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礼与情

——一个白族村落人神交往之馈赠礼俗的教育解读

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谨以此书献给辞世多年却常令我于更深夜静忆起当年
而泪流满面的外婆王家凤女士

LITTING — YIGERBAIZICUNLTORENSHENJIAOWANGZHUKUIZEENGLISUDEJIAOYUJIEDU



序

背苍山，面洱海，数千年来白族人在苍山洱海下、万顷膏腴之地，生长繁衍，创造了独特灿烂的文明。研究这块土地上生长的人，何以能创造这样的文明，不是一句话两句话，用单一的方法、取单一的视角可以回答的。这块土地，如此广袤，如此丰饶，四周有雪域青藏，有农耕深厚的蜀汉，有热情奔放而多元的诸种少数民族文化，有异域他邦的各种文明，这块土地上的民族，几千年来何以与周边的民族和睦共处，何以让自己的民众凝聚发展，靠的是什么？文明如何传承？这些问题，不仅会让每一个到此地观光旅游的客人感到好奇而提出来，更让生于斯长于斯，长期研究白族文化的学者们困惑，力图去解开这诸多的疑团，而取什么视角至关重要。

这块土地周边的民族，论剽悍，有驰马纵横千里雪域之岭的，可谓是游牧民族横扫天下的精锐；论博大精深、民富国强，军纪与战力皆立于世界之林的，有汉地庞大的汉唐王朝；论来无影去无踪、出没迅速、反应勇猛多变的，有周边诸多虽小但出手如雷电的少数民族。于是，凭武力能否横扫这一切强敌，厘定自己的路子，历史证明做不到。被人家征服，甘居人下，仰人鼻息，且不说自主独立丧失殆尽，其文明、文化发展的传统断裂，无以为继，这又是任何一个民族所不能接受的。那么，与各自的文明、与各自的强敌和睦共处，又保持自主，又互通有无，又互利互惠，便成了白族人的选择。于是，各种文化怎么能任其来，但又不辱其魂，又不丧其志，又不竭其力，这便是白族人在数千年中做到的，能与如林的强者相安无事，并能互通有无，和睦共处、共同发展成为关键。

罗利群从其所选的视角，人类学的 fieldwork 出发，广泛考察了白族的各种风俗，尤把注意力摆在馈赠礼俗方面，而馈赠礼俗的考察，除过年过节集中的以外，还考察非年节的、日常的、浸透在生活方方面面的各种馈赠，继

而寻求其背后的教育意义，并从中解读教育，阐释教育，探寻其教育及本质，也就是试图由此找到白族文化为什么能几千年如此传承问题的答案。虽然她取的点是西中村，但她的考察可谓已涵盖白族人整个的馈赠礼俗。

在她的考察中，有阿吒力教妈妈会，有龙奶奶庙，有龟山上的老君庙，有路神、门神，有本主庙，有文昌宫，有山神庙、土地庙，有龙王树下的供奉这些原生宗教，有祖宗，有孤魂野鬼，有火把节，有各种婚丧嫁娶、生老病死。凡此种种，足以表明白族文化的兼收并蓄。比如，阿吒力教是从汉唐的时候，尤其是唐传入云南的印度佛教密教的一支，至今剑川石钟山诸多堪称国宝的石窟都是阿吒力教的遗存，剑川如今还保有阿吒力教的各种痕迹。这种唐时从异域传来的典型的外来文明、外来文化，居然到现在还保留在白族的村寨里。再如文昌宫，是典型的儒教科举制的遗存，这样的东西，在汉族地区已几乎荡然无存，可在白族地区，在这样一个西中村的偏僻小村，还保存得十分完整。龙奶奶、龙王、龟山等是道教的，本主是白族的本民族原始宗教，观音是佛教大乘，北传佛教，井神、河神、桥神等等是典型的土生土长的自然崇拜，而火把节，是所有山地民族保留的祭祀的遗俗，白族、彝族、拉祜族等等，都过火把节，而中元节、春节，诸如此类的是典型的汉民族的中原习俗，凡此种种，通过罗利群细致、深入的考察，可见白族村落西中村这个典型案例，如何将各种文化、宗教融于自己的生活。

