中国社会科学院研究生院

硕士学位论文

试论口头传统文类的界定：

以云南元江哈尼族"哈巴"（$xa^{33}pa^{31}$）为个案

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论文摘要

本文由引言、正文三章和结语构成；作为论文阐述的补充性说明，文中附有图表 26 幅；文后附有摘选的田野访谈、田野研究报告、田野日记，以及主要参考文献目录。

引　言

交待论文的问题意识、田野研究的理论视角和个案研究的技术路线，报告田野过程与田野取证的操作方式和资料来源。鉴于本文的选题与田野点的限制，引言的最后还指出了论文的风险并限定了讨论范围。

第一章　"哈巴"研究的学术走向

"哈巴"是哈尼族最为重要的一种口头艺术形式，但学界对于"哈巴"一词的语义分析及其文类归属方面的问题一直少有明晰的阐释。目前国外的哈尼学研究者暂未涉及"哈巴"这一课题，因此本章主要回溯国内自八十年代早期至今的"哈巴"研究状况，并由此体现出"哈巴"研究环节的缺失与研究方向的错位：国内学界对于"哈巴"的研究仅有二十余年的历史，且相关著述多集中于上世纪八十年代，九十年代和本世纪初其他研究中关于"哈巴"的表述都是延续之前的观点，并无创新。而且，学界通常都将"哈巴"作为哈尼族的民间音乐或曲艺来研究，却忽视了口头传统的本质。

第二章　本土观念中的"哈巴"：语义分析

关于"哈巴"一词的释义问题，迄今仅有一位学者引述过哈尼语翻译家的简单解释，且不够科学，难以令人信服。本章以语义学中的义素分析法为理论依据，同时借助语用学与"民族志诗学"的工作模型，从民间话语系统、传统知识和本土术语出发对"哈巴"这一关键词做出学理性阐释。由于使用这种方法需要对"哈巴"本身及其内部分类体系有较为深细的理解，因此本章的论述势必会沿着"哈巴"的文类界定过程而引申出"哈巴"的语义分析，进而走向本土社会的文类观念及其内部的分类体系。

第三章　文化语境中的"哈巴"：文类界定

"哈巴"的文类归属是哈尼族文学研究中一直未能得到解决的问题。通过梳理田野点——元江县哈尼族地区的口头传统概况和当地的"哈巴"内部分类体系，并运用戴尔·海姆斯言说模型（SPEAKING model）的八个维度进行考量，我们发现，"哈巴"在不同的演述语境中可以具有不同的文类属性，其中含括了山歌、风俗歌、仪式歌、叙事歌等各种亚文类体裁。在元江主要的哈尼族地区，"哈巴"中便包含了当地的一切歌唱传统。把"哈巴"包含的所有文类作为一个整体来考量，我们倾向于将其视作一个"跨文类"的综合范畴，并在文中做出初步结论：将"哈巴"界定为与散体叙事传统相对应的概念，即当地哈尼族口耳相传的"口头诗歌"，并且就沿用各地哈尼民众基本通用的"哈巴"一词来表示这一独特的文学传统。最后，还对"哈巴"一词的语义分析结果进行了陈述："哈巴"＝哈尼族＋韵体＋古规古矩＋演唱者、受众、演唱场合和地域不限＋无伴奏。

结语 "哈巴"的不确定性：问题与反思

纵览近年来学界有关各民族口头传统的研究成果，我们不难发现，文类界定问题几乎一直都存在着较大的争议。知识本身的不确定性，也是一个主要的难题。加之既有的口头文类的界定原则尚不具备科学性，在整体分析上存在着多方面的漏洞，也就难以从学理上予以厘清。但是作者认为，首先应辨明两个最为基本的问题：我们的研究对象究竟是"民间歌曲"还是"民间曲艺"？我们在表述时究竟该使用民间话语还是学界术语？只有将音乐性和文学性两方面相结合，以民族志资料和基于其上的学理性抽绎为沟通的桥梁，我们才能呈现一种口头传统的最真实面貌，进而实现学术表达与民众知识的对接。

传统的哈尼族社会可以被称作是无文字社会，其丰富多彩的文学艺术形式大都以口头传承的方式保存下来，许多重要的民俗文化、民间智慧和地方知识都承载于各种口头传统中。"哈巴"（xa^{33}pa^{31}）就是其中最为重要的一种口头艺术形式。但是，由于没有本民族文字造成的缺少确实的史料记载，再加上世代口头传承过程中不可避免的变异和丢失，不论在传统社区还是学界，关于"哈巴"的一些最基本问题至今仍然模糊不清。以上各章旨在立足于本土口头传统，以云南元江哈尼族传统村落的田野研究为个案，重点探究"哈巴"一词的释义情况以及"哈巴"文类研究中的一些困难，以期实现学者观念与民间观念的交接，对"哈巴"的文类问题做出自己的阐述，继而对学界目前关于各民族口头传统的文类划分方法做出反思。这些有关口头传统界定方面的探索与反思，正是本文作为田野个案研究的意义所在。

关键词：哈尼族、云南元江、口头传统、"哈巴"、田野研究、语义分析、文类界定

A Field Study on Defining Oral Genres:

Xa³³pa³¹ in Yuanjiang Hani People as a Case

Abstract

The present thesis consists of five parts: introduction, three chapters, and conclusion. There are 26 pictures as illustrations, bibliography and excerpts of field interviews, field report, fieldnotes as appendices.

