

噶瑪蘭人親屬稱謂變遷中的性別政治： 運用劉斌雄先生的稱謂形式分析*

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一、前言

如同政治、經濟與宗教，親屬被人類學家指出也是構成社會的要素之一，然而在研究的假設前提上，親屬被視作一個獨立的範疇，長期以來人類學家便聚焦在親屬研究上，目的是爲了理解一個人在部落社會中的位置與歸屬，以及這個人如何被親屬制度或結構所支配，她在某個交叉的位置上有特定的權利義務，並且決定如何藉由這個人傳遞物質與非物質財產，甚至規範了人與神靈之間的關係。進一步推到極點，此個體經過這個親屬關係的計算而與他人產生連結的集合體就是社會(boundary of society)，這就是 kin-based society 的理論概念(Murdock 1949; Lévi-Strauss 1949)。百年來爲了尋找親屬的規則，作爲瞭解重建所研究社會的人群關係和事件網絡，代表各種親屬

* 本文的完成要特別感謝過去劉斌雄先生的指導、兩位匿名審查人的詳細建議，及郭佩宜對親屬稱謂比較表的修改意見。此文是根據 2000 年「平埔族群與臺灣社會」國際學術研討會中，作者所發表「lepaw(家屋)與 spaw(祭祀)：以本土觀點看噶瑪蘭人的親屬關係與親屬稱謂變遷」一文後半部份 20-47 頁，加上 2005 年及 2006 年國科會(95-2627-H-001-003)計劃經費的田野補充改寫而成。

關係的「記號」——親屬稱謂，套句 Malinowski 的話，一直是人類學家社會研究的「心智航行圖」(mental chart)，同時也是親屬研究中最常被研究的面向。

然而將 Claude Lévi-Strauss 的《親屬基本結構》(*Les structures élémentaire de la parenté*)一書引介到英國之後，E. Leach (1961a, 1961b) 開始強烈地批評親屬研究。他提到 dravidien 類型的親屬關係只是一種表達與隱藏社會事實的語言，但這個社會事實比親屬、人與土地的關係及財產的關係還要重要。在除去人與土地的關係之外，「親屬系統並非是真實的」。接著 R. Needham (1971) 與 E. Leach 採同樣批評的觀點攻擊親屬研究，他認為應該拋棄研究親屬稱謂的形式邏輯分析，而轉向親屬與經濟、權力及宗教的關連研究。此戰火延燒到美國，15 年後 D. Schneider (1984) 在 *Critique of the Study of Kinship* 一書當中繼續對人類學家眼中 (包括他自己早期在 Yap 所做的研究)，kin-based society 的分析概念提出批評，他認為經濟關係與宗教、宇宙觀等價值才是社會形成與運作的關鍵。還有，他也談到人類學家對親屬稱謂的分析其實是以西方歐洲文化本位為中心。另外，C. Geertz (1973, 1976) 也提出在具體實踐中，親屬稱謂幾乎是用於確定身份，而不是行為，對於行為模式則是其他符號的功能。親屬稱謂被更具文化優勢、宗教、政治為基礎的社會階層相關的規範所壓抑。

同樣在 70 年代末，另一不同看法的陣營在法藍西學院的講堂中延燒，Claude Lévi-Strauss (1984, 1992) 揚棄從稱謂分析或繼承法則，這種將人分割(diverge)再組合(converge)的親屬研究方向，取而代之提出把家當作法人(personne morale)的分析單位，焦點轉到以研究「家」(maison/house)為中心所呈現出的政治與經濟利益，及這些利益如何擴及到社會場域中。親屬研究至今轉入對「家」的研究，但是親屬是人類社會普遍存在的基礎價值這個想法並未被震垮，不過親屬研究在人類學的研究中的確已轉到較邊緣的位置。

M. Godelier 在 2004 年——劉斌雄先生過世那一年——編輯並且出版了篇幅將近 700 頁的《親屬的變形》一書 (*Métamorphoses de la parenté*)。劉先生是畢生致力於親屬研究的大師，此書於其去世之際出版，並不像是在宣告他的死訊與親屬研究的終了，相反的，書中他批評 D. Schneider 等人規避了「爲什麼那麼多不同文化的社會彼此之間，會有相似的親屬稱謂結構」這個 Morgan(1970[1871]) 老早就提出的問題；也就是 D. Schneider 使親屬稱謂的形式分析與社會結構關連性(文化建構)的分析後退，甚至從 1980 年以來就已經完全地消失了，而這個 Morgan 提出的問題，正是劉老師不斷反思的中心問題，他想提出新的解析理論。

從不同的角度來看這個問題，回到這種背後對「社會形成或組織」問題的思考，M. Godelier(2004:32)談到，我們研究的對象與自己所處的世界不斷的在改變，其實人們對什麼是「親屬」的概念，也一樣不斷的在改變，而人類學家親屬分析的概念也在轉變。親屬稱謂並非是如西方世界過去所認爲的「血的連結」，這種真實系譜關係建構是個人作爲一種分類的範疇，此範疇爲彼此之間相同社會關係的連結(同上引: 29)。因此「……親屬不只是一些簡單的規則，當這些規範像是行動準則一般運作時，他就變成一種非物質意識的情境(*condition idéelle*)，成爲個體間建立真正社會關係的出發點，以及連結他們所屬的群體間的關係……」(Godelier 1998b:386)。

關係連結(*articulate*)的親屬取向研究，近年來焦點從親屬群體間，擴展到親屬跟男女性別群體關係及社會性屬 *gender* (Collier and Yanagisako 1987:29)的研究。研究的取向是從當地人的生育繁衍理論，來看被支配者及支配者的身體之間有何種關連性(Godelier 1998, 2004)。也就是說親屬研究已和過去不同，不會被當作孤立的範疇來看，她所關心的焦點已不僅是親屬稱謂，也不再侷限於親屬關係，而是延伸到權力關係的領域，或是與人(*person*)的建構、自我(*self*)等人觀的

研究結合，除了以上 M. Godelier 與 M. Panoff 所編的書(1998)之外，C. Geertz(1973)運用 kinship terms 替巴厘島人的人觀作註解也是一例。這之中親屬被看成是非生物性，反而是文化建構的，為象徵體系(Schneider 1964)或一系列文化再現(representation)的一環，特別是身體註記的關鍵，例如文化再現中是由哪一個性別繁衍後代？在哪一個性別、世代間選擇一個傳承者的位置而排除他人，進行傳遞物質的與精神的物(substance)¹和力量等(Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971; Schneider 1984; Strathern 1992; H  ritier 1996; Carsten 1997; Godelier 2004)。而本文就是在思考這種性別關係與親屬變遷之關連性的問題意識之下，運用劉斌雄先生所新發展出來的親屬標記法(notation system)，²及其系譜空間理論所做的實證研究，並間接評估當今人類學研究者處理所面臨的問題時，他的方法具有何種科學性中肯價值。

劉斌雄先生的親屬標記法，主要目的是發展可以表示更多稱謂差異的記號，同時這些記號本身可以被化約、計算，用來整理分類，進而分析全世界不同區域社會中複雜的親屬稱謂方式，如此一來，便可補足傳統人類學家使用的標記法中，其實有一半的符號還能被分解成更簡單的關係。因為人類學家使用的傳統標記符號本身有諸多缺點，如：不夠精確，無法充分表示稱謂多元的差異性；並且有一半的符號可再分解成簡單的關係，也就是傳統標記法的符號本身還不是單純的基本單位，因此無法進一步作有效的關係結構分析。另外，在劉老師的標記法中，也補充了傳統標記法中稱謂人(speaker)性別被忽略的問題。比如，筆者研究的噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂中，因稱者的性別而有差異，如果用人類學傳統標記法便無法表達，看不出特殊性的差異。

1 如血、精液、乳汁、氣等。

2 劉斌雄先生在主持民族所「親屬教室」期間，改良其 1986 年所出版的 *Foundations of Kinship Mathematics* 一書中的標記法，並收錄於《親屬 2000》手稿。

進一步因為人類學傳統標記法中這個稱謂人(speaker)性別被忽略的問題，各稱謂集合中的元，不具有固定的反元(除了 H、W)，如：劉先生常舉的例子 F 的反元可能是 D 或 S，所以不易表達親屬結構的對稱性。一旦人的關係可以被清楚地以劉先生的標記法(數理方式)表達，然後再依不同的等同原則如置換率、約化率、切除率與循環率等將之歸類的話，這些稱謂的結構分類可進而建立一個「世界親屬地圖」。這裡稱謂結構等同原則像似一種 DNA，可以用來建立，接著解讀地圖內不同社會間的關連性，以便進一步研究前面所談到的問題意識：「為什麼那麼多不同文化的社會彼此之間，會有相似的親屬稱謂結構」。

其實，這個理論發展的方向跟 *Transformations of Kinship* 書中嘗試提出 Hypercube 的模型，來建構不同親屬類型之間變遷轉換的非單線性模型(F. E. Tjon Sie Fat 1998:11)相當類似，或許是 David B. Kronenfeld(2001)運用了跟劉先生合作過的 Sydney H. Gould 的親屬標記法，朝向尋找影響不同親屬稱謂類型間轉換可能的形式及認知限制(cognitive constraints)。不過本文則是逆向思考，對親屬稱謂結構形式分析僅注重結構分析的批判，嘗試從噶瑪蘭的例子分析中理解親屬稱謂系統中非結構的意義與重要性，或說是以探討親屬稱謂類型的非結構因素為主，並藉此反思這些親屬空間理論中所忽略的時間與性別面向。

接著此文中，筆者將運用劉斌雄先生的親屬標記法，把噶瑪蘭人的親屬稱謂，每隔三十年做為一個分析階段。噶瑪蘭人在 1898 至 2000 年這一百多年間，從宜蘭遷移到花蓮新城，再進入東海岸，歷經三個空間的移動。劉氏標記法作為一種整理的研究工具，使我們很快就可以發現噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂百年來的規則性及呈現出來的特殊問題性。其問題不在於其所屬夏威夷(Hawai'i)親屬稱謂類型中，³ ego 父母的兄

3 依 G. P. Murdock(1949)的分類方法。

弟姊妹與父母($G+2$)同稱謂($MZ\sim FZ\sim M$; $MB\sim FB\sim F$),⁴ 及 ego 的兄弟姊妹與堂表兄弟姐妹($G=0$)同稱謂的結構特性上($B\sim Z\sim FBC\sim FZC\sim MBC\sim MZC$);⁵ 或是稱世代類型, 稱謂具世代間(generation)區分明顯的結構特性。

噶瑪蘭的親屬稱謂體系中變化最劇烈最不穩定的是: 祖孫隔代同組(alternate generations)的稱謂人(speaker)與被稱謂者(alter)之間的性別認定變換問題。這個非結構因子, 也就是這個即將踏進棺材的人($G+2$), 與一個剛出生才踏出腳步的人($G-2$), 稱謂之間存在相對性別多重組合現象, 這個稱謂及其相對應的規範、相關的文化再現(representation)必須進一步被研究, 他展現了男女兩性或父系／母系對新生代的權力「爭奪戰」, 一種關於性別關係的再生產, 或是人觀研究中, 什麼是社會性的個體此一問題?

在本文中, 筆者還要運用這個隔代同組稱謂問題的研究, 去解構生物性個體與社會性個體之間的關係。而這個關係不管是有意識的或者是無意識的, 所呈現出噶瑪蘭人關於性別的概念, 在其組織兩性關係中扮演著一種策略性的面向, 這種策略性與被操控性就是一種性別政治(Mathieu 1991)。因此, 研究這個夏威夷親屬稱謂類型中隔代同組(alternate generations)的性別邏輯, 可以讓我們釐清在親屬與性別研究中共同被關注的社會性再生產問題(Collier and Yanagisako 1987:32-33)以及性別操控的政經問題(Reiter 1975), 而這個部分正是結構變遷研究中常忽略的。

同時, 從噶瑪蘭的例子研究了這個問題, 也才讓我們反思到親屬稱謂系統並不是一個社會關係的預設(presocial domain), 或是如 C. Geertz(1973; Geertz and Geertz 1975)所講的觀念結構的體現與反

4 區別在 alter 的性別。

5 區別在 speaker 與 alter 之間的相對年齡。

映而已。親屬稱謂不是單純社會過程中的受體，而是社會關係建立的條件之一，也就是實踐與變遷的過程中一個主動參與的主體。一旦人跟人之間親屬關係建立起來，這些稱謂便繼續在個人與集體意識中以他們存在的模式發揮效用，賦予相關的社會實踐意義和目的，因此親屬稱謂不僅是權力的效力，更是其工具。這點正是筆者與以下將回顧研究噶瑪蘭稱謂的學者，觀點歧異之處。

二、噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂研究的回顧

在進入對噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂的民族誌資料整理分析之前，我們先來回顧曾經著墨於噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂研究的學者，如何理解其稱謂系統並提出什麼樣的問題。1896年伊能嘉矩在宜蘭方面平埔蕃的實地調查中，曾指出當時噶瑪蘭人盛行「以女承家」的風俗，婚姻法仍屬於贅婿法，並且發現在其親屬稱謂中，*vāhē*(祖母)與孫是同一個稱謂(1996[1898]:229, 239)，而且用另一個詞語表示祖父，因此他推論噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂中祖孫隔代親屬連為一體的現象，是以母親的血統為繼承基礎，顯示父親沒有享受親子關係。另外，他又以這個祖父母與孫同稱謂的「風俗」，認定噶瑪蘭原是屬於「分類制」下的家族組織(同上引:229)。筆者認為，在這篇標題為「婚嫁」的伊能原稿中，他的推論呈現出兩個問題：第一個問題是：到底是母系風俗、婚姻法則決定了親屬稱謂系統，還是應由親屬稱謂來斷定當時的社會風俗或婚姻制度呢？這個問題早期幾位人類學家，如 Starcke(1889), Kroeber(1909), Rivers(1914), Radcliffe-Brown and Forde(1950), Murdock(1949)都會有過精彩的討論；R. Needham(1971:94)有更強烈的結論，他談到我們無法藉由親屬稱謂的結構對其組織、群體或個人做社會性的推論，或是因為有相同的稱謂而推斷一個人的社會地位，或者認為相同的稱謂就會有相同的意思。不過在此伊能顯然是認為母系風俗、婚姻法則決定了親

屬稱謂，稱謂是社會風俗與法則的結果。雖然伊能嘉矩使我們發現了噶瑪蘭人特殊的直系血親稱謂特性，並由其母系風俗來解釋，這當中母系風俗卻被賦予一種分析上的存在優先性，一種不變的本質；那麼母系風俗到底是什麼？是怎麼樣的概念？很可惜我們沒有進一步解釋的資料。

