配合而成。所謂「喻體」,是所要說明的事物主體;所謂「喻依」,是用來比方說明此一主體的另一事物;所謂「喻詞」,是聯接喻體和喻依的語詞。由於喻體、喻詞有時可以省略或改變,所以譬喻也可以分爲明喻、隱喻、略喻、借喻等。20 明喻包含了「喻體」、「喻詞」、「喻依」三者,且喻詞多用「像」、「如」、「似」、「若」、「彷彿」、「有類」、「好比」、「猶」等,例如:「媽媽像月亮」;隱喻,也稱暗喻,一樣包含「喻體」、「喻詞」、「喻依」三者,但在喻詞部分爲繫辭「是」、「爲」,例如:「媽媽是月亮」,所以在分辨明喻和暗喻的時候,以「喻詞」來分辨爲依據;略喻爲何稱爲略喻,即是因省略了「喻詞」,只有「喻體」、「喻依」的部分,例如:「媽媽,月亮」;而借喻則是省略了「喻體」、「喻詞」,只剩下「喻依」的部分,例如:「月亮」,而喻體需藉由前後文的推敲才能得知。然另一種較爲特殊的譬喻修辭格爲博喻,博喻特別的是,在喻依的部分,是連續比喻,且都在類比此句話之「喻體」,成爲疊疊層加的語言與表現效果,這種以譬喻修辭格組成的譬喻法,稱之爲「博喻」。21 沈謙對於「博喻」的定義,說明其又稱「連比」,用兩個以上的喻依形容同一個喻體,如此從不同角度重複設喻,頗能加強語意,增添氣勢,使文氣更盛,說服力更強。22 以下筆者以表格方式呈現五種譬喻修辭格之結構:

表 1. 譬喻修辭格之結構

	喻體	喻詞	喻依	舉例
明喻	V	V(像、如、似、 若、彷彿、有類、 好比、猶等)	V	媽媽像月亮
隱喻 (暗喻)	V	V (多用繋詞,如 是、爲等)	V	媽媽是月亮

<sup>17</sup> 黄慶萱,《修辭學》,臺北:三民出版,1975年1月,頁227。

<sup>18</sup> 陳正治,《修辭學》,臺北:五南出版,2001年9月,頁12。

<sup>19</sup> 黄慶萱,《修辭學》,臺北:三民出版,1975年1月,頁227。

<sup>20</sup> 黄慶萱,《修辭學》,臺北:三民出版,1975年1月,頁231。

<sup>21</sup> 參閱陳正治,《修辭學》,臺北:五南出版,2001年9月,頁17。

<sup>22</sup> 沈謙,《修辭學》,臺北:五南出版,2010年,頁33。

	喻體	喻詞	喻依	舉例
略喻	V	X	V	媽媽,月亮
借喻	X	X	V	月亮
博喻	V	V(多重喻詞	+ 喻依)	媽媽像月亮、像太陽、 像冬天裡的燭光

表 1. 譬喻修辭格之結構 (續)

至此,根據上述討論與表格,可以清楚看到譬喻修辭格的多種類型與表現方法。然其 實譬喻的修辭格還有第四部分要素就是「喻解」,有時候喻解不一定會出現在文本當中, 但卻是不可或缺的重要意義,而喻解就是說明本體和比喻知體之間的關聯性,然後並點出 此譬喻結構之精華之處。

譬喻修辭的使用原則,陳正治根據黃慶菅所提出的譬喻的消極原則與積極原則的基礎 上,更進一步指出譬喻修辭格的使用與表現原則共可歸納爲四項:精確、生動、熟悉、創 新。<sup>23</sup> 精確就是精準妥切。在使用譬喻修辭時,喻體的選擇上,要注意是否語意有加強在 精要之處,在喻依的搭配上,要與喻體配合,並了解是否能有連結性與關聯性。生動是指 運用譬喻時,要注意具體、靈活,並能夠深值人心,給人印象深刻之感。熟悉是只所選用 的喻依應該是大衆所能理解的,通俗且能了解,尤其在使用「借喻」修辭格時,因缺乏喻 體、喻詞,所以想讓閱讀者能理解喻體爲何時,就應注意「熟悉」的要領。創新就是不要 陳腔濫調,並且創作出已有之譬喻句,這樣會讓人覺得無聊且缺乏新意。

本文在討論中國新生代詩人李海鵬之詩作時,以上述之五種譬喻修辭格爲主要討論其 詩境營造與美學表現方法,包括明喻、隱喻、略喻、借喻以及博喻,而博喻的部分筆者將 融入於前三項譬喻修辭格中討論,凸顯詩人修辭運用的技巧與創作意圖。

# 參、人與風景的聯想詩境

李海鵬的詩集《勵精圖治》總共收錄 38 首詩作,收錄的時間爲 2010 至 2018 年,創 作的作品皆相當新、且新穎,然探究當代詩歌的創作意識與方法的同時,修辭運用總是不 能不談的一個重要的創作技巧,這也會凸顯詩人的某些寫作嘗試或運用意識,甚至能發現 詩人的技巧運用偏好等問題。張春榮曾指出,修辭寫作是「語言層」的運用,「意義層」 的探索;運用「語言是心靈的最佳鏡子」(指涉)、「語言是半透明的毛玻璃」(不確定)、 「語言是多方折射的水晶球」(歧異)、「語言是會轉彎的子彈」(變易) 的種種特質,綜合 發揮其中的關係,捕捉美感經驗的興發,呈現生命經驗的「感知、感染、感悟」,直指生

<sup>23</sup> 陳正治,《修辭學》,臺北:五南出版,2001年9月,頁21。

命境界的擴大與深化。<sup>24</sup> 譬喻的修辭格藉由觀看的喻體以及聯想後的喻依進行連結與相互 比擬,可以挖掘詩人在想像與幻想的過程中,關心什麼?想凸顯什麼?或是運用哪些主題 等問題。王辰龍的評論指出,他(李海鵬)投向風景的貪婪目光顯示爲優美的刻寫、高密 度的意象群與組詩的形式,自我可能陷入的孤寂也終歸轉向情智上更持久的愉悅。<sup>25</sup> 李海 鵬的詩作當中,呈現許多「風景」的意像與比喻,他由此成了遲緩的作者:不急著走街串 巷尋求傳奇化的生活故事,亦不願囉嗦的痛陳青年的個人史,他更像起居於古代的士人, 停駐在某個屬已卻不自閉的視點之上展開雨天地的交互。<sup>26</sup> 然從他觀看、生活、交換視野 的同時,他喜愛在詩句當中使用譬喻修辭格,與自然互動、與風景對話、或是人物的比 擬,甚至藉聯想來營造詩意與詩境。本節運用上述的方法,以李海鵬的詩作譬喻修辭:人 與風景的關係與聯想進行深入探究。

綜觀李海鵬的詩作,並進行譬喻修辭格的運用統計,無論是使用譬喻修辭中的明喻、隱喻、略喻、借喻、博喻哪一種皆納入統計,整本詩集共運用了112次的譬喻法,且以明喻法使用最多次,共103次,請詳見附錄表格。然關於喻依的聯想主題,本節以人物爲討論的中心,然藉由「喻依」的聯想種類爲分類方式,可大致看出詩人的關懷、風格與詩境營造的意義。

李海鵬的詩多用「人物」作爲譬喻法中的喻依來進行描寫與聯想對話,我們可以得知的是,譬喻法是一種藉由「接近聯想、關係聯想、對比聯想」等所生成的修辭格。譬喻的構成與聯想力有著密不可分的關係。關於此點,可以分成兩個層次來進行探討:第一個層次是基礎的,即本體與喻體乃是依據相似聯想而聯繫起來,而此相似點即爲譬喻之靈魂一一「喻解」;第二個層次是加強的,即喻體之形成,可能還運用了接近聯想、對比聯想、關係聯想等,因而出現了相關之喻體。<sup>27</sup> 藉此以下筆者將分析人物作爲喻依與喻體之間的關係,以及對整體詩作的影響與情境營造的特殊性。

〈踢松果的老人〉一詩以松樹、松果、老人等人與物爲核心,訴說消逝、記憶與情意的問題:

那枚逃亡的松果,咬痛了松樹 松針一根根悚豎起來,像嚎叫、顫抖的 神經,細數著時間在它體內堆積起的硬度。就像 那路過的老人:滿頭白髮,細數著記憶。

<sup>24</sup> 張春榮,《實用修辭寫作學》,臺北:萬卷樓出版,2018年12月,頁1。

<sup>25</sup> 王辰龍,〈風景的肉身及其消逝——論李海鵬的詩〉,收錄於李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁110。

<sup>26</sup> 王辰龍,〈風景的肉身及其消逝——論李海鵬的詩〉,收錄於李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁110-111。

<sup>27</sup> 仇小屏,〈論喻體形成之相關性——以新詩爲考察對象〉,《嘉大中文學報》5期,2011年3月,頁 65。

彷彿被一個遺忘已久的瞬間擊中,老人 把松果踢進松樹的影子:所有曾被記憶目睹的 樹木,從這片陰暗中鑽出,阻擋了 無意識在他生命中漫長的散步。感到一種久違的陌生:美妙的 風景,此刻已經在他的視野中形成。28

松果在本詩中有個強烈的意像代表,即爲記憶,或是充滿記憶的一個本體,而本詩 中的譬喻用法爲明喻,此明喻結構爲:喻體爲路過的老人滿頭白髮細數算記憶;喻詞爲就 像;喻依爲松樹豎起松針細數時間堆積的硬度。這首詩所營造的是松果代表的記憶,與老 人的互動,包括被打到,以及老人踢松果等動作,間接指出某些記憶在我們的腦袋深處, 有時如松果一樣,不再乖乖的於上掛著,而是掙脫且掉下來,讓主人翁關注,這記憶可能 是陌生的,也可能再度成爲一種美妙的風景,而存在於他的視野當中,而在本詩最後一節 說到,享受著偶然一次的逃亡,翻出所有的記憶,窺望的是過去,也是未來,而新生的松 樹,可能因時間而被淡忘,且距離註定更遠,這是在藉由松樹與動態的情境營造而呈顯的 時光消逝所帶來的記憶淡忘。

〈故鄉公園〉一詩以故鄉爲主題,藉由失憶症病人來貫穿詩作的修辭寫作與詩意境的 舖排:

低氣壓在草坪中漫步,雲的面孔裡滲出更多的水氣。急促的 呼吸,柳樹——踉蹌如失憶症病人,迷路於年輪深處枝椏的迷宮 急速地生長:美,一垂入河水就丢失的身體,而倒影卻拉長許多,深 綠的風29

從此引詩作可以發現,這即爲風景的書寫,但其中在譬喻修辭的使用上,加上了人 物:失意症病人。此中的譬喻爲明喻用法,結構分析爲:喻體是失憶症病人;喻詞是如; 喻依是柳樹。然指出柳樹迷路於年輪深處枝椏的迷宮急速地生長,是胡亂的生長之狀,與 失憶症的人在走路或找不到回家路的時候,會有之情狀,這是一種接近的聯想,柳樹和失 意症病人都可能有的樣子,且從形體的相似、狀態的相似進行比喻,可見詩人的巧思與用 心,並搭上前詩句對生機的描述,以及後詩句進一步描寫柳樹垂水之美熊等,都在更細心 的以故鄉公園的情景進行抒寫,並有更進一步的靜動態交雜之詩境營造。

〈在蘭州牛肉麵館〉一詩寫的是一種「日常」, 而這樣的日常在蘭州牛肉麵館裡發 生:

<sup>28</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》(臺北:秀威出版, 2019.09),頁13。

<sup>29</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》(臺北:秀威出版,2019.09),頁 27。

#### 30 臺中教育大學學報:人文藝術類

被我再次經過的路上,第一場演奏

正抵達高潮;雲朵是聽眾:肉案上揮動的刀

在加速;摩托車聲響起,馱走麻袋和鐵筐

沉重的喘息。結尾處,幾顆蘑菇 逃出傾斜的秤盤,在地面上準備地彈跳成 一長串迷人的連音。哦,短暫的落幕——30

這兩節詩行在描述的是牛肉麵館工作的情形,包括斬肉、以及切菜的速度等,藉由「演奏」、「高潮」等詞動態化這及其日常的場景,而此中所運用的譬喻修辭格,爲隱喻,包括喻體:雲朵;喻詞:是;以及喻依:聽衆。雲朵陪伴著牛肉麵館的工作場景,它所看到的、聽到的都是從較爲客觀、且高視野的面向所領悟,如同聽衆一般,且聽衆重視的是「聽覺」,藉由摹寫修辭的搭配,可讓詩中所營造的情境更爲全面,感觀的接收不再只是單方面的一種表現。而聽衆所聽到的,包括肉案上揮動的刀加速的聲音、摩托車的響聲,以及喘息聲,四周的聲響皆寫進詩中,可見詩人營造氛圍的巧妙。然關於雲朵的特質,常默默的出現,無論好天或是壞天氣,但基本上它都是扮演「接收」的角色,不會自我發聲,更符合譬喻修辭聯想的「聽衆」一詞。引文第二節,蘑菇彈成一長串迷人的連音,讓筆者想到白居易〈琵琶行〉:「大珠小珠落玉盤」的聲音描寫,甚有關連。從雲朵到觀衆的聯想,並營造、再現牛肉麵館工作情景,搭配摹寫的修辭,以視覺與聽覺爲要,是這首詩較大的特色,也凸顯人與場景、風景之關係。

〈藍莓〉一詩是李海鵬詩作中少數觸及性與情慾議題的詩作,但詩作寫到後面,與國族、鄉愁的連結,甚是有可討論之處:

此刻,我在海對面的國度裡輕輕咬破一顆藍莓,吮吸鄉愁的滋味——很快就要消失這飽滿的歷史,這褪去的深色吻痕,彷彿年輕的君王拘禁在流放地:戲仿不存在的勵精圖治,並迷戀上昏君的快樂。31

本詩較短,只有 18 行,上引詩句爲後 7 行,是已偏向國族、鄕愁的部分。本詩所使 用的譬喻修辭格爲明喻,包括喻體年輕君王的昏君行爲與快樂,喻詞爲彷彿,喻依爲吮吸

