Guahibo

ETHNONYMS: Goahibo, Goahiva, Guaigua, Guajibo, Guayba, “Sicuani”, “Sikuani”, Wahibo

By: Alex Menz

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Amorua (Rio Tomo Guahibo), Guahibo (Sikuani), Tigrero, Vichadeño. Guahiban languages may not be within Arawakan; Guahibo; Guajiboan/Guajibo. (1)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): GUH

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): “The Guahibo occupy almost all the Comisari'a of Vichada, Colombia, in a region centered approximately upon 50 north latitude and 680 west longitude. This is a zone bounded by the Meta River on the north, the Vichada River on the south, the Orinoco River on the east, and the Muco River on the west. Outside this area, marginal groups are found north of the Meta, in Boyaca and Arauca, and south of the Vichada, in the vicinity of the Mataveni River. In Venezuela a few have also been reported in the Apure region and south of the Orinoco in Amazonas Territory. The linguistically related Churoyan and Cunimian speakers are located within Colombia to the southwest, in the Department of Meta, along the upper Guaviare River and its affluents. Essentially, the Guahibo form an isolated linguistic unit geographically confined to the Colombian llanos, surrounded by various groups of Carib and Arawak speakers” (5, 16). In Colombia, Plains regions, Casanare, eastern Meta, Vichada, Guaviare, and Guainía departments. Also in Venezuela, Amazonas and Apure states, Orinoco river from Caicaro de Orinoco on the upper Orinoco. (1) “Beginning in the 1950s, some groups migrated toward the east, to the central Orinoco and the jungle areas of the Río Guaviare and to Amazonas in Venezuela” (2, Orientation). See figure 1.

1.4 Brief history: Early reports describe the Guahibo as nomadic hunter gatherers, whose form of life “contrasted with sedentary river dwellers dedicated to horticulture.” Starting in the 18th century, they began to settle down on the banks of the Meta, Vichada, and Ariari rivers with the remainder of the Arawak (Achagua and Piapoco) and changed their form of life from hunting and gathering to that of semi-sedentary horticulture. At the end of the 17th century, the Guahibo gained control over the riverine territories after the Jesuit missionaries left. The missionaries were never able to “congregate them into towns.” Surges of colonization brought about by “inter ethnic conflicts” in the interior led to the territory being overrun by cattle ranchers headed to the east. They were not afraid to use bullets and guns on the natives. The Guahibo took advantage of that and assaulted travelers and hunted cattle. On this unofficial border, a process of acculturation and “Hispanicization” began. Even in the 1960s, cattle ranchers continued to organize retaliatory raids against the more nomadic groups (2, History and Cultural Relations). “Following early contacts with Europeans, the Guahibo underwent immediate and permanent changes, although at first with much reluctance. Their numbers declined, customs and traditions altered, and today nomadism has been replaced by small permanent village units that attempt to exploit savannah and forest lands. [This] has led to a great reduction in the numbers of once abundant food animals and forest resources that they formerly relied upon for survival. Prolonged contact with European settlers has transformed most Guahibo into sedentary cultivators of rice, plantains, bitter cassava and other crops. Some also raise domestic animals in an attempt to compensate for the lack of wild game” (3, 361-362).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: After failed attempts at organizing the Guahibo into towns, jesuit missionaries left the area. Cattle ranchers did not. Up to the 1960s, cattle ranchers invaded the Guahibo area, which led to more violence between the groups (2, History and Cultural Relations). See 1.4 for more information.

1.6 Ecology: “There is a well-defined climatic alternation of wet and dry seasons,” each 6 months in length. “During the rains, large sections of savanna and forest along drastically, exposing large areas of sandy beach” (6, 24). The lack of uniformity in relation to time is a result of subsistence differences, climatic differences in

