



当代

基诺社会

研究

A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY JINUO SOCIETY



吴应辉 著
云南大学出版社

序

吴应辉同志是我指导的第一个国内博士，也是一个以西南民族为研究方向的民族学学者。他的著作《当代基诺社会研究》即将问世，嘱我写序，我熟悉他，也熟悉这本书稿，因为这本书是在其博士论文的基础上修改而成的，故乐而为之。

这是一本基诺族研究方面颇具学术价值和应用价值的专著，云南省教委学术著作出版基金评审委员会将其评为 1998 年云南省唯一全额资助出版的社科类书稿，可谓独具慧眼。其学术价值和应用价值主要表现在以下五个方面：

首先，对于民族学研究来说，最为重要的是田野调查，通过田野调查搜集大量第一手资料作为研究的主要依据。应辉在这一方面做得很好。为撰写本书，从 1995 年到 2000 年，他前后五次到云南西双版纳基诺族聚居区作田野调查，走遍了基诺族聚居的山山水水，村村寨寨。共调查了基诺乡全部 45 个村寨中的 42 个、勐旺乡的全部 4 个基诺族聚居村寨和勐养镇的一个基诺族与其他民族杂居的村寨，累计调查时间约半年，获取了大量第一手资料，因而，本书资料较新，详实可靠，可供他人研究基诺族时参考。

第二，本书在理论方面有创新和突破，书中提炼出基诺族研究方面前人未能涉及的一些新观点和理论，如“基诺经济的二元结构问题”、“基诺文化的多元性及其分区”、“基诺模式”、“低起点民族高速发展论”等，从具体分析中升华出蕴涵的理论。

第三，以往基诺族研究方面的著述多偏重于历史和传统文化的研究，本书正如书名所示，突出了对当代基诺社会的研究。书

中对经济问题、农民生活、文化问题、社会问题的研究均以作者自己的第一手田野调查材料为基础，紧扣“当代”这一主题，对现实问题进行了较深入剖析，如对生产要素残缺、农民收支、经济社会发展水平与小康标准对照、传统文化快速变迁、人口流动、生态保护与农民利益关系、近亲婚恋、道德滑坡、文明社区建设等问题的研究都很有针对性，对基诺经济社会的健康发展具有较强的参考价值，因而，这本书也具有较强的应用价值。

第四，民族学应该为被研究民族的发展现实服务，然而，民族学如何走出书斋为现实服务却是民族学研究工作者一直在探索、追求解决的问题，此书是这种探索的一个成功实例，将对今后我国民族学研究 with 民族发展现实的紧密结合产生积极影响。

第五，本书对当代基诺社会进行的综合性研究，是前人尚未进行过的，将国内外基诺族研究又向前推进了一步，因而，这本书将成为未来基诺族研究不可或缺的重要参考文献。

是书对当代基诺社会的研究尚有一些有待进一步深入的方面，如对勐旺乡的基诺族的调查研究还不够全面，对基诺语言的研究基本没有涉及，对基诺传统文化的研究也还有待深入，等等。但瑕不掩瑜，无关宏旨。

应辉还年轻，而且英语颇好，希望能在我国西南民族和西方民族学、文化人类学理论方面多做些研究，为中国民族学研究和学科建设多做贡献。

邵献书

2000年5月6日

于北京中央民族大学

前 言

基诺族是迄今为止我国最晚确认的一个单一民族。20 世纪 50 年代初期，基诺族仍处于原始社会末期向阶级社会过渡的农村公社阶段，而到 90 年代中期，其经济社会发展水平已跃居我国少数民族的先进行列。纵观 40 余年来的发展历程可以发现，其经济具有低起点高速度增长的特点；教育、科技、卫生、能源、交通、通讯等社会发展的重要方面均取得了飞跃性进步；传统文化亦在快速变迁。总之，与中国西南 20 世纪 50 年代初期处于同一起跑线上，即保存着原始公社制及其浓厚残余的其他民族相比，基诺族的经济社会发展取得了突出成绩，其发展之路具有典型示范性。