<sup>30</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁38。

<sup>31</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁100。

藍莓。藍莓的意象其實貫穿了整首詩,從詩作前面性愛的互動與場景的經營,到乳頭的甘 甜與藍莓的吸吮,借指的都是性的象徵,而將此比喻成作一回昏君的喻意,就在於將鄉愁 與歷史都吸走了,代表著國君對國家、責任的意識與擔憂是稍稍不在意的,而是對美色與 一時愉悅則是耽溺的,所以在譬喻的部分所聯想的不是使用年老的君王,而是年輕的君 王,也在於血氣方剛的年紀對性事與玩樂的在意,而寧願迷戀當一個昏君。這首詩反映了 詩人對於情愛的態度,君王也可以是詩人自擬的一種形象,可能藉由創作這首詩表達詩人 也寧願放蕩一回,當一回昏君,而不是只做完美形象的君王一般,有種解開自我束縛的意 味在其中。

綜觀關於上述的討論,「聯想」這件事,仇小屛認爲,聯想是人類一種十分普遍而 且重要的心理現象。不過,因爲聯想與想像的關係密切,所以對於聯想與想像的異同, 總的來說,聯想與響亮的共同點,在於都是在觀察與記憶的基礎上開展出來的、對客 觀素材的處理能力,所以根據此點,聯想與想像是可以統而不分的,或者說可以用想 像來涵蓋聯想。但是若就其相異處來考辨,則聯想是靈活地搜尋客體的能力,聯想力越 靈活,就越能搜尋到貼切、新穎的客體,來表現主體情志;而想像則比聯想更自由,它 能在聯想所得到的客體的基礎上,加以變造,甚至創造出現實生活中可能存在而尙未存 在、甚至於不可能眞實存在的新形象,以便於更貼切地表情達意。所以,若欲進行更爲 精密的探究,就應當將聯想與想像區分開來。32上引四個以人爲聯想的例子,包括老人 與白髮對記憶與經驗的歷練深厚、久遠等意涵;以及柳樹姿態、形像與生長方式跟失憶 症病人的相似性極高;雲朵形態與聽衆的類似性;與年輕君王與詩人自身的比擬,都進 而藉由譬喻修辭格進行詩意營造,以及整體詩境的鋪排與抒情,也從中看出詩人的創作 意圖與技巧的展示。下一節,筆者將繼續以詩作爲討論的重心,關心的是「動物」的聯 想與譬喻意添的討論。

# 建、動物與風景的聯想詩境

李海鵬詩歌中的風景絕大部分亦爲自然事物所占據,他的詩歌可被引爲事例,以管 窺「比觀察者的參照系慢得多的變化率」的文學傳統是否得到闡釋性的轉化,而當代詩在 書寫自然時已有哪些值得注意的詩心和詩法。33 其中詩人的詩作當中多使用動物爲喻,且 同一種動物不會讓人覺得單一,而是加上形體或狀態的描述,讓整體的譬喻修辭格在呈顯 詩境與詩喻時會更加生動與具體,本節藉由動物和風景之間的聯想關係進行譬喻的修辭討 論,主要以「鳥」與「獸」爲討論的意象,希冀指出李海鵬詩中相似、相異意象之修辭表 現的美感與意義。

<sup>32</sup> 仇小屏,〈論喻體形成之相關性——以新詩爲考察對象〉,《嘉大中文學報》5期,2011年3月,頁 64 °

<sup>33</sup> 王辰龍,〈風景的肉身及其消逝——論李海鵬的詩〉,收錄於李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁113-114。

### 一、鳥

鳥的意象在現代詩作品當中常見,也有相關詩作將文字排列成飛揚貌,呈現圖像詩的 創作藝術。且看詩人李海鵬如何鋪陳,如〈轉運漢傳奇〉一詩:

你把手伸進背囊,掂掂由甘甜兑換的 銀幣,並認定那重量正是神跡的顯現。 你感到手指被壓得發疼,而指縫間 卻有某種命中註定的輕盈騰空而起——

但你不知道它的存在,就像你不知道 那笨重的龜殼中竟隱藏著龍的占卜。 它興風作浪,盤踞在桅杆上攪亂航路: 被命運灌滿的帆顛簸著如驚慌的飛鳥。

龜裂的海面平息,像遭遇又一個卜辭; 你揮揮濕透的衣袖,卻發現某種重量 墜在袖口:你想說些什麼,但欲言又止。34

這首詩是一首藉明代古典小說:凌蒙初《初刻拍案驚奇》第一回〈轉運漢遇巧洞庭紅波斯胡指破鼉龍殼〉的現代版本,是由「敘事詩」的型態表現的,訴說商人文實(字若虛)多次的官場失意,人稱「倒運漢」。一次應朋友之邀同出海散心,結果發現南洋竟有俏布,且獲利甚多。之後文實被吹到一荒島上,尋到一個大龜殼帶回船上,經由鑑定,才知這龜殼價值甚高,有種時來運轉之感,也改變文實的命運。35 此段詩作所述爲一種命運的感觸,也有故事的情節與小說的風景,包括神機的顯現、龜殼的價值等。然在譬喻修辭格部分在「它興風作浪,盤踞在桅杆上攪亂航路:/被命運灌滿的帆顚簸著如驚慌的飛鳥。」此兩句詩句,喻體爲被命運灌滿的帆,喻詞爲如,喻依爲驚慌的飛鳥。描述因命運的遷移與指引而不知船去何處的樣子,沒有控制權,也不能存有自我意識之感,如驚慌的飛鳥,沒有眉目,也失去了方向感,用驚慌的爲形容飛鳥的形象,有焦慮的、憂心的、以及怯懦之感,彷彿也反映了主角的心境。

然〈雨後變奏曲〉一詩中亦有以鳥爲喻的部分:

越想就越難整理。你把長指甲插進秀髮, 像把桃木梳子插進空氣,想悲哀地梳出

<sup>34</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁21。

<sup>35</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 — 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁23。

雨的線條。桃樹枝上,花朵悄悄熄滅。花瓣的 影子,蠟液般從眼前滴落:它們是新的, 就意味著你永遠抓不住,就像飛翔中的鳥 把用舊的身體準時隱入翅膀下一次的撲扇聲裡36

詩作以雨後的風景爲書寫的主軸,上述引詩爲第三段,從風景回到自身感受、再連 結風景,包括雨後的髮絲不同以往,梳出來有雨的線條,轉到花朵、花瓣與雨後的失色 與熄滅與景色相連結,而這一切都是新鮮的,也是突如其來的對失落的轉折,所以詩人 在比喻此況時,用「就像飛翔中的鳥」爲喻,認爲這是一次的休息,而等待的是下一次 的展翅,將這種類似一段時間的告別與重生,比喻成飛翔中的鳥的休暫與重新展翅,是 相當貼合的聯想方式,我們也不難找出其中的關聯性,且能深入到詩作當中所營造的風 景,藉此呼應。

〈品園初夏〉一詩則不同於上兩首,其中的鳥爲「惱人的壞鳥」:

你也會冒險出門,打著傘 跑車從身邊駛過,像一隻惱人的壞鳥 在剪刀形水花和怪笑中飛向新的發動機。37

初夏時分的風景描寫,在這首詩中有相當豐富的呈現,而上引詩句爲整首詩較後,幾 句,訴說的是雨夜時分,被閃電驚醒,或許你會冒險出門,就如貓頭鷹和燕子早已在外面 對面的飛,而當你在冒險、享受時,確有不素之客:「惱人的壞鳥」出現,而這譬喻所指 爲跑車,很可能是半夜的飆車族,而這速度打破了你的享受時光,而剪刀形水花和怪笑卻 又論示著一個新的開始的一種儀式,期待朝向新的一天的動力與希望。

# 二、獸

〈雪夜歸人記〉一詩中以獸群作爲比喻,描述雪下得猛烈以及相映的場景:

窗外,雪下得發燙。 灰褐色樹枝亂顫。汽油的灰燼 如獸群,猛撲像霧色渾濁的月空。 横穿過三環橋上壅塞的眾星座,你的 新學校終如天狼星般射來 (公車

<sup>36</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019 年 9 月,頁 25。

<sup>37</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 — 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁69。

緩緩轉過雪白的路口)。距離並不遙遠 但靈魂的位移究竟爲何如此艱難!<sup>38</sup>

「汽油的灰燼/如獸群,猛撲像霧色渾濁的月空。」使用了譬喻修辭格,喻體爲汽油的灰燼,喻詞爲如,喻依爲獸群,此凸顯在於下著猛雪的世界,白花花一片,汽油的灰燼格外明顯,呈現的形象如同獸群(表示面積較大或多線條的樣子),而灰燼的樣子像指涉著月空般,有種探尋、指向的意味在其中,而且用猛撲的字眼,可見其積極貌。這也是風景與動物譬喻的聯結,且看〈品園風景小譯〉一詩的第二種獸:

火焰冷卻以前,他的臉頰會依然通紅 並以小人物的羞赧注視:盛大的夏季即將來臨 像一頭遠古咆哮的凶獸,在斑斕的星空,往來逡巡。39

「盛大的夏季即將來臨/像一頭遠古咆哮的凶獸,在斑爛的星空,往來逡巡」爲上引詩句中的譬喻修辭格,喻體爲盛大的夏季,喻詞爲像,喻依爲一頭遠古咆哮的凶獸。此詩描寫春天至夏天的臨界風景,大約四月時分,有星空、有燥熱感,也有植物花果的描寫,而這三行詩爲本詩的最末三句,呈顯夏季將到來的狀況,而詩人將夏季比喻成一頭遠古咆哮的凶獸,凶獸顧名思義爲狂暴的、黛有殺氣的,詩人認爲夏季有這樣的特質,是火焰的、灼熱的。而凶獸在星空逡巡,則有籠罩的意味,表示獸即將占領星空成爲霸主,在夏季嶄露頭角,展現獸之霸氣之感。

而〈阿肯色山區〉則反其道而行,用「小幼獸」爲比喻:

唯一記不住的詞,像小幼獸 在密林中游走。涼透的空氣裡 熟汽油唯一的喉結翻滾, 不同的嗓音裡飄出形一種薄荷: 秋天深吸著阿肯色。40

「唯一記不住的詞,像小幼獸/在密林中游走」爲譬喻修辭格,喻體爲唯一記不住的詞,喻詞爲像,喻依爲小幼獸。此詩應是詩人描寫阿肯色山區之詩,阿肯色山區位於美國,是詩人在諾曼所寫的詩作,從經歷來看得知當時詩人於美國俄克拉荷馬大學擔任訪問學者。而這首詩的開頭引賈島〈尋隱者不遇〉,有自況之感,第一段即上引詩句,這裡所

<sup>38</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019 年 9 月,頁 58-59。

<sup>39</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁68。

<sup>40</sup> 李海鵬,《勵精圖治:李海鵬詩選 2010 - 2018》,臺北:秀威出版,2019年9月,頁94。

喻的小幼獸,不像前詩中多爆裂、強勢等姿態,而是一種探索的感覺,密林可以是真正的 自然風景,也可以是腦中的記憶叢林,而接軌的是真正阿肯色的風景,可以看出詩人筆下 雖用獸的意象在不同詩中呈現,但卻有不同的形象指涉與意涵。

上引以「鳥」與「獸」爲聯想譬喻的例子,訴說詩人在不同形象的動物譬喻中如何與 風景以及情思結合,創造出不同意境與想像空間的詩氛圍,我們不難想像以動物爲喻的詩 句,但卻難以想像詩人如何突破與創新。新生代的詩人藉由多元的情感與空間與動物的關 係,重新詮釋,展現新意。

# 伍、結語

本文試從中國新生代詩人李海鵬的詩作進行研究的文本,運用修辭學的研究方法, 討論其中所產生的譬喻詩境。本文總共分爲三大部分進行研討,第一部分先談譬喻修辭格 的定義、形式與相關討論,作爲進入文本研究的起頭。第二部分以人與風景的關係與聯想 爲主旨,談詩人詩中所譬喻的人物,包括老人、病人、聽衆、以及年輕君王與詩人自身的 比擬,都可看出詩作中人物在風景塑造當中的意涵與喻意。第三部分著重動物與風景的聯 想,主以詩作常見的「鳥」與「獸」意象爲要,談不同詩作品雖運用同一種意象,但是在 形態的描述與詩境的鋪陳當中,可見不同意象展現的不同姿態,且代表的深意大不相同, 例如飛鳥或惱人的壞鳥,又如凶獸與小幼獸等,藉此凸顯詩人的聯想與詩技巧的美學展 現。

從此研究當中,筆者欲找尋一個切入中國當代詩的研究方法,讓中國當代詩歌的研究 在臺灣有嶄露的機會,然修辭學的研究目前也未涉及到中國的當代詩,多以臺灣現代詩爲 主,希冀本研究能有所突破,開創一種中國當代詩與修辭學的研究新路徑。

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# 附錄:李海鵬詩中的譬喻修辭格

編目	詩名	詩句	譬喻	頁數
1	〈蛋糕房小記〉	這是個謎:就像思考雞蛋,如何坐 進麵粉。	暗喻	12
2	〈蛋糕房小記〉	發光,像蛋黃,像海上日出	明喻、博喻	12
3	〈蛋糕房小記〉	珍珠口中蛋黄的味道,並隨大海搖曳,如那把一直咬住我的搖椅	明喻	12
4	〈踢松果的老人〉	那枚逃亡的松果,咬痛了松樹/松 針一根根悚豎起來,像嚎叫、顫抖 的/神經,細數著時間在它體內堆 積起的硬度。就像/那路過的老 人:滿頭白髮,細數著記憶。	明喻、博喻	13
5	〈踢松果的老人〉	彷彿被一個遺忘已久的瞬間擊中	明喻	13
6	〈愛情雙絕句〉	天空的漩渦,彷彿賣笑的黑玫瑰	明喻	16
7	〈轉運漢傳奇〉	譬如交夏喜雨,消隱在花果間	明喻	20
8	〈轉運漢傳奇〉	你渴望著財富,像大海渴望久違的 風暴	明喻	20
9	〈轉運漢傳奇〉	你害怕它,像害怕你的名字,像信 天翁	明喻、博喻	20
10	〈轉運漢傳奇〉	就像你不知道/那笨重的龜殼中竟 隱藏著龍的占卜。	明喻	21
11	〈轉運漢傳奇〉	被命運灌滿的帆顚簸著如驚慌的飛鳥	明喻	21
12	〈轉運漢傳奇〉	龜裂的海面平息,像遭遇又一個卜 辭	明喻	21
13	〈雨後變奏曲〉	眩暈的光圈擴散著,像逃出一次/ 日食	明喻	24
14	〈雨後變奏曲〉	你把長指甲插進秀髮,/像把桃木 梳子插進空氣	明喻	25
15	〈雨後變奏曲〉	就意味著你永遠抓不住,就像飛翔 中的鳥	明喻	25
16	〈雨後變奏曲〉	像觸到一小段/電流,大地輕顫了 一下,隨後	明喻	25