另外，第二個問題是：直系血親隔代親屬連為一體的現象，其實不是分類制(classificatory)的結構原則(Morgan 1970[1871]:12)。伊能並沒有注意到直系親屬與旁系間是否有合併的現象，然而這才是分類制的關鍵點。簡而言之，我們不知道伊能在調查中所建立的稱謂系統是什麼，因為他把親屬稱謂比較當成是語言的範疇(1996[1898]:239)處理。我們不太清楚這樣的稱謂是建立在什麼樣的社會基礎上，如何分親類(kins)？除了祖孫關係之外，其內部的親屬關係又是如何運作？還有那個時代的噶瑪蘭人主觀意識上如何去使用、詮釋這樣的稱謂系統等等。

1968年阮昌銳也曾經在宜蘭地區做過噶瑪蘭人親屬稱謂的採集(1994:66)，不過卻沒有進一步分析，他的重點是放在系譜與族內婚的探討。過了二十幾年後，清水純在出版的博士論文中(1992)，特別以中根千枝提出的血緣、飲食、住宅及經濟四個面向，來探討新社噶瑪蘭人的傳統家族(*salappawan*)關係及婚姻觀。婚姻方面，她在另外一篇文章中有更深入的探討，特別是研究1905至1985年間新社村的噶瑪蘭人和週邊的漢人、阿美族人混血的過程(清水純 1991)。另外，她又以Abas的生命史來呈現噶瑪蘭家屋的移動性與族外婚的通婚情況(清水純 1990)。

回到本文要探討的焦點親屬稱謂上，清水純(1999)在田野中注意到多語言環境對親屬稱謂影響的問題，特別是夾雜在阿美族中生活、歷史上又歷經漢人臺語、日人日語、國民政府國語洗禮的新社噶瑪蘭人。她認為在漢化的表現下，噶瑪蘭人顯示出來對漢族文化的接受型態並

不是單一的。她從親屬稱謂方面舉例，雖然噶瑪蘭人母語隨著漢化而逐漸消失，在日常生活或祭祀中開始使用其他語言來稱呼家屬，但在固有儀式中的祭祀仍然以個人為基礎點，維持雙系的結構不變，因此漢人父系單系的觀念並沒有完全滲透。在這個用噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂來看其漢化模式的方法當中，她注重儀式中的祖先繼嗣關係，親屬稱謂變成被決定的範疇，而忽略了稱謂本身的結構及系統性變化，或稱謂與親類概念的改變與否，例如：噶瑪蘭人雖然使用其他語言借入部分相通稱謂，呈現多語混用、多元的面貌，但借入部分仍用在噶瑪蘭人親類的分類範疇上，比如，噶瑪蘭借入臺語的表兄弟姊妹(biau～)並同時指稱堂兄弟姊妹，也就是母方、父方仍不分。整體而言，清水純從家屋、婚姻、親屬稱謂等，相當多的面向來探討噶瑪蘭人的親屬關係。

三、1898-2000 年噶瑪蘭人親屬稱謂比較表 (Compared Kin List of Kavalan)

親屬稱謂在不同的社會或是同社群但不同年代、不同區域中，其多寡、型態都不盡相同，為了方便理解、分析或比較，實有必要發展一套如劉斌雄先生的標記法，盡可能容納時、空及人群的最大差異，如此一來我們可以更清楚理解研究實體，並提高親屬理論的精確性。標記法與理論並進，同時使標記法成為發展描述親屬關係的工具，表達親屬結構的對稱性、直率性等，較容易製成數理的圖表。透過這些圖表，我們比較容易看出親屬稱謂系統的結構／非結構特性、內部關係，同時找出其規則性以提出問題，或進一步從事比較或變遷的研究等。

根據劉斌雄先生內含年齡、性別、世代，以及可婚／不可婚區辨

的系譜空間理論方法，⁶ 筆者首先取出伊能嘉矩(1996[1898])、安倍明義(1930)、淺井惠倫(1931)、阮昌銳(1969)、土田滋(1985)、清水純(1985)、李壬癸(1996)⁷ 等研究中有關親屬稱謂的資料予以整理比較，然後加上筆者 2000 年在花蓮新社調查的資料，以嘗試提出問題。⁸ 我們看到這八個不同的研究者，五個日本人與三個臺灣人中，大部分是語言學家所留下的紀錄，在記音方面區別非常詳細，幫助我們瞭解稱謂在語音方面的變化。不過，所有的研究者對噶瑪蘭稱謂的採集，最多到 ego 尊及卑親屬第二代(G+2, G-2)、第二旁系的範圍。爲了看出稱謂的循環規則性，筆者採集的稱謂到 ego 上下第三代(G+3, G-3)，範圍並擴大到第三旁系。爲了縮減比較表格的空間與長度，僅在最後一欄含有筆者資料的比較表 II 裡，才加入 G+3、G-3 及第三旁系血親的稱謂。

如下噶瑪蘭人親屬稱謂比較表中，全部是間接稱謂(reference)並且以血親(consanguine)稱謂爲主。標記法說明如下：

G: 世代 generation

φ: 女性 female

μ: 男性 male

e: 較長 elder

y: 較幼 younger

6 劉斌雄先生發展出的親屬標記法(notation system)，除了便於分辨出不同社會文化中所產生的多種不同親屬稱謂方式之外，其中其實還含有一套系譜空間的理論： $\Sigma = \{U: A, S, P, T\}$ 。集合 U 是人(person)的有限個元素，A 是年齡別(age-distinction)，S 是性別(sex-distinction)，P 是親格(parenthood)，T(incest taboo)是亂倫禁忌，並以此來作爲關係結構的分析基礎。參考：1) Liu Pin-Hsiung (1986)；2) 劉斌雄《親屬 2000》(未出版手稿)及 2004 年的遺稿。

7 前引括號中爲研究者田野工作的年代，而非引用書目年代。淺井惠倫(1931)及清水純(1985)的研究見清水純(1999)。土田滋(1985)研究出自劉斌雄先生手稿。

8 花蓮新社親屬方面主要的報導人是 Api、Umus、Abas、潘金英夫婦、潘阿玉夫婦。

M: 母親 mother

F: 父親 father

P: 父母親 parents

Z: 姊妹 sister

B: 兄弟 brother

I: 自己 ego

D: 女兒 daughter

S: 兒子 son

C: 小孩 child

H: 丈夫 husband

W: 妻子 wife

J: 同胞 sibling

接下來，筆者將整理資料的重點先放在血親稱謂上。劉先生(2004: 1)將人類學傳統的標記字母所產生的字串列，次序由左到右如：MZ (母親的姊妹)，FF (父親的父親)等叫做傳統鍊，表示於以下的血親稱謂比較表中的第二欄位中(anthrop. notation)。但這些人類學家使用的傳統鍊表示法，有一半的符號還能分解成更簡單的關係，因此他把所有的親屬關係都化約為親子關係，接著將關係的表記簡稱為親屬鍊(chain)，共有以下四個：F(fatherling 父子女關係)，M(matherling 母子女關係)。另 \overline{F} 、 \overline{M} 指反元，為子女父與子女母的逆向關係。F、M 只能表示被稱謂人(alter)性別， \overline{F} 、 \overline{M} 則相反，只能表示稱謂人(speaker)的性別，因此可加 ϕ (女性)及 μ (男性)作輔助，這種有加輔助符號的，則稱為親屬串(kin-string)。這些簡化的親子關係可用字串列標記：如母親兄弟姊妹的小孩，記為 $MM\overline{MM}$ 。另外字串中還可以用輔助鍊 J (sibling, 同胞)來簡化，J 等於 $F\overline{F}$ 及 $M\overline{M}$ ，所以 $MM\overline{MM}$ 可以再簡化為 MJM ，標記於以下的血親稱謂比較表中的第三欄位

(kin-strings Liu)。

劉斌雄先生父母稱謂一體之假設理論($F=M$)，使用置換律把相同的鏈(chain)合併在同一格(box)，稱為親屬鍵(skein)，所以鍊可全部簡化為 P (parents)、C (child) 及輔助鍵 J 標記，祖父母記為 PP，可表為 P^2 ，優點是可進一步用來簡化計算近親度等，這也是人類學傳統標記法中作不到的。對噶瑪蘭直系旁系稱謂一體的現象，劉先生發展的「鍵」是最好的分析工具，方便把龐大的旁系親屬拉近簡化做比較。從親屬鍊到親屬鍵的化約，標示於以下的血親稱謂比較表中的第四欄位中(skeins Liu)。接下來的欄位是伊能、安倍、淺井、阮昌銳、土田、清水、李壬癸及筆者(劉璧榛 2000)所採集到的親屬稱謂(kin terms)詳細製表如下 I 及 II。為了清楚找出規則性，在表 II 中將增加到 $G+3$ 及 $G+2$ 的旁系親屬，也就是到 ego 的第二親類(second kindred)的範圍。

(1) Kavalan 血親稱謂比較表 I (Compared Kinlist Kavalan)⁹

血親 Consanguine

世代	人類學標記法 anthrop. notation	親屬串 kin-strings (與 chains) ¹⁰ Liu	親屬鍵 skeins (cluster) ¹¹ Liu	親屬稱謂 kin terms 伊能 1898 宜蘭 ¹²	親屬稱謂 kin terms 安倍 1930 加禮宛 ¹³	親屬稱謂 kin terms 淺井 1931 宜蘭 ¹⁴	親屬稱謂 kin terms 淺井 1931 加禮宛 ¹⁵	親屬稱謂 kin terms 阮 1966 宜蘭 ¹⁶	親屬稱謂 kin terms 土田 1985 新社 ¹⁷
G+2	PM	MM, FM	PP (P ²)	<i>vāhē</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>vai</i>	<i>vai'</i>	<i>vaei</i>	<i>bai</i>
G+2	PF	MF, FF	PP (P ²)	<i>vāyī</i>	<i>baqi</i>	<i>vaxei'</i>	<i>vaqei'</i>	<i>vake</i>	<i>baqi</i>
G+1	M	M	P	<i>tena</i>	<i>tima</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>tina</i>
G+1	F	F	P	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>
G+1	MZ, FZ	MJ ϕ , FJ ϕ	PJ		<i>tima</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>tina</i>	無採錄	無採錄
G+1	MB, FB	MJ μ , FJ μ	PJ		<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tama</i>	無採錄	無採錄
G0	Z _e , B _e	J _e ¹⁸	J	<i>Āā</i> ¹⁹	<i>qaqa</i>	<i>Xaxa'</i>	<i>qaqa</i>	<i>kakai</i>	<i>qaqa</i> ²⁰
G0	Z _y , B _y	J _y ²¹	J	<i>soani</i> ²²	<i>suwani</i> ²³	<i>soane</i>	<i>soai'</i>	<i>zani</i>	<i>swani</i>
G0	MZD, MZS, MBD, MBS, FZD, FZS, FBD, FBS	MJM ϕ , MJM μ , MJF ϕ , MJF μ , FJM ϕ , FJM μ , FJF ϕ , FJF μ	PJC			<i>sasoane-tamania</i>	<i>musasoani</i>		<i>swani a qaqa</i>
G-1	D, S	M ϕ , F ϕ , M μ , F μ	C	<i>sōnes</i>	<i>sunis</i>	<i>sunis</i> ²⁴	<i>sunis</i> ²⁵	無採錄	<i>sunis</i>
G-2	DD, DS	MM ϕ , MM μ , FM ϕ , FM μ	CC (C ²)	<i>vāhē</i> ²⁶	<i>baqi</i>	<i>vai</i>	<i>vaqei</i> ²⁷	<i>vake/vaei</i> ²⁸	<i>bai</i>
G-2	SD, SS	MF ϕ , MF μ , FF ϕ , FF μ	CC (C ²)	<i>vāhē</i>	<i>baqi</i>	<i>vaxei'</i>	<i>vaqei</i>	<i>vake/vaei</i>	<i>baqi</i>

9 人類學親屬稱謂表的製作習慣，是將原語稱謂置於前面，接著在用標記法記。在此爲了讓結構分析更便利，筆者以應有的親屬鍊爲主，作爲格式標準。

10 如果親屬鍊 (kin chain) 上加註足標表示稱者或他者性別符號 ϕ 、 μ ，或相對年齡符號 e、y 時，劉先生將他與鍊作區別，稱爲親屬串 (kin-string)，串是鍊的下屬單位。

11 進一步把 chain 的集合分割成以世代爲單位的子集合時，各世代單獨所構成的「等值類」，劉先生稱爲親屬鉤 (kin-cluster)，也就是 ego 所屬己身世代的親屬鉤，是所有同世代親屬鍵的集合。

12 伊能嘉矩 1996[1898]:239。

13 安倍明義 1930:296-405。作者原用日文記音，筆者將之改爲 IPA。田野地爲花蓮加禮宛。

14 未出版手稿，參考清水純 (1999:285)，其田野地爲宜蘭叭里沙，今三星鄉內。

15 引用清水純 (1999:241) 一書中淺井的田野記錄，地點爲花蓮的加禮宛。

16 阮昌銳 1966:27; 1969:3。

17 未出版手稿，引用自劉斌雄手稿。

18 或表爲：MM, FF。

19 伊能只採集男性稱謂 B_e (兄)，忽略女性的稱謂是否相同。

20 土田的採集稿中兄弟姊弟間還有分長幼，最長者爲 *qaqaa*，最小爲 *saswani*。

21 或表爲：MM, FF。

22 伊能只採集男性稱謂 B_y (弟)，忽略女性的稱謂是否相同。

23 在 *suwani* 後加 *do tazungan* 表女性。在 *qaqa* 後面加 *tazungan* 表女性。

24 在 *sunis* 後加 *runanay* 爲兒子，後加 *tazungan* 爲女兒。

25 兒子在 *sunis* 前加 *moronanai yo sunis*，女兒則加 *tazungan no sunis*。

26 alter 的性別可加於 *vāhē* 之後，如 *vāhē-hyunanai* 指男的，*vāhē-tazungan* 爲女的 (清水純 1999:241)，但這個稱謂伊能並沒有說明是女兒或兒子的小孩稱謂。

27 清水純猜測淺井在加禮宛的報導人爲男性，才有此偏誤 (1999:311)。

28 阮指出噶瑪蘭人爲祖孫同稱謂制，但沒有詳細說明是從祖父稱謂還是祖母稱謂。

(2) Kavalan 血親稱謂比較表 II (加 G+3, G-3 及 ego 的第二旁系)