rainfall patterns and the differences in flora and fauna. “Seasonal and annual disparity in rainfall patterns are the most important factors which preclude formulation or precise division of time” (6, 24).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: 23,000 in Colombia (Arango Ochoa and Sánchez Gutierrez 1998). 40% monolingual. 11,200 in Venezuela (2001 census). 37% urban. Ethnic population: 14,800. Population total all countries: 34,200 (1).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): “They hunted forest and savannah animals and gathered plant foods. Fishing and the capture of river animals was of lesser importance” (3, 361). The Mantaco (*Euterpe precatoria*) palm heart is also eaten. The exact nutritional value is unknown but it is similar to the closely related genus Prestoea. The nutritional composition found in the heart of *P. longepetiolatais*: Food energy: calories-26 (2,700); moisture- 91.0%;protein-2.2 g (56); fat-0.2 g; total carbohydrate-5.2 g; fiber-0.6 g; ash-1 .4 g; calcium-86 mg (800); phosphorus-79 mg (800); iron-0.8 mg (10); vitamin A value-trace; thiamine-0.4 mg (1.4); riboflavin-0.09 mg (1.6); niacin-0.7 mg (18); ascorbic acid-17 mg (45) (Leung, 1961)” (3, 363). (*Mauritia flexuosa)* Moriche provides a fermented beverage, made from the trunk. After the fruit is collected from falling off the trees, the resulting pulp is mixed with water. “At this point, the drink can be enjoyed or made into a soup with other vegetables such as maize. If an alcoholic beverage is desired, the mix is left uncooked for 3 to 4 days” (3, 364). The purple fruits of the *Bactris cf. maraja*/(Spanish) Espina/(Guahibo) Xaneeboto contain a sweetly acidic pulp which is eaten raw for thirst (3, 368). “A chocolate-colored chicha is prepared by macerating the fruits in water, straining out the seeds, and often adding crude sugar to the mixture. This beverage plays an important role in the Guahibo diet. During the palm's fruiting season, the people are said to be healthier and more robust, due to the frequent consumption of this nutritious and oily drink” (3, 373). This is the same palm that weevils are harvested from, so they cut down the entire tree (3, 373).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: “They hunted forest and savannah animals and gathered plant foods. Fishing and the capture of river animals was of lesser importance” (3, 361). When the moriche palm approaches senility it falls over in the forest and is quickly attacked by weevil larvae that are eaten by the Guahibo foraging in the gallery forest. “The larvae are called *aleri* and *simu'to* by the Guahibo.The former is fat, white and 1 inch long, appearing 2 months after the tree falls. The latter is described as being much larger. It is reddish and appears in less time than *aleri*. The larvae are harvested only from mature fallen trunks; no trees are specifically felled for this purpose” (3, 365). The *Maxiimiliana maripa*/(Spanish) Inaja/(Guahibo) Naxairibo has fruit that is valuable to them. “When ripe they are picked from the tree, separated from the panicle and boiled in a pot of water for 10 min. The fibrous epicarp is then peeled off, and the remainder mashed to separate the pulpy mesocarp from the stony endocarp. This pulp is diluted with water and directly consumed as an oil-rich beverage, adding important fats to the diet. To prepare the coconut-like tissue inside for eating, the ripe panicle is cut into three to four sections, placed on glowing coals of a fire, and left to bake for 10-15 min. Each seed is then parted with a rock or machete, and the succulent endosperm is eaten...Both the pulp and the kernel are high in fat content. Eckey (1954) lists the following composition: % fat in kernel- 60-67; % fat in pulp mesocarp-42. 1. *Maximiliana maripa* is a notably useful species for oil and fat production, because of its great abundance throughout the region” (3, 368).

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: “They usually hunted with bows and arrows. A frequent technique involved men walking together through an area in a long line, eventually closing into a circle and capturing the prey” (3, 361). See figure 7. A fishing net is made from the *Geonolna dev'ersa/*(Guahibo) Vavara palm, by using it as a frame for a woven fishing net of cumare fiber. “These nets are employed when fishing with barbasco, to scoop up the stunned fish as they float to the surface” (3, 367). See figure 4.

2.4 Food storage: No information found.

2.5 Sexual division of production: The separation process (removing the "meat" from the stony part) for the *Inaja* is a laborious task. It is often assigned the children while adults are engaged in other activities yielding a

higher effort/benefit ratio" (3, 368). "Felling and burning the fields to prepare for cultivation is communal male work. Hunting, fishing, house construction, and canoe making are also men's tasks. A man who wishes to marry is expected to be capable of weaving a manioc press and other basketry items that are given to women to perform their work. Women do the planting and harvesting and prepare food, especially griddle cakes from grated and leached bitter manioc. Pottery making is a typically feminine task" (2, Economy).