編目	詩名	詩句	譬喻	頁數
17	〈故鄕公園〉	柳樹——踉蹌【喻解】如失意症病人	明喻	27
18	〈故鄕公園〉	就像橋,總是遲到於腳步	明喻	27
19	〈故鄕公園〉	它們/在水邊,就像疼痛的卵	明喻	27
20	〈幸蜀〉	就像美食的味道,總是在逃避美食	明喻	28
21	〈幸蜀〉	口渴時,身體就像午夜裡躁熱的芭 蕉樹	明喻	29
22	〈秋景〉	水擺成樹形,噴泉般刺入雲朵肥胖 的肉體	略喻	32
23	〈秋景〉	緊扣的雙手像一隻鎖	明喻	32
24	〈秋景〉	樓房這添磚加瓦/像一座座焦急的 小島	明喻	33
25	〈秋景〉	建築工人,如瘋狂繁殖的水藻	明喻	33
26	〈秋景〉	如路燈下悲傷的楓樹林	明喻	35
27	〈未明湖夜步, 遇雨〉	駐足,彷彿風景的眞諦在於移步換 景	明喻	36
28	〈未明湖夜步, 遇雨〉	他們對視,就像路燈與湖水中永遠 彼此猜不透的	明喻	36
29	〈未明湖夜步, 遇雨〉	它們跌入湖中就像神的破壞	明喻	37
30	〈未明湖夜步, 遇雨〉	而你是憤怒	隱喻	37
31	〈未明湖夜步, 遇雨〉	急速的奔跑更像是/與天空進行爭 吵	明喻	37
32	〈在蘭州牛肉麵館〉	雲朵是聽衆	隱喻	38
33	〈在蘭州牛肉麵館〉	被我緩緩咽下的,像修長的五線譜	明喻	39
34	〈在蘭州牛肉麵館〉	散落地上,像靈感,等待演奏者的 手指	明喻	40
35	〈在蘭州牛肉麵館〉	美得像開場時	明喻	40
36	〈「新中關」即景〉	黑暗就如他的身體	明喻	41
37	〈「新中關」即景〉	在燈影之肺的咳動中如幽靈般	明喻	41

編目	詩名	詩句	譬喻	頁數
38	〈秋詞二首〉	鐘擺驚醒於一次漏跳,像錯過了/又 一個完美的好時辰	明喻	43
39	〈秋詞二首〉	像在追趕某種靜止	明喻	42
40	〈秋詞二首〉	危險如火焰	明喻	42
41	〈秋詞二首〉	你目睹季節輪轉,多像/全新的占卜	明喻	43
42	〈秋詞二首〉	像幾日前/全新的占卜	明喻	43
43	〈初冬物語〉	樹頂僅存的果實,是寒風中你等待第 一枚/雪花的誘餌	隱喻	45
44	〈初冬物語〉	霧霾深重像一扇漆黑的大門	明喻	46
45	〈初冬物語〉	流浪貓脫下慵懶,像呼嘯的男爵,隨 時準備/梅花的一擊	明喻	47
46	〈故郷黃昏〉	赤色的光,像即將熄滅的炭火	明喻	48
47	〈故鄕黃昏〉	樹枝,彷彿在昏暗光線中獨奏輓歌的 修長手指	明喻	48
48	〈長沙城〉	十字路口,信號燈潛伏/如刺客,等 待著	明喻	49
49	〈長沙城〉	狹長的街道/恍若萬花筒	明喻	50
50	〈長沙城〉	彷彿炙熱的耀斑在黑色瞳孔中沸騰	明喻	50
51	〈長沙城〉	棕櫚樹冒著煙,像爆炸過後/虚脫的 炮彈;也像彗星,來自遙遠的	明喻、博喻	50-51
52	〈長沙城〉	而他們拼命拷問異鄉的毒性,彷彿枝 頭	明喻	51
53	〈長沙城〉	遠方卻像一顆心臟	明喻	51
54	〈長沙城〉	燃燒的時間宛若蠟燭	明喻	52
55	〈登山隊〉	在車窗中扭曲、變形,如劣質的回憶	明喻	56
56	〈登山隊〉	橡子不斷墜落的聲音/如閃爍的小光 斑	明喻	56
57	〈登山隊〉	好像/被燃燒的煤炭已全部返回山林	明喻	56
58	〈登山隊〉	彷彿/命運的新影子正努力攫住我們	明喻	57
59	〈雪夜歸人記〉	妝容/猶如美饡	明喻	58

編目	詩名	詩句	譬喻	頁數
60	〈雪夜歸人記〉	你的血如汽油般驚悸	明喻	58
61	〈雪夜歸人記〉	汽油的灰燼/如獸群	明喻	58-59
62	〈雪夜歸人記〉	新學期終如天狼星般射來	明喻	59
63	〈在人民大學〉	女兇手的眉眼已如遠山般模糊	明喻	60
64	〈在人民大學〉	致命的新氣候:就像汙染之匣中	明喻	61
65	〈在人民大學〉	像陰暗的牢房渴望被陽光洗劫	明喻	61
66	〈在人民大學〉	也沒有空座位:彷彿/平日裡缺課的只是無神論者的幽靈!	明喻	61
67	〈在人民大學〉	他像霧霾一樣痛苦	明喻	61
68	〈在人民大學〉	彷彿萬物都在燃燒中茁壯	明喻	62
69	〈在人民大學〉	工人擎著電焊/像教堂的廢墟下, 照常勞作的聖像畫家	明喻	63
70	〈在人民大學〉	風景是一面虛弱的鏡子	隱喻	63
71	〈在人民大學〉	反光鏡裡的美人,像蛋糕切塊上甜 蜜的罌粟	明喻	63
72	〈在人民大學〉	傍晚的冷風中,他如路邊的銅像	明喻	63
73	〈在人民大學〉	藏匿,伺機闖入,像他身上不可告 人的/隱疾	明喻	63
74	〈在人民大學〉	恍若遠山,失傳的使命	明喻	65
75	〈早春〉	捕鯨手的眼淚是一間心愛的花店	隱喻	66
76	〈品園風景小譯〉	他像驚恐中/縮回手指的原始人	明喻	68
77	〈品園風景小譯〉	盛大的夏季即將來臨/像一頭遠古 咆嘯的凶獸	明喻	68
78	〈品園初夏〉	而你感到/自己不斷變得透明,像 水母	明喻	69
79	〈品園初夏〉	跑車從身邊駛過,像一隻惱人的壞 鳥	明喻	69
80	〈觀琴〉	觸清輝如聞清調	明喻	71
81	〈觀琴〉	心跳如柑橘,也如楓樹淆亂	明喻	72
82	〈品園秘密傳說〉	晝夜交替如降旗幟	明喻	73
83	〈品園秘密傳說〉	身後,教學樓如巨帆鼓動。	明喻	73

編目	詩名	詩句	譬喻	頁數
84	〈品園秘密傳說〉	他們終於踱下樓梯,像幾個水手	明喻	73
85	〈品園秘密傳說〉	明亮,像鮑西婭的眼	明喻	74
86	〈品園秘密傳說〉	沸騰的夜,像爐火的眼	明喻	75
87	〈1944,朋霍費爾〉	我們渺小的友誼,就像海風咀嚼 著看不見的鹽粒	明喻	78
88	〈傳奇詩 2016,或 北京魏公村送別博士 孫文〉	孤懸遊子卻如孤船夜航	明喻	80
89	〈傳奇詩 2016,或 北京魏公村送別博士 孫文〉	生活,彷彿眞成了你愛玩的電腦 遊戲	明喻	80
90	〈傳奇詩 2016,或 北京魏公村送別博士 孫文〉	想必你學業猛進,如阪上之雲	明喻	80
91	〈傳奇詩 2016,或 北京魏公村送別博士 孫文〉	富貴不還鄉,如錦衣夜行	明喻	81
92	〈祝酒辭 1990〉	鹽的消音器。是海,而不是鹽	隱喻	82
93	〈祝酒辭 1990〉	淡金色霞光含在水中,宛若一束 啤酒花的	明喻	82
94	〈祝酒辭 1990〉	南飛的巨鳥,橫掠過東北亞的海 面,宛如/你獨生子的名字,宛 如你遮天蔽日的/釀酒之手	明喻、博喻	83
95	〈六月〉	好奇心猶如精妙的濾鏡	明喻	84
96	〈六月〉	遺忘如/淡紫色玉蘭花	明喻	84
97	〈六月〉	行李在空中飛舞/如巴赫的羽毛 ,緩緩飄向/聲名悅耳的無數城 鎭。/又如暫別的芳名,期待重 逢。	明喻、博喻	85
98	〈六月〉	深夜,講完故事的人從風景中消 失/彷彿記憶之魂再次敗給了/ 滿月的肉身。	明喻	85
99	〈六月〉	六月,你的翅膀更像色彩含混的 /火焰	明喻	86

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編目	詩名	詩句	譬喻	頁數
100	〈諧律三首〉	歷史敲打湖底礫石:高鐵飛馳/ 眞動如飛矢,忽地悄達知音的	明喻	87
101	〈諧律三首〉	忘了鏡頭相悅,如閑雲與潭影?	明喻	87
102	⟨La Vita Nuova⟩	太平洋/狂吐白色泡沫,彷彿禁 酒時代	明喻	92
103	〈La Vita Nuova〉	你將從這些臺詞中聽清行李的蹤 影,位址隱祕/如鄉愁與情人	明喻	92
104	〈阿肯色山區〉	爲一記不住的詞,像小幼獸/在 密林中遊走	明喻	94
105	〈阿肯色山區〉	旅館/像布丁,在半山腰甜蜜顫 慄	明喻	95
106	〈阿肯色山區〉	傳說像午夜的啤酒味	明喻	95
107	〈藍莓〉	深色吻痕,彷彿年輕的君王	明喻	100
108	〈天鵝兩種〉	心是喧嚷的湖	隱喻	102
109	〈天鵝兩種〉	地址宛如天堂	明喻	102
110	〈曼哈頓行旅圖〉	熟練,彷彿一次愉悅的訓獸	明喻	103
111	〈新廚師〉	某種無知,像學者	明喻	107
112	〈新廚師〉	爐火止熄的廚房,寧謐飄香/如 天堂的新址	明喻	109

## 下墜的藝術:以語料庫爲本比較中文近義詞「落」與「掉」

The Art of Falling: A Corpus-based Study of Near-synonymous Verbs 落 *luò* and 掉 *diào* in Mandarin Chinese

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(收件日期 110年7月25日;接受日期110年11月3日)

## 摘 要

本文分析平衡語料庫語料,比較中文兩個下墜動詞「落」與「掉」。根據中研院的詞類表,在表下墜的動詞中,落與掉的使用頻率最高。在國語辭典中兩者可相互替換,然而個別的語意特徵有待探究。兩動詞皆有作爲非賓格與非作格動詞用法,本文探討出現頻率較高的前者,提出兩者在動作類型、語體分布與語意變化程度上有顯著差異。「落」描述遙遠、輕盈、與大自然相關的移動,出現在書面語,主要作爲連綴動詞,表達「轉變成新狀態」之意。「掉」表達近距離、與人類活動相關的突發動作,出現在自然口語,主要仍作爲移動動詞。除此之外,本文也點出兩動詞在表有界性、動作發生的初期/中期/後期階段、說話者視角以及客體的整體性上的差異。兩個動詞語意差異以 Talmy (2000) 的概念結構系統以及譬喻延伸、語意擴大與窄化的概念來解釋,概念結構系統應用的限制亦被提及。本文研究結果盼能對下移動詞組的研究有所裨益。

**關鍵字:**近義詞、下墜動詞、非賓格動詞、概念結構系統、譬喻延伸

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#### **Abstract**

This paper compares two near-synonymous verbs of falling in Mandarin Chinese, 落 *luò* and 掉 *diào*, based on data of the Sinica Corpus. According to the word list of Academia Sinica, luò and diào are the two most frequently used verbs meaning falling. Though they are interchangeable in dictionaries, their distinctive semantic meanings have yet to be investigated. The present study compares the syntactic patterns and collocates of *luò* and *diào* in unaccusative use, which is their predominant use, and identifies their crucial differences in the types of motion, genre distribution, and extent of semantic change. Specifically, luò depicts distant, smooth motion in nature and relates to written texts, and it has revealed a dominant use as a linking verb signaling a change into a new state. As for diào, it portrays proximal, abrupt motion related to human participation and occurs in natural spoken texts, and its use as a motion verb predominates. In addition to these major differences, the current study also teases out the nuanced difference between the two verbs in terms of boundedness, the initial/medial/final process of motion, the speaker's viewpoint of the motion, and the wholeness of the entity in motion. The semantic differences between *luò* and *diào* are compared based on Talmy's (2000) Conceptual Structuring System, although the limitations of the system are also suggested. The semantic change of  $lu\dot{o}$  is accounted for by the notions of semantic narrowing and broadening and metaphorical extension. The findings are expected to pave the way for further studies of downward motion verbs.