In introduction, the author mainly discusses the followings: 1) problematic issues of the study; 2) perspectives of field study and case study; 3) descriptions of fieldwork process and documentations. In order to avoid underlying risks, considering limitations of the topic and field sites, the author also specifies the coverage of the thesis.

Chapter one is entitled "Overview of *Xapa* Studies in China." The oral genre *Xapa*, as one of the most important verbal arts among the Hani people, has always been in lacking for semantic analysis by scholars. As a result, the Chinese academia has not yet reached an agreement on which genre it should be attached to. Meanwhile, there are scarcely scholars focusing on *Xapa* outside Chinese academia. Considering it, the author tries to find out defects of previous researches by tracing back the short twenty-year history of *Xapa* studies from today to early 1980s in China. The result shows that, most prevailing issues are rendered in early 1980s, and since that, nearly all issues fall into the same pattern; in addition, *Xapa* genre has been categorized as folk music or folk *quyi* among the Hani people, instead of a specific oral tradition in past decades of scholarship.

The title of chapter two is "Semantic Analysis of *Xapa*." This chapter deals with interpretations of the word *Xapa* (previous interpretations given by a Hani language translator is not convincing and far from theoretical generalization). Based on semantic element analysis developed in linguistics, as well as theories of pragmatics and Ethnopoetics, the author tries to interpret the key word *Xapa* in ethnographical context of folk-discourse system, traditional knowledge, and indigenous terminologies. However, on account of the interpretation is a systematic work which requiring ethnographic situated study in relation to the process of defining *Xapa* as a whole, the semantic analysis certainly will be extended to local notions of oral genre and its taxonomy.

In chapter three entitled "Boundaries of *Xapa* as an Oral Genre", the author attempts to give further interpretations of *Xapa* as an oral genre. Through panoramic views of oral traditions in Yuanjiang County, applying the "SPEAKING model" developed by Dell Hymes, the author takes oral genre *Xapa* into accounts in terms of local system of categorizations, notices that the

genre could be categorized into different genres according to different performing contexts; furthermore, it also contains the following subgenres --ballads, folk songs, narrative songs, ritual songs, etc. Given a fact that the genre *Xapa* covers all singing traditions in Yuanjiang areas, the author inclines to define the genre as a whole, or as an inter-genre conception—to define *Xapa* as a conception against the narrative tradition, namely "oral songs" which bore by local Hani people, then, use the locally and popularly used word *Xapa* to refer to this special literary tradition. At the end of chapter three, the author defines *Xapa* as the following formulation: *Xapa*=the Hani people+rhyme+ traditional and cultural rules+singer, audience, performing context and free limitations of performing sites+no accompaniment.

In conclusion, the author invites reflections on classification of oral genres. As the present thesis indicates, there have been controversies on classification of oral genres in academic world to extent that the uncertainties of knowledge itself seem to be problematic. Moreover, the theoretical system of oral genres not only failed to cover perplexing existence of ethnic oral genres, but also lacked for a holistic analysis of working out taxonomic principles. However, the author urges us to make clarity between two fundamental issues: 1) determining folk song or folk *quyi* as our object of research? 2) formulating our judgments on local terminologies or academic terminologies? The author claims that, only discovering the tie between orality and music, we could approach the original form of oral traditions according to ethnographic data, and then we could build up a channel between academic expressions and indigenous folklore.

The genre *Xapa* is one of the most important verbal arts of the Hani People. Due to shortage of written sources in Hani society, and variations of verbal arts in the process of transmission, some basic aspects in defining *Xapa* still remain unclear, no matter in traditional communities or in academia. Rooted in indigenous oral traditions, the thesis focuses on a case study carried out in Hani traditional villages in order to probe into the notion of local genres, discusses mainly on boundaries of *Xapa* as a cross-genre and deal with the long existing difficulties over it.   The thesis devotes to bridge the gap between academic canons and indigenous ideas through interpreting issues derived from *Xapa*, and re-examining academic classification over oral traditional genres in China.   All explorations and reflections over taxonomic approach of verbal genres unfolding in the thesis might provide a helpful case study for ethnic oral tradition studies as a discipline.