Summary

"Human being in the traditional beliefs of the Tibeto-Burman peoples"

The subject of this book is an analysis of traditional (non-Christian, and non-Buddhist) beliefs held among the Tibeto-Burmans (including the Naga, the Kachin, the Bodo, the Kuki-Chin, the Karen, the Himalayish and Loloish languages speaking peoples) living in Nepal, North-Eastern India, in the Indo-Tibetan borderlands, Bangladesh, Burma (now Myanmar), Northern Thailand, in the northern parts of Laos and Vietnam [1].

The author concerns himself with available to him substantial works in European and some Oriental (Vietnamese and Burmese) languages.

The author`s understanding of the Tibeto-Burman peoples` concepts of the human being is based not only on a thorough reading and contextual interpretation of the published works [2]. The book also presents some new facts, which have been gathered through intensive interviews with sophisticated informants both in Thailand and Vietnam [3].

Of course, "it may be preferable to await further accumulation of materials ... to avoid jumping to any premature conclusions" [4]. "However, this type of comparative study is very much needed to synthesize the data that are already available" [5]. "This broader ethnic and cultural set-

ting diminishes the "flatness" of isolated descriptions of the single culture"[6].

This monograph consists of four Chapters with all of them, except the first, subdivided into sections.

In the first Chapter, "A Soul and Souls", an attempt is made to show the variety and diversity of the concepts of soul prevalent among the Tibeto-Burman speakers of South Asia and Indochina. The accent is made on the beliefs connected with the nature of human souls, their locations, qualities and quantities, relations with the body, etc. It is concluded that although the soul is sometimes spoken of as a single thing[7], it is held to be multiple[8]: each individual is supposed to have many souls. A comparative analysis of the conceptions of "soul" in the Tibeto-Burman cultures confirms in a general way Wilhelm Wundt`s division of the "soul complex" into two main groups[9]. The first one is a free soul, i.e. a soul conceived of as an essence able (and even liable) to separate from its owner`s body in life (during sleep) without causing death. This part of oneself is regarded as capable of moving about independently of the body to which it belongs and is associated, as a rule, with a shadow.

The beliefs in the concentration of life-essence in the hair, blood and some other parts of the body constitute the second group. This kind of soul, "die Korperseele" (W.Wundt), the body-soul (could also be termed: the bound soul, the corporeal soul), is closely and inseparably linked to the physical body and, as opposed to the free-soul, never leaves the body during life[10]. The idea of the existence of a kind of body-soul is found among the Chins (the belief in blood as the basis of life); the Karens (the connection between blood and soul); the Na-khis ("a bodily soul"); the Akhas; the Hanis *(latang)*; the Lahus ("the slow-moving soul"); the Phulas ("the lazy soul"); the Tamangs *(ro, so)*; the Tibetans *(srog)*; the Limbus (*mukuma sam*); the Lohorung- and Mewahang-Rais *(saya)*[11].

Of course, the author realizes that the categorization he takes for granted (the distinction between the body-soul and the free-soul) is sometimes hard to apply. These two conceptually distinct kinds of soul are liable to merge gradually with one another and overlap in a series of transitional and blended forms[12].

In the second and the third Chapters the author`s attention is entirely concentrated on the notion of life-forces. The examination and analysis

of the modes of utilization of the deceased and killed human beings` life-forces allow one to elucidate, what (and in which form) passes to the living as a result of the death (killing).

The second Chapter, "Life-forces", opens with a discussion of some descriptions of ideas about soul-stuff (life-matter, life-forces). In one of such descriptions J. H. Hutton so summarizes the Naga beliefs in the close links between humans, plants and animals and in transference of life-forces. "In all Naga tribes the fertility of the crops and the prosperity of the village are closely associated with the dead, whose life-substance is conceived of as forming a continuous cycle of reproduction, passing from men to cereals sown, and thence back through grain eaten, or through the flesh of animals that have eaten it, to man again. It is this theory that forms the philosophic basis of head-hunting..." [13].