**Key words:** near-synonym, verb of falling, unaccusative, Conceptual Structuring System, metaphorical extension

## 1. Introduction

This study explores the semantic differences between the two near-synonymous verbs of falling 落 luò and 掉 diào by examining corpus data. Of verbs of falling, there are at least 14 near-synonyms listed in dictionaries, such as luò, diào, dié, and dǎo, and luò and diào are the two most frequent verbs both on Mandarin Frequency lists<sup>1</sup> from Wiktionary<sup>2</sup> and in the Sinica Corpus. However, the difference between these two verbs has yet to be clarified. In the online Mandarin Chinese dictionary by the Ministry of Education of Republic of China (MOE), both verbs are interchangeable in that *luò* is defined as 落下 *luò xià* 'fall down' and *diào* is interpreted as 掉下 diào xià 'fall down'. Such a circular definition reveals little about the difference between these two verbs in their syntactic structures and semantic meanings. Similarly, luò and diào are categorized as the same type in Chao (1968), Chu (2004), Chen & Guo (2009), Lin (2011), and Liu, Hu, Tsai & Chou (2015). Chao (1968) classifies both verbs as verbs of locomotion and adds that *luò* encodes falling of leaves or alighting of birds while *diào* refers to falling through air. Such an explanation is still confusing since motion of leaves or birds concerns which types of referents are in motion while motion through air pertains to manner. What manner of motion luò presents and what types of referents occur with diào remain unknown, and this suggests that "referent" and "manner" of the motions encoded by the two verbs can be compared. Chen & Guo (2009) identify both verbs as manner verbs, although what types of manners they signal is not given. Chu (2004), Lin (2011), and Liu et al. (2015) respectively find that luò and diào characterize path, motion without an endpoint, and path and direction. This indicates that motion, path, direction, and endpoint are the essential components in a motion event, and that which components luò and diào profile is worthy of re-examination. In other words, these studies provide the current study with the elements of the motions encoded by *luò* and *diào* that can be further explored, including the type of the entity in motion, manner, and the components profiled in the motion event.

Moreover, in previous studies, both luò and diào are found to convey unaccusative/ unergative uses (Perlmutter, 1978, Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995, Lien, 2003), which are defined by the types of the core argument and the cause. On one hand, unaccusative luò/diào

<sup>1</sup> Based on Wiktionary, the lists are compiled by Keh-Jiann Chen and the CKIP Group of the Academia Sinica, and they contain 20,000 Putonghua words with the highest frequencies. In Wiktionary, only 10,000 are listed. The 10,000 words are listed in order of frequency, and pronunciations and English translations for the words are given as well.

<sup>2</sup> Wiktionary (http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Appendix:Mandarin\_Frequency\_lists) is a sister project of Wikipedia, a free content dictionary of all languages. It is run by Wikipedia Foundation and written by volunteers on the Internet.

includes a pre-verbal or post-verbal internal argument, which is defined as Theme in that it "undergoes a change of state or location" (Goldberg, 1995:112), and it relates to an external cause. For example, in 雨落下 yǔ luò xià 'The rain fell down' and 牙齒掉了 yáchǐ diào le 'The tooth fell down', the motions are caused by a low temperature and human activity respectively. On the other hand, unergative luò/diào occurs with a pre-verbal external argument, which is defined as Agent in that it moves without extrinsic force. For instance, in 太陽 落入觀音山 tàiyáng luò rù guānyīnshān 'The sun goes down into Mount Guanyin' and 王子忽然往山崖一跳,也掉進山崖下的天鵝湖裡 wángzǐ hūrán wǎng shānyái yī tiào yě diào jìn shānyái xià de tiānéhú lǐ 'Suddenly the prince jumped into the cliff and fell into the Swan Lake below the cliff', the motions of the entities are perceived to be self-initiated rather than caused by external force. The preliminary examination of the distributions of unaccusative/unergative luò and diào indicates that their unergative uses are low in frequency, and thus the present study zeros in on unaccusative luò/diào.

The current research will examine the syntactic structures and semantic properties of the collocates of  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  in corpus data to answer two questions: (1) How do  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  differ in their construal of downward motion concerning the components such as the referent in motion and manner? (2) How are they different in semantic meaning? Also, since corpus data provide information about genres, the genre distribution of the two verbs will be explored to see whether they present any distinctive distributional patterns. The findings are meant to make a contribution to studies of near-synonymous motion verbs and pave the way for further studies of verbs of downward motion in Mandarin Chinese.

This paper is presented as follows: § 2 introduces the theoretical foundations for the analysis, § 3 elaborates on the data source and methodology, § 4 elucidates the analysis of  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$ , § 5 provides a general discussion, and § 6 is the conclusion.

## 2. Theoretical foundations

This paper adopts a cognitive approach to accounting for the differences between  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$ . The main theoretical foundation on which the analysis is based is Talmy's (2000) Conceptual Structuring System. The system is composed of four subsystems: (1) the configurational structure system, (2) the perspective system, (3) the attentional system, and (4) the force-dynamic system. Each sub-system provides categories to illustrate how the concept of quantity in the domains of space and time is realized in linguistic forms. Quantity in space relates to nouns, while quantity in time concerns verbs. Since the present study investigates two near-synonymous verbs, the following elaboration focuses on how verbs in different grammatical

structures signal different features.

The configurational structure system includes six categories: plexity, dividedness, boundedness, degree of extension, pattern of distribution, and axiality. Plexity concerns whether the action is punctual (e.g., He coughed) or iterative (e.g., He kept coughing). A punctual action is uniplex while an iterative action is multiplex. Dividedness makes a distinction between a discrete and a continuous action. This category is related to plexity in that a punctual action is discrete while an iterative one is continuous. Boundedness relates to whether the action has boundaries (e.g., He finished the work in four minutes) or not (e.g., The city never sleeps). Degree of extension interacts with boundedness and signals the duration of an action. A bounded action can occur at a point (e.g., She finished the work at 1 o'clock) or extend over time (e.g., She finished the work in an hour), while an unbounded action extends over time (e.g., Lily slept for two hours). Pattern of distribution defines actions as one-way nonresettable (e.g., die), oneway resettable (e.g., fall), full-cycle (e.g., flash), multiplex (e.g., breathe), and steady-state (e.g., sleep). Axiality is about how lexical items can be conceptualized on an axis according to the modifiers with them. For example, the antonyms well and sick are points on an axis related to health. The modifiers that are allowed to occur with them help identify their relative location on the axis. For example, almost can occur with well instead of sick (He is almost well/\*sick) to signify a healing process toward recovery as an endpoint, and thus well is at the endpoint on the axis. Slightly, in contrast, occurs with sick rather than well (He is slightly \*well/sick) to refer to a health condition worse than before during a process, and thus sick represents the remainder of the axis. Of these six categories, pattern of distribution is not adopted in the present study in that  $lu\dot{o}$ and diào are both semantically similar to the verb fall, which is defined as one-way resettable, and thus no further analysis is needed to compare their difference in this category. Plexity and dividedness are lumped together as "dividedness" in that they are conceptually similar and the term "dividedness" is more comprehensible. Degree of extension and boundedness are combined as "degree of extension", whose subcategories include boundedness. The category of axiality is not adopted in this study in that *luò* and *diào* are not antonyms whose relations can be distinguished on a directed axis. However, the idea of examining modifiers to identify the characteristics of lexical items is applied in the following analysis. The modifiers or other collocates are found to signify the manners of the motions encoded by luò and diào, such as steady and abrupt. Since manner is also a crucial element in a motion event (Talmy, 1985:57), it is added as another category that distinguishes *luò* and *diào*.

The perspective system includes four categories: perspectival location, perspectival distance, perspectival mode, and direction of viewing. Perspectival location refers to the speaker's current location within a reference scene. For example, *The train is coming* 

foregrounds the speaker and his proximity to the scene. Perspectival distance evinces the distance of a referent in relation to speaker/hearer as proximal (e.g., The mug is right here), medial (e.g., The mug is over there), or distal (e.g., The mug is way over there). Perspectival mode relates to a stationary (e.g., There are a number of castles on the hilltop) or a moving (e.g., There is a castle every now and then through the hills) viewpoint. Direction of viewing refers to the speaker's prospective or retrospective viewpoint of two successive events. For example, I went shopping before I went home demonstrates a prospective viewpoint in that the speaker's viewpoint is located at the temporarily earlier event first and stretches forward to the later event. Before I went home, I went shopping, on the other hand, presents a retrospective viewpoint in that the speaker's viewpoint is located at the temporarily later event and extends back to the earlier event. In this sub-system, only perspectival distance and direction of viewing are adopted. Perspectival location can be subsumed in perspectival distance in that the speaker's location can be specified by his distance from the referent, and this category differentiates *luò* and *diào* in terms of how far the motions they denote are from the perceiver. Direction of viewing is used to examine whether the motion described by *luò/diào* occurs in the speaker's prospective or retrospective viewpoint. Perspective mode is not included in that the viewpoint in the motion events of luò and diào should be moving rather than stationary.

The attentional system includes three factors: strength, pattern, and mapping. Strength concerns whether a referent is foregrounded or backgrounded. Pattern refers to the patterns that foreground different elements in an event. Three patterns are illustrated: focus of attention, window of attention, and level of attention. A focus of attention pattern organizes a figure-ground relation and foregrounds the figure. For example, in *Millie gave Gary a gift, Millie* is the figure, which is foregrounded, while *Gary* and *gift* serve as the ground and are backgrounded. A window of attention pattern highlights the initial, medial, or final phase of a scene. For example, *The cargo dropped out of the plane, through the air, and into the sea* windows all the three phases while *The cargo dropped into the sea* only profiles the final process. A level of attention pattern emphasizes wholeness/componentiality of a referent. For example, *a set of books* includes two NPs, *set* and *book*, and *set* represents the books as a whole while *book* specifies the component that comprises the set. Mapping refers to the way in which the parts of a pattern are mapped onto the parts in a scene. The three factors in this sub-system are employed in the current study to illuminate the distinctive syntactic patterns of *luò* and *diào* and how these patterns foreground different types of referents and phases of an event.

The force-dynamics system concerns how two entities interact with respect to force. The entity that exerts force is the Antagonist and the entity that resists the force and receives the focus of attention and is the Agonist. This system is adopted to distinguish the types of the Agonist and

the Antagonist occurring in motion events of  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$ . With regard to types of the Agonist and the Antagonist, current cross-linguistic studies of verbs of falling have observed parameters such as multiplicity of the Agonist (Kadyrova 2020, Panina, 2020) and cause of the motion (Reznikova, Rakhilina, & Ryzhova, 2020), which corresponds to the Antagonist. Motivated by these studies, the present study will further tease apart those parameters that distinguish the differences between luò and diào.

After the modification of the categories in the four sub-systems to serve the purpose of the current research, seven categories are adopted and their related attributes are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Categories adopted from Conceptual Structuring System in Talmy (2000:48-66)

Category	Illustrating attribute
dividedness	discrete/continuous
degree of extension	point/bounded/unbounded
manner	steady/abrupt
perspectival distance	proximal/medial/distal
direction of viewing	prospective/retrospective
pattern of attention	figure/ground initial/medial/final process wholeness/componentiality of a referent
force-dynamics	types of Agonist and Antagonist

Moreover, this work will present the semantic change of luò, including narrowing and widening, and explain its relation to metaphorical extension. Semantic change refers to change in word meanings, and similar categories of semantic change have been identified in different studies, such as narrowing, widening, and metaphor (Ullmann, 1957, Bloomfield, 1993, Blank, 1999). Narrowing refers to the case in which a word carries a more restricted meaning than before, while widening is the opposite process whereby a word develops a more generalized meaning. These two notions can be exemplified by the words hound and dog. Hound used to denote any kind of dog and has become a word for a particular breed of dog, while dog, which used to refer to a certain kind of dog, has become a generic word for canines. Metaphorical extension is claimed to be one of the mechanisms of semantic change (Bybee & Pagliuca, 1985, Traugott & Dasher, 2002), and it is concerns a process whereby a concrete lexical item encompasses a more abstract meaning with continued use in an abstract domain. This research will illuminate how the meaning of luò changes through metaphorical extension and how it becomes broader and restricted in different contexts.

## 3. Data and methodology

To conduct the analysis based on systematically-arranged data, this paper collects data from Sinica Corpus 4.0.<sup>3</sup> The corpus contains data collected from 1981 to 2007 and has about ten million words,<sup>4</sup> and it encompasses written texts of eleven genres and spoken texts of four genres.<sup>5</sup> The mass of data is systematically coded and readily accessible and thus the database is reliable and adequate for the current study. Its genre diversity of the data also facilitates a comparison between *luò* and *diào* in terms of genre distribution. The following are the steps of data collection in the current study:

- 1. The data collection started in June, 2017, with respective queries for all the entries of *luò* and *diào* in the corpus, and a total of 7254 tokens of *luò* and 3120 tokens of *diào* were respectively retrieved.
- 2. The retrieved data were manually inspected, and recurring entries and those that do not function as unaccusative verbs were removed.
- 3. The remaining entries were further examined, and those that do not occur as lone unaccusative verbs of falling were eliminated. The eliminated types are illustrated as below:

Туре	Example
homograph	丢三落四 diūsānlàsì 'to be forgetful'
compound	落款 luòkuǎn 'to sign', 掉淚 diàolèi 'cry'
idiom	一起一落 yīqǐyīluò 'up and down', 掉以輕心 diàoyǐqīngxīn 'take something lightly'
fixed expression	月落鳥啼霜滿天 yuè luò wū tí shuāng mǎn tiān 'The moon fell and craws cawed in the frosty sky'
relative clause	掉到河裡面的人 diào dào hé lǐmiàn de rén 'the one who fell into the river')
others	the syntactic construction V- 掉 diào

<sup>3</sup> http://asbc.iis.sinica.edu.tw/

<sup>4</sup> The total number of the word tokens is 11,245,932.

<sup>5</sup> The eleven genres of written texts include report, comment, advertisement, letter, announcement, narrative, prose, biography/diary, poetry, quotation, and manual, and the four genres of spoken texts include script, conversation, speech, and minute.

Based on the steps, a majority of the retrieved data were eliminated since they are mostly compounds, relative clauses, or do not serve as lone unaccusative verbs of falling. As a result, a total of 444 tokens of luò and 302 tokens of diào were selected. Next, the selected data were categorized according to syntactic patterns, written/spoken texts, and genres for further comparisons (see Sec. 4).

## 4. Analysis of luò and diào

This section unveils differences between unaccusative *luò* and *diào* in meaning and use by comparing their syntactic structures, semantic properties of their collocates, and their genre distributions. In terms of syntactic structures, unaccusative luò and diào occur with a pre-verbal/ post-verbal Theme in three patterns: [Theme V complement], [Theme V], and [V Theme], and their distributional patterns are presented in Table 2. How the syntactic structures and collocates of *luò/diào* reveal their distinctive meaning and use will be detailed in the following subparts. The analysis begins with the predominant structure.