西中村至今保存的这些对神的祭祀——所谓的馈赠，实际上不仅仅是一个简单的对神的贿赂与对这些不可知的力量的迷信。在这个案例中，你能看到，从远古走来的白族几千年如何化各种强大的、外来的力量，集方方面面的东西，无论是宗教的，无论是世俗的，无论是政治的，无论是军事的，无论是文化的，无论是社会的，等等于此地的案例；能看到，一个不害己、不克己，而又能与各种外来文明相安共处，即我的能保存，人家的能共处，共同融合成一个大的文化文明，同时和睦发展，并数千年能够传承下来，这么一个案例。对此进行研究，是通过活的习俗的田野考察，人类学的研究来进行的。

解读一个文化，如何在其活的传承中，在馈赠的具体过程中实施教化，这样的研究罗利群做了不少，也完成了她的博士学位论文。应该说这个视角，可以补多视角切入、多途径研究的一些不足。要回答白族文明几千年如何认同，如何与周边民族、周边文化共处，其教育如何实现了有效的传承这么一

个大问题，不仅仅从学校，不仅仅从文献，更应该从田野、从山村、从活的习俗中去研究。这一点，罗利群可以说做了有益的尝试，当然要彻底回答，需要更加深入的研究，此研究还仅仅是开始，还有诸多不足，还需更进一步、更踏实、更深入，还需更广博地提升自己，打牢研究基础。但只要有这种踏实的深入研究的态度，有这个意向，有这样的努力，我相信不仅对这个问题的研究会更进一步，罗利群自身的发展也将在此中实现。我们其他学生的研究发展，也将在此中实现。罗利群书稿发行，希望我为之写序，以上所言聊以为序。

张诗亚

2011年8月5日于说乎斋

内容摘要

自从有了人类社会就开始有了教育，人创造了教育，在教育的发展过程中，人为了达到某些目的而使教育的本质逐渐被歪曲，进而被异化，异化了的教育继续培养人，人又被教育异化。教育形成的这个不合理但真实存在的链条，背后自有十分复杂的社会背景和原因，但从教育自身来看，则是教育“未能把持好自身应有的属性，失却了它原本应该有的、也是可能有的主体性、独立性和超越性”^①的问题，因此，在种种教育异化现象背后，教育究竟是什么，什么样的教育才是真正的教育，这个有关教育的本质问题，成为了笔者在本研究中欲致力于思考、探寻和试图回答的问题。

本研究之所以选择人神交往之馈赠礼俗进行教育解读，以管窥教育之本质，主要源于以下两点认识：

第一，马克思曾指出：“人的本质并不是单个人固有的抽象物。在其现实性上，它是一切社会关系的总和。”^②人的本质、功能不是孤立地在自己内部凭空地生长起来、单独地以自己的存在直观地表现出来的，人只有通过处理自己与外部世界的关系并在这种关系中才能存在。作为具体的个人，不过是在与历史、文化、自然、社会交往中的生命存在。在现代哲学视野中，交往是人与外部世界关系实际展开的基本的现实形式，是人存在的根本方式，是人的全部本质、功能形成和发展的根源和基础，同时又是人的本质、功能在对象性活动中表现、确证和实现的现实舞台。而以礼物为媒介的馈赠正是这一舞台的具体展演和实际表述，它已化为一种习俗，渗入到人们的无意识层面，作为一种生活方式而无处不在。作为一种“总体性社会事实”，正如莫斯