At first sight it might be supposed that this theory is beholden to the researchers` intuition for its appearance. Such an impression was expressed by R.Needham in extremely explicit form. What Needham seems to put in the forepart of his argument is the view that "the anthropological commentators... have interpolated a fictitious entity between the cause [taking heads] and the effects [acquiring prosperity]" [14]. Needham`s own field inquiries among the Austronesian Kenyah of Sarawak have not confirmed that this (the idea that the severed head is thought to contain a mystical substance or force which emanates into the environment and thus enhances fertility and well-being) is the indigenous explanation. He concludes: "...all of these terms belong to a scientific idiom derived from physics: electromagnetism, hydraulics, mechanics" [15]. Though R.Needham questions the validity of the very concept of life-forces, the author thinks it must be concluded that Needham`s analysis does not dispose of this issue altogether. There are beliefs to which the label of life-force can be applied [16]. To turn back to the Naga again it should be noted that the first scholar who used the indigenous term for this concept was Christoph Furer-Haimendorf. In his article "The After-Life in Indian Tribal Belief" published in 1953 he stressed the importance of *mio.* Ch. Furer-Haimendorf has translated this Konyak Naga word as "energy", "soul-matter", "soul-substance attaching to a ... man`s skull" [17].

Although the idea of life-force(s), so far as the author knows, is not expressly stated for other Naga groups, this concept may occur more widely among the Nagas; "the lack of terms cannot be treated as indication of a lack of conception" [18]. The scarcity of the terms denoting this idea may be attributed to the abolition of head-hunting. Presumably with the abolition of head-hunting the terms used have lost their utility [19].

Almost all the researchers of the Naga culture stressed primarily the "power (force-, energy-, vigour-)-related" aspect of the category "life-forces" consisting in the belief in fertility-granting effect of an enemy`s head. There has been a lot of definition in this area ("magical power", "magical forces", "magische Kraft"; "fertility-granting powers", "fruchtbarkeitfordernden Krafte"; "beneficial power", "vital essence of great power", "energy", "magical virtue", "Kraftstrom", "fertility", "prosperity", "life-principle", "life-essence", "soul-force", and even "soul" or "personality").

The author thinks that such characteristics as attributed to the body-soul overlook and underestimate the importance of its corporeal aspect, for this category can not be defined as a purely energetic or power (force, vigour)-like one. However, in spite of the numerosity of these power-related (stressing) terms the failure to take into account the substratum cannot, of itself, serve as evidence of the insignificance of this aspect. Unfortunately, such definitions as "life-substance", "soul-substance", "soul-matter", "Kraftstoff" which can be considered emphasizing the importance of matter are not so numerous in comparison with the former group and are rather exceptions.

The study of the Naga head-hunters attitude to the taking of human life (first of all, rituals related to the head-hunting custom) reveals some additional, implicit (inherent, though not expressed) aspects of the concept of the head as the focus of human vitality.

The following points are studied that, according to the author, make the inseparable link between the life-forces and the body absolutely evident:

1) the disposal of the enemy's heads;

2) the way of treating the fleshy parts (soft tissues, soft remainder of the body`s tissues);

3) the manipulations with the hair.

An analysis of the ceremonies performed over enemy heads as well as of those carried out "during the time that elapses between the death and the final breaking up and disposing of the body"[20] (especially, the separate treatment of the head in disposing of their own dead)[21] leads to the conclusion that the flesh (soft tissues) is the most important for the fertility part of the head[22].

The author concludes that within the Naga traditional world-outlook vitality (life-force) is regarded as a substance uniting substratum and movement (motion). The existence of the substratum component of the life-force concept is proved by evidences (arguments in favour) of its utmost concreteness, materiality, corporeality (concentration in flesh, blood and hair).

By the term "life-force" the author means not only the force (power) element (force- or power- related aspect) but also the substratum component, material aspect of vitality. Using the words of B.J.Terwiel, one could say: "It should be clear from the ritual that it is both an entity and a quality"[23].

There is no distinction between life-force and substance. Within this concept force (power) and substratum, energy and matter, are neither opposed to each other nor identified; they must be regarded in a complex (unity).