近年来，笔者一直在构想对我国西南从原始公社制及其浓厚残余一步跨越到社会主义的低起点民族，进行一个社会变迁的系列研究。既研究其发展历程又研究其现实状况，希望能从中发现一些规律性的东西。若能有所收获，不仅对所研究的民族本身有价值，对我国的其他低起点民族亦有借鉴意义，而且对全世界的低起点民族，尤其是原始民族的发展有一定的参考价值。《当代基诺社会研究》是笔者拟进行的低起点民族社会变迁系列研究的第一个课题“基诺社会变迁”的一个子课题。本课题的学术意义在于，首先，对中国民族学、人类学来说，可以填补对基诺族进行综合性、系统性研究的空白；第二，对于世界民族学、人类学来说，基诺社会和传统文化的快速变迁问题、传统文化中保留的原始遗迹等都是十分难得的研究素材，具有较高的学术研究意义；第三，从对基诺族现代化进程的深入研究，探索原始族群现

代化过程中的一些规律性的东西也是具有一定的学术价值的。从现实意义方面看，对当代基诺社会进行综合性、系统性的研究，一方面对基诺族来说可以总结其发展历程中的经验和教训，有利于其未来的健康发展；另一方面，对中国乃至世界的其他低起点民族亦具有一定的借鉴意义，基诺经济与社会的高速发展对这些民族来说是一面旗帜，而其优秀传统文化的快速变迁乃至消失又是一面镜子，一种教训。因而本课题亦具有较强的现实意义。

在理论指导与研究方法方面，本课题以马克思主义的辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义为理论指导，并适当借鉴西方的一些相关理论用于解释和说明基诺社会的一些新现象、新问题。笔者坚信，民族学、人类学发展的基础不在书斋而在田野，没有扎实的田野调查，很难取得具有现实意义与学术意义的真正发现。我很赞同毛泽东说过的一句话：“没有调查就没有发言权。”为使自己对当代基诺社会有一定的发言权，并期盼着能在前人发现的基础上能有新的发现，笔者选择了以田野调查为主的研究方法，并以此为基础，借鉴体质人类学、统计学、社会学、经济学、人口学、历史学、宗教学等多学科的材料和方法，对当代基诺社会的经济、生活、文化和社会问题进行实事求是的分析研究，作出解释和说明，总结出有规律性的东西，并提出建议和设想。

在田野调查和资料准备方面，笔者先后于1995年7~8月、1996年2月及3~6月，1998年2月和2000年1月五次前往云南西双版纳基诺族地区作田野调查，前后所花时间近6个月，其中“三同”（同吃、同住、同劳动）调查时间3个多月。调查范围包括基诺族的主要聚居区景洪市所辖的基诺山基诺族乡以及勐旺乡、勐养镇和勐罕镇。主要靠徒步跋涉，行程近千公里，走遍了基诺族聚居的山山水水，共调查了基诺乡的42个村寨，占该乡45个村寨的93.33%，勐旺乡的全部4个基诺族聚居村寨和勐养镇的1个基诺族与其他民族杂居的村寨。为便于对比研究，

还调查了勐罕镇与基诺乡邻近的 1 个傣族村寨、允景洪镇的 1 个傣族村寨和 1 个哈尼族支系阿克人村寨。实地调查村寨共 50 个，其中基诺族村寨 47 个。五次调查中，主要使用了直接观察、参与观察、非参与观察、系统性观察、个别访问、小型调查会、传记调查、拍照等民族学传统调查方法，所有调查均由笔者直接独立完成。五次调查共完成了对分布在 50 个自然村的 210 户农民进行的随意抽样调查；对乡级主要单位进行了专题调查；对基诺族知名人士多人及对基诺族有较多研究的部分学者进行了访问调查。共完成调查表 210 份，写专题调查及随笔 200 余页，拍彩照 30 卷共 900 余张，收集到录像带 4 盒、录音带 1 盒、男女基诺族传统服装各 1 套，并抄录和复印各种档案材料 1 000 余页。五次调查共耗资 1 万余元，为本书的撰写准备了较充足的第一手资料和档案材料。此外，笔者还收集到了 1995 年前出版的基诺族研究方面的全部 16 本著作和发表的 128 篇文章，加上平时收集的人类学、社会学、经济学、人口学、生态学、文化学、历史学等有关理论著作，到 1996 年 8 月底，本书写作的各项资料准备工作已基本完成。9 月起进入本书撰写阶段，1997 年 3 月底，本书初稿写作基本完成。1998 年获得云南省教委学术著作出版资助后，又结合最新资料进行修改，2000 年 3 月修改完毕。

以往我国对基诺族的研究具有明显的对历史与传统文化的侧重性，具有历史胜于现实、传统胜于发展、回顾胜于预测与专题性强、综合性弱的特点。关于国外对基诺族的民族学研究，至今尚未发现公开发表的成果，仍是一片空白。本书选题克服了以往研究中的不足，首次对当代基诺社会进行全面、系统的综合研究，因而，《当代基诺社会研究》的选题在国际国内基诺族研究领域中具有创新性。