Table 2.6 Syntactic structures of unaccusative luò/diào

Structure	Verb	luò	%	diào	%
[Thoma V complement]	written	371	84%	228	75%
[Theme V complement]	spoken	18	4%	19	6%
F(TV) 3.73	written	38	9%	18	6%
[Theme V]	spoken	2	0%	1	0%
[37 75]	written	15	3%	36	12%
[V Theme]	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
Total		444	100%	302	100%

## 4.1 [Theme *luò/diào* complement]

With reference to the complement types identified in 劉, 潘, & 故 (2006), the complements in this structure are categorized into six types: (1) co-verb + Loc-NP (Cov Loc-NP), (2)

The percentages are rounded as integers, and thus their total may not be exactly 100 due to errors and it is still recorded as 100. The following tables are also shown in the same way.

directional verb + Loc-NP (Dir Loc-NP), (3) a lone directional complement 下 xia 'descend', (4) directional compounds such as 下來 xialai 'come down'/ 下去 xiaqa 'go down' and 進去 jinqa 'go into'/ 出來  $ch\bar{u}lai$  'come out' (Dircompound), (5) quantity, and (6) result. As the complement "result" is rare in the corpus, we will focus on the first five types and discuss them respectively in 4.1.1-4.1.5.

#### 4.1.1 [Theme luò/diào Cov Loc-NP]

In this sub-pattern, both  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  occur with the co-verbs 在  $z\dot{a}i$  'at' and 到  $d\dot{a}o/\Xi zhi$  'arrive', and  $lu\dot{o}$  also co-occurs with 於  $y\dot{u}$  'at' and 向  $xi\dot{a}ng$  'face'. The occurrences of  $[lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o\ d\dot{a}o/zhi$  Loc-NP] indicate that both verbs highlight the direction, path, and endpoint of motion, while  $[lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o\ z\dot{a}i\ Loc-NP]$  profiles the endpoint. The motion with reference to an endpoint also windows the final process. The interaction between  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o\ and$  their Themes and Loc-NPs in these variations are compared separately.

[Theme  $lu\dot{o}/diào$   $z\dot{a}i$  Loc-NP] occurs with animate/inanimate Themes and concrete Loc-NPs to denote real motion, which is its literal use. In depicting real motion,  $lu\dot{o}$  is associated with naturalness while  $di\dot{a}o$  concerns human participation, as illustrated in (1). Moreover,  $di\dot{a}o$  in (1b) expresses an abrupt motion which ensues when the speaker gets out of the car, which is rarely found in the data of  $lu\dot{o}$ . Also, (1a) and (1b) demonstrate different directions of viewing: the former presents a prospective viewpoint since the description of the motion event of  $lu\dot{o}$  and the other event follows a temporal order, while the latter describes the motion event of  $di\dot{a}o$  in a retrospective viewpoint since it occurs earlier than the speaker's movement out of the car. In fact, none of the tokens of [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$   $z\dot{a}i$  Loc-NP] marks a motion that relates to a retrospective perspective, which signifies the distinction between  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  in perspective direction.

#### (1) [Theme literal *luò/diào zài* Loc-NP]

a. 幾 片 <u>樹葉</u> <u>落 在 江</u> 上,連漪 裡 是 奔跑 的 少女。 jǐ piàn shùyè luò zài jiāng shàng liányī lǐ shì bēnpǎo de shàonǚ several CLF<sup>7</sup> tree.leaf fall at river on ripple in COP run NOM teenage.girl 'Several leaves fell onto the river, and the teenage girls were running in the ripples.'

<sup>7</sup> The following abbreviated glosses are used in the data in this paper: 1SG: first person singular; 2SG: second person singular; 3SG: third person singular; 1PL: first person plural; 2PL: second person plural; 3PL: third person plural; ASP: aspect marker; ASSOC: associative; CLF: classifier; COP: copula; EXT: existential; GEN: genitive marker; NEG: negative; NOM: nominalizer; PN: proper noun; RC: resultative complement; UFP: utterance final particle.

b. 我一 下 車 發現,錢包 掉 在 車 wŏ yī chē fāxiàn qiánbāo diào zài chē shàng le xià 1SG soon get.out car find wallet fall at car on ASP 'As soon as I got out of the car, I found the wallet had been left behind in the car.'

Furthermore, [Theme luò zài Loc-NP] reveals non-literal use of describing figurative motion, which predominates over its literal use, while [Theme diào zài Loc-NP] rarely exhibits non-literal use. Non-literal luò collocates with two types of Themes: abstract and animate. The abstract Themes, on one hand, occur with four types of Loc-NPs that are not found in the data of diào: (1) 後 (面) hòu(miàn) 'the back', (2) upper body parts, including 頭 tóu 'head', 肩 jiān 'shoulder', and 身 shēn 'body', (3) ranges, and (4) diverse types. These four collocations are introduced in (2):

#### (2) four types of Loc-NPs in [abstract Theme non-literal luò zài Loc-NP]

a. hòu(miàn)

研究 工作,勢必 永遠 落在人家的 我們 科學 後面。 wǒmen de kēxué yánjiù gōngzuò shìbì yǒngyuǎn luò zài rénjiā de hòumiàn 1PL GEN scientific research work certainly always fall at others GEN back 'Our scientific research will certainly always fall behind others'.'

#### b. upper body parts

由於 外出,家裡又沒有任何大人, yóuyú shěnshen yào wàichū jiā lǐ yòu méiyǒu rènhé dàrén need go.out home in and NEG any adult because aunt 所以 這 就落在我 項 重責大任 自然 suǒyǐ zhè xiàng zhòngzédàrèn zìrán jiù luò zài wǒ shēn shàng le so this CLF responsibility naturally just fall at 1SG body on ASP Because my aunt has to go out, and no grownup is at home, this onerous duty naturally falls on me.'

#### c. range

今年 手機 需求 量 僅落在四億 至 shǒujī xūqiú liàng jiāng jǐn luò zài sìyì zhì this.year cellphone demand quantity will only fall at 0.4.billion to

'This year, the demand quantity of cellphones will only be between 0.4 and 0.42 billion.'

#### d. diverse

'Virtue is a general term, (but) it becomes specific when it concretely appears in human life.'

In (2a),  $lu\dot{o} + h\dot{o}u(mi\dot{a}n)$  corresponds to the English idiom fall behind, and this suggests that luò may also have been part of an idiom and that its literal meaning has been fused and weakened. The idiomaticized luò exemplifies semantic narrowing since it carries a fixed meaning. (2b) demonstrates the co-occurrence of a duty-denoting Theme and an upper-bodypart-denoting Loc-NP, which is also a dominant collocation. The co-occurrence construes something undesirable forced upon someone, and thus  $lu\dot{o}$  in this collocation carries the meaning of coercion. In (2c), the two quantity-denoting Loc-NPs and the phrase 之間 zhījiān 'between' demarcate a range, and their co-occurrence with the Theme and luò depicts fictive movement of quantity onto an uncertain point.  $Lu\dot{o}$  in this collocation connotes speculation, and the meaning is contributed to not by the Theme but by the Loc-NPs. Moreover, in such use, luò suggests a motion along an erratic course on both vertical and horizontal planes and its potential landing sites are conceptualized as points distributed on a horizontal axis. Those range-denoting Loc-NPs also show diversity in that they can refer to numbers, creatures, or periods. In (2d), both Theme and Loc-NP display diversity, and *luò* marks a transition into a particular situation. In other words,  $lu\dot{o}$  in (2b)-(2d) also reveals semantic weakening, although  $lu\dot{o}$  with various extended meanings demonstrates semantic widening.

The animate Themes with non-literal  $lu\dot{o}$ , on the other hand, all refer to human beings. The human Themes also occur with  $h\dot{o}u(mi\dot{a}n)$  'the back' and diverse Loc-NPs, as demonstrated in (3). Again,  $lu\dot{o}$  in these two collocations exemplifies semantic narrowing and widening.

#### (3) [human Theme non-literal *luò zài* Loc-NP]

- 己 落 在 後面。 a. 兩 liằng ge qiángdào yǐ luò zài hòumiàn two CLF bandit already fall at 'The two bandits have fallen behind.'
- 落在 有 道德、愛心、美感 b. 我們 希望 世界。 wǒmen xīwàng néng luò zài yǒu dàodé àixīn měigǎn de shìjiè 2PL hope can fall at EXT morality kindness aesthetics ASSOC world 'We hope to fall into a world of morality, kindness, and aesthetics.'

Different from luò, diào in [Theme diào zài Loc-NP] rarely expresses non-literal use. Moreover, diào is found to occur with the lexical items that denote abruptness, e.g., — yī 'as soon as' and the motion is related to human activity:

#### (4) lexical items denoting abruptness in [Theme diào zài Loc-NP]

得理不讓人 又 是 一 劍,刺中 蘇普 手腕,噹啷 陳達海 一聲, chéndáhǎi délĬbùràngrén yòu shì yī jiàn cìzhòng sūpǔ shǒuwàn dānglāng yīshēng PN not.let.go again COP one sword stab-RC PN wrist clang one.sound 短刀 掉 在 地下。

duăndāo diào zài dìxià

dagger fall at ground

'Dahai Chen wouldn't let go and stabbed again at Pu Su's wrist; with a clang, the dagger dropped onto the ground.'

In [Theme V dào Loc-NP], luò and diào also show literal and non-literal use. On one hand, the literal use of [Theme luò/diào dào Loc-NP] is demonstrated in (5), and diào in this pattern mostly conveys such use. In (5a), luò portrays natural, smooth motion, while in (5b), diào accentuates human-related abrupt action. Note that *luò* and *diào* seem to be interchangeable in (5a), which reflects the notion of fuzziness in cognitive linguistics (Evans & Green, 2006) and suggests overlaps between the uses of luò and diào. Nevertheless, the substitution of diào for luò in (5a) emphasizes a different manner of the motion, i.e., abruptness rather than smoothness.

## (5) [Theme literal luò/dào dào Loc-NP]

a. 種子 彷彿 長 了 翅膀,飛 得 很 遠,<u>落 到</u> 一片 zhǒngzǐ fǎngfú zhǎng le chìbǎng fēi de hěn yuǎn luò dào yī piàn seed as.if grow ASP wing fly DE very far fall arrive one CLF 碧綠 的 <u>田</u>裡。
bìlǜ de tián lǐ verdant ASSOC field in

'The seed flew far as if it had grown wings and fell into a verdant field.'

b. 突然 那 位 同學 走 不 穩,撞到 我 的 手, zǒu bù wěn zhuàngdào wǒ de shǒu tūrán nà wèi tóngxué suddenly that CLF classmate walk NEG steady hit-RC 1SG GEN hand 二十 元 掉 到 水溝 裡去 了。 èrshí yuán jiù diào dào shuǐgōu lǐ qù le twenty NT.dollar then fall arrive gutter in go ASP

'Suddenly, that classmate lost his balance and hit my hand, and the 20 dollars fell into the gutter.'

In non-literal use, on the other hand,  $lu\dot{o}$  mostly conveys this use, and  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  show different collocation patterns. To begin with, almost all the tokens of  $di\dot{a}o$  collocate with an abstract Theme and a scale-denoting Loc-NP, while  $lu\dot{o}$  occurs with abstract/human Themes and diverse Loc-NPs, including scale-denoting Loc-NPs. This suggests that non-literal use of  $di\dot{a}o$  is restricted to certain collocations. In depicting figurative motion with reference to a scale, both  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  capture motion from a higher position to a lower one, and thus bears the extended meaning of downgrade, as shown in (6). However,  $di\dot{a}o$  also occurs with collexemes communicating abruptness as its literal use (e.g.,  $\vec{\Box} \not{\equiv} lik\dot{e}$  'immediately' in (6b)), while  $lu\dot{o}$  does not, and thus the manner of motion distinguishes both verbs in recounting a downgrade.

## (6) [abstract Theme non-literal luò/diào dào scale-denoting Loc-NP]

城市 成本 a. 台灣 主要 的 生活 一再 上漲, táiwān zhǔyào chéngshì de shēnghuó chéngběn yīzài shàngzhẳng PN city ASSOC major living cost repeatedly rise 排名 全球 第四十三。 落 到 páimíng luò dào quánqiú dìsìshísān fall arrive world forty-third rank

'The cost of living in major cities in Taiwan has been soaring, and Taiwan fell to fortythird in the world rankings.'

交手 給 其他 同事,自己 立刻 趕緊 倒下, h. 他 tā gǎnjǐn jiāoshǒu gěi qítā tóngshì zìjǐ lìkè 3SG hurry hand.over give other colleague oneself immediately fall descend 六十, 心跳 也只有 血壓 已經 掉 到 五十 下。 xuěyā yǐjīng diào dào liùshí xīntiào yě zhǐ yǒu wǔshí xià blood.pressure already fall arrive sixty heartbeat also only EXT fifty time '(Soon after) he handed (the work) over to the other colleagues, he fell down immediately, and his blood pressure had dropped to 60 and his heartbeat was only 50.'

Also, diào in (6b) relates to a retrospective viewpoint since the second event, i.e., the person's blood pressure dropped, occurs earlier than the first event, i.e., the person fainted. Such use also recurs in the data of diào. In contrast, luò seldom presents a retrospective perspective.

Moreover, non-literal luò with an abstract Theme also recurs in [duty-denoting Theme V dào tóu/jiān/shēn] and [abstract Theme V dào diverse Loc-NP] as it does in [Theme V zài Loc-NP], and these two collocations express coercion and a shift to a particular state respectively:

#### (7) [abstract Theme non-literal *luò dào* Loc-NP]

a. [duty-denoting Theme *luò dào tóu/jiān/shēn*]

少將 是 軍隊裡 最 少將, 封翎 的

fēnglíng shàojiàng shì jūnduì lǐ zuì niánqīng de shàojiàng

major.general COP army in most young ASSOC major.general

最 艱苦 的 任務 上。

zuì jiānkǔ de rènwù dōu luò dào tā jiān shàng

most difficult ASSOC task all fall arrive 3SG shoulder on

'Fengling, Major General, is the youngest major general in the army, and the most difficult tasks were all imposed on him.'

b. [diverse Theme *luò dào* diverse Loc-NP]

他 的 前方 目光 落 到了 雄偉

de mùguāng luò dào le qiánfāng xióngwěi de gùgōng shàng

3SG GEN eyesight fall arrive ASP ahead majestic ASSOC PN on

'His attention was directed to the National Palace ahead.'