One Konyak custom attracts attention to itself and is worth mentioning here. For three years after death the deceased`s skull with some of his hair stuck to the crown of it was ceremonially fed by the kinsmen of the deceased at the time of feasts[24]. Many other Tibeto-Burman peoples also celebrate death anniversaries for three consecutive years. Such practice makes it possible to assume that "death is treated as a gradual process rather than an abrupt event"[25]. The Tibeto-Burmans attach importance not only to the lasting for three years period of mourning, pay attention to the period of three years (triennium) not only with respect to funeral rituals. Three first years of a child's life correspond to this triennial period on the other pole. For these three years "the child is regarded as in a sense still in the process of being born"[26]. The cutting of a child's hitherto uncut hair at the age of three years and child's weaning (the turning away from the breast) at about the same age symbolize not only its investment with ancestral life-forces, but also its gradual alien-

ation and separation from the mother's body (and from her life-forces). All this allows the author to arrive at the conclusion that the triennium is the period of transition of life-forces.

In the third Chapter, “Destiny”, the author shows that destiny[27] is conceived of by the Tibeto-Burmans as an allotted amount (capacity) of life-forces given at birth or before it. Here the author examines (and in a number of cases - reconstructs) local beliefs in the gradual endowment of children with this capacity in the course of their lifetime as well as beliefs in the exhaustion (depletion) of this lot (= amount) at the end of life.

For the Tibeto-Burmans, destiny is synonymous to “life”. But “the general conditions of life are such that every man has a certain life span allotted to him”[28]. An analysis of the notion of life span brings the author to the conclusion that the lifetime, i.e. the duration (length) of an individual`s existence, can be seen as the measure (extent) of life-forces assigned to his lot.

The author pays much attention to the popular belief in the particular concentration of life-forces or body-soul in the hair and in the vanishing of the adult's strength and life span. According to K. G. Izikowitz, the head soul is thought by the Akhas of Laos to be located at the base of a man's queue. Thus a man's power is believed to be concentrated in his queue, and it is thought that he will lose his power and be taken ill if his queue is cut off. Man's strength would vanish and he would wither away and die should his wife have twins or a child that resembles him, its father, very much physically[29]. Izikowitz states: “That is, he [the father - V. S.] has lost too much of his head soul”[30].

The Akhas of Burma (now - Myanmar), as recorded by P.W.Lewis, believe that “God” has placed inside everyone's forehead a “stamp” which tells how long that person will live[31]. They think that a new born child can take away a part, some amount, of the adult's life-forces. When there is a guest present in a house where a child is born, the guest must give 25 pyas to “buy back his life span (zi)” so that the guest's life span will not be shortened[32]. Here we have an indication of the concept of danger to adults (the father, the guest) emanating from a child.

Another belief deserving attention is the opinion of the Daflas (Arunachal Pradesh, India) that natural death comes when *lochang* or the substance (“the life-material”) within the bones which keeps a man

alive and active is exhausted[33]. In the author's opinion, this substance can be identified with the marrow. This is, however, no more than a supposition, even if a probable one. It may be compared with the linguists` conclusion that there is an association in Sino-Tibetan languages between marrow and blood[34].

Considered as allotted to an individual at or before his birth, destiny, i.e. the span or limit of his vital force[35] is closely connected with the hair (the Akhas), or with the soft tissue inside long bones (the Daflas)[36].

Before taking into consideration the beliefs in the endowment of a child with a certain amount of life-forces the author examines the concepts regarding human reproduction, procreation ideas.

Some scholars consider that the idea, according to which the bony structure of the child's body derives from the father's semen while the soft fleshy parts are made of the blood and the milk of the mother, is "the common Asiatic belief"[37]. In an attempt to find out whether the above theory of conception ("bone/flesh", or "semen/blood", theory) was prevalent among all Tibeto-Burman groups, the author comes to the following conclusions.

1) Matrilateral links can be interpreted not only as the "flesh" ties but also as the "milk" kinship ("one milk", "milk line") [the Magars, the Rais and other Tibeto-Burmans of Nepal]. It should be noted that the Kham-Magars in defining the matrilateral kinship use as synonyms the words *nui* "milk" and *sya* "flesh"[38]. This fact allows one to regard these beliefs as a kind of the "bone/flesh" ("semen/blood") theory, in contradistinction to some other traditions which equate milk and semen;

2) Not all the Tibeto-Burman peoples share this opinion. E.g., the Dimasas believe in male and female seeds; they as well as the Konyak and Wancho Nagas, the Ladakhis, the Akhas, think that a child is a gift (blessing) of God; the folklore of the Sanis reflects the idea of conception as an act of combining one's mother`s blood with that of father.