① 鲁洁：《教育的原点：育人》，载《华东师范大学学报》（教育科学版），2008（4）。

② [德] 马克思、[德] 恩格斯著，中共中央马克思恩格斯列宁斯大林著作编译局编译：《马克思恩格斯选集》（第1卷），18页，北京，人民出版社，1972。

所言，礼物能够“绽现出全部各种制度：宗教、法律、道德和经济”，^①因而从中可以洞察出社会运作的普遍性特点，推知一个社会文化的运作逻辑，所以通过人们看似无意实则对人类生活具有本质意义的礼物交换，我们其实可以透视约定俗成的馈赠礼俗对个人成长产生的根本影响。

第二，以胡塞尔为代表的现象学派认为，人不仅生活着，而且得为生活寻求力量。在人自己的力量与另一力量遭遇之处，宗教遂生。由于异己力量的无处不在，由于人为生活寻求力量的不可避免，因此宗教不可避免，无处不在。而且“宗教，任何一种形式的宗教，无论它是高级的或是低级的，都是人类精神生活中所有功能的基础。”^②可以说，宗教一经产生，便无处不在，便要作为一种生活方式而对人类的精神生活产生深远和持久的影响。在莫斯看来，礼物交换是宗教生活的基本形式，而以实践的视角来透视礼物交换这一宗教生活的基本形式，考察其对个人精神成长所具有的本质意义，并由此解读和阐释教育，探索教育之本质，迄今为止在研究领域中还处于空白。

本研究之所以选择白族村落西中村为研究个案，首先是因为历史上，洱海地区作为云南历史文化发展过程中的一个政治中心，见证了风云际会的五百年历史，在我国西南边疆历史上发挥过重要作用，而西中村所属的甸南一带，从南诏与唐王朝、吐蕃的争夺之地，到元世祖忽必烈征大理国时的驻蹕之地，始终处在“剑湖人”所开创的文明的核心地带，成为白族文化比较完整的保留之地。迄今为止，原始自然崇拜、本民族原始宗教、外来的人为宗教在这里同时并存，且彼此交织，互不排斥，多元宗教共生共荣，为研究人神交往之馈赠礼俗，并对其进行教育解读，提供了良好的基础和条件。

本研究的基本思路是：通过馈赠礼俗这一实践的视角对人神之间的交往进行教育人类学考察，借助教育解释学研究工具，对人神交往之馈赠礼俗进行教育解读，揭示人神交往中的教育，由此阐释教育，探寻教育及其本质。

为实现研究目的，研究以描述—解释为研究范式，综合运用了文献法、女性主义田野研究方法和解释学方法，并将研究内容分为了四个部分：一、描述西中村之习俗发生所依托的外部文化生态环境；二、对西中村人神交往

① [法] 马塞尔·莫斯著，汲喆译：《礼物：古式社会中交换的形式与理由》，4页，上海，上海人民出版社，2005。

② [美] 约翰·麦奎利著，高师宁、何光沪译：《二十世纪宗教思想》，271页，上海，上海人民出版社，1989。

之馈赠礼俗进行教育人类学考察；三、借助教育解释学工具对西中村人神交往之馈赠礼俗进行教育解读；四、阐释什么是教育，探寻教育的本质。

首先，本研究从自然环境以及社会环境，包括人口与行政简况、社会变迁与经济发展、社会分层及其近来的变化、宗教信仰等几方面对西中村的自然环境、社会环境状况给予描述，社会习俗的养成离不开特定的生存空间，特定的地域与社会结构环境为民族文化习俗的形成提供了基础和条件，对其进行描述是认识和理解当地馈赠礼俗文化并加以教育解读所必不可少的基础性环节。

其次，本研究将视线投入到西中村一年四季的家庭生活中，通过岁时节庆与非岁时节庆的馈赠两个方面，对西中村人神交往之馈赠礼俗进行考察，并通过祭祀活动中的祭祀对象、祭祀过程中馈赠者的态度、馈赠方式、方法和馈赠物品及其形成的馈赠体系，窥视西中村非岁时节庆人神交往之馈赠礼俗。