2.6 Land tenure: "Only with the creation of reserves and protected territories is the notion of landownership beginning to develop" (2, Economy).

2.7 Ceramics: "The Guahibo were skilled artisans, producing beautiful pottery. Other handcrafts included weapons, hammocks, grinding bowls, rafts and clothing. Musical instruments included rattles, panpipes and cane flutes. Trading between groups was frequent, using palm thread, palm fiber hammocks, calabash gourds and even captured slaves" (3, 361).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: No information found.
2.9 Food taboos: No information found.
2.10 Canoes/watercraft? Use palms to cover canoes to protect them from sun and rain. "An arched wooden framework is constructed and thatched with these leaves" (3, 363). "The long, tubular leaf petioles of [the moriche] palm" are used to make a "small raft is made from them for fishing in a slow moving stream or lake when using barbasco, a fish poison. Quantities of these petioles are lashed together and the fisherman floats out to the middle of the water on this platform to spread the fish poison and scoop up the fish. The petiole's strength and lightweight, especially when dry, provides a useful styrofoam like material. The presence of millions of these palms along the streams and swamps of the Llanos, assures an ample supply, should an industrial application be developed. The petiole fibers could serve as a kind of packing material that might be locally produced and could provide cargo for supply trucks that otherwise return empty to urban centers" (3,364).

3. Anthropometry
3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): No information found.
3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No information found.

4. Life History, mating, marriage
4.1 Age at menarche (f): No information found.
4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): No information found.

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): "The Guahibo residential unit varies according to its phase of development. It is initially made up of a mature nuclear family in a neolocal home. Later, it develops into an uxorilocal extended family by incorporating sons-in-law, who are required to render bride-service for several years. Eventually, constituent nuclear families become more independent and build their own homes either in the same village or further away. In the case of chiefs, some of the sons remain in their father's home and bring their wives to live with them virilocally, because the sons generally inherit social status within their community of orientation" (2, Marriage and Family).

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): No information found.
4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): No information found.
4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: No information found.
4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: No information found.
4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: There is a bride service from the sons-in-law into an uxorilocal extended family. In the case of chiefs, sons could remain in their father's home and bring their wives in (virilocally) (2, Marriage and Family). See 4.3 for more information.

4.9 Inheritance patterns: "Eventually, constituent nuclear families become more independent and build their own homes either in the same village or further away." In the case of chief's sons, it can change (2, Marriage

and Family). Overall, “the scarce goods a man possesses go to his sons, and those of a woman to her daughters.” See 4.3 and 4.8 for more information.

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: “Children are educated with affection and permissiveness. They learn different kinds of work by collaborating with adults. Moralistic tales tell of the punishment that awaits those who violate social norms. Formal education has been established since the middle of the twentieth century, first in the missions then in community schools with indigenous teachers. In the 1980s, programs were developed to protect indigenous language and culture” (2, Marriage and Family).

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: No information found.

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): “Guahibo sub tribes tend toward endogamy, are somewhat localized, and have either a human or an animal ancestor or associate” (5, 17). While, “the tendency is predominantly toward endogamous marriage between bilateral cross cousins, [Guahibo] mobility frequently leads to marriages with distant groups. Especially common are marriages between [Guahibo]and Piapoco” (2, Marriage and Family).

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? Adultery is not accepted, so multiple fathers are not common (4, 169).

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)
No information found.
4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?
No information found.
4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: No information found.
4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): Cross cousins are the ideal alliance to make by marriage (4, 169).

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No, there is “conflict and hostility” in regards to adultery. “Extramarital relationships are a constant source of trouble,” (6, 33).

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: There are not many extramarital partners or they are at least not open about it (4, 169).

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? No information found.
4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: No information found.
4.22 Evidence for couvades: No information found.
4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): No information found.
4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? No information found.

4.24 Joking relationships? There does not seem to be many joking relationships (at least of the sexual kind). “Social control is exercised through criticism of deviant behavior. In cases of serious conflict, accusations of sorcery are made, generally resulting in the migration of the people involved” (2, Sociopolitical Organization).

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: For physical goods/items, they are inherited from father to son and mother to daughter (2, Marriage and Family).

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: No information found.
4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? No information found.
4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? No information found.

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) “Guahibo sub tribes tend toward endogamy, are somewhat localized, and have either a human or an animal ancestor or associate” (5, 17).

