

学校编码: 10384

分类号_____密级_____

学 号: 10620100153832

UDC_____

厦 门 大 学

博 士 学 位 论 文

苗 人 食 酸

贵州黔东南州西江苗寨的饮食人类学研究

The Sour Food of Hmong
An anthropological study on food in Xijiang Miao village in
Southeast Guizhou

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论文提交日期： 2015 年 4 月

论文答辩时间： 2015 年 月

学位授予日期： 2015 年 月

答辩委员会主席： _____

评 阅 人： _____

2015年 月

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摘要

本文以田野调查为基础，以西江苗寨为个案，运用人类学的相关理论，以饮食人类学为研究角度，从较为广泛的意义维度探讨贵州省黔东南地区苗人的酸食，旨在相对系统地揭示出酸食是自然生态的产物，也是文化适应的结果。本文关注苗人的日常生活，侧重当地人对酸食的理解和解释。

全文分为七个部分：绪论独立成章，论述笔者研究的缘起和兴趣，择定论文题目的原因和理由。以及论文选题所具有的理论价值、实用价值。并厘清研究涉及的几个基本概念，介绍在研究中使用的理论和方法，以及全文的架构。

第一章，“西江苗人的家园”，给定西江苗人酸食“出场”的“舞台”，或言西江苗人酸食所嵌入的时空座落，从家园遗产的视角，描述西江基础的环境与空间。第二章，“酸食的地域特征”，对酸食本身进行味道特征、起源和原理、制作工艺、食用功效等方面的必要描述，在此基础上，将酸食和地域关联起来观察。第三章，“西江苗人的生活与酸食”，描述酸食在西江这个文化空间中的存在，以及深入探讨苗人的时间观、空间观、身体观与酸食的关系。第四章，在所述“西江苗人的酸食”之基础上，集中探讨其中的地方感和文化认同等问题，突出对饮食的心理文化层面之观照。第五章，仍是在“西江苗人的酸食”之基础上，集中探讨另一个问题：酸食作为文化适应的问题及其在社会变迁中的新动态。

结语章，阐述酸食传统对于苗人及酸食传播地域享用者的不同社会文化意义；揭示该饮食传统“变与不变”的具体情形及其依据；最后提出保护酸食作为饮食遗产的必要性及建议性措施。

苗人属于南方少数民族之一。西江苗人是贵州 17 个世居少数民族之一。他们生活的空间，从大的方面来说，属于南方民族空间，属于苗疆走廊空间，是苗人文化的一个缩影和代表。从小的方面来说，西江家园既是地理学意义上的空间，也是人类学意义上的空间：它以农耕文化为基石，以血缘宗法制为基础，以伦理观念为血肉。在当地人的观念里，他们的家园由五个层次的空间构成：最上一层空间是：寨；其下为村、家族；家族又分房族，房族再分为家庭。家庭是构成西江社会的最小单位，而家庭与家庭之间的维系纽带就是血缘关系。

从西江的家园空间层次来看,生存与死亡交织,日常和神圣并举。整个布局,讲究阴阳协调,人与自然和谐相处。纯粹地理空间与血缘宗族空间相重叠。这决定了内部空间秩序与家族秩序的合一。内部空间里的生产和生活秩序,从属于家族延续秩序。空间是时间(即家族历史延续)的载体。

西江苗人的时间观从观察太阳、观察自然而来,主要体现在苗历中,反映了他们对世间万物的认识和认知,并将其实践于自己的生活之中。如果说他们的空间是一个时间结构化的场所,是一个空间叙述化的场所。那么他们的家园更是一个承载了时间记忆的场所。苗历实质上是西江苗人在长期的生产生活中经验和智慧的总结。

酸食体现了苗人生活与苗历紧密结合的特征。其来源和制作过程则表明,以酸汤鱼为代表的酸食是苗人日常生活和节庆生活中重要性的存在。酸食的相关体系来自于自然,与土地的关系最亲密。人类与自然的关系衍生出人类与食物之间的政治秩序和社会伦理,即人类通过与食物的关系建立起一套公共良俗的政治伦理。

随着现代化和全球化时代的到来,酸食从苗寨走向了都市,从制作的食材到制作的程序,都发生了不小的变化,并贴上怀旧、原生态、民族风情等标签,物化为供人凝视、品尝的景观。