本书对当代基诺社会的经济、生活、文化和社会问题四个方面所进行的研究，除传统文化的快速变迁、近亲婚恋、生态问题

和教育不适应经济发展等几个问题前人有所涉及之外，其余各专题的研究均具有独创性。本书结论与启示部分提出的基诺模式、低起点民族高速发展理论及文明社区建设构想对基诺族及其他低起点民族的现代化都具有一定的借鉴意义。

本书虽填补了对当代基诺社会综合研究的空白，将国内外基诺族研究向前推进了一步，为后人对基诺族的研究又做了一点基础性的工作，但仍有许多不足之处，如对勐旺乡的基诺族的调查研究还较肤浅；对普文镇、大渡岗乡以及勐腊县的象明乡、勐仑镇的基诺族则完全没有涉及；基诺乡尚有阿坡、大巴洒、巴卡种植场 3 个村寨笔者没有进行实地调查；对基诺乡的茄玛话、各村寨的丧葬习俗、婚恋习俗、亲属称谓制与近亲婚恋的关系等问题的调查研究都还远远不够，俟日后有条件时再行补充调查研究。

民族学、人类学研究的重要目的之一，是将研究成果应用于被研究民族及其他相似民族。本文的研究成果若能为当地党政部门提供决策参考、能对基诺族未来的发展与繁荣起到一些促进作用，那就是笔者的心愿所在。

作 者

2000 年 3 月 20 日

INTRODUCTION

Jinuo is the latest identified nationality in China till today. In early 1950s, the Jinuos were still in the stage of rural community transiting from the end of primitive society to class society, however, in the middle of 1990s their level of economic and social development has already leaped into the rank of advanced minorities in China. Looking back the developing process in the past 40 years, it is easy to discover the characteristics: backward starting point with high speed in economy; great qualitative progress in important aspects of social development such as education, applied science and technology, hygiene, energy resources, transportation, communication, etc. and rapid change in traditional culture. In a word, compared with the nationalities in southwest China which were on the same starting line, namely the nationalities reserved primitive commune system of much of its remnants in early 1950s, the Jinuos have achieved extraordinary progress in economy and social development, and the way of their development can be regarded as a successful model for the similar nationalities.

For several years, I've been thinking of doing a series of researches on the social changes of the minority nationalities in southwest China which leaped from the stage of primitive commune system directly into socialist society. Through the study of their developing process and the present situation, some valuable discoveries are expected to be found among them, which may not on-

ly be useful for the studied nationality, be used for references by other nationalities which had ever been at backward starting points in China, but also be valuable as references for similar nationalities in the world, especially for the development of primitive people. RESEARCHES ON CONTEMPORARY JINUO SOCIETY is a sub-programme of JINUO SOCIAL CHANGE, one of the programmes of my would-be research series on the social changes of the nationalities which had ever been at backward starting points. The academic significances of the programme RESEARCHES ON CONTEMPORARY JINUO SOCIETY are :1. to the subject of ethnology in China, it can fill in the gap of the synthetical and systematic study of Jinuo nationality in the contemporary era; 2. to ethnology or anthropology in the world, the rapid change of Jinuo society and traditional culture, the primitive remnants reserved in its traditional culture at present are rare research materials which are of important academic significance; 3. it is also of important academic significance to explore the common features or laws in the modernizational process of primitive ethnic groups through the thorough study of Jinuo's modernizational process. The research programme has practical significances, too. Through the synthetical and systematic study of Jinuo society, both experiences and lessons in its developing process are possible to be summed up, which is not only useful for Jinuo's development in future but also quite useful as references for other ethnic groups in China or even in the world, Jinuo's rapid progress in economic and social development is a banner forthem while the rapid change or even vanishment of the highlights of its traditional culture is a mirror or a lesson. Therefore, the programme also has important practical significances.

In terms of theoretical guidance and research methods, the dialectical materialism and historical materialism in Marxism are the basic theoretical guidance while some relative theories in the West are also applied in explaining and expounding some of the new phenomena and problems. I am firmly convinced that the field of ethnology and anthropology is not in libraries but in field, armchair scholars are not ethnologists or anthropologists, where there is no fieldwork there is no real ethnological or anthropological discoveries with real practical and academic significances. I quite agree with a quotation of Mao Zedong, "No investigation, no right to make a statement." In order to earn some rights to make a statement on contemporary Jinuo society and expect to have some new discoveries based on the discoveries by former scholars, I applied mainly fieldwork method in my research and meanwhile also applied the methods of many relative subjects such as physical anthropology, statistics, sociology, economics, demography, history, the science of religion, etc. to study the economy, life, culture and social problems in contemporary Jinuo society, giving analysis, offering explanation and expounding, summing up the laws, making suggestions and offering some plans.