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? No information found.
4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: No information found.

Warfare/homicide
4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No information found.
4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: No information found.
4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: No information found.
4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): No information found.
4.18 Cannibalism? No information found.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction
5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: On average, there are less than 50 inhabitants (2, Settlements). The villages that developed in the proximity of missions, near Creole villages, or at strategic points along communication axes are more nucleated, and their population exceeds 100 individuals.

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): There are three types of Guahibos: nomadic, semi-nomadic/semi-sedentary, and cultivating. See more information in 5.8 (6, 24). “There is a gradual ecological-cultural transition from permanent horticultural villages in the Vichada-Muco and Orinoco areas (occupation the entire year for a period of 3-5 years), to semi-permanent transhuman villages along the interior streams as the Tomo and Tuparro Rivers (occupation for a similar long term period but only during the rainy season of each year) and then to nomadic hunters and gatherers in the interfluvial regions (occupation of one location for no more than a few months at a time)” (5, 17).

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): There seems to be some sort of headman and “unless the headman is an extremely successful arbitrator, community membership tends to be in a continual state of flux” (6, 33). The Guahibo have a, basically, egalitarian society in other cases. Although chieftainship and shamanism are generally male positions, women have a great deal of influence on the community's decision-making processes. Factors in social stratification include the degree of acculturation and the prevailing life-style.” “Leadership rarely goes beyond the village level. Each community is autonomous, and only with the development of the indigenous movement and the formation of Indian reserves have regional political organizations been created” (2, Sociopolitical Organization).

5.4 Post marital residence: Depending on if they are the son of the chief, the son-in-law will normally move in with the in-laws for a bride-service time before becoming the their own nuclear family. If they are the son of the chief, they would stay with the chief (2, Marriage and Family).

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): No strict territoriality (2, Settlements). See 5.8 for more information.

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): “Children are educated with affection and permissiveness. They learn different kinds of work by collaborating with adults. Formal education has been established since the middle of the twentieth century, first in the missions then in community schools with indigenous teachers” (2, Marriage and Family).

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: There does not seem to be many joking relationships (at least of the sexual kind). “Social control is exercised through criticism of deviant behavior. In cases of serious conflict, accusations of sorcery are made, generally resulting in the migration of the people involved” (2, Sociopolitical Organization).

5.8 Village and house organization: There are three types of Guahibos: nomadic, semi-nomadic/semi-sedentary, and cultivating. The nomadic set up temporary camps and move through out the region at irregular intervals during the year. The semi-nomadic/semi-sedentary occupy villages during the rainy season. The sedentary/cultivating populations occupy villages throughout the year, from which small family units may break off (6, 24). They live in dispersed villages formed by a few houses. "Settlement size and mutual proximity are determined by the availability of resources such as wooded areas and water supply and by such factors as distance from routes of communication and the possibility of maintaining relations through the presence of allied groups in the vicinity." Limited resources can trigger migration to new areas. The mobility of the Guahibo, a factor in the survival of the group, is based on the fact that there is no strict territoriality and that all consider themselves related and can establish new neighborhood relations and alliances in any part of the area. (2, Settlements).

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): "As nomads, they required relatively simple dwellings of woven [Mantaco] palm mats and hammocks of palm fiber" (3, 361). Formerly, they used the leaves to cover the entrance to their homes. See figure 2. "Due to seasonal fluctuations of insect populations, the need arose during certain times of the year to sleep in small, tightly sealed dwellings. Huts were made of wild plantain leaves as well as Jessenia and other available palm leaves, and were probably constructed as pictured by Kirchhoff (1948). An insect-proof screen was created by weaving the many thin pinnae of Mantaco together into a mat, and placing it over the hut entrance at night or occasionally during the day," (3, 363). Another palm is used to cover walls and roofs. It is called (Spanish) Moriche and (Guahibo) Inojo (3, 363).

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? They sleep in hammocks (3, 361). See figure 6.

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: "When the father and mother belong to different wirias or ethnic groups, it is assumed that children belong to the father's or mother's group depending on which group is dominant in the community. The children of a Piapoco man and a [Guahibo] woman who live in a [Guahibo] community will be [Guahibo]. If, on the other hand, the couple lives in a Piapoca community, the children will be Piapoca." "Although all consider themselves related, regional groups called *wiria* differentiate each other by certain linguistic features and particular mythical ancestors, generally animals. The tapir, jaguar, sardine, sloth, parrot, and macaw groups are the best known. A complete list would include some forty groupings of this kind" (2, Marriage and Family). See 8.3 for more information.