酸食体现了苗人与自然的交互和共存,是其身体与土地交换能量的结果。酸食作为一种饮食遗产,蕴涵着苗人延续至今的迁徙感和历史感。它本身是苗人文化遗产的重要组成部分,其存续需要身体力行的实践。

关键词:西江苗人; 酸食; 饮食人类学

Abstract

This paper is based on fieldwork taking xijiang miao village as a case study, using the related theory of anthropology, anthropology of diet as the research point of view, from a more extensive significance to discuss Miao people's sour food in a broader significance in the area of southeast in Guizhou Province, the purpose which lies in the relative system, revealing the sour food as a product of natural ecology, but also the result of cultural adaptation. It focuses on the Miao people's daily life and how the local people understanding and explaining acid food.

It is divided into seven parts: *Introduction* discusses the origin, my interest in the study, and the theoretical and practical value. It also clarifies some involved concepts, theories and methods used in it, and the framework.

The first chapter is "*Xijiang Miao people's homes*", to give the sour food of the Miao people a "stage" of "appearance", or time and space located and the Miao people sour food embedded. rom the perspective of Homeland Heritage.The second chapter is "*the regional characteristics of sour food*", to introduce acid taste characteristics, origin and principle, production process, the consumption function of the food itself. On this basis, to observe the sour food and regional association together. The third chapter is "*Xijiang Miao people sour food*", to describe the craftsmanship of Xijiang sour food, as well as the Miao 's concept of time, space, body view related to sour food. The fourth chapter, based on the "Xijiang Miao people sour food", focuses on issues of the sense of place and identity, highlighting the perspective of psychological culture of diet. The fifth chapter, based on "Xijiang Miao people sour food", focused on another problem: sour food as the cultural adaptation and the trend in social change.

Conclusion discusses different social and cultural significance of traditional sour food for seedling and sour food geographical spread of enjoyment; reveals the specific situation and the basis of the traditional diet changed and unchanged; and gives suggestions and measures on the protection of sour food as a heritage and its necessity.

The Hmong belong to one of the ethnic minorities in South china. Xijiang Miao people is one of Guizhou's 17 native minorities, their living space, from the broader view, belongs to the southern national space, and belongs to the Miao corridor space, which is an epitome and representative of Hmong culture. Specifically, the Xijiang

home is a sense of geographical space, but also a sense of anthropological space: it takes agriculture as the cornerstone, the ancestor legal system of blood relationship as the foundation, ethics as flesh and blood. In the local people's ideas, their homes have five levels of spatial form: the upper layer space is: Village; the village, under the family; family housing family, family room into the family. The family is the smallest unit of Xijiang social structure, and between the family and the family link is blood relationship.

From the home space level of Xijiang Miao village, life and death are intertwined, daily and sacred exists simultaneously. The whole layout pays attention to the coordination of yin and Yang, the harmony between man and nature. Pure blood lineage overlaps geographical space and the phase space. This determines the internal spatial order and family order as a whole. The internal space of the production and living order belongs to the family from the continuation of the order. Space is the carrier of time (family history continuation).

Xijiang Miao people's concept of time observes the nature from the observation of the sun, which is mainly reflected in the seedlings, calendar, reflecting their knowledge and awareness of the universe, and practiced in their lives. If their space is a "time structured" place, is a "space narrative" of the place, their homes is a bearing the "time memory" place. Miao calendar is essentially the summary of the Xijiang Miao people's wisdom in the long-term production and life experience.

Sour food embodies the characteristics of Miao people living closely integrated with Miao calendar. The origin and the production process is that Fish in Sour Soup represents fresh acid is the importance of daily life and the religious life in the presence of Miao people. The related system of acid food is from nature, and land is the most intimate relationship. The relation between human being and nature derived between human and food political order and social ethics shows that human beings builds a set of public order and good custom of political ethics though the food.

With the modernization and globalization era, sour food go to the city from the village, from making ingredients to the production process, and have changed a lot, and affix the nostalgia, the original ecological and ethnic customs label, materialized for people staring & tasting landscape.

Sour food reflect symbiosis of man and nature, they are the result of their body and land exchange energy. Sour food as a food heritage, contains the Miao people of continuation of the sense of history and migration. They are an important part of the cultural heritage of Miao people, whose existence need practice to practice.

Key words: Xijiang Miao people; sour food; food anthropology

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