In the aspect of fieldwork and data collection, I have been to Jinuo inhabitant regions in Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan province doing fieldwork for five times: July to August in 1995, February and March to June in 1996, February in 1998 and January in 2000. The total time for fieldwork is nearly 6 months, in which the "three together" fieldwork (eating together, living together and labouring together) occupies more than 3 months. The scope of fieldwork including Jinuoshan Jinuo National-

ity's Township, which is the main region where the Jinuos live in compact community, Mengwang Township, which is the second biggest inhabitant region of Jinuo people where there are four Jinuo villages and Mengyang Town, Menghan Town, where there are only a few Jinuo people living together with other nationalities. I trekked a long way of about one thousand kilometers mainly on foot in mountains mostly covered with thick tropical forests where the Jinuos inhabit. Walking from one village to another, I did fieldwork in a total number of 50 villages, among which there are 47 Jinuo villages, two Dai villages and a Ahke village which is a branch of Hani. Among the 47 Jinuo villages, 42 are in Jinuo Township occupying 93.33% of the total number of the 45 villages in this township, four are in Mengwang Township which are all Jinuo villages in this region and one is in Mengyang Town in which Jinuos live together with other minorities. In my fieldwork, the traditional fieldwork methods such as direct observation, participant observation, non-participant observation, systematic observation, individual visit, small meeting investigation, biographic investigation, picture taking, video recording, etc. were applied. All of the fieldwork was done by myself independently. Two hundred and ten families in 50 villages were investigated, the main units in Jinuo Township such as the township government, the police station, the hospital, the high school, the primary school, the forestry administration station, etc. were visited. I also visited more than 10 famous Jinuo persons and several important scholars in the field of Jinuo studies. My fieldwork is of rich rewarding, which includes 210 families' investigation data, more than 900 colour pictures, four video tapes, one tape, two suits of Jinuo traditional clothes

(man's and woman's), more than 1000 pages of dossier copied or photocopied from the government office of Jinuo Township and Jinhong City Archives. The five times of fieldwork provide me quite a lot of firsthand materials and dossier for the writing of the book. I have also collected all the books (16) and 128 papers on Jinuo published before 1995, and quite a few relative theoretical works. By the end of August, 1996, the preparation of data and other materials had already been almost ready. I started writing the book in September, 1996 and finished the draft in the end of March, 1997. In 1998, the draft of the book got the financial support for publishing from the Publishing Foundation for Academic Works of Yunnan Provincial Education Commission. The revision to the draft was finished in March, 2000, in which the latest data were adopted.

The studies of Jinuo before in China were mostly on traditional culture, especially on history, usually about some special topics while in other countries the studies of Jinuo is still a gap. Considering the shortcomings of the researches on Jinuo before, I planned to study the contemporary Jinuo society synthetically and systematically, which made the programme RESEARCHES ON CONTEMPORARY JINUO SOCIETY completely new in the field of Jinuo studies.

All the problems discussed in the book about Jinuo society have never been studied before except that the rapid change of traditional culture, consanguineous love and marriage, ecological and educational problems have ever been studied a little. Jinuo model, the rapid development theory for nationalities from backward starting points and the civilizational community constructing

plan are somewhat useful for the modernization of Jinuo and other nationalities from backward starting points.

The book fills in the gap of synthetical and systematic study on contemporary Jinuo society, pushes forward Jinuo studies into a new stage, lays a foundation for future studies on Jinuo, however, there are still many shortcomings in it, for example, the investigation to the Jinuos in Mengwang Township is still very limited; the Jinuos inhabit in Puwen Town, Dadugang Township (which belongs to Jinhong City), Xiangming Township and Menglun Town (which belong to Mengla county) are not studied at all in the book; in Jinuo Township, there are still three villages which are Dabasa, Baka Farm and Ahpo that I have never done any fieldwork there; the customs of death, burial, love and marriage, the relationship between kinship terminology and consanguineous love and marriage are far from enough. All of these are to be made up in future when my economic conditions are permitted.