5.12 Trade: There is an "importance of [the Mantaco (Spanish) or Manacfay (Guahibo)] palms to the Guahibo for the following uses: raw or cooked fruits, palinito, fermented beverage, oil and starchy flour. They utilized palm oils, which were gathered from forest trees and traded with the Achagua in exchange for cultivated products" (3, 361). *Yopo* is also an important item of commerce. *Yopo* was traded with the Piaroa for *curare,* an arrow poison. An early description of the preparation of this drug is found in Spruce (1970), where it is called Niopo" (3, 371). *Jessenia bataua* is also used as a trade item. "The gathering of this oil and others from the genus Oenocarpus was an important occupation for the Indians living in forested areas of large concentrations of these trees. Palm oils were a valuable item of commerce to the trading economy of the Guahibo" (3, 373).

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? No information found.

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR: No information found.

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): There is a *brujo* or a medicine man (see 6.3 for information regarding limitations) (3, 369). *Jessenia bataua* fruit provide an oil with a taste almost identical to that of the olive. "Preparation of this oil is simple. Ripe fruits are harvested and covered for a day or so in a pile to encourage further ripening. They are then steamed in water, and the pulp separated from the bony seed with a mortar. The steaming hot pulp is put into a woven basket press known as a sebucan (the tipi- tipi of the Amazon Valley). Oil expressed by means of the strong pressure exerted by this device flows out into a collecting vessel

to be clarified and bottled. Local uses for this oil include a remedy for tuberculosis, cough, asthma and other respiratory problems, as cooking or edible oil, or as a hair tonic" (3, 373).

6.2 Stimulants: "The mature seeds [of the *Astrocaryurn acaule*/(Spanish) Espina/(Guahibo) Mataviculi] are used to cap the ends of the *silipu* for snuffing the narcotic *Yopo*. The outer husk and mesocarp are removed, the endocarp is cleaned, pierced longitudinally, and affixed to the bone tube" (3, 368). The use of the hallucinogenic snuff *Yopo* is common among the Guahibo. The men were and still are known to use it to excess. The ground seeds of a leguminous tree (*Anadenanthera peregrina*) are snuffed through a Y-shaped device known as a *sili'pu* or *siri'po* from a beautifully carved wooden plate known as *pa'te.* The snuff tube is constructed from the leg bones of an egret or other local bird. The end inserted into the nostrils consists of either of two species of palm fruits, *Maximiliana maripa* or *Astrocaryum acaule* (3, 370). "Altschul (1972) describes *Yopo* as serving for both pleasure and stamina and states that the Guahibo are "never without it"" (3, 371). See figure 5.

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): "In early childhood and especially at the onset of menstruation, a ritual is performed in which a long prayer is recited naming all species of fish and animais of the hunt that might harm the child that is about to be weaned or the young woman who has reached the age of procreation" (2, Religion and Expressive Culture). "Previous to contact with Europeans, ritual isolation of a young woman from the tribe during her first menstruation was common among South American Indian tribes. My informant was able to recall this practice during his childhood-about 30 years ago. When the Guahibo woman had her first period, a separate "room" in the family dwelling was prepared for her. This space was set off with woven mats of *M. maripa*. She remained in this room for approximately 8 days, never communicating with the other inhabitants of the dwelling. If she had to leave the house, it was in the company of an "ancient one" or older woman. After 8 days, she began to speak again, but continued to live in her separate room for about a month. From this point on, at each recurrence of her menstrual cycle, she dwelt in a small hut away from the others. These huts were also constructed with leaves of *Maximiliana maripa* and *Mauritia flexuosa*. (See figure 3). When her menstrual flow began to diminish, the woman bathed herself and rejoined the others living in the communal group. The reason given for this practice of separation is that the curing power of the *brujo* or medicine man is much lessened in proximity to a menstruating female. In fact it is said that the medicine man is not able to operate at all in the same area with such a female" (3, 369).

6.4 Other rituals: "The fermented morishe/inojo brew [mentioned in 2.1] is consumed during festivals, in the fields during planting season (a custom said "to make work easier") or at night after a day's labor" (3, 364).