世代	人類學標記法 anthrop. notation	親屬串 kin-strings (與 chains) Liu	親屬鍵 skeins (cluster) Liu	親屬稱謂 kin terms 清水 1999 新社 ²⁹	親屬稱謂 kin terms 李壬癸 1996 新社 ³⁰	親屬稱謂 kin terms 劉璧榛 2000 新社
G+3	MMM, MFM, FMM, FFM	MMM, MFM, FMM, FFM	PPP (P ³)			vai
G+3	MMF, MFF, FMF, FFF	MMF, MFF, FMF, FFF	PPP (P ³)			vai
G+2	MM, FM	MM, FM	PP (P ²)	baqi	Bai	vai
G+2	MF, FF	MF, FF	PP (P ²)	bai	Baqi	vai
G+2	MMZ, MFZ, FMZ, FFZ	MMJ ϕ , MFJ ϕ , FMJ ϕ , FFJ ϕ	PPJ (P ² J)			vai
G+2	MMB, MFB, FMB, FFB	MMJ μ , MFJ μ , FMJ μ , FFJ μ	PPJ (P ² J)			vai
G+1	M	M	P	tina	tina	tina
G+1	F	F	P	tama	tama	tama
G+1	MZ, FZ	MJ ϕ , FJ ϕ	PJ	tina	無採錄	tina
G+1	MB, FB	MJ μ , FJ μ	PJ	tama	無採錄	tama
G+1	MMBD, MMZD, MFBD, MFZD, FFB, FFZD, FMB, FMZD	MMJM ϕ , MFJM ϕ , FMJM ϕ , FFJM ϕ	PPJC (P ² JC)	無採錄	無採錄	tina
G+1	MMBS, MMZS, MFBS, MFZS, FFB, FFZS, FMB, FMZS	MMJM μ , MFJM μ , FMJM μ , FFJM μ	PPJC (P ² JC)	無採錄	無採錄	tama
G0	Z _e , B _e	J _e	J	qaqa	qaqa	qaqa
G0	Z _y , B _y	J _e	J	suani	suani	suani
G0	MZD, MZS, MBD, MBS, FZD, FZS, FBD, FBS	MJM ϕ , MJM μ , MJF ϕ , MJF μ , FJM ϕ , FJM μ , FJF ϕ , FJF μ	PJC	qaqa/suani ³¹	無採錄	qaqa/suani ³²
G0	MMBDD, MMZDD, MFBDD, MFZDD, FFBDD, FFZDD, FMBDD, FMZDD, MMBS, MMZS, MFBS, MFZS, FFB, FFZS, FMB, FMZS	MMJM ϕ , MFJM ϕ , FMJFFF ϕ , FFJFFF ϕ , MMJM μ , MFJM μ , FMJFFF μ , FFJFFF μ	PPJCC (P ² JC ²)	無採錄	無採錄	qaqa/suani ³³
G0	MMBSS, MMZSS, MFBSS, MFZSS, FFBSS, FFZSS, FMBSS, FMZSS, MMBDS, MMZDS, MFBDS, MFZDS, FFBDS, FFZDS, FMBDS, FMZDS	MMJM $\bar{\mu}$, MFJM $\bar{\mu}$, FMJM $\bar{\mu}$, FFJM $\bar{\mu}$, MMJFF μ , MFJFF μ , FMJFF μ , FFJFF μ	PPJCC (P ² JC ²)	無採錄	無採錄	qaqa/suani ³⁴
G-1	D, S	M ϕ , F ϕ , M μ , F μ	C	sunis	sunis	sunis
G-1	ZD, ZS	JM ϕ , JM μ	JC	無採錄	無採錄	sunis
G-1	BD, BS	JF ϕ , JF μ	JC	無採錄	無採錄	sunis
G-1	MBDD, MBDS, MBSD, MBSS, FBDD, FBDS, FBSD, FBSS	MJM $\bar{\mu}$, MJFF $\bar{\mu}$, FJM $\bar{\mu}$, FJFF	PJCC (PC ²)	無採錄	無採錄	sunis
G-1	MZDD, MZDS, MZSD, MZSS, FZDD, FZDS, FZSD, FZSS	MJM $\bar{\mu}$, MJFF $\bar{\mu}$, FJM $\bar{\mu}$, FJFF	PJCC (PJC ²)	無採錄	無採錄	sunis
G-2	DD, DS, SD, SS	MM $\bar{\mu}$, FM $\bar{\mu}$, MF $\bar{\mu}$, FF	CC (C ²)	bai/baqi ³⁵	Bai/ β ai ³⁶	vai/vaqi ³⁷
G-2	BSD, BSS, BDD, BDS	JMM, JFM, JMF, JFF	JCC (JC ²)	無採錄	無採錄	vai/vaqi ³⁸
G-2	ZSD, ZSS, ZDD, ZDS	JMM, JFM, JMF, JFF	JCC (JC ²)	無採錄	無採錄	vai/vaqi ³⁹
G-3	DDD, DDS, DSD, DSS, SDD, SDS, SSD, SSS	MMM $\bar{\mu}$, MMF $\bar{\mu}$, MFM $\bar{\mu}$, MFF $\bar{\mu}$, FMM $\bar{\mu}$, FFM $\bar{\mu}$, FFF	CCC (C3)	無採錄	無採錄	vai/vaqi ⁴⁰

29 見清水純(1999:291-292, 301)。其田野調查期間為 1984/11-1986/02。

30 見李壬癸(1996:118, 119)。

31 依 speaker 跟 alter 的相對年齡來決定，而不是性別，跟兄弟姊妹的稱謂法則一樣。

32 依 speaker 跟 alter 的相對年齡來決定，而不是性別，跟兄弟姊妹的稱謂法則一樣。

33 區分同上

34 區分同上。

35 依 speaker 的性別決定，男(F)稱其男女孫為 *baqi*，女(M)稱其男女孫為 *bai*。人類學傳統標記法無法表示 speaker 的性別，劉斌雄親屬錄(FMF $\bar{\mu}$)標記法的 F、M 則可直接標明，較精確，但仍無法直接表示 alter 的性別，必須借助性別符號 ϕ 與 μ 。

36 依 speaker 的性別決定，男的(F)稱其男女孫為 *baqi*，女的(M)稱其男女孫為 *bai*。

37 依 speaker 的性別決定，男的(F)稱其男女孫為 *vaqi*，女的(M)稱其男女孫為 *vai*。

38 依 speaker 的性別決定，男的(F)稱其男女孫為 *vaqi*，女的(M)稱其男女孫為 *vai*。

39 依 speaker 的性別決定，男的(F)稱其男女孫為 *vaqi*，女的(M)稱其男女孫為 *vai*。

40 依 speaker 的性別決定，男的(F)稱其男女孫為 *vaqi*，女的(M)稱其男女孫為 *vai*。

看完噶瑪蘭血親稱謂比較表之後，接下來為姻親的部分。依劉先生的建議，筆者在採集田野資料時，以夫婦為訪談對象，以便看出姻親在兩群體間的相互關係。分析資料源自花蓮新社潘金英(1944 年生)與朱武雄(1940 年生)夫婦以及潘阿玉(1936 年生)與潘武郎(1933 年生)夫婦 2000 年的訪談。稱謂以間接稱謂(reference)為分析對象。詳細列表如下：

(3)姻親 Affines

世代 generation	親屬稱謂 kin terms	人類學標記法 anthropological notation
G+1	<i>napawan na qaga na tama ku</i>	FB _e W, FZ _e H
G+1	<i>napawan na suwani na tama ku</i>	FB _y W, FZ _y H
G+1	<i>napawan na qaga na tina ku</i>	MB _e W, MZ _e H
G+1	<i>napawan na suwani na tina ku</i>	MB _y W, MZ _y H
G=0	<i>napawan</i>	W, H
G=0	<i>degan</i>	BW, ZH
G=0	<i>degan</i>	FBSW, FZDH, MBSW, MZDH
G-1	<i>klabu</i>	SW, DH
G-1	<i>katavu na qaga ku</i>	B _e SW/Z _e DH
G-1	<i>katavu na Suwani ku</i>	B _y SW/Z _y DH
G-2	<i>napawan na vai ku</i>	DDH, DSW, SDH, SSW ⁴¹
G-2	<i>napawan na vage ku</i>	DDH, DSW, SDH, SSW ⁴²

⁴¹ speaker 為女性。

⁴² speaker 為男性。

四、姻親稱謂分析：借用外來語的傾向

大體上，噶瑪蘭人傳統姻親的稱謂很少，對姻親親屬群分類很簡單，沒有特別的區辨，這與噶瑪蘭人血親與姻親親屬間互助關係或權利義務薄弱相呼應，而整個社會關係的運作還是以女性血親親類為中心。除了跟配偶使用相同的血親尊輩稱謂，如 *vai* (祖母)、*vaqi* (祖父)；母(*tina*)、父(*tama*)外，噶瑪蘭人姻親稱謂只有呈現「世代間差異」的三個詞：1) *napawan* 夫、妻為同一詞，⁴³ 直接稱謂(address)時互稱也使用此詞；2) 同一輩的姻親不管男女都叫 *degan*。*degan* 被廣泛的使用，不管第幾旁系姻親或其親疏關係的遠近；3) 卑一輩的子女配偶不分性別都叫 *klabu*。

田野中，報導人談到原先噶瑪蘭人並沒有 *klabu* 一詞，這是阿美族人用的稱謂。噶瑪蘭人南遷到花蓮後，特別在日據時代很多人跟阿美族通婚，而通婚的對象早先是北部阿美群的男性，後來不少是港口、光復太巴塢的人或是瑞穗過來的。而在跨族群通婚的影響中，因為婚入的早先是阿美男性，於是借入 *klabu* 一詞來區辨這個外來入贅的女婿，這是早先姻親稱謂沒有的。同時也表示此角色在社會中增加了重要性，為族外婚開始的標記，亦為聚落社會關係在地化、區域化人口互動、流動的開始。到了 1980 年代，借入 *klabu* 一詞變成指稱婚入的女性，特別是轉變為對阿美族年輕女性的稱呼。至今此稱謂不變，但婚姻型態跟鄰近的阿美族一樣，皆已改變與臺灣大社會的父系融合。

另外，年輕的一代(約 50 歲)因通婚的關係，開始使用阿美語 *ape* 一詞來稱呼先生／太太同胞的配偶，或使用臺語的 *atzi* (叔叔)、*abei*

⁴³ 臺東長濱是噶瑪蘭人聚居人口第二密集的地方；那裡的噶瑪蘭人 *napawan* 僅用來指稱男性配偶，女性稱為 *takuwan*，意即耕田之人。

(阿伯)、*ai*(阿姨)等來稱呼母方或父方同胞。原先噶瑪蘭人的姻親親屬稱謂並沒有父方／母方的區別，在族群互動頻繁下，整個稱謂在這兩類親屬範疇上或關係上，因借用外來語而漸漸產生部分的區別。

五、噶瑪蘭親屬鍊與親屬鍵圖之分析

接下來，筆者將整理資料的重點放回到血親稱謂的分析上。劉先生的親屬鍊除了可用字串表示外，還可以用線段表示，線段共有以下四種：實線「／」F 表父子女關係(fatherling)，虛線「／」M 表母子女關係(motherling)，另 \overline{F} 、 \overline{M} 指反元，為子女父線(線段 \backslash)與子女母線(線段 \backslash)的逆向關係。這種表示方法也用在表示連結兩個親屬鍊或親屬鍵之間親源關係的追溯。親屬鍊或親屬鍵方格之間是相對的關係，親屬關係中的父系、母系是相對性的概念，以實線表父系線，虛線表母系線關係。另外，屬於同一個親屬鍊的親屬稱謂集合，劉先生稱為套集(coverset)，如兄弟姊妹鍊 J 包含： $J\mu$ (brother) 及 $J\phi$ (sister)。這兩個稱謂構成 $\{B | Z\}$ 的覆集，其中“|”表示 alter (被稱謂人) 性別區分，線左方表男性，右方表女性。而如果是按照 speaker (稱謂人) 的性別區分，其分割則表為中間二直線“||”。如果是按照 speaker 跟 alter 的相對年齡來區分，其分割則表為中間一橫線“—”，線上方為長下方為幼，左邊為男右邊為女。

依照此標記法，筆者將曾經被採集過噶瑪蘭的親屬稱謂(如血親稱謂比較表 I 及 II)製成圖。左邊所有的圖都為化約過的 chaingraph，製圖範圍僅到 ego 的上下兩代(G+2, G-2)，如果研究者沒有採錄到稱謂則以空白表示，以方便作比較。親屬鍊所包含的這一群親屬團噶瑪蘭人稱為 *qanasuwani*，套用噶瑪蘭人的解釋方式，意即跟 ego 的祖母(或祖父)曾經居住在同一 *lepaw* (屋內)的親戚，被噶瑪蘭人視為同血緣團體，這團體內的親戚正是其禁婚的範圍，所以親屬鍊的範圍正是

噶瑪蘭人的禁婚圈。

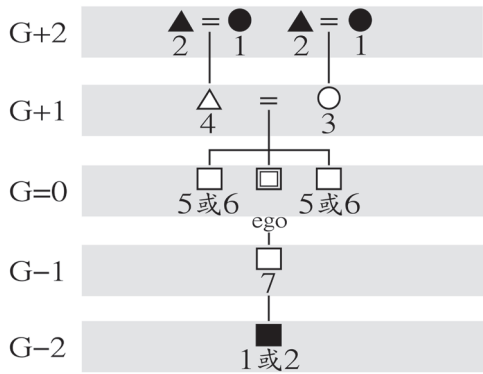
右邊的圖以親屬距離(線段表示)為分割原理,從己身算起,距離相等的鍊(稱為置換律)歸於同一個等值類,叫親屬鍵(skein)(劉斌雄 2004:15)。接著再依據劉斌雄先生之父母稱謂一體的假設理論,把鏈(chain)合併在同一格(box)成為鍵(skein),繪成親屬鍵圖(Kavalan Skeingraph),如此一來可以計算出尊卑三代以外的親屬規則,並且方便把龐大的旁系親屬拉近做比較。在進行親屬鍊與親屬鍵圖圖示之前,筆者先將噶瑪蘭血親基本稱謂(elementary term)從 1 至 7 編碼。另外,為了方便對照理解,筆者先用傳統的人類學符號製圖,以方便作對比(圖 1)。

接下來,筆者根據伊能嘉矩(1996[1898])、安倍明義(1930)、淺井惠倫(1931)、阮昌銳(1969)、土田滋(1985)、清水純(1985)、李壬癸(1996)⁴⁴所收集到的親屬稱謂,整理成噶瑪蘭血親稱謂比較表 I 及比較表 II,接著進一步製成親屬鍊圖(chaingraph)及親屬鍵圖(skein-graph)。

每組 kin graph(親屬圖)以兩張圖——親屬鍊圖跟親屬鍵圖——為一個單位,總共有九組。在空間上分別是在宜蘭(1898)－花蓮加禮宛(1930)－宜蘭／花蓮加禮宛(1931)－宜蘭／花蓮加禮宛(1969)－花蓮新社(1985／1996／2000)。空間上正好呈現出噶瑪蘭人從原居地宜蘭,到清末時遷居花蓮美崙平原及現在較常群居一起的花東海岸,以花蓮新社為主的三個空間。另外,時間差序上剛好約三十年有一個調查者紀錄,晚近 1985 年後較密集,詳看後面親屬鍊與親屬鍵圖。