One of the most important purposes of ethnology and anthropology is to apply the achievements in researches to serving the researched nationality and similar ethnic groups. If the achievements in my researches on Jinuo nationality presented in the book can be used for reference by the local government when they make decisions and can promote the development and prosperity of the Jinuo people in any degrees, that will be what my willing or expectation is.

目 录

序.....	(1)
前 言.....	(1)
INTRODUCTION	(1)
第一章 导 言.....	(1)
第一节 概 况.....	(1)
一、基诺族民族名称和人口分布	(1)
二、地理环境与资源状况	(2)
三、历史概况和传统文化	(6)
四、经济生活与社会发展	(9)
第二节 基诺族研究 40 年综述.....	(11)
一、主要著作及其主要内容.....	(12)
二、论文中的主要观点.....	(14)
三、研究特点.....	(19)
第三节 选题之缘起、理论方法与调查准备.....	(22)
一、选题之缘起.....	(22)
二、理论指导和研究方法.....	(24)
三、田野调查及资料准备.....	(26)
第二章 经济问题研究	(32)
第一节 经济低起点高速度增长及其原因	(32)
一、经济低起点高速度增长.....	(32)
二、低起点高速度增长原因.....	(38)
第二节 现状特征	(48)
一、明显的二元结构.....	(48)

二、二元结构成因剖析·····	(54)
三、二元归一趋势·····	(57)
第三节 存在的现实问题 ·····	(60)
一、生产要素残缺·····	(60)
二、农牧业的低效益·····	(65)
第四节 发展趋势前瞻 ·····	(71)
一、总体上将持续高速增长·····	(72)
二、传统农牧业趋于萎缩·····	(73)
三、林业结构将有较大变化·····	(78)
四、乡镇企业忧虑与希望并存·····	(81)
第三章 生活状况研究 ·····	(83)
第一节 收入差距扩大问题 ·····	(83)
一、差距扩大的表现·····	(83)
二、差距扩大的原因·····	(87)
第二节 支出状况 ·····	(93)
一、支出结构的定量分析·····	(93)
二、支出结构折射出的问题 ·····	(101)
第三节 经济社会与小康标准对照研究·····	(104)
一、小康概念及其标准 ·····	(104)
二、经济社会发展与小康标准对照 ·····	(105)
三、结 论 ·····	(119)
第四章 文化问题研究·····	(122)
第一节 当代基诺文化的多元性及其分区·····	(122)
一、文化多元性的主要表现 ·····	(122)
二、文化多元性的形成原因 ·····	(128)
三、基诺文化分区 ·····	(130)
第二节 丧葬习俗中显现的母系制遗迹和祖先敬畏 观念·····	(134)

一、丧葬习俗的一般过程	(134)
二、司土老寨等村寨葬俗中显现的母系制遗迹	(139)
三、巴破、补远、司土老寨等村寨丧葬习俗中显现的 祖先敬畏观念	(141)
第三节 传统文化快速变迁与消失现象研究	(144)
一、变迁状况	(144)
二、快速变迁与消失原因探析	(148)
三、如何看待传统文化的变迁与消失问题	(153)
第五章 社会问题研究	(156)
第一节 人口流动的“围城现象”	(156)
一、特征及形成原因	(156)
二、可能带来的影响	(161)
第二节 生态保护与农民利益	(163)
一、主要问题及影响因素	(164)
二、生态保护带来的问题	(169)
第三节 近亲婚恋等突出问题	(172)
一、人才匮乏与“知识无用”	(172)
二、近亲婚恋问题	(174)
三、道德滑坡与社会治安问题	(177)
第六章 结论与启示	(180)
第一节 基诺模式： 一个热带山区科技脱贫致富的成功范例 一个成功的有计划社会变迁的人类学个案	(180)
一、从经济开发的角度来考察	(180)
二、从民族学、人类学的角度来考察	(189)
第二节 文明社区：基诺山寨致富后的努力方向	(192)
一、致富以后向何处去	(192)

二、文明社区建设构想	(194)
三、文明社区建成的可能性	(199)
第三节 低起点民族高速发展论	
——基诺族的高速度发展对低起点民族的 借鉴意义	(200)
一、关于低起点与高速度问题	(200)
二、二元结构与二元归一是低起点民族现代化 进程的一般特征	(202)
三、政府行为是低起点民族高速发展的关键	(204)
附录:作者第三次田野调查使用的《基诺族田野调查 提纲》	(208)
参考文献	(243)
后 记	(261)