The author lays stress on the custom of some Nagas (Angami, Lhota) who "took the heads of men, women and children indiscriminately, except those of infants who had not yet cut their teeth. ... a head without teeth ... was not worth cutting off"[39]. This practice of the Naga headhunters brings the author to the conclusion that the teething (dentition), the cutting of milk (first, deciduous, or temporary) teeth[40] and their

replacement by permanent ones could be regarded as an important landmark in the process of the endowment of a child with the ancestral or its own life-forces. This does not mean, however, that the teeth contain life-forces. In the author's opinion quite the opposite is true: as also the other “white, hard parts of the body” (first of all, bones) for which the male semen accounts[41], the teeth have nothing to do with life-forces and fertility.

The concept of generic fertility is nearly always discussed with reference to the semen[42]. However, the findings of the author's research are at variance with the opinions stressing the importance of the semen and bones.

In order to demonstrate the significance of the female (women's) element in the process of ensuring universal fertility the author turns to the ”cultural elaborations of the biological fact of menstruation”[43]. It is shown that menstruation and menstrual blood are not universally regarded as polluting or dangerous, but even where they are, it must be due to the belief “that the proper role of menstrual blood is in the formation of new life”, that “the fetus is held to be menstrually constituted[44]. Blood connected with women`s sexual functions (first of all menstrual blood) “has some positive connotations through its connection with fertility”[45].

In the fourth Chapter, “Magical forces”, an interpretation and a comparative analysis is given of the data in ethnographic literature of the ideas held by the Tibeto-Burman peoples about the qualities attributed to some persons. Not everyone is thought to have certain innate qualities of “potency” (“grace”, “efficacy”). These qualities are very much like *mana*[46]. A scientific analysis of the notion “magic power” requires to determine its nature more accurately and to fix the bounds divorcing magic power from vitality (life-forces)[47]. The author tries to draw such a boundary-line between these categories. But the necessity to make a distinction between them does not exclude that at an early stage in the evolution of the beliefs the differentiation of the mana-like notions from life-forces had not yet arisen and that these concepts were fused in the continuum[48] of the Naga fertility complex, or megalithic complex[49]. They were closely interconnected and constituted an undivided unity. The author analyses further the process of isolation and separation of

wealth from life-forces. (Wealth is considered in the context of both social relations and of the relations between an individual and Cosmos)[50]. Originally the notion "wealth" was as if dissolved in such a fundamental category of beliefs as general fertility (of soil, livestock, human beings)[51]. This relationship between wealth and life-forces was embodied in the belief that treats material well-being as a sort and sign of life-forces as well as a consequence of natural fertility (a woman's reproductive capacity, her life-giving attributes)[52]; wealth can be regarded as the substratum of life-forces. Later, with the lapse of time, wealth acquires an independent significance and gradually becomes associated with magic powers. The appearance of belief in wealth as a kind of grace and the transformation of wealth into a means of status increase (earning social prestige) is significant in this context. To sum it up, the author infers that there are reasons to believe that the observed connection between magic powers and wealth is a result of the evolution of beliefs.

The problem cannot be reduced to opposing life-forces as something innate (congenital, inherited, inherent) to magic powers seemingly acquired (merited, achieved), gained from some external sources[53]. So, the notion of magic power as a quality one is born with can co-exist with the belief in the life-forces acquired, gained in the course of life (e.g., by the chief or by a participant in a successful raid of head-hunters). The notion of good luck and good fortune, the author stresses, reflects the lack of any rigid boundaries between separate categories in the religio-mythological systems of the Tibeto-Burman peoples. One of the main characteristics of the beliefs in good luck and good fortune lays in the convergence of ideas of fate or destiny and grace. The meanings of the Lahu words *î-bo(n)* and *si(n)* as well as the combination of these morphemes *î-bo-î-si (aw$_v$ bon aw$_v$ shi)* and the Akha combination *gui$_v$ lah$_v$ (gylan)* and their derivatives found in the dictionaries compiled by P. W. Lewis and J. A. Matisoff[54] could be considered as a proof of such intertwining. Considerable attention is paid to the study of the interconnection between grace and merit. The study of these notions makes it possible to conclude that within the framework of the system of traditional (pre-Christian, pre-Buddhist) beliefs of the Tibeto-Burman peoples grace and merit form a certain unity, making up a particular com-

plex of magical powers.