Furthermore,  $lu\dot{o}$  also occurs with human Themes and diverse Loc-NPs and reveals semantic narrowing and broadening, as given in (8). In (8a), the collocation with  $\mp sh\check{o}u$  'hand' corresponds to the English idiom *fall into one's hands*, and thus suggests idiomaticization of  $lu\dot{o}$ ; in contrast, (8b) shows that  $lu\dot{o}$  does not carry a specific meaning, but rather, generally registers a change into a particular condition.

#### (8) [human Theme non-literal luò dào Loc-NP]

- a. 只是,兩 位 <u>帥哥 落 到 他 手 上</u>,全 都 zhǐshì liǎng wèi shuàigē luò dào tā shǒu shàng quán dōu however two CLF handsome.guy fall arrive 3SG hand on completely all 變 了 型。 biàn le xíng change ASP style
  - 'However, in his hands, the two handsome men both changed their styles completely.'
- b. 真 不 敢 相信 <u>自己</u> 竟然 <u>落 到</u> 這般 <u>田地</u>! zhēn bù gǎn xiāngxìn zìjǐ jìngrán luò dào zhèbān tiándì really NEG dare believe oneself actually fall arrive such situation '(I) really cannot believe I actually ended up like this!'

The remaining three variations of [Theme *luò/diào* Cov Loc-NP] are not detailed here. [Theme *luò/diào zhì* Loc-NP] is scarce and expresses a downgrade, e.g., 排名落 / 掉至第…名 páimíng luò/diào zhì dì…míng 'The rank dropped to the…place', as [Theme non-literal *luò/diào dào* Loc-NP] does. [Theme V xiàng/yú Loc-NP] is only found in the data of *luò*. Nevertheless, the occurrence of [Theme *luò xiàng* Loc-NP] is rare, and [Theme *luò yú* Loc-NP] reveals the collocations of *luò* + *hòu* 'the back'/range-denoting Loc-NPs, which have been found in [Theme *luò zài* Loc-NP].

The examples of [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Cov Loc-NP] also indicate that the Themes with the two verbs represent a whole entity rather than part of it, and thus  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  features the wholeness rather than componentiality of the Themes. Moreover, both verbs encode discrete and punctual motion since they mostly portray episodic motion onto/into an endpoint.

In terms of genres, [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Cov Loc-NP] is mostly distributed in news reports and narratives, both of which are written texts. Their occurrences in spoken texts are low, although a discrepancy is noted. Nearly half of the spoken data of  $lu\dot{o}$  occur in this pattern, while the spoken data of  $di\dot{a}o$  are scarce. However, the spoken data of  $lu\dot{o}$  are all from speeches. Speeches

are monologues that employ formalized language and can be similar to written texts (e.g. (2d), (3b)). In contrast, the spoken data of diào are all found in natural conversations (e.g. (1b)). This suggests that diào is preferred in authentic spoken language in the description of downward action, although more data are required for further investigation.

The distribution of [Theme luò/diào Cov Loc-NP] in terms of use and written/spoken texts is summarized in Table 3. The major difference lies in literal/non-literal use of the two verbs. Literal luò and diào are distinct in the depiction of motion related to nature or human beings, while non-literal *luò* and *diào* are different in their extent of semantic narrowing/widening.

<b>Table 3. Distribution</b>	of	Theme	luò/diào	Cov	Loc-NP1
	<b>U</b>			$\sim$ $\circ$	

	Use		luò	%	diào	%
	1 . 1 . 2	written	29	14%	11	13%
	nature-related motion	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
1.41	1	written	33	16%	47	54%
literal	human-related motion	spoken	0	0%	2	2%
	others -	written	3	1%	5	6%
		spoken	0	0%	1	1%
	idiomaticization -	written	26	12%	0	0%
1:41		spoken	2	1%	0	0%
non-literal		written	111	53%	19	22%
	semantic extension	spoken	6	3%	2	2%
Total			210	100%	87	100%

#### 4.1.2 [Theme luò/diào Dir Loc-NP]

Like [Theme luò/diào Cov Loc-NP], this sub-pattern also characterizes punctual motion and profiles the final process of motion. Both verbs occur with the directional verbs  $\overrightarrow{r}$  xià 'descend' and 進 jìn/ 入 rù 'enter'. Luò also occurs with  $\Box$  huí 'return' and diào also occurs with ## chū 'exit'. However, [luò huí Loc-NP] and [diào chū Loc-NP] are scarce, and thus these two variations will not be elaborated.

The occurrences of [Theme luò/diào xià Loc-NP] are low, although they corroborate the difference found in the literal use of [Theme luò/diào dào Loc-NP]. Luò portrays steady, smooth motion in nature, while diào concerns sudden human action. Moreover, luò in (9a) is associated with precipitation, which is in fact also noted in [Theme *luò* Cov Loc-NP]. *Diào*, in contrast, is rarely collocated with such natural phenomena. Since precipitation suggests a Theme in a great amount, multiplicity can be a distinctive semantic feature of the Theme of  $lu\dot{o}$ .

#### (9) [Theme literal luò/diào xià Loc-NP]

- a. 還 看見 風 吹 過 人間,還 聽見 <u>雨 落 下</u> <u>人間</u>。
  hái kànjiàn fēng chuī guò rénjiān hái tīngjiàn yǔ luò xià rénjiān
  also see-RC wind blow ASP world also hear-RC rain fall descend world
  '(I) also see the wind blowing over the world and hear the rain falling into the world.'
- b. 他 心裡 認定 一 失手 就 一定 會 掉 下 萬丈深淵。
  tā xīnlǐ rèndìng yī shīshǒu jiù yīdìng huì diào xià wànzhàngshēnyuān
  3SG inside consider-RC once lose.grip soon surely will fall descend abyss
  'He was sure that he would certainly fall into the abyss once he lost his grip.'

Most of the tokens of [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  jin Loc-NP] convey literal use. The occurrence of  $lu\dot{o}$  is low and its Themes do not reveal a semantic tendency, while the examples of  $di\dot{a}o$  tend to characterize both human action and motion caused by human force, as exemplified in (10). (10a) also signifies unexpectedness due to the collocate 忽然  $h\bar{u}r\dot{a}n$  'suddenly':

#### (10) [Theme literal diào jin Loc-NP]

- 一聲, a. 忽然, 碰! 公主 掉 進 yīshēng gōngzhǔ diào jìn le wūpó de hūrán pèng de suddenly bang ASSOC one.sound princess fall enter ASP witch GEN 裡,她 一直 喊:救命 啊!!救命 陷阱 啊! xiànjǐng lǐ tā yīzhí hẳn jiùmìng jiùmìng a a in 3SG continuously shout help UFP help trap **UFP** 'Suddenly, with a bang, the princess fell into the witch's trap, and she kept shouting "Help! Help!"
- b. 是不是 他 搖 飲料 時 也 這麼 抓; 那 <u>頭皮屑</u> 都 shìbùshì tā yáo yǐnliào shí yě zhème zhuā nà tóupíxiè dōu is.it 3SG shake drink when also so scratch that dandruff all <u>掉 進 飲料 裡</u>了……。 diào jìn yǐnliào lǐ le fall enter drink in ASP

'Did he also scratch (it) when shaking drinks? The dandruff all fell into the drinks...'

Luò and diào in [Theme V rù Loc-NP] reveal differences in both literal and non-literal use, although the differences are similar to the findings in the previous analysis. Literal *luò* features smoothness and natural force while literal diào characterizes abruptness and human action:

#### (11) [Theme literal *luò/diào rù* Loc-NP]

- 如此 短暫, a. 我們 生命 猶如 一 片 偶然 wǒmen de shēngmìng rúcǐ duǎnzàn yóurú yī piàn cháyè **Ŏurán** 2PL **GEN** life short like one CLF tea.leaf accidentally 落入壺中。 luò rù hú zhōng fall enter pot in 'Our life is so short, like a tea leaf accidentally falling into a pot.'
- 回頭, 又 掉入 一個 深不見底 b. 猛 黑洞 裡。 yī huítóu yòu diào rù yī ge shēn bù jiàn dǐ hēidòng měng 1ĭ suddenly soon turn.around again fall enter one CLF deep NEG see bottom black.hole in 'As soon as (you) turned around, (you) fell into a bottomless black hole.'

Moreover, [Theme luò/diào rù Loc-NP] predominantly conveys non-literal use, although luò and diào differ in the diversity of their collocation patterns. Almost all the tokens of non-literal diào occur in the collocation patterns [human Theme V rù 陷阱 xiànjǐng 'trap' /diverse Loc-NP], which again confirms the comparatively restricted non-literal use of diào. In comparison, non-literal luò also occurs in the two collocation patterns, although the Loc-NPs include the idiom-related lexeme shǒu 'hand'. In fact, luò/diào rù xiànjǐng 'trap' also corresponds to the English idiom *fall into the trap*, which indicates the idiomatic use of both verbs. However, the higher co-occurrences of luò in [Theme luò Cov/Dir Loc-NP] with more idiom-related Loc-NPs, including hòu(miàn) 'the back', shǒu 'hand', and 窠臼 kējiù 'stereotype', reveal its broader use in idiom-like phrases. Furthermore, *luò* mostly occurs with an abstract Theme and various Loc-NPs, which also substantiates the diversity of the collocational patterns of non-literal luò. Like [human Theme non-literal luò dào Loc-NP], [abstract Theme luò rù Loc-NP] also includes shǒu 'hand' and other types of Loc-NPs, which again respectively exemplify semantic narrowing and broadening of *luò*:

#### (12) [abstract Theme non-literal *luò rù* Loc-NP]

- 天子 a. 當時 東周 的 名存實亡, dāngshí dōngzhōu de tiānzǐ míngcúnshíwáng quánlì luò rù meanwhile PN GEN emperor name.exist.reality.die power fall enter 諸侯 手 中,如齊、魯 zhūhóu shǒu zhōng rú qí lǔ děng guó in like PN PN so.on nation hand
  - 'Meanwhile, the emperor of Dongzhou lost his power, and the vassals of the nations such as Qi and Lu had real power to rule.'
- b. 他們 <u>心念</u> 沒有 動,不 <u>落入</u> <u>善</u>、不 <u>落 入 悪</u>。

  tāmen xīnniàn méiyǒu dòng bù luò rù shàn bù luò rù è

  3PL mind NEG move NEG fall enter good NEG fall enter evil

  'Their mind does not change, and it does not turn good or evil.'

The above examples also indicate that [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Dir Loc-NP] features the wholeness rather than componentiality of the Themes, and that the motion is discrete and punctual, as is found in [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Cov Loc-NP]. Moreover, [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Dir Loc-NP] mostly signifies a prospective viewpoint, with the motion event as the later event.

In terms of genres, [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Dir Loc-NP] is mostly found in news reports like [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Cov Loc-NP]. The spoken data of both verbs, scarce as they are, again reveal a discrepancy: half of the tokens of  $lu\dot{o}$  are distributed in this pattern (e.g. (12b)), while none of  $di\dot{a}o$  is found. This indicates that  $lu\dot{o}$  in spoken data is preferably used in a pattern with a Loc-NP while  $di\dot{a}o$  is not. Nevertheless, as with [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$  Cov Loc-NP], all the spoken data of [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$  Dir Loc-NP] are also from speeches that can be similar to written texts. This suggests that  $lu\dot{o}$  is barely used in natural spoken language.

The distribution of [Theme *luò/diào* Dir Loc-NP] in terms of use and written/spoken data is summarized in Table 4:

	Use		luò	%	diào	%
	1.1.1.2	written	10	9%	3	4%
	nature-related motion	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
1.41	eral human-related motion -	written	8	7%	28	36%
literal		spoken	0	0%	0	0%
	others –	written	2	2%	6	8%
		spoken	0	0%	0	0%
		written	34	29%	16	21%
	idiomaticization -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
non-literal		written	52	45%	25	32%
	semantic extension	spoken	10	9%	0	0%
Total			116	100%	78	100%

Table 4. Distribution of [Theme luò/diào Dir Loc-NP]

#### 4.1.3 [Theme luò/diào xià]

This pattern characterizes direction and path of the motion without identifying its destination, and thus it delineates an unbounded motion and windows the medial process. Diào displays a rare occurrence in this pattern, and this shows that it does not highlight the medial process of motion and mark unboundedness while *luò* does.

In terms of collocation with the Themes, almost all of the tokens of luò and diào occur with Themes representing concrete entities and convey literal use, as exemplified in (13). Moreover, all the examples are reported in a prospective direction. However, (13) also indicates the difference between luò and diào as found in [Theme luò/diào Dir Loc-NP]: luò exhibits a stronger association with naturalness and steadiness, and it concerns meteorological conditions and registers multiplicity of the Themes, while diào features human activity and abruptness, and its Themes feature separateness.

#### (13) [Theme $lu\dot{o} xi\dot{a}$ ]

我 只好 白 妳 的 説 再見。 a. 小雨 xiǎoyǔ luò xià wǒ zhǐhǎo xiàng nǐ de bèiyǐng shuō zàijiàn shí sprinkle fall descend moment 1SG have to face 2SG GEN view of the back say goodbye 'When the sprinkle fell, I had no choice but to say goodbye to the view of your back.'

b. 手 一 鬆, 往 後 翻滾, <u>魚槍</u> <u>掉下</u>。
shǒu yī sōng wǎng hòu fāngǔn yúqiāng diào xià
hand once loose toward back roll spear.gun fall descend
'(His) hands got loose, (he) rolled backward, and the spear gun dropped.'

The distribution of [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o~xi\dot{a}$ ] is displayed in Table 5. In terms of genres, the low occurrence of  $di\dot{a}o$  in this pattern does not show a tendency, while  $lu\dot{o}$  is predominantly distributed in news reports, as found in 4.1.1-4.1.2.