44 前引括號中為研究者田野工作的年代,而非引用書目年代。詳見註 7。

代號	稱謂 (Term)	傳統標記
1	<i>vai</i>	PM
2	<i>vaqi</i>	PF
3	<i>tina</i>	M
4	<i>tama</i>	F
5	<i>qaqa</i>	Z_e, B_e
6	<i>suani</i>	Z_y, B_y
7	<i>sunis</i>	D, S



圖例：

黑色：同稱謂

○：女

|：血親關係

△：男

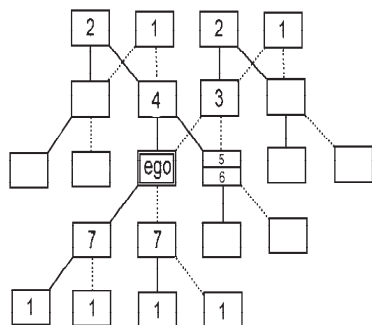
□：同胞關係

◻：男與女

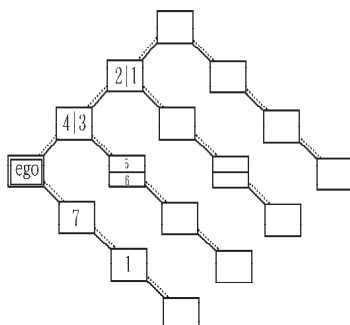
圖 1 噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂圖(劉璧榛 2000)⁴⁵

⁴⁵ 指 2000 年所採集的版本。

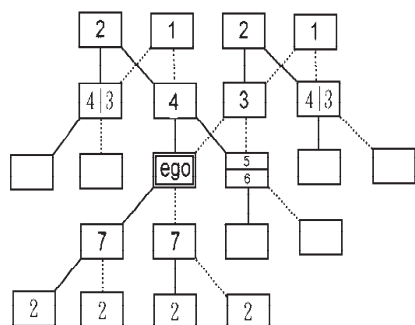
伊能嘉矩 1898(宜蘭)
Kavalan Chaingraph



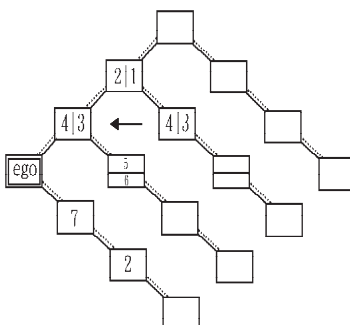
伊能嘉矩 1898(宜蘭)
Kavalan Skeingraph



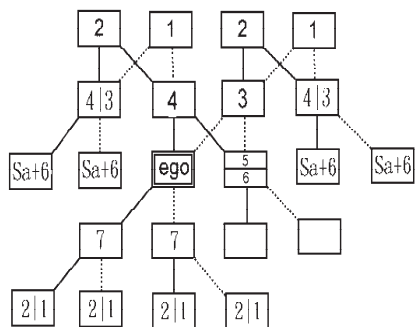
安倍明義 1930(加禮宛)
Kavalan Chaingraph



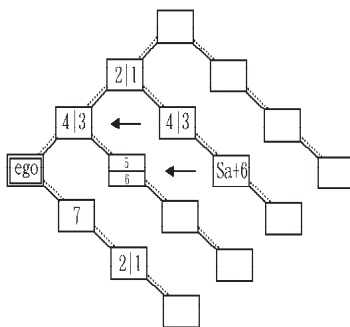
安倍明義 1930(加禮宛)
Kavalan Skeingraph



淺井惠倫 1931(宜蘭)
Kavalan Chaingraph

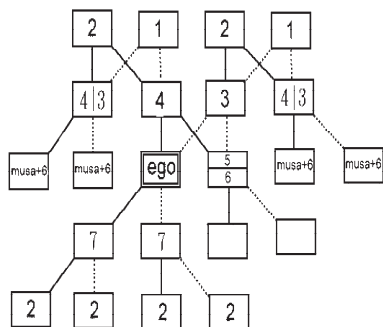


淺井惠倫 1931(宜蘭)
Kavalan Skeingraph



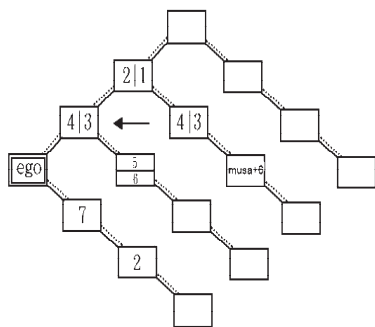
淺井惠倫 1931(加禮宛)

Kavalan Chaingraph



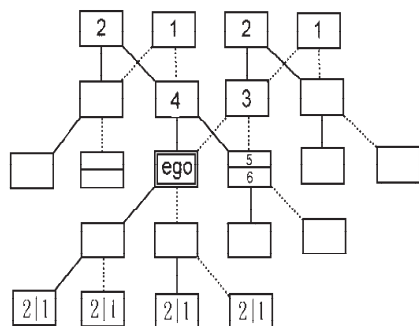
淺井惠倫 1931(加禮宛)

Kavalan Skeingraph



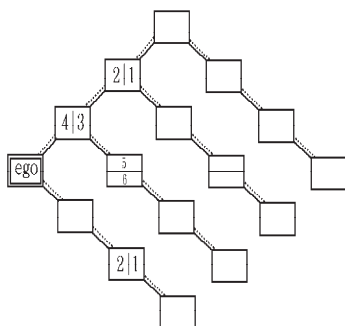
阮昌銳 1969(宜蘭)

Kavalan Chaingraph



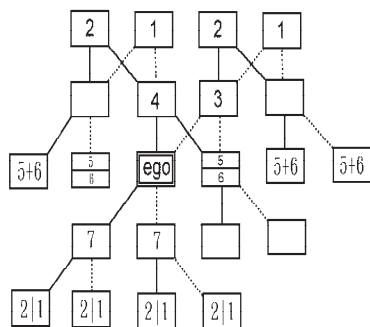
阮昌銳 1969(宜蘭)

Kavalan Skeingraph



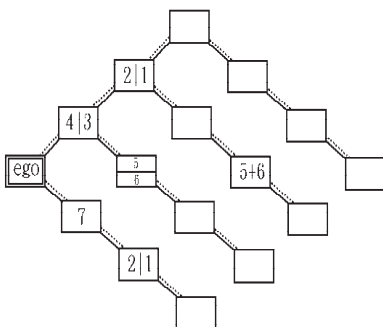
土田滋 1985(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Chaingraph



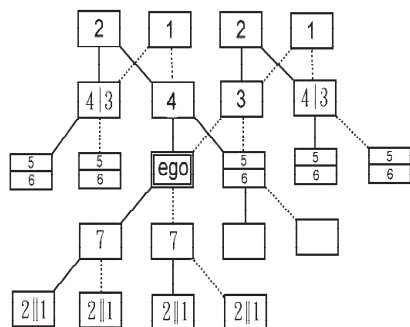
土田滋 1985(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Skeingraph



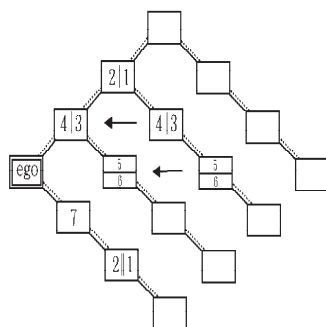
清水純 1999(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Chaingraph



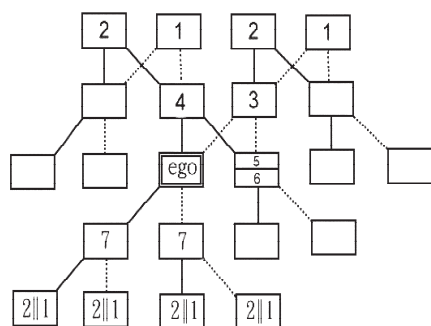
清水純 1999(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Skeingraph



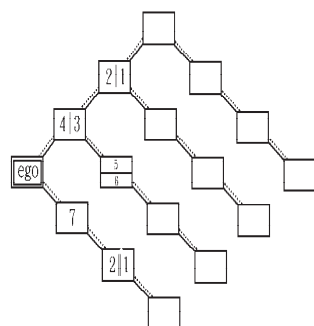
李壬癸 1996(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Chaingraph



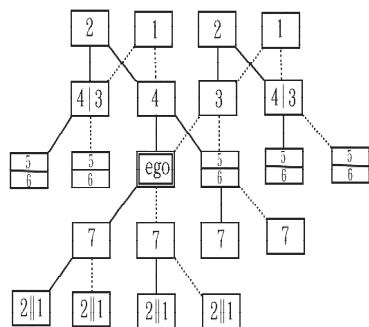
李壬癸 1996(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Skeingraph



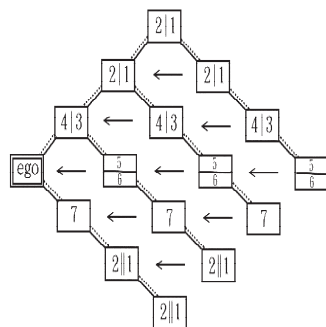
劉壁榛 2000(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Chaingraph



劉壁榛 2000(花蓮新社)

Kavalan Skeingraph



六、噶瑪蘭血親稱謂分析：直系與旁系／可婚與不可婚

取伊能嘉矩(1898)、安倍明義(1930)、淺井惠倫(1931)、阮昌銳(1969)、土田滋(1985)、清水純(1985)、李壬癸(1996)及筆者(2000)⁴⁶在不同地點及不同時間內所收集到的噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂，利用劉斌雄先生發展的親屬鍊、親屬鍵作為分析工具，進一步加以整理，筆者歸納出噶瑪蘭稱謂系統的規則性，再由噶瑪蘭人的在地觀點(*native point of view*, Geertz 1976)認知架構來理解。筆者把目前所有能找到的噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂採錄記錄，都納入整理分析中，方法上因為這些資料都非常珍貴，筆者並非未考量其正確性以及考證的問題，但是劉先生的建議不無道理，其實可以藉由整體來包容或理解部分錯誤，即如果把所有資料都放在一起做比較，差不多的時間區隔內有二至三人做對照，整體來看還是可以清楚的歸納出一個趨勢來。

根據 Murdock (1949:130) 及劉斌雄的稱謂分類法，噶瑪蘭人的親屬稱謂主要以基本稱謂(*elementary term*)為主。在土田滋(1985)花蓮新社的手稿資料中，要到第二旁系親屬稱謂(PJC)才有特殊的記述稱謂(*descriptive term*)的出現，而根據筆者的田野資料，也只有在描述姻親關係時才會用到記述稱謂。另外，淺井(1931)在宜蘭的稱謂採集中出現複合稱謂的使用：在表 *ego* 同世代的旁系親屬稱謂中，於同胞稱謂前加「*sa*」，來表示堂表兄弟姊妹，也就是傾向用 *sa* 來區分平輩直系與旁系這兩個親屬群體。另外同樣的親屬群，在他花蓮加禮宛的資料上也同樣出現加上「*musa*」這個複合稱謂的使用現象，因此筆者推論這裡「複合稱謂」的使用，是具有近親度的區別功能。然而對噶瑪蘭

46 前引括號中為研究者田野工作的年代，而非引用書目年代。詳見註7。

人自己而言，區辨直系／旁系的特殊意義在哪裡？我們接下來會進一步說明。另外，在土田滋的資料中，同胞稱謂的分割在稱謂前加「*qa*」為最年長，加「*sa*」為最幼小，作為相對年齡的細分。

就整個稱謂系統而言，可以發現在直系血親以 ego 為中心卑尊三代的範圍內，也就是三代同堂的情況，為噶瑪蘭人給稱謂的主要範圍。另外，所有的同胞、旁系堂表兄弟姊妹稱謂，在安倍、淺井、清水這三人所採集的資料中都有平行前移(shift)的傾向(見 skeingraph 親屬鍵圖箭號「←」)。在筆者的資料中(見劉壁榛 2000, Kavalan Skeingraph)，更明顯可以看到整個旁系稱謂往血親稱謂系統移動的現象。這個各世代構成的等值類，劉先生稱為親屬鉤(kin cluster)。噶瑪蘭親屬鉤 ego 的同胞稱謂等同於第一堂表、第二堂表、第三堂表(J~PJC~PPJCC)，同時 ego 上一代(G+1)的父母親稱謂與其父母親之同胞、父母親之第一堂表等值(P~PC~PPJC)。到了 ego 的尊第二代(G+2)祖父母，其同胞稱謂也等值(PP~PPJ)。在 ego 的卑親屬稱謂中(G-1, G-2, G-3)，此等值規則也對稱。以 ego 世代為計算起點，他所屬世代的親屬鉤如果用 A 表示，A 就是所有同世代鍵的集合(劉斌雄 2004)：

$$A = \{I, J, PJC, P^2JC^2, \dots, P^nJC^n\}$$

同理，表示各世代的親屬鉤，ego 尊一輩 G+1 可用 PA，G+2 用 P²A……因此 N 世代為 PⁿA。其對稱的卑親屬，則用 CA 表示，卑 N 世代記為 CⁿA。再進一步，由噶瑪蘭親屬鉤的特性，我們可以歸納出噶瑪蘭稱謂系統被分割的原則為「世代律」(generation rule)，表記為 $M = F(G+1)$, $J = I(G=0)$, $\overline{M} = \overline{F}(G-1)$ 。這個世代律是一種置換律： $M = F$ ，與約化律： $J = I$ 的合併使用。根據這種規律形成的親屬稱謂系統，劉斌雄先生在《親屬 2000》中原稱為 PC 類，在遺稿中改稱為世

代類親屬體系，⁴⁷ 是「以親屬銜為場域的親屬體系」。

如果我們稱第一親類為近親，其餘統稱為遠親，可以發現整體上噶瑪蘭人有把遠親分屬於近親的傾向，這種「類分稱謂」所指涉的範圍，把一切遠親都包含在同一世代中，呈現出整個稱謂系統內只有直系稱謂及同胞稱謂而無其他旁系稱謂的特色，這是噶瑪蘭親屬體系特殊的機制。在這個稱謂形式分析中，我們可以清楚看到噶瑪蘭人把所有的親屬分為平輩、尊輩、卑輩三個世代範疇，相對的姻親稱謂也不發達，其基本稱謂總數有七個近親稱謂，加上三個姻親稱謂共十個，其實是相當簡明的制度。

