

當她的心感受到他的熱情：
魯凱人的愛、情緒能動與「家的意象」

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本文檢視愛、情緒能動以及對家的想像，為何及如何成為當代魯凱人建立家的關鍵。對 1930 年代末期出生的魯凱人而言，婚姻、家與親屬的繁衍都密切關連到男女之情，成為家長權威介入與監督的對象。對這一輩的魯凱人而言，男人出於天性而愛慕、追求女性，並在儀式化的求愛中，年輕少女應表現端莊矜持甜美且能控制情感的表達，然而其表達情感對象必須是父母認可的，而非自己。另一方面，當地人認為婚入者來自不同的家故而想法各異，因此夫妻間從感情到身體的一體性，需要儀式與遵守禁忌來建構。對當地人而言，理想的夫妻關係當如同胞，共享為家人利益著想的心。

自 1980 年代以來，許多年輕魯凱男女移入台灣北部工作，使他們能與來自不同地區不同族群的年輕一同工作、生活，並能自由選擇戀愛的對象。脫離以聚落為社交生活範圍的年輕人，選擇新的文化形式來表達他們的感情，如流行歌曲或彈吉他唱情歌等。此外，魯凱長輩認為，女人情緒能動的主動展現，是自由戀愛普遍的原因，進而成為建立家的基礎。本文指出，魯凱年輕一輩自主表達個人情緒能動及其對家的想像，不僅體現了情感個人主義的有效運作，更蘊含了愛這類感情實踐必然牽連身體上的親密關係，並以親屬與家的繁衍為結果；這有別於西歐式的浪漫愛係建立在無關身體的（disembodied）的感情實踐，且具有將伴侶理想化之傾向。

關鍵字：愛、情緒能動、家的意象、資本主義、魯凱人

As Her Heart Feels His Passion: Love, Emotional Agency, and the Family Image among the Austronesian Rukai of Taiwan

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This essay examines why and how love, emotional agency and the ‘family image’ altogether become crucial to the contemporary constructs of what family is among the Rukai, Taiwan. For those Rukai born in the late 1930s, affectionate feelings between a man and a woman are considered to be crucial both to marriage and to family, which process parental authority had to intervene and supervise. For them, a man by nature adores the lady he desires, whilst a young lady is expected to act demure and sweet as much as to constrain her emotional expression of feelings during ritualized courtship. Moreover, it is the parents of a young lady, not herself, who decided the candidate for their son-in-law. In addition, as an outsider, a marry-in member was thought to have no similar thoughts with the rest of family. To secure domestic reproduction, the couple had to practice various rites and to observe taboos to construct a sense of affectionate and physical unity. Significantly, siblingship was, and still is, taken to be exemplary of a couple’s conduct, on the grounds that siblings are said to be in unison with each other in relation to the family’s interests.

However, since in the 1980s, many Rukai youths migrated to northern Taiwan for work, and then have become acquainted with people of different ethnic groups. Away from home and parental supervision, Rukai youths chose their own mates and adopted such novel forms of expression as pop songs and guitar-playing in courtship. Interestingly, Rukai elders tend to relate ‘free love’ to a woman’s autonomous expression of emotional agency, thereby leading to family-making according to the image in their mind. This, I argue, not only embodies the emergence of affective individualism, but also implies the practice of love always bound up with a family image. The Rukai case stands in contrast to how romantic love in Western Europe is constructed epistemologically and ontologically.

Keywords: love, emotional agency, family image, capitalism, Rukai