Table 5. Distribution of [Theme luò/diào xià]

	Use		luò	%	diào	%
		written	26	54%	0	0%
	nature-related motion -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
1:41	1	written	19	40%	2	67%
literal	human-related motion -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
		written	1	2%	1	33%
	others -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
non-literal	:4:4:-:4:	written	0	0%	0	0%
	idiomaticization -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
		written	2	4%	0	0%
	semantic extension spoke		0	0%	0	0%
Total			48	100%	3	100%

## 4.1.4 [Theme luò/diào Dircompound]

The directional compounds with *luò/diào* include 下來 *xiàlái* 'come down', 下去 *xiàqù* 'go down', 進去 *jìnqù* 'go in', 出來 *chūlái* 'come out', and 起來 *qǐlái* 'come up', with *xiàlái* being most frequent in this construction. Almost all the tokens of *luò* in this pattern occur with *xiàlái*, while *diào* occurs with the first four. The diversity of the compounds with *diào* reveals the broader use of *diào* in this construction.

The Dircompound with  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  tends to denote a downward motion toward a perceiver, which implies boundedness of the motion and highlights the final process of motion. Moreover, almost all of the co-occurrences of  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  with the Themes express real motion and literal use,

and the motion features discreteness and a prospective perspective and concerns a whole Theme. However, further exploration of the Theme types again shows the distinction between  $lu\dot{o}$  and diào: luò signals naturalness, while diào concerns human participation, as illustrated in (14). The collocate 要 yào 'be about to' in (14b) also registers imminence, which is found in [Theme diào zài Loc-NP].

#### (14) [Theme luò/diào xiàlái]

- a. 雨, 好不容易 開始 yǔ hǎobùróngyì kāishǐ luò xiàlái rain finally begin fall come.down 'The rain finally started falling down.'
- 凍 得 要 啦。 b. 我 耳朵 鼻子 掉 下來 wǒ ěrduo bízi dōu dòng de yào diào xiàlái la 1SG ear nose both freeze DE be.about.to fall come.down UFP 'Both my ears and nose are freezing and they are about to drop down!'

In terms of genres, [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$  Dircompound] does not show a tendency since it is distributed in various written texts such as news reports, narratives, and comments, while [Theme diào Dircompound] is predominant in narratives. As the written and spoken data of the two verbs are further examined, no spoken data of  $lu\dot{o}$  is found in this pattern, while over half of the spoken data of diào are distributed in this pattern. Moreover, as with those in [Theme diào Cov Loc-NP], they are all from conversations. This indicates that diao is preferred to luo in oral descriptions of downward motion.

The distribution of use and written/spoken data of [Theme luò/diào Dircompound] is displayed in Table 6:

Table 6. Distribution of [Theme luò/diào Dircompound]

				diào	%
motives related mation	written	10	67%	7	10%
nature-related motion -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
1	written	3	20%	38	56%
numan-related motion –	spoken	0	0%	8	12%
-41	written	0	0%	9	13%
otners –	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
	nature-related motion - human-related motion - others -	human-related motion written spoken  others written	$\begin{array}{c} \text{spoken} & 0 \\ \\ \text{human-related motion} \\ \hline \\ \text{spoken} & 0 \\ \\ \\ \text{others} \\ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

	Use		luò	%	diào	%
	t the constitute of the co	written	0	0%	0	0%
11, 1	idiomaticization	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
non-literal		written	2	13%	3	4%
	semantic extension spoken		0	0%	3	4%
Total			15	100%	68	100%

Table 6. Distribution of [Theme luò/diào Dircompound] (續)

### 4.1.5 [Theme diào Quantity]

The quantity complement is found exclusively in the data of diao. Almost all the Themes with diao are abstract, and [abstract Theme diao Quantity] describes a loss of part of the Theme, and the complement represents a number and emphasizes the extent of the loss, as demonstrated in (15). In other words, diao is used to profile componentiality of the Theme, which is not found in luo since the substitution of luo for diao in the same pattern is not unacceptable.

#### (15) [abstract Theme diào Quantity]

record industry last.year sales.performance fall fall ASP

'The sales in the record industry dropped by 10% last year.'

In terms of registers and genres, [Theme  $di\grave{a}o$  Quantity] is found in both written and spoken texts. The written texts are news reports, while the spoken data are speech excerpts, in which  $lu\grave{o}$  in other sub-patterns is also found. This shows that the unique occurrence of [Theme  $di\grave{a}o$  Quantity] is not related to registers or genres.

The distribution of use and register of [Theme diào Quantity] is summarized in Table 7:

Table 7. Distribution of [Theme diao Quantity]

	Use		diào	%
		written	0	0%
	nature-related motion —	spoken	0	0%
174 1	1	written	0	0%
literal	human-related motion —	spoken	0	0%
		written	0	0%
	others –	spoken	0	0%
	t the second of the second	written	0	0%
	idiomaticization –	spoken	0	0%
non-literal		written	5	63%
	semantic extension spoken		3	38%
Total			8	100%

## 4.2 [Theme luò/diào]

In this syntactic pattern,  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  occur as a stand-alone verb. In [Theme  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$ ], almost all the tokens are in literal use, and both luò and diào mostly illustrate discrete and bounded motion of a whole entity, as demonstrated in (16). However, the Themes with luò and diào in this pattern again indicate different semantic tendencies: the Themes with luò feature naturalness, while those with diào concern a human participant.

#### (16) [Theme luò/diào]

a. 花 落 了 爲什麼 會 再 開? huā luò le wéishíme huì zài kāi flower fall ASP why will again blossom 'Why do flowers fall and blossom again?'

了 嗎? b. 牙 掉 yá diào le ma tooth fall ASP UFP 'Did the tooth fall?'

Moreover,  $lu\dot{o}$  is different from  $di\dot{a}o$  in that over half of its tokens occur in a parallel structure, as presented in (17), while [Theme  $di\dot{a}o$ ] is not found in such a structure. In a parallel structure, [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$ ] behaves like an idiom or a poem, and the motion encoded by  $lu\dot{o}$  is rhythmic. The occurrence of  $lu\dot{o}$  in idiom-like expressions shows a connection with idiomaticization, although the meaning of  $lu\dot{o}$  is not weakened.

#### (17) [Theme $lu\dot{o}$ ] in a parallel structure

- a. 汗水 涔涔,髮 散 <u>釵</u> 落。
  hànshuǐ céncén fǎ sàn chāi luò
  sweat drip hair spread hairpin fall
  'The sweat dripped, the hair spread, and the hairpin fell down.'
- b. 汗滴 如 <u>雨落</u>, 氣喘 若 風 吼。
  hàndī rú yǔ luò qìchuǎn ruò fēng hǒu
  sweat.drop like rain fall pant like wind roar
  'Their sweat was dropping like the rain, and their panting was like the roaring of the wind.'

Moreover, [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$ ] can occur with a Loc-NP, while [Theme  $di\dot{a}o$ ] is rarely found in such a sub-pattern. [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$  Loc-NP] conveys literal and non-literal use. Nevertheless, its use is restricted in that half of its tokens function as idiom-like expressions or relate to the compound 落後  $lu\dot{o}h\dot{o}u$  'fall behind', as presented in (18).

#### (18) [Theme *luò* Loc-NP]

- a. <u>雨 落 姑蘇</u> 特別 美。
  yǔ luò gūsū tèbié měi
  rain fall PN particularly beautiful
  'The rain scene in Gusu is particularly beautiful.'
- b. 產業 集團 護 <u>數作</u>,亦 不 <u>落</u> 電子 集團 之 <u>後</u>。
  chǎnyè jítuán hù pán dòngzuò yì bù luò diànzǐ jítuán zhī hòu
  industry group support market act also NEG fall electronics group GEN back
  'The industrial group did not fall behind the electronics group in supporting the stock market.'

The distinction between  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  in terms of naturalness and human activity is again confirmed in [Theme V], as shown in Table 8. In addition, almost all of the occurrences occur in

written texts. Nearly half of the examples of [Theme  $lu\dot{o}$ ] occur in news reports, while [Theme diào] does not show a tendency in its genre distribution.

Table 8. Distribution of [Theme luò/diào]

	Use		luò	%	diào	%
	motives related motion	written	15	38%	1	5%
	nature-related motion	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
1.41	1	written	9	23%	15	79%
literal	human-related motion	spoken	2	5%	0	0%
	-4h	written	1	3%	1	5%
	others	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
non-literal	: 4: 4: - : 4:	written	5	13%	0	0%
	idiomaticization -	spoken	0	0%	0	0%
		written	8	20%	1	5%
	semantic extension spoken		0	0%	1	5%
Total			40	100%	19	100%

## 4.3 [*Luò/diào* Theme]

[ $Lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  Theme] is found in three constructions: (1) existential, (2) possessive, and (3) subject-less. Both existential and possessive constructions include a pre-verbal NP. The difference between them is that the NP in an existential construction signals time or space, and its collocation with the verb and Theme introduces appearance of an entity somewhere/sometime, while the NP and Theme in a possessive construction form a possessor-possession relation, as illustrated in (19)-(20).

#### (19) [luò/diào Theme] in an existential construction

- a. 這裡 已 落 zhèlǐ yǐ luò guò liằng chẳng xuě here already fall ASP two CLF snow 'It has snowed here twice.'
- b. 兩 丰 空空 也、就 只 天上 能 华 掉 鋼錠 liằng shǒu kōngkōng yẻ jiù zhǐ néng zuò děng tiānshàng diào gāngdìng two hand empty also just only can sit wait sky fall steel.ingot

下來。

xiàlái

come.down

'With both hands empty, (they) can do nothing but sit and wait for steel ingots to fall from the sky.'

#### (20) [luò/diào Theme] in a possessive construction

- a. 園子 裡 的 <u>雞翅木 落</u> 過 不 知 多少 次 葉。 yuánzi lǐ de jīchìmù luò guò bù zhī duōshǎo cì yè garden in ASSOC wenge fall ASP NEG know how.many time leaf 'How many times have the leaves of the wenge in the garden fallen?'
- b. 那時 每天 洗頭 就會 <u>掉</u> 一堆 <u>頭髮</u>, 自己 看了 都怕! nàshí měitiān xǐtóu jiù huì diào yī duī tóufǎ zìjǐ kàn le dōu pà then every.day wash.hair then will fall one CLF hair oneself see ASP also scared 'At that time, (I) would lose lots of hair when I washed my hair, and I got scared when seeing it.'

In fact, existential and possessive constructions differ in their characterization of Themes and distance. In terms of Themes, an existential construction introduces the emergence of a whole entity, while a possessive construction profiles the componentiality of the Theme, since the Theme forms a part-whole relation with the pre-verbal NP. In terms of distance, an existential construction presents a motion somewhere/sometime, and thus the motion is distal. In contrast, a possessive construction indicates the closeness of an object to its possessor, and thus the motion is perceived to be proximal to the possessor.

As the distributions of  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  in existential/possessive constructions are examined, discrepancies are observed:  $lu\dot{o}$  dominates in existential constructions while  $di\dot{a}o$  predominates in possessive constructions. The discrepancies suggest that  $lu\dot{o}$  emphasizes the wholeness of the Themes and a distal motion, while  $di\dot{a}o$  characterizes the componentiality of the Themes and a proximal motion. Moreover, the distinctive features of  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  in characterizing physical motion are similar to those found 4.1-4.2.

In a subject-less construction, the pre-verbal NP as the subject is left empty. In our data, only  $lu\dot{o}$  is found in this construction, as demonstrated in (21). Note that 冰 雹  $b\bar{l}ngb\acute{a}o$  'hail' is not the object of the verb and that it does not obtain accusative case. However, unlike sole arguments of unaccusative verbs in English, which move to the subject position to obtain case, the post-verbal Theme of  $lu\dot{o}$  is allowed to remain in situ. In fact, Lien (2003) also finds the

equivalent of luò in Southern Min in the subject-less construction. Nevertheless, whether this pattern makes a distinction between *luò* and *diào* requires more data for further research.

#### (21) [luò Theme] in a subject-less construction

落 冰雹 啦! luò bīngbáo la fall hail UFP 'It's hailing!'

Table 9 summarizes the distribution of luò/diào in these three constructions and their distinctive uses. The distributional differences are unrelated to registers or genres in that all the examples of [luò/diào Theme] are found in written texts, narratives in particular.

Table 9. Distribution of [luò/diào Theme]

Construction		Use	luò	%	diào	%
		nature-related motion	6	40%	1	3%
	literal	human-related motion	1	7%	1	3%
existential		others	1	7%	6	17%
	1:41	idiomaticization	0	0%	0	0%
	non-literal	semantic extension	1	7%	0	0%
possessive		nature-related motion	1	7%	2	6%
	literal	human-related motion	1	7%	23	64%
		others	0	0%	2	6%
	non-literal -	idiomaticization	0	0%	0	0%
		semantic extension	0	0%	1	3%
subject-less		nature-related motion	1	7%	0	0%
	literal	human-related motion	0	0%	0	0%
		others	3	20%	0	0%
		idiomaticization	0	0%	0	0%
	non-literal	semantic extension	0	0%	0	0%
Total			15	100%	36	100%

## 5. General discussion

We have compared unaccusative  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  in terms of syntactic patterns, semantic properties of their collocates, literal/non-literal use, and genres. The analysis not only presents overlapping uses between  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$ , which indicates that the meanings of near-synonyms are not absolutely clear-cut and that fuzziness must exist, but also unveils the nuances between the two verbs. Table 10 summarizes their similarities and distinctive differences.