6.5 Myths (Creation): "Overall, the world is the result of the actions of deities and culture heroes who made the world livable by diminishing the power of cannibals and by exiling other beings that were harmful to humans" (2, Religion and Expressive Culture). See 6.13 for more information.

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): In the industrial arts area, "although items of daily use are made by nonspecialists, basketry and pottery are more or less specialized crafts executed for trade and economic gain by people with artistic abilities. Woven trays, for example, are made with designs that have symbolic value and are desirable trade items. Hammocks made of *cumare*- or *macanilla*- palm fibers are sold or traded in White-managed shops" (2, Economy).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: No information found.

6.8 Missionary effect: After failed attempts at organizing the Guahibo into towns, Jesuit missionaries left the area. Cattle ranchers did not. Up to the 1960s, cattle ranchers invaded the Guahibo area, which led to more violence between the groups (2, History and Cultural Relations). See 1.4 for more information.

6.9 RCR revival: No information found.

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: “Through a divinatory ceremony with tobacco and yopo, the shaman can determine the identity of a generally distant enemy who is responsible for the death of a person. The *itomo* ceremony takes place two or three years after the body is buried. The bones are exhumed and painted with annato and reburied in an urn. A large number of people are invited to this feast, which lasts for three days. Manioc beer is served, and there is dancing on the secondary grave to the sound of flutes made from deer crania. Following the ceremony, the spirit of the deceased goes to live in the world of the dead, whence it will not return to interfere in the lives of its relatives” (2, Religion and Expressive Culture).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No information found.

6.12 Is there teknonymy? No information found.

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): Religion could potentially be some sort of ancestor worship as shown through the sub tribe language differences, described in 8.3. There was conflict and hostility generated by sorcery. “Only the closest kin (primary relatives) are above suspicion of practicing sorcery” (6, 33). Overall, the world is the result of the actions of deities and culture heroes who made the world livable by diminishing the power of cannibals and by exiling other beings that were harmful to humans. The main deity, Furna Minali, and the heroes Tsamani (the constellacion Delphinus), Iwinai (Pleiades), Kajuyali (Orion), among others, exiled Kuemainü, the great maneating serpent, by transforming it into the Milky Way and weakened the power of lightning by vanquishing it in combat. They gave people prayers and shamanic powers to cure illness and to rid themselves of their enemies and the grandparents of animals that inhabit lakes and caverns. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the influence of Christianity has been growing. As a consequence, the use of the psychotropic *yopo* (*Anadenanthera peregrina*) has been discontinued. The forces of nature and the grandparents of the animals appear as ghosts, and their presence is a constant factor in the life of the Sikuani. Hunting or fishing must not be excessive, and the hunting of certain animals, such as tapir, requires special observances like sexual abstinence on the part of the hunter. The appearance of some animals, such as the fox, or the occurrence of some incident during a ritual is a bad omen” (2, Religion and Expressive Culture).

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: No information found.
7.2 Piercings: No information found.
7.3 Haircut: No information found.
7.4 Scarification: No information found.
7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): “They made limited use of clothing. Some women wore small palm fiber aprons, and by 1889, they were reported to be making cotton loin cloths” (3, 361).

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: No information found.
7.7 Sex differences in adornment: No information found.
7.8 Missionary effect: No information found.
7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No information found.

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: “The terminology for cousins is of the Iroquois type, and avuncular terminology is bifurcate-collateral” (2, Marriage and Family).

8.2 Sororate, levirate: No information found.

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): The subtribal members are said to reflect the characteristics of the ancestor or the associate. The Mahamomowi “parrot people” talk loudly like a parrot; the Bemomowi “monkey people” behave foolishly like