噶瑪蘭這種特殊的親屬分類方式，早期 Morgan(1970[1871])認為是集體多偶婚的結果。他解釋稱謂平行前移是因為 ego 視所有的兄弟為彼此之妻的丈夫，所以他們的孩子也稱為孩子。因此對 Morgan 而言，丈夫的兄弟關係與妻子的姊妹關係是構成這種關係的基礎，但是他把性關係與血緣連結當成是分析解釋的方向，並且將之視為是人類由動物發展到初級社會的階段，建立一種演化論理論的分析模型，這一點受到很大的批評。為了避免進入本位主義詮釋，但也並非退一步放棄稱謂特殊意義的研究，筆者反而認為應該有更多的民族誌資料要有此方面的「深度描述」；比如，在筆者的田野調查中，可明顯看出噶瑪蘭人並沒有集體多偶婚的傾向，他的意義反而是相反的，為一種兄弟姊妹、堂表兄弟姊妹間的禁婚禁忌。

在此筆者更進一步提出用噶瑪蘭人的認知架構來理解的觀點——*qanasuwani* 是個關鍵理解的概念。對噶瑪蘭人而言，與 ego 的祖母或祖父是同胞關係，過去曾同居住於一 *lepaw* (家屋) 內，分享同一個火源生活者，則被視為同一個祖先的後代，這群人稱為 *qanasuwani*。然

47 與淺井 1931 年在宜蘭與花蓮加禮宛的稱謂採集中，平輩直系與第一旁系在基本稱謂前加 *sa* 或 *musa* 的複合稱謂加以區別。

而，在噶瑪蘭親屬文化再現的象徵中，*qanasuwani* 是嚴格的禁婚群體。在這個禁婚團體內，禁止亂倫的不是西方社會伊底帕斯(Oedipus)情節展現出來的母子關係，而是兄弟姊妹的同胞關係，因為同胞被視同與 ego 等價，進一步用噶瑪蘭人的想法來理解，與 ego 等價就是說具有相同 *hainan*(血)，然而具有相同 *hainan* 的人如果結婚，會被噶瑪蘭人認為是 *prisin*(禁忌)，是不潔的，會被鄙視為狗。這種血做為稱謂對應的親類之象徵區別，區分為同類／不同類、接觸通婚／不接觸禁婚，屬於在 Françoise Hériter(1979, 1996)的親屬禁忌理論中，談到避免兩種相同 substance(物，指血)的接觸、累積亂倫禁忌的第二種類型。

另外，噶瑪蘭人用與太魯閣人互砍人頭的傳說，來解釋這個同胞之間的同血婚姻禁忌：從前有一對兄妹名叫 Tilunu 及 Abas(*qaqa/suani*)一起乘船，⁴⁸ 由於途中遇到巨風浪，於是兩人在宜蘭岸邊登陸。⁴⁹ 在開墾土地時哥哥侵佔了妹妹的耕地，她一氣之下跑到山上去；不久後她卻與哥哥生下了孩子。小孩一半留在山上為泰雅人／太魯閣人，而留在平地的則為噶瑪蘭人。⁵⁰ 但由於爭地之仇與亂倫，其後代因而彼此互砍人頭。之後噶瑪蘭人使用這個傳說，來解釋兄妹彼此不能通婚的原因。

這個禁婚的原則，藉著其稱謂體系中的直系與旁系等值在說話，象徵上噶瑪蘭人把同胞跟自我(ego)視為是同一體，在親屬稱謂中直系、旁系不做區別，形成一個龐大直系血親團體的想像。因此這裡旁系稱謂平行前移(shift)，在噶瑪蘭社會中指的是婚姻禁忌，告訴一個人他／她從哪裡來，並且不可往哪裡去，也就是不能跟誰結婚。同時，這個每個等值的 ego／同胞，因為禁婚把旁系血親往外推，叫 *qaqasa*，形

48 在新社有幾個不同的版本，有的是兩對或三對兄妹或姊弟。

49 或立霧溪口。

50 2000 年朱阿比、陳仁愛口述，同時也見清水純 1998:165-289〈傳說採集稿〉04～09。

成分家分居的法則。其實，這裡世代律稱謂結構本身述說著噶瑪蘭人組織人群的方式。另外，還有一個婚姻與同胞關係交錯的現象值得注意。筆者在實際的部落系譜採集過程中，發現 1930 年左右出生的一代仍有出現 sororate(妻姊妹婚)與 levirate(夫兄弟婚)的實例。⁵¹

再者，從區域內比較的觀點來看，對於噶瑪蘭人這種不分辨直系、旁系稱謂的規則，在研究幾個秀姑巒阿美(馬太安、奇美、太巴塢、拔仔等社)的直接與間接親屬稱謂比較後，劉斌雄先生(1961:125-156)發現拔仔社分辨直系、旁系稱謂，但在馬太安並沒有。進一步他將之與馬太安男性年齡組織內，成員間普遍採用直系親屬間的稱謂互稱現象作對比，如也稱呼與父親年齡相當的男性為父，由於這種影響，在稱親屬時會以年齡來修正稱謂。所以劉斌雄先生推論跟噶瑪蘭類似的親屬稱謂系統的阿美族社會，是傾向解釋為受到年齡階級組織的影響，而漸漸走向不分直系、旁系的世代類。

七、稱謂性別標籤與再生產(繁衍)

接著，我們再進一步分析在噶瑪蘭人的稱謂制度上，平輩、尊輩、卑輩這三個親類範疇內其親屬空間分割(partition)的規則。1)第一個平輩分割的規則特徵，除了前面剛談過的 J=I 約化原則外，主要是以相對年齡來區分。這種分割／分類原理跟男性年齡組織原則相類似，兩者之間的關連性，需要進一步研究。另外，2)第二個特別重要，也是本文的焦點，即尊輩與卑輩稱謂的分割原理：性別。我們很明顯地可

51 如果婚姻形式是採贅婿入妻母家，妻歿時其姊妹繼承男性，也就是 sororate；相對的如果婚姻形式是採嫁娶婚入夫母家，夫歿妻再嫁其兄弟，也就是 levirate。新社部落在 1960 年代前仍有不少贅婿婚，現在以嫁娶婚居多。噶瑪蘭這種特殊旁系稱謂往血親稱謂前移的現象，同時也出現在 ego 的尊卑兩代，也就是小孩與孫輩，在實際的社會運作中，很明顯也與繼承方式、婚姻形式與子女撫養制度密切關連在一起(associate)。現在在新社部落的繼承方式是由選擇其中一種婚姻方式來決定。

以看出噶瑪蘭人 ego 的平、卑輩親屬 ($G=0, G-1, G-2, G-3$) 稱謂都沒有性別區分， $G-1$ 兒女輩及所有同世代旁系親屬，全部稱為 *suani* (N7)，而 $G-2, G-3$ 親類也不因被稱謂人 (alter) 生物性別而有所區別，這在所有研究者採集得資料中都呈現出這個特性。

噶瑪蘭社會中，只有當一個人有了後代之後，也就是成為父母 $G+1$ 以後，親屬稱謂上稱謂人 (speaker) 才顯現出因生物性別 (sex) 所做的差異區分，並且性別區分變成了 $G+1, G+2, G+3$ 的親屬稱謂分割 (partition) 的主要原則。這裡稱謂體系給一個人社會性的稱謂性別，而這個社會性別區分的機制，是以「生小孩再生產」的方式展現出來，繁衍是一個控制區分的機制，而不是個體本身的生物性別。因此在這裡我們可以發現，一個人的生物性別與稱謂性別之間有違反的現象，一個人的生物性別跟社會性別非自然等價關係，這裡親屬稱謂為「促使繁衍」的權力機制，扮演著對人分類的價值工具，展現出一種噶瑪蘭人性別 (gender) 的概念化 (conceptualization) 過程。

八、跟阿公還是跟阿嬤：性別與隔代同組邏輯

接著可由這個尊／平卑輩間的性別區分又與隔代同組 (alternate generations) 現象結合在一起的情況來理解。這裡社會性別因素與世代因素交錯：卑二輩 ($G-2$) 的生物性別被忽略，由尊二輩 ($G+2$) 的性別決定，並且這個性別律與隔代同組發生在 $G-2$ 與 $G+2$ 兩代間及對稱的 $G-3/G+3$ ……，變成一種卑兩代及其以下者與尊兩代及其以上者成為一循環的情況 (參考劉壁榛 2000, Kavalan Skeingraph 圖)，用稱謂代碼表示如下：

$$(2, 1) \rightarrow (2, 1) \rightarrow (4, 3) \rightarrow (\text{ego}) \rightarrow (7) \rightarrow (1 \text{ 或 } 2) \rightarrow (1 \text{ 或 } 2) \\ G+3 \rightarrow G+2 \rightarrow G+1 \rightarrow G=0 \rightarrow G-1 \rightarrow G-2 \rightarrow G-3$$

如果把屬於同一個世代的直系鍊所構成的等值類叫 A，尊輩用 PA，卑輩用 CA 表示。G+3 是 P^3A 的子集，G+2 是 P^2A 的子集，G+1 是 PA 的子集。G-3 是 C^3A 的子集，G-2 是 C^2A 的子集，G-1 是 CA 的子集，G=0 是 A 的子集。上圖可改寫成：

$$P^3A \rightarrow P^2A \rightarrow PA \rightarrow A \rightarrow CA \rightarrow C^2A \rightarrow C^3A$$

又噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂中 $P^3A \sim P^2A \sim C^2A \sim C^3A$ 四個子集有對等關係 (equivalence relation)，這個對等關係滿足對稱率 (symmetric)、反身率 (reflexive) 及可遞率 (transitive)，並且這四個子集的對等關係使上述鏈結封閉，我們用 A_2 表示。另 PA 用 A_1 表示，CA 用 A_3 表示，因此這些稱謂封閉循環的鏈結為：從 ego A_0 出發： $A_0 \rightarrow A_1 \rightarrow A_2 \rightarrow A_3 \rightarrow A_0$ ，實線表父系線，虛線為母系線。圖示如下：

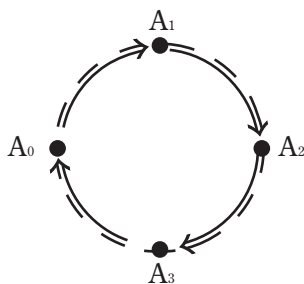


圖 2 噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂循環圖 (cycle rule)

由圖 2 中我們可以很清楚的看到在 A_2 的子集裡，ego 的尊二代、尊三代與卑二代、卑三代的稱謂一樣，數理上可用相同的一個重疊「點」來表示，如此一來讓原來呈直線式的稱謂，形成一個封閉性的循環圓。接著，筆者將從歷史社會情境的變遷中，噶瑪蘭人的認知體系來理解，這個循環圓中 A_2 所呈現出來性別與再生產循環連結在一起的問題。

我們可以發現，噶瑪蘭人稱謂在平輩同胞、尊一輩、尊二輩及卑

一輩的直系血親稱謂上是非常固定的基本稱謂，此親屬範疇的結構並沒有改變，呈現出相當穩定的狀態，所以說在 $G+1$ 、 $G+2$ 、 $G=1$ 、 $G-1$ 代間直系／旁系血親之間的關係變化不大。這整個稱謂穩定的部分正是同居在 *lepaw* (家屋) 中的 *salepawan* 一家人的範疇。但是當有卑二代 $G-2$ 新生命的加入時，也就是家中開始有孫輩出生時，整個稱謂系統就呈現出不固定的狀態，產生多元的變化。大體上，這個祖孫隔代親屬連為一體的現象並沒有改變，但是在不同的年代中稱謂方式的變遷型態特別多，是系統內最不穩定的變遷中心。

在整理的親屬圖 (kin graph) 當中，筆者在伊能嘉矩 (1996[1898]: 229) 的宜蘭調查中發現：卑二代 $G-2$ 皆用同一個詞語代碼 1 來同時表示祖母 (*vāhē*) 與孫 (*vāhē*)，而且還另外單獨一個詞語代號 2 來表示祖父 (*vāhi*)，也就是因稱謂人的性別不同而有不同的稱謂 (參考筆者整理的伊能嘉矩 Kavalan Skeingraph 圖)。根據伊能的推論：祖母孫同稱謂代表在某一個時代，以母親的血統作為家族的繼承基礎，相對的父子關係並不重要。筆者認為噶瑪蘭這種稱謂方式很明顯是以祖母的性別去取代孫子女本身自己的生物性別，給初生的後代一個盡皆女性的社會性別，有 pan-feminine、以女性為中心的趨勢。

接著，安倍明義三十年後 (1930) 在花蓮加禮宛採集到的稱謂使用正好完全相反，他的祖孫隔代親屬稱謂是以祖父為中心。另外，1931 年淺井惠倫在花蓮加禮宛的調查也有一樣的結果。這就出現了以男 (阿公) 為中心以及以女 (阿嬤) 為中心這兩種極端不同的型態，然而，我們要如何理解這樣特殊的差異？以上的推論分析其實是一個假設，另外清水純 (1999:287) 推測，這是因為淺井惠倫碰到的受訪者是男性而產生的偏頗。

進一步 1931 年，淺井惠倫在宜蘭的採集資料中出現了另一類型，與土田滋 1985 年左右在花蓮新社的調查很類似：這組稱謂是依被稱謂人 (alter) 的性別來區分，如果被稱謂人生物性別是男性，就與男性

的稱謂人相同，都爲 *vaxei*。如果被稱謂人生物性別是女性，就與女性的稱謂人相同，都爲 *vai*。兩者稱謂一體的事實還是一樣，只是規則不同，要被稱謂人與稱謂人性別對稱(reciprocal)爲區分準則。

最後一階段的變化從清水純、李壬癸及筆者 2000 年、2005 年補充的田野資料看出，稱謂一體性別的區分由被稱謂人與稱謂人的對稱性別轉向稱謂人，變成由稱謂人的性別來決定稱謂，反而不管兩者之間的性別是否對稱相同，也就是以即將死亡者的性別來決定這個剛出生者的社會性別。

接著我們進一步歸納這些噶瑪蘭人橫跨將近 100 年，在三個不同地理空間中發展出祖孫關係多元的稱謂變化。在 1898 年到 1936 年間，宜蘭的祖孫稱謂以尊二輩阿嬤爲中心，但到了花蓮加禮宛則傾向部分變成以祖父爲主(安倍、淺井)，同時期 1936 年淺井在宜蘭發現另一種卑二代稱謂已由被稱謂人與稱謂人的對稱性別決定，透過這些資料我們可以看出：花蓮加禮宛的稱謂系統正處在一個介於類型一與二之間的變化。到了土田滋的調查，又形成另一種過渡，這種過渡到了清水純、李壬癸及筆者在花蓮海岸新社的調查中形成另一種稱謂趨勢。祖孫關係到底是什麼關係，他爲什麼呈現出這麼多的轉變？這個變化如何用噶瑪蘭人的本土觀念來理解？