Table 10. Comparison between luò and diào

Verb		luò	diào	Example
Category	[Theme V Cov/Dir Loc-NP]	<b>✓</b>	<b>√</b>	幾片樹葉落在江上 jǐ piàn shùyè luò zà jiāng shàng 'Several leaves fell onto the river'
syntactic	[Theme V xià]	✓		靜靜的 <u>雨落下 jìngjìng de yǔ luò xid</u> 'The quiet rain fell down'
structure	[Theme V] in parallel structures	✓		髮 散 <u>釵 落 fǎ sàn chāi luò</u> 'The hair spread, and the hairpin fell down'
	[V Theme] in existential constructions	✓		落冰雹啦 luò bīngbáo la 'It is hailing'
	[Theme V Dircompound]		✓	我 <u>眼淚</u> 差點 <u>掉下來</u> wǒ yǎnlèi chādiǎn diào xiàlái 'My tears almost fell down'
	[Theme V]		✓	<u>牙掉</u> 了嗎? yá diào le ma 'Did the tooth fall'
	[V Theme] in possessive constructions		<b>√</b>	她才知道 <u>自己掉了淚 tā cái zhīdào zìj</u> diào le lèi 'And she realized she wa crying'

Table 10. Comparison between *luò* and *diào* (續)

	Verb		luò	diào	Example
semantic property of Theme		[+ natural] [- human-related] [- concrete]	<b>√</b>		靜靜的 <u>雨落</u> 下 jìngjìng de yǔ luò xià 'The quiet rain fell down' <u>家計就落</u> 在內人身上 jiājì jiù luò zài nèirén shēn shàng 'The (burden of) livelihood fell onto my wife'
		[- natural] [+ human-related] [+ concrete]		✓	錢包掉在車上 qiánbāo diào zài chē shàng 'The wallet was left behind in the car'
		news report	✓		從此羅馬 <u>落</u> 入西歌德人手中 cóngcǐ luómǎ luò rù xīgēdérén shǒu zhōng 'Rome fell into the Visigoths' hands from then on'
written	narrative	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	我發覺落入了她的圈套 wǒ fājué luò rù le tā de quāntào 'I found (I) had fallen for her trick' 公主掉進了巫婆的陷阱裡 gōngzhǔ diào jìn le wūpó de xiànjǐng lǐ 'The princess fell into the witch's snare'	
		conversation		✓	我只是不要讓麵包屑 <u>掉</u> 下來啊 wǒ zhǐshì bùyào ràng miànbāoxiè diào xiàlái a 'I just try not to let the crumb fall'
spoken		monologue	✓		他們心念沒有動,不 <u>落</u> 入善、不 <u>落</u> 入 惡 <i>tāmen xīnniàn méiy</i> ǒu <i>dòng bù luò rù</i> <i>shàn bù luò rù è</i> 'Their mind does not change or turn good or evil'
		idiomatic use	✓		權力 <u>落</u> 入諸侯 <u>手中</u> <i>quánlì luò rù zhūhóu shǒu zhōng</i> 'Power fell into the vassals' hands'
others		semantic extension	✓		家計就 <u>落</u> 在內人身上 jiājì jiù luò zài nèirén shēn shàng 'The (burden of) livelihood fell onto my wife'
		abruptness/ immediacy		✓	那個瓦盆 <u>忽然</u> 從他手上 <u>掉</u> 進河心 nàge wǎpén hūrán cóng tā shǒu shàng diào jìn hé xīn 'The earthen pot suddenly fell out of his hand and into the center of the river'

The syntactic structures and semantic properties of Themes and other collocates reflect how the motions encoded by  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  are conceptualized. In the syntactic structures, they characterize discrete motion. [Theme V Cov/Dir Loc-NP] is the prevalent pattern of both verbs, and it not only profiles punctual motion and its final process but also specifies the elements that are highlighted in motion events, including Theme, direction, path, and Loc-NP. In this pattern,  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  exhibit a difference in perspective direction: the motion event of  $lu\dot{o}$  is reported from a prospective viewpoint, while that of  $di\dot{a}o$  is viewed in a prospective or a retrospective direction. Moreover, the distributions of  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  in the other syntactic patterns also suggest their differences. [Theme V  $xi\dot{a}$ ] and [Theme V Dircompound] distinguish between the medial/final process of motion and boundedness/unboundedness, [Theme V] in parallel structures signifies the rhythmic manner of motion, and [V Theme] in existential/possessive constructions manifests differences in the distance of the motion and the wholeness/componentiality of the Themes. With regard to the semantic properties of the Themes and other collocates, they outline the distinctive types of Themes with  $lu\dot{o}/di\dot{a}o$  and manner of the motion.

The present study adopts seven categories from Talmy's (2000) Conceptual Structuring System to explicate the construal of motion encoded by *luò* and *diào*, including dividedness, boundedness, manner, distance, direction of viewing, pattern of attention, and the types of the Agonist and Antagonist, i.e., Theme and cause of its motion, in the force-dynamics. The characteristics of the motion encoded by *luò* and *diào* are compared in Table 11:

Table 11. Characteristics of motion encoded by luò and diào

Category	Verb	luò	diào	
dividednes	S	discrete	discrete	
degree of extension		point, unbounded	point, bounded	
manner		smooth, steady, rhythmic	abrupt, imminent	
perspectival distance		distal	proximal	
perspectival viewpoint		prospective	prospective, retrospective	
focus of attention		Theme, direction, path, Loc-NP	Theme, direction, path, Loc-NP	
pattern of window of attention attention		medial, final processes	final process	
	level of attention	wholeness of Theme	wholeness/componentiality of Theme	

Verb luò diào Category Agonist: inanimate natural Agonist: humans/human-related force-dynamics entities entities Antagonist: natural force Antagonist: human force

Table 11. Characteristics of motion encoded by *luò* and *diào* (續)

The categories represent the distinctive features of *luò* and *diào*. *Luò* prototypically portrays a distal steady motion of a whole natural entity caused by natural force in a prospective direction. The motion can be punctual or unbounded; the punctual motion accentuates the final process while the unbounded motion profiles the medial process. In contrast, diào delineates a proximal, abrupt, and punctual/bounded motion of a human-related entity caused by human force in a prospective/retrospective direction, and tends to window the final process. The motion engages the whole entity or part of it.

As we take a close look at Table 11, we find *luò* and *diào* share common features in most of the categories and that manner, perspectival distance, and force-dynamics are the three categories that distinguish the two verbs. This indicates that not all the categories in the Conceptual Structuring System are equally crucial in distinguishing near-synonyms. The manners of  $lu\dot{o}$  and diào can be distinguished by the semantic feature of abruptness, and the distance of the two verbs can be differentiated by the feature of proximity.

Force-dynamics is a broad category and helps little to differentiate *luò* and *diào*, although the present study finds that the two verbs reveal distinctive characteristics in types of Themes and cause of the motion. In collocation with Themes,  $lu\dot{o}$  features naturalness since it tends to illustrate meteorological conditions while diào tends to depict motion of humans or artifacts. In fact, the feature of naturalness in luò is also noted in Lien (2003), Dong, Yang, Ren, and Huang (2021), and Huang, Dong, Yang, and Ren (2021). Lien mentions the meteorological conditions described by the equivalent of luò in Southern Min in subject-less constructions, and both Dong et al. and Huang et al. identify luò as one of the verbs used in weather expressions, and this confirms that  $lu\dot{o}$  is used in a particular motion event and that naturalness is one of its distinctive features. Furthermore, since luò portrays precipitation, which is conceptually associated with a great amount, the Agonist of  $lu\dot{o}$  also registers multiplicity. In terms of cause of motion, the present study identifies naturalness as the distinctive feature of the force that enables the motion: the force in the case of  $lu\dot{o}$  is [+ natural], whereas that in case of  $di\dot{o}$  is [- natural]. The identification of the force is dependent upon the features of the Agonist and the contexts, which indicates that the collocates are not the only factor that determines the semantic features of the verbs. The parameters that manifest the subtle differences between  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  are shown in Table 12. Nevertheless, further studies are needed to examine which categories are the distinctive features of near-synonyms in Mandarin Chinese or other languages.

Table 12. Distinctive semantic features of *luò* and *diào* 

Verb Feature	luò	diào
abruptness	-	+
proximity	-	+
naturalness	+	-

The present study also reveals another finding that cannot be accounted for by Talmy's system, i.e., the parallel structures, which is the unique syntactic pattern of  $lu\dot{o}$ . It is found that parallel structures are associated with literary works in Chinese, such as idioms and poetry, and thus the unique occurrence of  $lu\dot{o}$  in such structures suggests its connection with Chinese literature. Si and Kholkina (2020) conduct a diachronic study of verbs of falling in Chinese and find that the literal use of  $lu\dot{o}$  to describe motion of leaves or flowers has been in existence for almost three thousand years. Moreover, Liu, Mazanec, and Tharsen (2018) investigate Chinese poetry covering the years 1046 BCE to 1644 CE in terms of aesthetic expressions and personal styles. In the data they present,  $lu\dot{o}$  rather than  $di\dot{a}o$  is found. These studies suggest that the different uses of near-synonyms can be attributed to a cultural factor.

Also, this research explores the difference in *luò* and *diào* in terms of genres, which is not noted in previous studies, and observes their difference in their distribution in spoken texts. Spoken data of *luò* are mostly found in speeches and in the pattern [Theme V Cov/Dir Loc-NP], while spoken data of *diào* dominantly occur in conversations and in [Theme V Dircompound]. Since speeches use formalized language, which can be close to written language, while conversations are spontaneous spoken language, the prevalence of *diào* in conversations suggests its stronger association with natural spoken language. In fact, in Lin and Nicoladis's (2018) study of motion lexicalization in Chinese among heritage language speaking children, *diào* rather than *luò* is used to describe motion events. The finding supports the present research, although further investigation of spoken data of *luò* and *diào* is required for more evidence.

Moreover, this paper argues for semantic change of  $lu\dot{o}$ . In the findings,  $lu\dot{o}$  exhibits prevailing non-literal use while  $di\dot{a}o$  shows the opposite. The non-literal use of  $lu\dot{o}$  is

mostly found in [Theme V Cov/Dir Loc-NP]. In this pattern, luò tends to occur in idiomlike expressions, e.g., [Theme luò shǒu 'hand'/hòu(miàn) 'the back'/xiànjǐng 'trap'/kējiù 'stereotype'] or with diverse types of Themes and Loc-NPs. In these two collocations, the literal meaning of  $lu\dot{o}$ , i.e., natural, smooth, and steady motion, has been weakened. However, the semantic weakening of luò leads to meaning change in two opposing directions: narrowing and broadening. In idiomatic use, on one hand, the meaning of  $lu\dot{o}$  is narrowed since it is fused into the whole chunk, which carries a fixed meaning. In collocation with recurring or diverse types of Themes and Loc-NPs, on the other hand, the meaning of luò is broadened since it exhibits extended meanings of downgrade, coercion, speculation, or bespeaks a development of an event into a different condition.

Semantic narrowing and widening of  $lu\dot{o}$  is motivated by the mechanism of metaphor whereby the downward motion transfers from concrete to abstract and expresses restricted or extended meanings, which are related to its literal meaning. In the case of semantic narrowing, the idiomatic use of *luò* embodies the physical downward motion onto/into one's hands, the back position, a trap, or the same path. The conception contributes to the fixed meanings of being in one's control, being inferior, being tricked, and following the same pattern respectively. In the case of semantic widening, the meaning of downgrade relates to movement from a higher to a lower position; the meaning of coercion cognitively corresponds to movement of natural entities, such as snow and rain, from a higher point onto the human upper body, which is at a lower point and immediately affected by the contact. The meaning of speculation is associated with the natural movement depicted by literal luò. Since the movement relates to entities such as snow and leaves, its course is erratic and unpredictable, and thus the landing site is uncertain and can only be speculated, and the meaning of speculation transfers to  $lu\dot{o}$ . The use of  $lu\dot{o}$  to suggest development into a different state is associated with its literal meaning of steady motion to an endpoint.

The difference between luò and diào in their extent of semantic change as a verb of falling indicates that near-synonyms are not in sync when their meanings start changing, i.e., the change does not occur at the same time, at the same speed, or in the same direction. In fact, the grammaticalization of diào in a V-diào construction has long been studied ( 周, 1999, Cheng, 2004, 單, 2006, 劉, 2007, Chen, 2014, 曹, 2017, Jing, 2020). It is apparent that *luò* "follows in the footsteps" of diào and also embarks on the journey of semantic change. Moreover, the uses of *luò* indicate that it serves as the equivalent of the English verb *fall*. In the equivalents of the idioms related to fall, including fall behind/into one's hands/into the trap, luò is the corresponding verb and conveys idiomatic use. The use of *luò* to signal a transition to a different condition is also found in the use of *fall*. *Fall* serves as a linking verb when it is followed by an adjective (e.g., *fall asleep, fall ill*) or a prepositional phrase (e.g., *fall into decay, fall under the influence of*). This suggests that  $lu\dot{o}$  has lost its status as a motion verb and functioned as a linking verb when it is in non-literal use. Furthermore, the opposing behavior of  $lu\dot{o}$ , i.e., idiomaticization and semantic extension is worthy of note. Since semantic extension concerns novel use of a lexical item, it should occur later than the idiomatic use. Thus, it can be that  $lu\dot{o}$  has broken free of its restrictive use and found its way to semantic extension. How far it can go requires further research.

## 6. Conclusion

This research compares *luò* and *diào*, two most frequent verbs of falling on the Mandarin Frequency lists provided by Academia Sinica, by examining data from Sinica Corpus 4.0. Both verbs convey unaccusative and unergative uses, and the current study investigates their predominant unaccusative use. The analysis examines the two verbs in three syntactic constructions: [Theme V complement], [Theme V], and [V Theme] and their sub-patterns and look into the semantic properties of their collocates and their genre distributions to find their distinctive uses.

The three constructions distinguish the motions denoted by  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$  in terms of boundedness, distance, which process of motion is accentuated, and whether a whole Theme or part of the Theme is profiled. The collocates of luò and diào unveil more of their distinctive characteristics: luò features steadiness, distance, and concerns natural force, while diào underlines abruptness, proximity, and pertains to human participation. Moreover, the examination of the interaction between the constructions and the collocates indicates the prevailing non-literal use of  $lu\dot{o}$  in [Theme V complement]. Non-literal  $lu\dot{o}$  exemplifies idiomaticization and semantic extension, both of which reflect semantic change of luò. The meaning of  $lu\dot{o}$  is narrowed in idiomatic use and broadened in the collocation of the verb with diverse Themes and Loc-NPs. The study adopts the categories in Talmy's (2000) Conceptual Structuring System to tease out the nuanced difference between luò and diào from a cognitive perspective and further identifies abruptness, proximity, and naturalness as the three crucial features to distinguish  $lu\dot{o}$  and  $di\dot{a}o$ . The present study also points out the different uses of  $lu\dot{o}$ and diào related to Chinese culture and genres. Moreover, this research discusses the role of metaphorical extension in the semantic change of  $lu\dot{o}$ . The findings are expected to pave the way for further studies of other verbs of downward motion to expand the scope of investigation.

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