a monkey. They discover what subtribe people are from by asking “de pitsi wiria?” (what kind/type or species/are you?). The subtribes speak “mutually intelligible dialects which appear to differ essentially only in inflection and a few lexical items” (5, 18). The term, *hiwi*, is “normally used only by those Guahibo groups which practice horticulture to refer to themselves; to all other speakers of their language they apply the term *[Guahibo]*(Sicuani)” (5, 18). For specific knowledge beyond two generations or within “one to two degrees of lateral relationship,” is negligible. “Contemporary consanguineal and affinal ties for the bases by which new members attach themselves to the band of a particular headman, but these tend to be extremely unstable” (6, 33).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them): The Guahibo have no structured time sequences, even involved in subsistence activities, other than the life cycles of individuals. It is based on 16 different occurrences: Wai (“Dry Season”)—*Wai itsa kopiahopa* (“dry season when beginning”), *Ope matakabi* (“*ope day”), Wayapo harrahi matakabi* (“savanna turtle day”), *Matiwi matakabi* (“iguana day”), *Pitsuni harra matakabi* (“terecay turtle day”), *Wai itsa werewereka* (“dry season when ending”), *Awahuba saponai matakabi* (“rising level day”)—and Emarrapai (“Rain Season”)—*Marrapai kobia* (“rain season to begin”), *Emarrapai kopieta* (rain season beginning”), *Pubu matakabi* (“bachaco ant day”), *Kuperi matakabi* (“small seje fruit day”), *Naiharrebo matakabi* (“cucurito fruit day”), *{ewitsa matakabi* (“large seje fruit day”), *Inoho matakabi* (“moriche fruit day”), *Koni matakabi* (“sassafrass day”) and *Naissanabo matakabi* (“rising stops day”). (6, 31-32).

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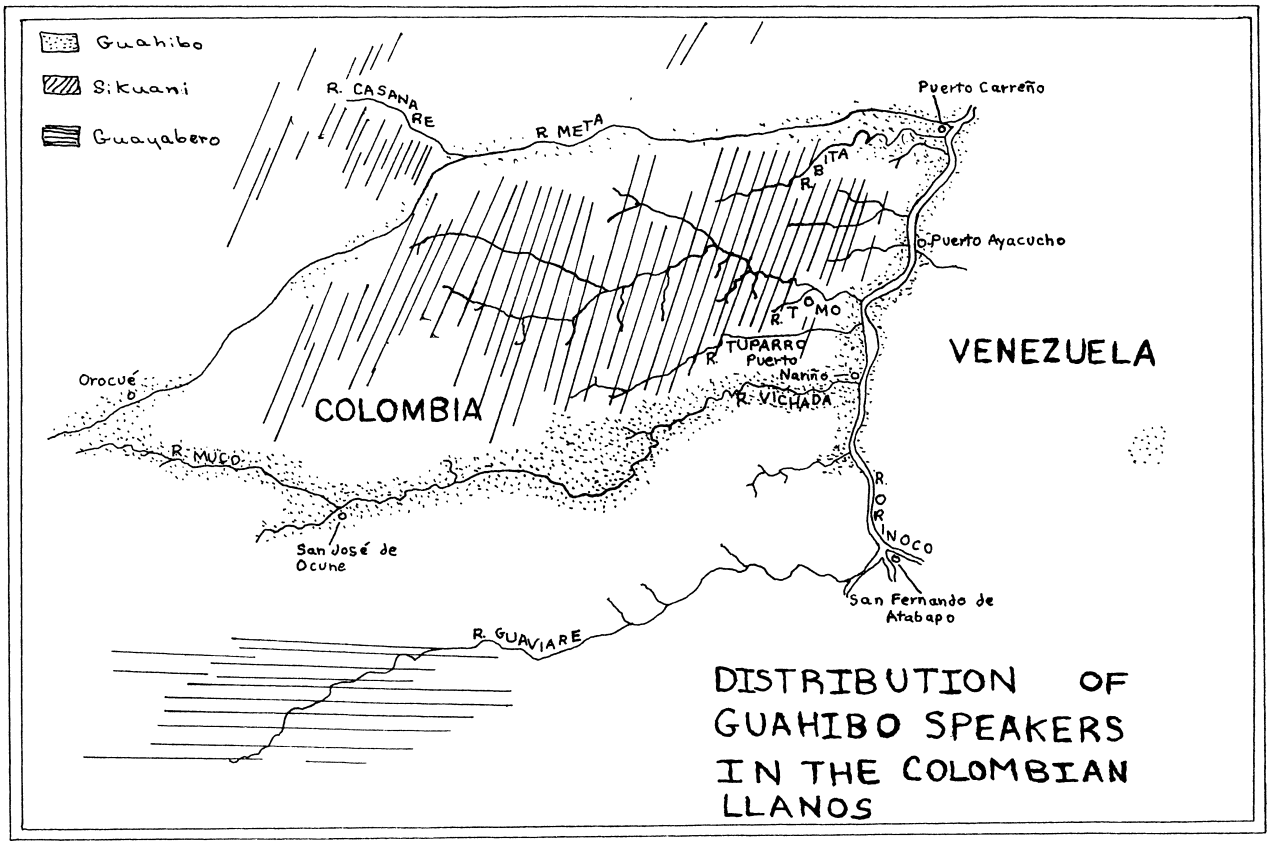
Figure 1. Distribution of Guahibo speakers (5).