再次，本研究借助教育解释学研究工具，从教育要素之教育主体、教育情境、教育语言、教育行动四个方面，对人神交往之馈赠礼俗进行了教育解读，并对人神交往之馈赠礼俗对人的生存和发展可能产生的负面影响进行了审视。

以本研究的观点看，在专论意义及其理解的解释学的视野中，理解都是对某种意义的理解，而意义的理解总归是人在理解，是主体在理解，情境是主体（理解者）在场的情境，没有语言，意义无法生成，但语言的本质不是表达先前的某个东西，而是主体在行动中建立的一种合作关系，参与者各自的行动都被这种伙伴关系加以修正和调节，语言参与者就是社会行动者，意义就在他们的行动中生成，情境、语言、行动都因主体而关联，并最终生成意义，因而主体是意义生成过程中的核心要素。因此，通过对教育主体的透视，本研究发现，西中村在人与自然及人与人这两对关系的处理中，其主体都表现出一种“主体间（inter-subjective）”的关系。

从人与自然的关系看，在西中村，“人依附于自然”，天人混沌不分，其原始宗教和民族宗教表现出人们在认识上尚未把自己和自然界区分出来，特化出来，而是把人同自然界特别是同动物混同，其思维方式，是主客体混同的。

从西中村外来的人为宗教的情况看，其教育者与受教育者的界限并不清

晰，在这样的教育过程中，参与者都是理解者，都是经验的建构者，主持者和执行者并不以为自己在履行教育者的职能，而所谓的受教育者也不以为自己在接受教育，所有的参与者都是主体，教育即在一种参与者的主体间性中而得以完成。

从社会性别角度看，在西中村，其教育语言中所蕴含的以“母”为大为本意识，颠覆了传统社会性别在文化和权力建构中的不对称、不平等的关系，打破了长期以来人们所形成的有关男女性别的刻板印象，把男女两性从刻板印象的封闭系统中解放出来，恢复人们简化了的社会知觉，从而使社会性别关系达到了一种更加对称、平等与和谐的状态，也使主体间形成一种自由与平等的关系成为可能。

西中村人类个体发展的“主体间性”，是个体生命的共在性要求，个体生命的共在性，要求生命个体之间必须具有“主体间”的关系。只有确立生命个体的主体间性，才能避免主体的“我”把自然或他人当做客体，作为手段和工具，实现“我”的目的，才能消解“主体”在客体面前的霸权，消除主体对客体的支配和统治，才能既使每个人成为平等的自由人，又使人与人之间结成一个“自由联合体”。人类个体的“主体间性”是其生命本然的要求，是对“监禁”在主体性中的异化生命的解放，因此，主体间性是生命个体的又一本质。

本研究通过描述、考察和分析与阐释几个环节，对人神交往中的教育进行了揭示，在研究的最后部分，追溯了前人对教育之本质所给予的思辨，并从根源上对宗教的产生及其功能进行了推究，同时又将礼物馈赠——宗教生活的基本形式——所给予的教育解读进行了理论上升和总结，综合几方面的结果得出了本研究的最终结论——教育即生命之涌现。随后，本研究对民族教育的社会责任与使命及今后进一步努力的方向进行了思考。

本研究以人神交往之馈赠礼俗为对象，以白族村落西中村为个案，从实践的视角出发对教育进行了阐释，尝试对教育究竟是什么，也即教育的本质——什么是真正的教育给予了回答，并基于此，对民族教育的社会责任进行了思考。这一研究获得的结论与思考，毕竟只是一个个案研究的结果，教育是开放的阐释，每个人都有权给予自己的理解和回答，教育究竟是什么，尚需在后续研究中通过更多的案例加以验证与阐释，才能作出更完满的回答。

Abstract

Education for human beings has come into existence since the beginning of human society on earth. Human beings created education. However, the essence of education has been gradually distorted or even dissimilated in the evolutionary process for some narrow motives. As a result, the dissimilated education has exerted its influence upon human beings and thus human beings have been dissimilated. There exists complicated social factors and reasons behind the unreasonable yet virtual phenomenon. From the viewpoints of education itself, the main reason lies in the fact that that education failed to seize the prosperity of subjectivity, independence, and transcendence. According to those educational dissimulation phenomena, the author tries to look into the essence of education, and to answer the question of what education is, or what kind of education we really need.