In this chapter the author also dwells upon some theoretical problems of investigating mana and mana-like notions. Being far from identifying mana-like concepts with the beliefs in the omnipresent, all-penetrating power, running through the whole Universe, the author very much doubts the validity of the other extreme - the statement, according to which magic power is a relationship rather than a quality (property, attribute).

The closing part entitled “Instead of Conclusion” raises issues merely touched upon in the foregoing chapters (e.g. ideological distinction between “bone” and “flesh”; “teeth” topic) or not mentioned at all (descent ideology and conception ideology; two types of life-forces: maternal and ancestral).

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This "Summary" has benefited from the readings of its early drafts by A. Yu. Guerasimov and V. A. Paritsky. Any lapses in writing, of course, are mine alone.

[1] Unfortunately, due to various reasons, the author was compelled to give up extensive citing and adduction and detailed analysis of materials on the Tibetans, the Newars, the Meitheis, the Burmans, and the peoples of South-Western China.

[2] Cf. ***Århem K.*** Into the Realm of the Sacred: An Interpretation of Khasi Funerary Ritual // On the Meaning of Death. Essays on Mortuary Rituals and Eschatological Beliefs / Ed. by S. Cederroth, C. Corlin and J. Lindstrom. Introduction by M. Bloch. Uppsala, 1988. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology. 8). P. 297, note 4.

[3] Cf. Southeast Asian Birth Customs. Three Studies in Human Reproduction / ***Hart D. V., Phya Anuman Rajadhon, Coughlin R. J.*** New Haven (Conn.), 1965.

[4] ***Obayashi T.*** Myths of Agricultural Origins in the Indo-Pacific Area: A Culture-Historical Approach // East Asian Cultural Studies. 1985. Vol. XXIV. Nos. 1-4. (International Symposium on Civilizations Related to Rice Cultivation in Asian Countries.Kyoto, 6-10 June 1983 / Ed. by T. Watabe and Sh. Ikuta). P. 165.

[5] ***Pfleiderer B., Bergner E.*** A Bibliography on Himalayan Ethnography. Stuttgart, 1990. (Nepal Research Centre Publications, 15). P. 270.

[6] Southeast Asian Birth Customs.

[7] We can recognize, though, that the potential for such a piece of ideology is there / cf. ***Strathern A.*** "Noman": Representations of Identity in Mount Hagen // The Structure of Folk Models / Ed. by L. Holy and M. Stuchlik. L. etc., 1981./: the consecutive replacement of one soul with another, new one.

[8] Cf. ***Durrenberger E. P.*** The Lisu Concept of the Soul // Journal of the Siam Society. 1975. Vol. 63. P. 63.

[9] Cf. ***Leertouwer L.*** Het beeld van de ziel by drie sumatraanse volken. Groningen, 1977. P.227.

[10] Until all the body fluids have been dried up? / cf. ***Jacobson-Widding A.*** Red-White-Black as a Mode of Thought: A Study of Triadic Classification by Colours in the Ritual Symbolism and Cognitive Thought of the Peoples of the Lower Congo. Uppsala, 1979. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology. 1). Pp. 307,314/.

[11] The only confusing thing is the relatively late entry and settling of saya in the body.

[12] Cf. ***Ringgren H.*** The Problem of Fatalism // Fatalistic Beliefs in Religion, Folklore, and Literature. Papers read at the Symposium on Fatalistic Beliefs held at Åbo on the 7-th-9-th of September, 1964 / Ed. by H. Ringgren. Stockholm, 1967. (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis. II). P. 18; ***Huntsman J., Hooper A., Ward R. H.*** Genealogies as Culture and Biology: A Tokelau Case Study // Mankind. 1986. Vol. 16.

No.1. Pp. 13-14.

[13] ***Hutton J. H.*** The Angami Nagas: With Some Notes on Neighbouring Tribes. L., 1969 (1921).

[14] ***Needham R.*** Skulls and Causality // Man (N.S.). 1976. Vol. 11. No. 1.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Cf. ***Fortes M.*** Tallensi Clans and Totemism // VII Ìåæäóíàðîäíûé Êîíãðåññ Àíòðîïîëîãè÷åñêèõ è Ýòíîãðàôè÷åñêèõ íàóê. Ìîñêâà (3-10 àâãóñòà 1964 ã.). Ò. IX. Ì., 1970. Ñ. 130.