這種祖孫同稱謂，並且以上(G+2, G+3...)及以下(G-2, G-3...)稱謂重疊相連循環的現象，跟噶瑪蘭社會中 *lepaw* (家屋)在當有新生兒降臨時的命名方式類似。也就是同一社會組織內部，不僅只是親屬稱謂有如此的運作規則，同時在其命名制度上也有相同的運作邏輯。更細部來看，噶瑪蘭人的命名方式是親子連名，小孩出生先有一個「個人名」，過去傳統上，如果是女嬰則會使用祖母的名字或已過世女性親戚的名字來命名(通常是以母方親屬群爲選擇對象)。男嬰則以男祖先名來命名。如果命名後，小孩子常生病或易哭鬧不安寧，意義上表示此名不適合這新生兒，這小孩不是這個祖先「給」這家的，因此行動上解

決的辦法會再換名或給親戚收養。因此，大體而言，噶瑪蘭人的個人傳統名字如祖孫同稱謂一樣，有一個「名字庫」，在固定數量內循環使用，重複與常用的情況很普遍，並不忌諱同名。

除了這個「個人名」之外，緊接著通常會有一個連名，當同名時以作為區辨用，同時這個連名也就是標明一個人的所屬、親族連帶關係，還有其群體的成員身份。其連名的方式，在過去是連母方祖母名或祖父名，視兩者間婚姻的方向來決定。現在則由母名改為父名或配偶名。這種個人名的命名方式及連名制，如同親屬稱謂的祖孫同稱謂情況一樣，都有循環的邏輯，範圍上我們可以看出，循環律在 *lepaw* 家內以親屬稱謂隔代重疊展現出來，家族內則以重複命名的形成出現，給人一種宇宙與人口像是在世代間、時間內不斷的重複循環，使世代與前後時間模糊。

進一步我們從名字的意義中來理解這個重疊、循環的概念。噶瑪蘭人認為人跟動物不同，人是要有名字的，並且這個名字相當重要，影響一個人的身體健康 (*lengi*)。在噶瑪蘭人的起源神話 *Mutumazu* 中 (女神名)，曾訴說人的生命必須藉由呼喊女神這種有名字的神，才能不斷延續下去。因此，給稱謂或命名對噶瑪蘭人而言，是給一個人合適的社會位置以及連帶的宇宙定位，而這個社會與宇宙本身又藉著這個名字循環不斷延續下去。這裡我們可以發現，這種稱謂體系不同於西方概念的自我 (*self*) 或 *personhood* 的概念，個體被認定是具有特殊性，為不可替代的。這裡每一個人死後，他的名字並沒有因此而消失，反而藉由名字的重複形式被賦予新的生命，繼續在活人的世界中並產生影響，也就是說個體是可被替代的，而且結構上必須被替代。這種多重稱謂體系結合的特性 (命名、連名、親屬稱謂)，不把單位個體認定為個人，反而在此體系中具有一個工具性格，連接生而成為死的延續，生與死成為一個週而復始的延續，一種生死重疊的永恆。

C. Geertz (1973) 在分析巴厘島人的親屬稱謂體系中，也詮釋到某

些代之間親屬稱謂有重複(reciprocal)的現象，⁵² 這表示四代同堂被看做是巴厘島文化可及的理想，而親屬稱謂是對這種生活做出註釋，接著他用死亡儀式來進一步強調這種文化註解。但最後他卻結論出，這種強調世代演進，香火不斷、具序列性(diachronic formulation)的感覺，是看到此稱謂體系所造成的幻覺；共同世代間的精神(或結構)關係反而才是最重要的，而不是非重複歷史中互替世代的位置，也就是說，他又回到結構論的看法上。筆者認為這種世代互替延續循環的方式，反而大有文章，她不僅是一種文化的、身體的、祖靈信仰的及宇宙的價值觀，同時也以一種威脅小孩生命的形式，展現在噶瑪蘭人的心理及情感層面上。我們可從陪伴每個噶瑪蘭人，度過童年時期的Gezas(吃人精)的故事談起：

古時候有一個媽媽和一對小姊妹生活在一起。有一天媽媽要出門去工作，她就對小姊妹們說：「如果有人來，絕對不能開門！」直到天黑了，媽媽都沒有回來，就在姊姊覺得奇怪的時侯，突然聽到外面有人的聲音，這就是Gezas來了，這個老人敲門喊道：「來！來！快開門！快開門！」這個Gezas的聲音像極了她媽媽的聲音，姊姊就把門打開了。結果進門的是一個長的跟他媽媽一模一樣的老人，隨身她就坐了下來。姊姊便問這個vai(阿嬤)⁵³：「妳吃飯了沒有？」vai(阿嬤)回答道：「還沒有，」接著小孩便去拿飯給這個老人吃。可是這個vai(阿嬤)吃飯的時候很奇怪，怎麼把飯從頭上放進去？小女孩就告訴vai(阿嬤)妳為什麼吃飯這麼奇怪。

過了許久，小女孩的媽媽還是沒有回來，小孩有點焦急；當

52 巴厘島人的親屬稱謂重複是出現在G+3與G-3曾祖與曾孫之間，還有以上及以下的卑親屬間(G+4, G-4...)，比噶瑪蘭人的G+2/G-2還要晚一輩。

53 噶瑪蘭人通稱女性老人為vai，與尊二代直系女血親(MM, FM)同樣的稱謂。

Gezas 吃飽時就對小孩說：「沒關係，還是我們先睡覺好了。」結果她們就一起去睡覺了。不多久，這個阿嬤就開始吃小的妹妹，並發出喀嗤喀嗤的聲音，姊姊聽到了，覺得很奇怪，但是天黑暗暗的看不太清楚，她覺得這個阿嬤好像不是人，嚇到了就馬上跑走了。等姊姊再回家時，妹妹就不見了，被 Gezas 吃光了。（朱阿比口述）⁵⁴

報導人談到，Gezas 不是人，但她長的很像她們的媽媽。而且 Gezas 應該都是女的老阿嬤，沒有聽過是男的。報導人以前小時候 vai (阿嬤) 老是說這樣的故事給她聽，讓她很害怕。有意思的是報導人及其兒子解釋此故事時，一再跟筆者強調：vai (阿嬤) 是會討小孩的、討命的，好像噶瑪蘭人的想法裡本來就是欠她的。

最後，以上的口傳故事讓我們聯想到噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂中，祖孫同稱謂的法則中，讓一個即將死亡的人的性別，來決定、控制這個剛要踏進入世間社會新生兒的性別。然而，噶瑪蘭人對 vai (阿嬤) 的想像，為何讓她化身為會吃小孩的 Gezas 去討(要)一個新生命？這讓我們也同時回過頭來思考先前親屬稱謂分析中，vai 與 vaqi 稱謂百年變遷之爭。為什麼新生代 G-2 的親屬稱謂不穩定？在變遷中 ego 的生物性別被忽略，而是藉由 G+2 這一代來給一個社會性別。換句話說，噶瑪蘭人祖孫之間稱謂關係的性別差異，讓我們看出一個生物性個體與社會性個體之間，不一定有等價的關係，而這個關係不管是有意識或是無意識，均呈現出噶瑪蘭人在傳承土地、姓名等等組織兩性關係中，扮演著一種策略性的面向，這種策略性與被操控性就是一種性別政治。因為，控制了新生命，代表控制了社會面對大自然營運生活的社會再生產架構，這種架構與意識型態不正是透過親屬稱謂模式，進行再生產

54 同一個傳說故事清水純也有採集過。見清水純 1997:53, 54。

性的自我繁衍嗎？

九、結論

本文希望能藉由運用劉斌雄先生發展的標記系統，進一步對噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂進行系統形式與其社會結構，特別是文化建構下再生產之關連性作解析，以呈現親屬稱謂的性別策略性。劉先生的標記法原意是用來比較跨族群、文化、地域的親屬體系，而筆者則將之擴充運用在同一族群，在不同地理空間中遷移及跨時間(diachronic)的比較研究上，也就是將主軸放在變遷分析上，使劉先生的標記法也能有時間的考量與歷史的深度，畢竟親屬稱謂體系不是固定一類、不變的。

筆者透過重新整理伊能嘉矩(1898)、安倍明義(1930)、淺井惠倫(1931)、阮昌銳(1969)、土田滋(1985)、清水純(1985)、李壬癸(1996)研究⁵⁵中採錄過的噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂，以及加上筆者 2000 年在花蓮新社調查的資料，先做成噶瑪蘭人歷時性的稱謂比較表，接著把劉先生的親屬鍊與親屬鍵當作分析工具，很快就可以看出噶瑪蘭親屬體系的規則性與數理對稱性，這是使用人類學傳統標記法不易直接整理出的：旁系往直系平行前移(shift)的特性，這個特性形成各世代的等值類。筆者發現其實這個世代結構相當穩定，反而是到了尊卑二代時產生了異常的世代同組，使原先的結構變模糊了，這點反而較具問題性，特別是展現在稱謂人與被稱謂人的相對性別上。於是筆者最後用個人命名、親子連名等具有相同運作邏輯的符號機制及阿嬤吃人精的生活故事之民族誌資料來進一步作深度描述。⁵⁶

55 前引括號中為研究者田野工作的年代，而非引用書目年代。詳見註 7。

56 另外，關於「祖孫關係」的進一步研究，可參考筆者即將出版的另一篇文章：“Pivot social et miroir du pass. au futur: la grand-mère chez les Kavalan de Taiwan”. Francoise Marsaudon, ed. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence 2008.

最後，本文可作為發展成依劉先生的原意之比較研究的基礎。屬於噶瑪蘭這種世代律稱謂結構類型的社會，在親屬研究中以夏威夷(Hawai'ian)的島民最著名，在劉先生已分析的世界民族誌資料中，在結構上與噶瑪蘭親屬稱謂同原理的社會群體，在臺灣有 Supaiwan、Puyuma、Sau、北部阿美。鄰近的有菲律賓的 Ifgao、馬來的 Temok、婆羅洲的 Kenyah、印度的南安達曼群島住民，美拉尼西亞的 Samoa、Niue，到中美的 Chontal 及南美的 Cogui。如本文前面所言，值得進一步在「為什麼那麼多不同文化的社會彼此之間，會有相似的親屬稱謂結構」這個問題意識下，從臺灣南島族群親屬的研究出發到鄰近的南島，接著擴大太平洋、南亞及中美、南美發展比較研究。

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Marriage within a Hierarchical Status System: The Case of Rukai, Taiwan

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This paper describes several features of Rukai marriage customs, focusing on recurring instances of high tension between the kin of potential marriage partners. These tensions are attributable to a hierarchically ranked status system in which status automatically decreases with genealogical distance from the supreme status of hereditary chief. People will often utilize relative status difference from the marital partner as a strategic means of effecting social promotion. Here, I wish to focus first on the significance of selecting a spouse, and then to suggest that the status system of this society appears to relate, directly or indirectly, to customs of bridewealth, postmarital residence, wedding rites, and married life in general.

I. Introduction

The August issue of “Riban-no-tomo” (1934), a periodical published during the Japanese colonial period for administrative officers in charge of aboriginal affairs, contains a brief report under the heading of “Improving Paiwan Marriage Customs.” In view of the fact that the author refers by name to Rukai villages such as Budai, Kabararayan and Kinuran, the “Paiwan” of this report are, in fact, Rukai. “Improvements” the Japanese officers ordered to be imple-

mented were as follows: (1) abolition of marriage by capture, (2) consolidation of the matchmaker's function, (3) limiting the amount of bridewealth to a maximum (corresponding to 15 Japanese yen), (4) obligation to worship at the Japanese Shinto shrine in Budai, (5) prohibition of temporary postmarital residence at the wife's natal home. Needless to say, these regulations contributed to the destruction of the indigenous Rukai culture in colonial times. However, it can also be pointed out that this brief report shows an accurate grasp of several special features of their original marriage customs, i.e. transfer of a vast bridewealth, performing several rituals misunderstood as marriage by capture, undefined variable postmarital residence and others generating a strong tensions between the bride's and the bridegroom's kin.

An old Rukai man said, "Our marriage customs are a veritable quarrel." Although he referred to a series of actual instances of emotional strain between the man's and the woman's parties concerning the suitability of the prospective couple and the amount of bridewealth, his remark should be understood to imply that their marriage practices were deeply rooted in the hierarchically ranked status system. In Rukai and the adjacent Paiwan society chiefs and commoners are distinguished. The vertical order of status differences is emphasized in various aspects of everyday life. People living under such conditions will be apt to have a keen interest in whether the partners in a marriage are equal or unequal in status and rank, and whether the assets transferred are appropriate or not. They may sometimes stage a feint and diplomatic skills in negotiating a marriage on favorable terms. Thus the above-mentioned remark that their marriage customs are a veritable quarrel can regarded as a slightly exaggerated description of the peculiar atmosphere surrounding a marriage contract which is rooted in its inherent relation to the hierarchical status system.

To date the marriage customs of the Rukai and Paiwan have been described and analyzed in the context of the status system in

many ethnographic studies (Kojima and Kobayashi 1920; Okada 1941; Wei 1963; Lin 1965; Hsieh 1966, 1967; Chiang 1983; Yamaji 1991, and others). It appears, however, that only a few of them have sufficiently represented the intensity of people's interest in marriage practices. Marriage is not a mere component of the status system in these societies. As Yamaji (1991:231) pointed out, "the basis of stratificatory societies lies in the process of selecting a spouse." Whom and how to marry will, therefore, constitute the axis for the reproduction and functioning of the system of status hierarchy. In this article, I wish to describe Rukai marriage customs and analyze their correlation with the hierarchical status system of this society, keeping this important meaning in mind. Data used were collected mainly through my fieldwork in Budai village.

In order to depict the Rukai marriage customs as a coherent system, the ethnographic present will, as a rule, be fixed in a past when the present generation of aged persons actually held their own weddings. Only the gist of the present state will be mentioned in the concluding part.

II. Ascribed Status System

A hereditary chief holds the highest status in each Rukai villages. Until the Japanese established their colonial rule over the Rukai area at the beginning of the twentieth century, these chiefs deputed themselves in their respective villages as rulers, boasting of their noble birth. They held vast tracts of land and exacted tribute from the commoners. Irrespective of how insignificant their actual spheres of influence may have been, the fact remains that among the ethnic groups of Taiwan only Rukai and Paiwan had the potential to develop their polity toward the formation of a chiefdom.

The chief of each village is called *talyalalai*, and the majority of commoners *la-kaokaol* (*la* signifies the plural). People usually explain their ascribed status hierarchy by emphasizing the difference

between both extremes. Namely, the Rukai status system seems to be conceptualized in their own ideational schema as consisting of a ruling chief and a large number of ruled commoners. However, the term *talyalalai* is used not only to designate each individual chief, but also to refer to a prescribed range of the chief's kin. Thus, hitherto, this term has often been translated as "chiefly stratum" or "noble stratum" in ethnographic descriptions.