The reason why this study is devoted to the educational interpretation based on the gift-presenting custom of communication between man and deity so as to look into the essence of education is as follows:

As Marx once stated, "The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In reality it is the ensemble of the social relations". Human being can prove its own existence to form the human essence and function only through a reciprocal exchange with the alienated surroundings rather by human being itself. In effect, an individual exists in historical, cultural, natural, and social interaction. In modern philosophical view, interaction is a basic realistic form coming into effects between human being and the external world. Interaction is the fundamental way of human existence and also the origin and basis of the formation in human essence, function or even the human development. Also, it is a realistic platform for human

essence and its function to come into effects. Gift-presenting is a specific role on the platform and has deepened into our life style and subconsciousness as a custom. As a “Total social fact”, as Marcel Mauss said, “it is an activity that has implications throughout society, in the economic, legal, political, and religious spheres”, and by this means, the distinguishing feature of social operation can be penetrated, and the operational logic of social culture can be deduced. Based on the gift-exchange which has been ignored but still comes into effects fundamentally, people will have a deep understanding of the fundamental effects on individuals because of this convention.

Edmund Husserl as one of the representatives of Phenomenalist School believes that people do not only live on earth, but also try to seek the natural power. Religion was born in the contradiction of human ability and natural power. Religion is unavoidable among human lives because of the alien forces and the action of seeking natural power for livelihood in people's daily lives. And “religion, whatever form and however superior or inferior, forms the basis of all functions in people's spiritual life”. Meanwhile, from the very beginning of its emergence, the religion is ubiquitous and will exert far-reaching and ever-lasting influence on people's spiritual life as a way of life. In Marcel Mauss' view, gift exchange is a basic form of religious life. Thus, observing the significance of the basic form's impact on individuals' mental development from the perspective of practice and interpreting the essence of education is still a new research area so far.

The reason why the author chooses Xizhong village in a Bai-inhabited district as the site of a case is that the area was a political center and played a very important role at the region of Ehai Lake in the historical and cultural development of Yunnan Province. For the past 500 years, this area has witnessed the changing environment and surroundings. Diannan, as part of Xizhong village, is an area where exists culture of Bai ethnic groups. And it was also the central region of “Jianhu civilization” and was regarded as the strategic area by the State of Nanzhao, Tibetan kingdom and Tang Dynasty in Chinese history. Meanwhile, it was also the stopover place for Kublai Khan of Yuan Dynasty in China. In this area, primitive worship for nature, primitive religion of Bai ethnic group, and the external manipulated religion coexists and interrelated. The phenomenon lays a foundation for the research on the etiquette

and custom of gift exchange and interpretation of education.

The research plan in this paper is as follows: To give an educational anthropological study of communication between human and deity from the perspective of practice based on gift-presenting exchange. By means of education explanation study, it aims to give an educational interpretation of gift-presenting custom in perspective of communication between man and deity. Based on this, the author tries to interpret what education is and then what the educational essence is.

According to the describing-interpretation paradigm, combined with literature study, fieldwork of cultural anthropology from the feminism view and hermeneutic study, the paper is composed of four parts:

A: a description of the environment of cultural ecology around Xizhong village custom.

B: an educational anthropological study of the gift-presenting custom in perspective of communication of man and deity in Xizhong village.

C: an educational interpretation by means of education explanation study on the communication of man and deity in Xizhong village.

D: an explanation of what education is and a discovery of the essence of education.