[17] ***Furer-Haimendorf Ch.*** The After-Life in Indian Tribal Belief // JRAI. 1953. Vol. 83. Pt. 1.

[18] ***Shirokogoroff S. M.*** Psychomental Complex of the Tungus. L., 1935. P. 51.

[19] Cf. ***Leach E. R.*** Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure / With a Foreword by R. Firth. L., 1954. P. 162, note 87.

[20] ***Hutton J. H.*** The Significance of Head-Hunting in Assam // JRAI. 1928. Vol. 58. Pt. II. P. 401.

[21] Idem. Caste in India. Its Nature, Function, and Origins. Oxford UP, 1961. P. 240.

[22] The author's purpose is neither to imply by this that the bones "do not matter", nor to try to deny or belittle the importance of the bones with which the spiritual essence is associated (the bones as imperishable parts of the body symbolize the spiritual element of every human being /see, e.g.: ***Ârhem K.*** Op. cit. P. 267/). The author's intent is only to underscore the idea of fertility-granting power considered to be attached to the flesh. Seen in this light, the flesh, i.e. the decaying yet "life-promising" soft tissues, as the feminine element of the person (the female contribution), might symbolize "an alterable, temporal, but life-giving vitality" /***Traube E.*** Affines and the Dead: Mambai Rituals of Alliance // BTLV. 1980. Deel 136. 1-e afl. (Anthropologica XXII) Pp. 100, 106. Cf. detailed elaboration of this topic in the works by M. Bloch, R. Huntington/.

[23] ***Terwiel B. J.*** The Tais and Their Belief in Khwans: Towards Establishing an Aspect of “Proto-Tai” Culture // The Tribal World and Its Transformation / Ed. by B. Singh, J. S. Bhandari. New Delhi, 1980. (X-th ICAES Series. No.1). P. 157.

[24] ***Fürer-Haimendorf Ch.*** The Konyak Nagas, an Indian Frontier Tribe. N.Y., 1969. Pp. 91, 92.

[25] ***Hollan D. W., Wellenkamp J. C.*** Contentment and Suffering: Culture and Experience in Toraja. N.Y., 1994. P. 13.

[26] Cf. ***Mills J. P.*** The Lhota Nagas / With an Introduction and Supplementary Notes by J. H. Hutton. L., 1922. P. 146.

[27] When referring to a man's destiny the author means “one's appointed lot or fortune” / cf. ***Ringgren H.*** Op. cit. P. 7/.

[28] ***Ehnmark E.*** Världsreligionerna. 2 nd ed. Stockholm, 1961. P. 19. Quoted from: ***Ringgren H.*** Op. cit. P. 10.

[29] ***Izikowitz K. G.*** Lamet. Hill Peasants in French Indochina. Göteborg, 1951. Idem. Fastening the Soul. Some Religious Traits Among the Lamet (French Indochina) // ***Izikowitz K. G.*** Compass for Fields Afar. Essays in Social Anthropology / Ed. by

G. Aijmer. Göteborg, 1985. (Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Gothenburg Studies in Social Anthropology. 7).

[30] Idem. Fastening the Soul.

[31] ***Lewis P.W.*** Ethnographic Notes on the Akhas of Burma. Vol. II. New Haven (Conn.), 1969. P. 397.

[32] Ibid. Vol. IV. New Haven (Conn.), 1970. P.795; Akha-English-Thai Dictionary. Compiled by Paul Lewis. In two sections. I. Akha-English-Thai. II. English-Akha. Chiang Rai, 1989. P. 510.

[33] ***Shukla B. K.*** The Daflas of the Subansiri Region. Shillong, 1959. Pp. 11, 129.

[34] ***Matisoff J. A.*** Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman: The "Organic" Approach to Linguistic Comparison. Philadelphia (Pa.), 1978. (Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics. Vol. 6). Pp. 183-184, 270-271.

[35] ***Cornford F. M.*** From Religion to Philosophy. A Study in the Origin of Western Speculation. N.Y., 1957(1912). P. 110.