As a rule, the Rukai chiefly position is inherited by eldest son, but when there is no male successor, by the eldest daughter. Although it is doubtful that this rule of male primogeniture has been strictly observed, the priority of the eldest son differs from the mode of succession among the Paiwan where the first-born child, regardless of sex, always succeeds. This succession pattern should be considered in the context of the characteristics of the family (*da'anu*) concept found in Rukai society at large. In their society the trend is to ensure continuity of each familial unit over generations by designating one child, the eldest son, as heir (*uap*, which literally means "millet seed"). The succession of the chief's office is mostly explained in the context of familial continuity. If the successor of a chief has siblings, males below the second son become independent as non-successors by birth order, establish new households after their marriage and are called *ta-agi-agi* (where *agi* stands for younger sibling). While their status in relation to the eldest brother is one step below, they are nevertheless considered to be *talyalalai* or chiefs. That is to say, a categorical distinction between successor of the chiefly office and non-successor is not included in the term *talyalalai*, and the non-successors are called *ta-agi-agi* only when their ranks have to be distinguished by birth order.

As time passes, the descendants of the *ta-agi-agi* gradually become more distant from the chief in a genealogical sense, and their status declines as well (Fig. 1). Although there is no precise standard of recognition, after several generations they become almost equal in status to commoners. Even though an individual may insist he is

talyalalai, very often there are discrepancies between a person's self-esteem and public opinion about him. People whose position within the status system is vague actually form a certain percentage of this society. They have been categorized as “middle stratum” and the like in some preceding studies (Hsieh 1967; Hsu 1986; Yamaji 1991). Moreover, among *kaokaol*, the commoners, each person's delicate difference of rank and status is determined on whether he is regarded as being descended from a *talyalalai* in the remote past or being an ordinary commoner. Concerning the commoner's status similar discrepancies in what the person concerned thinks and what those around him recognize, can be observed. In principle, while only the highest position of a chief and his lineal descendants acquired by genealogical seniority are permanent in the Rukai ascribed status system, the status of any other person, whether he/she be the chief's collateral descendant or a commoner, tend to decline with the passing of generations.

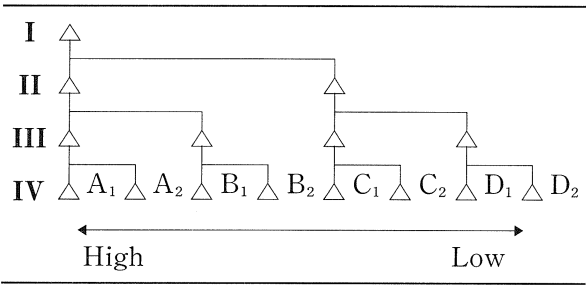


Fig. 1 Ascribed Status System

On the strength of these considerations, it is necessary here to take note of the concept of the Rukai system of “social stratification” which has often been applied in preceding studies. Although Rukai society has been characterized as “stratified,” not all of its members do belong to a particular stratum of chief or commoner in regular sequence. Actually, there are some persons whose social

position is vague, and some with discrepancies in regard to their status in their self-estimation and popular consent. For that reason a computation of the number of chiefly houses and commoner's houses in any village will produce an inaccurate result. Even though a more elaborate frame of analysis may be set up by adding the category of "middle stratum" to the chief's and commoner's strata, it will merely produce an imperfect replica of the people's own hierarchical concept. Suenari (1973:65, 66) defines the similar status hierarchy of the Paiwan not as constitution of discrete strata, but as a kind of continuous ranking system, including all members of the society from the lineal descendants of the paramount chief, down to a mere commoner. That definition should be applied to the Rukai status system too. Difference of status between a chief of the highest position and the humblest of commoners present sharp contrasts, but it becomes merely relative when it applies to the medium stratum. It seems that the Rukai fully realize the deviation from their ideational schema which emphasizes the difference between *talyalalai* and *la-kaokaol* and the de facto complex status composition of their society. Thus people are keenly interested in their personal interrelations as to who is superior or inferior in status and rank.

The Rukai status system can be explained more effectively by taking note of Geertz's model of "the sinking status pattern" used to analyze the gentry *dadia* in Bali, or the well-known concept of "status lineage" in Polynesian ethnographies (Geertz 1980; Geertz and Geertz 1975; Goldman 1970; Marcus 1989, and others). As the *dadia* in Bali are agnatic endogamous descent corporations and Rukai society has no descent groups like lineages or *ramages*, the situations of both societies are different indeed. It is certain, however, that the status pattern of *dadia* in which there is a core line of eldest sons of eldest sons, and its current representative is viewed as the ranking figure, whereas a number of younger sons in each generation cannot but form peripheral or cadet lines and "their status relative to that of the core line steadily and automatically

declined as time passed" (Geertz 1980:30), is homologous or parallel to the mode of status hierarchy in Rukai society.

In this chapter the Rukai hierarchical status system has been described in a purely schematic fashion. Next I wish to consider this system from the viewpoint of actual reproduction and operation. An issue central to my consideration is selection of a spouse.

III. Marriage as a Stratagem

Marriage and the Status System

In general Rukai people think it desirable to observe isogamy or ordinarily marrying someone of equal status and rank, and to that end "marriages among commoners are primarily village-endogamous, whereas the higher ranking aristocracy tends to contract village-exogamous marriages" (Lebar 1975:131). That is to say, what people regard as a fundamental principle for reproducing their hierarchical social order is to select a spouse judged appropriate according to each person's status, respectively, from within his own village in case of a commoner and from other villages for a chief and his close kin. On the contrary, marriage contracts of two persons whose status evidently differs from each other must be negatively evaluated. For instance, the union of a male chief and a female commoner is seldom looked upon as a formal marriage contract, and even if their cohabitation is given tacit approval as an accomplished fact, the child born of this union will have no right to succeed to the chiefly office. If a male commoner hopes to make a proposal of marriage to the kinswoman of a chief, he will have to transfer a large amount of bridewealth to the latter. As bridewealth usually includes such valuables as glass beads or heirloom pots which are mostly monopolized by chiefs and some of their near kin, this kind of marriage cannot be arranged in reality. These barriers to marriage contracts seem to show the fundamental principle of the Rukai social order, that is to say, maintaining the status hierarchy presupposes

the preference of isogamy.

When examining the actual individual marriages, however, it becomes clear that their notion of preferring isogamy contains, more or less fictitious elements. As stated above, difference of status between the chief as highest position and the humblest commoner show a stark contrast, but becomes merely relative when it concerns the medium stratum. Moreover, if the historical circumstances of the couple's parents' or grandparents' marriages are also taken into consideration, objective standards for deciding which marriage partner is superior or inferior do not exist. What is important in selecting a spouse is not only to keep up one's appearance by contracting an isogamous marriage, but also to utilize the marriage maximally as an opportunity for enhancing one's status by ascription which with the passing of generations has declined. Persons whose positions in the status system are vague or those who are called *ta-agi-agi*, tend to take a positive stance to the stratagem of effecting their social promotion (Kasahara 1988, 1990; Yamaji 1991).

When a man attempting to enhance his status wishes to marry a woman who undoubtedly holds a higher position than himself, the situation will be easy to understand. Bridewealth and some ritual practices sufficient to compensate for the difference in status and rank between both persons are required of that man. On the other hand, should a woman be of lower status than a man, gifts and ritual practices required of the latter will become far simpler, but in any case, stirring up trouble is avoided. Needless to say, the majority of actual marriages are contracted between a man and a woman who are of roughly equal status, and every informant indicates, "to tell the truth, those are the most irksome marriages." Suppose a male descendant of *ta-agi-agi* status makes a proposal of marriage to a woman who is of equal or somewhat higher status. The stratagem he and his kinfolk should device becomes elaborate. On the one hand, they have to praise the woman's high status to the skies and show their respect to her visually by offering considerable bridewealth.

They do so because a large amount of bridewealth will also publicly demonstrate the man's high status and give the impression to those around him that it is a marriage appropriate to his status. On the other hand, to contract a marriage on favorable terms, the man and his kinfolk will ask the woman's side to consider various facts. These are, for example, the man's aristocratic pedigree ascending from a former paramount chief, his parents' or sibling's unions with noble in the past, his own reputation and so forth. As the woman and her relatives also seek to hold their own in the negotiations, the results will not always meet the expectations of the man's party. Moreover, it is a matter of course that the stratagems devised in each individual negotiation vary according to the way of uniting a man and a woman. The stratagems of both parties may often be accompanied with some diplomacy, bluffs, or aggressive attitudes. One of the most extreme measures taken in this context is one party pretending to break off an engagement. To reject a marriage for some reason just before contracting surely is an effective means for boasting of one's high status and rank. Severe tension between the man's and woman's parties can be explained by people's strategic concerns of the marriage contract as an opportunity to enhance their status and put themselves in a favorable social position. The above-mentioned remark that their marriage negotiations are veritable quarrels is thought to indicate the strategic concerns they show in the selection of a spouse.

From these considerations, two points emerge clearly. First, although Rukai people maintain that they prefer to contract isogamous marriages, in actual fact they do not wish to simply preserve their stable position in the hierarchical status system by selecting an appropriate spouse. They rather focus on distinct or indistinct status differences between a man and his spouse, and avail

themselves of them for social promotion.¹ The following remark which Ortner made on Polynesian status system are probably also applicable to the Rukai: “What every Polynesian wants is, minimally, to maintain the status and prestige given by the position into which he or she was born, and maximally, to improve position and hence again more prestige” (Ortner 1981:366).² Secondly, the static formulation of the Rukai status system presented in the previous chapter begins to assume a far more intricate aspect when adding these factors. For example, in Fig.1, B₁ can be judged as relatively higher in status than D₁ because the former is genealogically closer to the chief than the latter, but when B₁ marries beneath him and D₁ marries a woman of superior status, it will be difficult to decide which of both man’s descendants is of higher status. Status hierarchy is a premise for marriage and it is an outcome of it.³

Bridewealth

Bridewealth, *saba’adan* in the Rukai term, inevitably becomes the

¹ I mentioned in another article that these concerns continue from the marriage contract to some birth customs like child recognition and naming (Kasahara 1990).

² For the purpose of analyzing the system of prestige or social honor in Rukai society, it is necessary to direct one’s eye to an achieved aspect of the individuals’ social position, apart from their ascribed aspect discussed here. The Rukai system of prestige is not necessarily isomorphic with that of status, but slightly discrepant. People express their prestige and honor by wearing some specific kinds of ornaments and perform a series of rites in order to obtain the right to wear them. In this respect, see the excellent study by Hsu (1986).

³ Wei (1963:3, 4) presented a lucid mechanical model of the Rukai marriage system, in which he tried to explain it by combining three “social classes” with three forms of marriage, namely, marriage within class, marriage toward ascending class and marriage toward descending class. Later Hsieh (1966, 1967) adopted this model and supported it by much detailed material. In contrast to the well-ordered models, my aim here is to understand Rukai marriage customs in more dynamic fashion.

center of public interest as a symbol of the relationship between the man's and the woman's parties. It is always transferred from the man's side to the woman's, whether the bride marries into her husband's family, or the bridegroom marries into his wife's family. The assets offered vary greatly, depending upon the status of the individuals concerned. While the chief or his near kin will usually transfer such valuables as heirloom pots (*ka-delongan*), glass beads (*silu*), various kinds of ornaments, knives (*labo*), a plot of land and so on, commoners send daily commodities and food like, for instance, small knives, clothes, pork and millet wine. Heirloom pots and glass beads, possessions valued most by Rukai people, are graded minutely according to individual name, design and history, and when a chief contracts a marriage, he will have to choose goods judged appropriate to the partner's status and rank as bridewealth.

In most cases the kinds and quantity of concrete objects the man's party actually sends to the woman are selected in conformity with the status difference between both partners. Roughly speaking, a small quantity of trifling goods will be transferred when a man is of higher status than the woman and a large sum of valuables will be provided when he is of lower status. If he intends to propose to a woman of undoubtedly higher position, he must present her with particularly valuable articles. They are called *sakiramau* and mean "articles offered in self-depreciation." The man has to display these goods at the outset to the woman and her parents. If they feel dissatisfied and refuse to receive them, the marriage cannot be successfully contracted. Seen at large, it is certain that the heavy burden of transferring bridewealth can operate to restrain the frequent occurrence of marriages for social promotion and to maintain the hierarchical status order of this society. However, items and amounts of bridewealth to be transferred in each marriage are not clearly proscribed. The selection depends, in principle, upon consultation and negotiations of the individual concerned. Consequently, among chiefs and other persons holding high status, a trend

to raise the amount of bridewealth in order to gain face is seen. Sometimes they admit themselves that bridewealth among chiefs is exorbitant and too gorgeous.

It will be clear from the above description that in Rukai society bridewealth assumes important meaning not as economic compensation for the loss of a daughter, but as symbol for the status of both marriage partners. Its economic value cannot be overestimated when considering the fact that the assets have to be transferred from the man's side to the woman's even in case of the bridegroom marrying into his wife's family. In short, a man is under obligation to offer bridewealth reckoned appropriate to the status difference between him and his marital partner. At the same time, the nature of the bridewealth indicates publicly whether the status of two persons is equal or unequal. That is why people have a keen interest in bride-wealth and often use diplomacy in negotiations with the other party.

Modes of Postmarital Residence

In Rukai society virilocal norm prevails for couples after marriage: that is, a wife must move into her husband's home and reside under the same roof with his natal family. However, for one or two years following the wedding, every couple will reside temporarily at the home of the wife's family, and, therefore, the rule of postmarital residence should be called uxori-virilocal or initially uxorilocal. The transitional period as such is prone to bring some unstable factors into married life and often causes mutual discord and trouble between the husband's and the wife's relatives.

This kind of uxori-virilocal marriage is, however, only practiced when a male successor of the family, an eldest son in principle, has married. If the husband is not a successor, the couple will go to live with the wife's family or the husband's for the time being and then establish their new household: namely, uxori-neolocal or viri-neolocal residence occurs. Further, some couples choose to reside uxori-locally from the outset. This form of marriage is called *moalungutsu*

and regarded as humiliating for the Rukai man. Uxorilocal marriage actually takes place, for instance, when a man of low status wishes to contract a marriage for social promotion. In this way the man and his kin can lessen the amount of bridewealth, whereas the woman does not need to move into her husband's home. As many individuals have these expectations upon marriage, there is, in spite of the prevailing virilocal norm, the option of residing uxori locally. In Budai, actual examples of uxori local marriages are striking among the chief's female kin.

Village-exogamous Marriages

It is well-known that Rukai chiefs and their siblings prefer to form marital connections with chiefs of other villages, or sometimes with Paiwan and Puyuma chiefs. Until the era before the Japanese established their rule over the Rukai area, those marriage bonds had the diplomatic function of creating politico-military alliances among villages. Under the circumstances without an inclusive polity, marriage networks to connect the villages functioned as needle and thread to repair rips among opposing political units.