First, according to natural environment, social settings, overview of administration, social changes, the development of economy, social stratification, religious faith and those changes recently in Xizhong village, the paper gives a detailed description of the natural environment and social settings. The description is a fundamental link to know and interpret the gift-presenting custom in this area. The reason is that the formation of ethnic group's custom is based on the special social settings and structure.

Second, this paper focuses on the families in Xizhong village. By reviewing the festival and non-festival gift-presenting custom, sacrificial activities, gift givers' attitude, gift-presenting procedure, gift itself, and all gift exchanging system, this paper tries to reveal the gift-presenting custom from the perspective of communication of man and deity in non-festival days.

Third, by means of education explanation study, the paper gives an interpretation of the gift-presenting custom from the perspective of communication between man

and deity, and a further analysis of potential negative impacts on human survival and development for the gift-presenting custom from the perspective of the communication of man and deity, all of which are based on the four elements: educational subject, educational settings, educational language, educational action.

In view of this study and from the perspective of monograph and its understanding of hermeneutics, understanding means the comprehension of meaning or significance, which exactly refers to human or subjects' understanding. The situations mean the subjects or the knower' situations. The meaning can't be generated without words. The essence of language refers to the relationship created by subjects' practices rather than an expression of previous things. The practices of these subjects are adjusted by the partnerships, and meanings are generated in the practices by the words practioners, also names social practioners. The situations, words, and practices generate meanings because of the interrelation of subjects. Thus, the subjects are the essential elements in the formation of meaning.

By reviewing the educational subjects, the study that there exists an "inter-subjective" relationships among the subjects in dealing with each other and the nature.

On the relationship between human being and nature, "Heaven and man combining into one" and the mixture of heaven and man are the typical feature in Xizhong village. People are still unable to distinguish themselves from the nature since they have been influenced by primitive religion and ethnic religion.

On the external manipulated religion, there is no distinguishing boundaries between educator and educatees. In the educational process, the practioners are not only practitioners, but also the meaning constructors. The worshipping hosts or the practitioners unaware that they played the functions of educators while the so-called educatees lack of the awareness that they are receiving education. All the practitioners are subjects of education which is accomplished in the "inter-subjective" relations.

On the social gender, the "women-oriented" idea exists in the implication of the local language which has subverted the asymmetric relations of the culture and authority in accordance with our traditional social gender conception. Also, it frees the men and women from the gender stereotypes which exists for a long time, and restores people's simplified social perception. The breakthrough further makes it pos-

sible to reach a symmetric, equal, and harmonious state, and an unstricted and equal relationship of inter-subjects.

In Xizhong village, the inter-subjectivity of individual development is the group-living basis of individuals. The group-living characteristics of individuals require individual “me” of viewing nature and the other people as objectified tools and means so as to accomplish something. Only in this way can the supremacy and domination which exists in subject-object relations be dissolved. All individuals come to a “unity of freedom” where everyone shares freedom and equality. The “inter-subjectivity” of individuals is a fundamental requirement of lives and also the release of alienated lives which has been “imprisoned” in subjects. So, inter-subjectivity is another essence of individuals.

The study gives an educational interpretation of the gift-presenting custom by means of description, investigation and analysis step by step. In the last part of the paper, this study comes to its conclusion: education is the germination of lives, which is based on the review of former speculation on the essence of education, the analysis of the roots and functions of religion, and theoretical summary of educational interpretation on gift-presenting custom—the fundamental way of religious life. At last, the study reflects social responsibility and mission, and research direction of ethnic education.

The paper tries to answer the question on what education is, what the essence of education is, and what the true education is in viewpoint of practices based on gift-presenting custom in perspective of communication between human and deity—a case study in Xizhong of Bai-inhabited village. And at last, the paper further reflects the social responsibility of religious education. The interpretation of education is an open field and everyone is able to interpret it according to their own understanding. Since the conclusion and its reflection are based on a case study, more cases and interpretations are needed to discover the essence of education. Only in that way can the understanding of education be perfected in some measure.

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