[36] Cf.: "...VEKÚ [age, lifetime] is not only the spatio-temporal frame of life, but also life itself, life-force, embodied in the vital substance..." / ***Ivanov V. V., Toporov V. N.*** K istokam slavyanskoi sotsialnoi terminologii // Slavyanskoye i balkanskoye yazykoznaniye. Yazyk v etnokulturnom aspekte. Moscow, 1984. P. 90 (in Russian).

[37] ***Leach E. R.*** Rethinking Anthropology. L., 1961. (London School of Economics. Monographs on Social Anthropology. 22). Pp. 13-14.

[38] ***Oppitz M.*** Onkels Tochter, keine sonst. Heiratsbundnis und Denkweise in einer Lokalkultur des Himalaya. Frankfurt am Main, 1991. S. 43.

[39] ***Mills J. P.*** Op. cit. Pp. 105-106; cf. ***Shaw W.*** Notes on the Thadou Kukis / Ed. With Introduction, Notes, Appendices, Illustrations and Index by J. H. Hutton // JASB (N.S.). 1928. Vol. XXIV. Calcutta, 1929. P. 79, note 1.

[40] The author means the normal dentition (folk beliefs connected with children that are born with teeth deserve special study).

[41] ***Weiner J. F.*** Blood and Skin: The Structural Implications of Sorcery and Procreation Beliefs Among the Foi // Ethnos. 1986. Vol. 51: I-II. P. 76.

[42] See, for example: ***La Barre W.*** Muelos. A Stone Age Superstition About Sexuality. N.Y., 1984. P. 31.

[43] ***Lepowsky M.*** Fruit of the Motherland: Gender in an Egalitarian Society. N.Y., 1993. P. 99.

[44] ***Buckley Th., Gottlieb A.*** A Critical Appraisal of Theories of Menstrual Symbolism // Blood Magic. The Anthropology of Menstruation / Ed. And with an Introduction by Th. Buckley and A. Gottlieb. Berkeley, 1988. P. 39.

[45] ***Bennett L.*** Dangerous Wives and Sacred Sisters. Social and Symbolic Roles of High-Caste Women in Nepal. N.Y., 1983. Pp. 216-217.

[46] ***Kirsch A. Th.*** Feasting and Social Oscillation: A Working Paper on Religion and Society in Upland Southeast Asia. Ithaca (N.Y.), 1973. (Department of Asian Studies. Cornell University. Data Paper. Number 92. Southeast Asia Program). Pp. 7 (note 15), 14,18.

[47] Cf. ***Litman A. D.*** Traditions of philosophical naturalism in India and Dev Atma's outlook (Summary) // Litman A. D. Traditsii filosofskogo naturalizma v Indii i mirovozzrenie Dev Atmy. Moscow, 1982. P. 210.

[48] Cf. ***Cornford F. M.*** Op. cit. P. 87, note 2.

[49] See on this complex: ***Hutton J. H.*** The Significance of Head-Hunting in Assam; Heine-Geldern R. Das Megalithproblem // Beitrage Osterreichs zur Erforschung der Vergangenheit und Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit. Horn, 1959; ***Simoons F. J. A.*** A Ceremonial Ox of India. The Mithan in Nature, Culture and History. Madison, 1968.

[50] ***Godula R.*** Introduction // The Gift in Culture / Ed. by R. Godula. Kraków, 1993. (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace etnograficzne. Vol. 31).

[51] Cf.: " "Fertility" , to the Naga, has very broad connotations, which include the general well-being and prosperity of the community and not only the actual fertility of the fields, domestic animals, and human inhabitants of the village" / ***Simoons F. J. A.*** Op. cit. P. 110/.

[52] Cf. ***Beatty A.*** Asymmetric Alliance in Nias, Indonesia // Man (N.S.), 1990. Vol. 25. No.3. P. 464.

[53] Cf. ***Allen M.*** Rank and Leadership in Nduindui, Northern New Hebrides // Mankind. 1972. Vol. 8. No. 4. P. 278.

[54] Akha-English-Thai Dictionary. P. 179; Matisoff J.A. The Dictionary of Lahu. Berkeley-Los Angeles-L., 1988. (University of California. Publications in Linguistics. Vol. III). Pp. 186-187, 205, 941-944, 1181.