Village-exogamous marriages can be contracted, as a matter of course, providing that man and woman are of well-matched status. However, it is not adequate to define them simply as isogamous marriages, for the chiefs of each village are also subtly ranked in people's estimation and they tend to make an issue of minute differences in ranking when contracting a marriage. The rank of a chief usually determined by considering various factors like history and migration routs of the village he resides in, his political power, distinguished bravery in the past and so on. For instance, a Budai male informant says that the chiefs of highest rank among Rukai society are those holding real power in the old villages of Taronak, Kochapongan and Dadel. But this may be his personal view and not more. In Rukai society where "marked village-centric notions always prevent an inter-village agreement" (Kasahara 1988:83),

people's estimation of a chief's rank will vary with different villages and times. Although each chief wishes to take a spouse judged appropriate to his rank from the other village, there is no assurance that the marriage will be profitable for him. It is for this reason that chiefs nervously contrive elaborate stratagems on the occasion of making a village-exogamous marriage contract.

Another issue to be discussed in relation to village-exogamy is how people think of interethnic marriages. Before the era of Japanese occupation when the present conceptual boundary of an ethnic group, the Rukai, was shaped, which villages would people regard as of the same ethnos? For instance, Budai informants say that among the lower three villages, lumped together as Rukai at present, Budai had marital relations with Kongadavan and Torulkan, but none with Oponuhu. Were Budai and Oponuhu villagers mutually regarding the other party as a foreign ethnos? Or, did politico-military antagonism prevent them from forming marital relationships? When examining a detailed list of "villages with marital relationships" and "villages with hostile relationships" detailed for each separate village in the Report on the Aborigines (Formosa, Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs 1938), it will be found that inter-villager relations of the past are too complicated to understand on the basis of present ethnic boundaries. "Interethnic marriages" not only reflect the high ranks of the chiefs, but provide some important clues to shed light on the formation of the Rukai ethnic identity.

IV. The Process of Contracting a Marriage

Rukai customs relating to the process of a marriage contract have already been described in several ethnographic studies (Kojima and Kobayashi 1920; Sayama 1920; Masuda 1942; Lin 1965, Hsieh 1967; Shih 1976; Hsu 1986; Yamaji 1991). So I will mention here only their main points with special reference to the negotiations between the man's and the woman's parties.

Premarital Associations

Association of unmarried adolescent men and women is strictly restrained in this society. They may not walk about as a couple and speak to each other familiarly in the presence of others. A single young woman is not permitted to expose her legs and smile at men, except her father and brothers. On the whole, these social controls tend to apply more strictly to women than men and to persons of high status than those of low status. The everyday conduct of the chief's and/or his near kin's daughters is watched by their parents at all times.

In spite of those restrains, however, it is not unusual for unmarried men and women to fall deeply in love with each other. Some men will even boast of their frequent relations with many women. When sexual relations between an unmarried man and woman come to light, they are scolded for their immoral conduct, but no punishment is imposed on them. Even if a child is born out of wedlock, a man can, if he wishes, recognize the child as his own by bestowal of some gifts, without marrying the mother. This custom is called *sy-a-lalak* (Kasahara 1990:20).

Selecting of a Marriage Partner

When selecting a partner, factors such as age and the forbidden sphere of marriage are taken into consideration, besides the partner's status and rank. A man usually marries for the first time at about twenty years and a woman at about eighteen or so in this society. Prohibition of intermarriage with close kin seems to extend bilaterally to include second cousins. Relatives within this sphere are mutually referred to as *la-ma-taka-taka* (where *la* signifies plural, *ma* means mutual, and *taka* stands for elder sibling), and they are forbidden not only to marry, but to have sexual relations with each other.

To what extent the wish of the person concerned is respected in selecting a marriage partner, varies from case to case. It can be said roughly that his or her wish is liable to be respected in case of a

marriage between persons of low status, whereas the intention of the parents and relatives override his or her wish if a partner is selected for a person of high status. A man and a woman of commoner stock may make up their mind to marry by their own agreement. The parents of both sides simply consent to the decision of their son or daughter. On the contrary, when a son or daughter of a chief or his near kin select a marriage partner, the intervention of the parents will become striking, for their determination to keep up appearances and obtain a large amount of bridewealth is foremost in their thoughts. On the occasion of a village-exogamous marriage, this attitude of parents and other relatives is even more pronounced and there is little room for the wish of the individual concerned. A woman who married into her husband's family in Budai remarked retrospectively that she had never seen her husband's face before the wedding day. Not a few women seem to share this kind of experience.

Negotiations about Bridewealth

During the term extending from the betrothal to the wedding the antagonistic atmosphere between the man's and the woman's parties reaches a climax, for the expectations of each side to contract a marriage in favorable terms, materialize in the negotiations for the transference of bridewealth. On many occasions the woman's side takes the initiative in negotiations for, as a male informant in Budai indicated, "The woman's side is always active, the man's side passive." Some instances will be described below, keeping a village-endogamous, virilocal marriage in mind.

After both parties come to an agreement to contract, the man's parents designate a proper male figure as a matchmaker and request him to send some simple gifts like firewood, millet wine, millet cakes and so on to the woman's house. The woman's family welcomes him with open arms and holds a small banquet. This occasion is called *tuasiasi-laganu*, which corresponds to the betrothal ceremony. An

influential man is usually asked to become a matchmaker, *marudan* in the Rukai term (which also means an elder), whether he is a kinsman or not. He acts as a go-between of the man's and the woman's parties. However, if some trouble or the crisis of breaking off an engagement has occurred, he does not have the enough power to settle the dispute.

Before and after this ceremony, the man's relatives begin to prepare possessions to be transferred as bridewealth. The man himself and his parents supply the bulk of the bridewealth and kinsmen and kinswomen of a certain degree of relationship may back them up.

When the man's parents have made all necessary preparations, they invite the woman's mother and female kin to their house. The purpose of this invitation is to request the woman's side to appraise the displayed valuables. Rukai people call this occasion *paarulu*. The man's side will make the most of the opportunity or *paarulu* to show off their sumptuous bridewealth and take a haughty attitude toward the woman's party, whereas the latter cannot but stare at it silently and leave the man's house. But the attitude of the woman's kin undergoes a complete change after returning home. Many kinfolk gather in a room to examine the goods the man's party offered and sit in judgment over them. On that occasion they not only express great dissatisfaction with content and amount of the bridewealth, but unanimously denounce the male partner, on grounds of his low status, his habitual wrong-doing, controversies and misdeeds his forebears formerly caused, and so forth. They do so, because they intend to acquire more goods by conveying their dissatisfaction and censure, directly or indirectly, to the man's party. This demand of an addition will be persistently repeated, even if the man's kin gradually add supplements to the original bridewealth. In spite of being insulted in this way, however, the man and his kin do not dare to retort openly. They perceive it to be reasonable behavior and are seemingly meek in the face of unreasonable demands. If the situation

takes a critical turn, there are a few drastic measures left as a last resort for the man's party. For instance, they can throw the other party into confusion by hinting to break off the engagement. Actually, up to now, many marriages seem to have failed at this stage of negotiations on bridewealth. Needless to say, situations like this will not only drive the man's party into a tight corner, but also hurt the pride of the woman's party. This is the reason why people always lay great emphasis upon technical skill in the conduct of negotiations with the other party.

Wedding

The principal parts of a Rukai wedding ceremony consist of the arrival of bridewealth carried by many young men to the bride's house, the showy banquet held to receive the guests, the round-dance in which a large number of men and women in their folk costumes participate, and so on. Each of these features does not simply celebrate a couple's start to a new life, but display publicly the prestige of the bride's and the bridegroom's families. Of course, the luxury of the wedding will vary according to the status of the parties concerned. How deeply the chief and his kin are emotionally involved in the display of their bridewealth cannot be discussed on an equal plane with the less concerned attitude of the commoners toward the transfer of goods. Despite these variations, however, a wedding ceremony in Rukai society is without distinction of chiefs and commoners an opportunity to gratify fully the vanity of the parties concerned.⁴

Some preceding studies on Rukai marriage customs indicated that some aspects of ritual behavior symbolized the strained rela-

⁴ Among the Paiwan, there is a custom of ritual swinging called *tiuma* at a chief's wedding. So when a marriage is contracted between a Rukai and a Paiwan, the swing is added as an entertainment to the wedding ceremony, irrespective of whether the bride in Paiwan or Rukai.

tions between the bride's and the bridegroom's sides at the wedding more dramatically and vividly in the past (Kojima and Kobayashi 1920; Sayama 1920; Lin 1965; Hsieh 1967; Shih 1976). For example, there was a scene when the bride pretended to escape. The bridegroom and his companions had to comb the village for her and often grappled with her kinswomen and friends who would posture to protect her. In another scene one of the bridegroom's male friends carried the crying, resisting bride off on his back. Because this ritual behavior was enacted true to life, it is small wonder that many outsiders misunderstood it for customary capture of the bride by sheer force. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the Japanese colonial administration enforced the abolishment of the custom of "marriage by capture" in the 1930's. Irrespective of whether people faithfully obeyed that order or not, it is certain that the disappearance of the dramatic aspects of the Rukai marriage ceremony dates to those days.

After the Wedding

During the term of residence at the wife's natal home after the wedding, a practice called *kia-tolupung* represents the instability of married life. The wife slips out of the house intentionally and does not return until her husband is obliged to provide some gifts for her. This practice can be regarded as a kind of ritual divorce. It is considered greatly honorable, if she can stage this temporary escape successfully. A Rukai wife often behaves capriciously in her married life even after she moves into her husband's home. When she squabbles with her husband over a trivial matter, she tends to return to her parents' home and requests some gift as a proof of his contrition. It can be assumed that an unstable relationship between a husband and his wife continues over a long period of their married life.

After one or two years are spent at the wife's home, husband and wife have to move into the husband's home by mutual agreement. This is a custom called *kia-mala* (where *kia* signifies the passive and

mala means literally to take away). The wife tries to delay this event by all means and is persuaded again and again to make up her mind to move by her husband who wishes to live at his natal home as soon as possible. This persuasion sometimes takes time, for the wife finds a lot of various pretexts for refusal. Although the wife keeps refusing to move, eventually there is nothing for her but to obey her husband's will. In this society the term of uxorilocal residence exists as a mere step in the passage toward a stable married life.

A wife usually takes her dowry, *pasia-lowi* in the Rukai term, with her to her husband's home at the time when the first child is born, because the marriage bond is considered very brittle before the birth of a first child. Although the composition of the dowry will vary according to the wife's natal status, it includes generally articles like ornaments, tableware, clothes and baby's necessities. One further item which should not be overlooked is a handful of millet seeds called *pasia-uap*, which is mixed with seeds of the husband's home to confirm the final union of the married couple. It will be noted here that millet seed or *uap* does not only metaphorically represent the heir of each family, as mentioned earlier, but also symbolize the stabilized state of marriage and the continuation of each familial unit over generations that resulted from the birth of first child.

V. Conclusion: Marriage in a Changing Environment

In this article Rukai marriage customs have thus far been described mainly with an eye toward their past state, in order to depict them as a coherent system. But, needless to say, there is a defect in this description, because it disregards ongoing changes of marriage customs. In the following part, I wish to discuss briefly some changes with reference to the transfiguration in the hierarchical order of this society.

Since the establishment of Japanese colonial rule over the

mountain regions at the beginning of the twentieth century, Rukai chiefs have experienced a progressive decline of authority in all villages. The Japanese officers forbade them to collect tributes from commoners and confined their actual powers within narrow limits. A more remarkable decline, however, commenced after World War II. The changing political environment, including the introduction of a local self-government system, the spread of school education, increased opportunities for employment in towns, the completion of transportation networks, and other factors, operated not only to weaken the chief's authority, but also to shake the very hierarchical order of this society at large. The number of young men and women moving to towns in order to be free from old conventions increased. Commoners who have become somewhat well-off no longer obey the chief's orders readily. Secretly some commoners even ridicule the ruined chiefs.

Against the background of a weakening of the hierarchical social order, the marriage contract provides an important basis to check its complete collapse (Kasahara 1988:84). People's preference for isogamy can, no matter what their real intentions may be, certainly work to maintain the frame of the hierarchical status system. Rukai chiefs still like to marry their sons or daughters to someone of equal status and rank in other villages. Similarly, commoners do not dare to contract marriages outside their old status system, insofar they intend to make a living in their natal villages. In sum, the principle of selecting a spouse judged appropriate to each person's status still lingers on, or rather it should be said that people have come to concentrate their attentions especially on the selection of a marriage partner as the other functions of the hierarchical status system have become weak in everyday contexts.

Most marriage customs, except for the selection of a spouse, have changed greatly. As already mentioned, several dramatic elements of the marriage ceremony have disappeared long ago. On the contrary, special services in church were newly added after the

war. The custom of residing temporally at the wife's natal home after the wedding does not exist nowadays. Young men and women of today do not even know that there was such a practice in the past. While chiefs and those around them persist in their deep attachment to bridewealth in the shape of glass beads or heirloom pots, others prefer to give and take cash. But scenes of tenacious negotiations about bridewealth repeated between the man's and the woman's parties remain unchanged. The banquet for entertaining the wedding guests seems to have become more luxurious on the whole.

Finally, I wish to make two additional remarks about the connection between marriage and status hierarchy. First, some people who have hitherto been regarded as descendants of *ta-agi-agi* or commoners of high rank began to proclaim themselves as chiefs or *talyalalai* in recent years. This kind of phenomenon can be called "an inflation of chiefs." In view of a slackening of the hierarchical order, they have set about to device new strategies for effecting social promotion. The most efficacious means of attaining their purpose would be by selection of a spouse, that is to say, marriage. Chiang (1983:34-37) described and analyzed skillfully an actual example of such a stratagem for status promotion in his study on a Paiwan village. Similar schemes to obtain the prestige of equal rank to chiefs by manipulating marriage and genealogy have also appeared in one part of Rukai society, and often give rise to suspicion and discord among the villagers.

Secondly, cases of marriage between Rukai and Han people, or intermarriage with town-bred fellow Rukai have remarkably increased in number. Among these marriages, the former do not conflict directly with the hierarchical regulation of Rukai society, because the status difference between both persons concerned is out of question in this case, whereas the latter is sometimes apt to result in a serious infraction of the old social order. Young Rukai men and women who were born and brought up in towns are usually ignorant of, or indifferent to, their positions in the hierarchical status system,

and therefore, will not consider whether their marriage contracts are appropriate in status and rank or not. Their parents will not dare to make objections to the marriages of their sons and daughters, even though they consider them to be inappropriate. Parents do not put their feelings into words for they know only too well that their children will not come back again to live in their home village. In this context I should quote an old Rukai man, “not a mere change of marriage customs, but a loss of their meaning has occurred.”

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