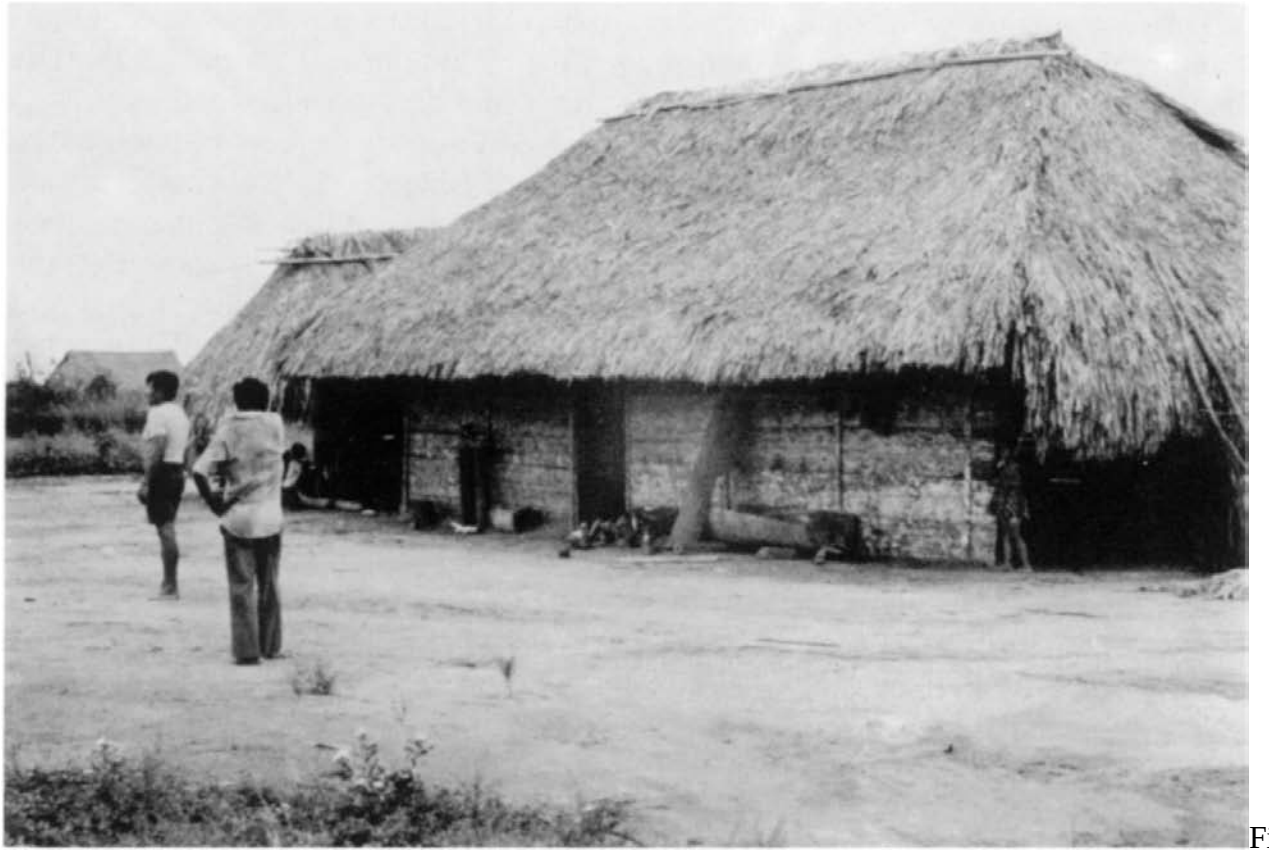


Figure 2. “Typical Guahibo house of the present day. Construction materials, for the most part are obtained from palms” (3, 362).

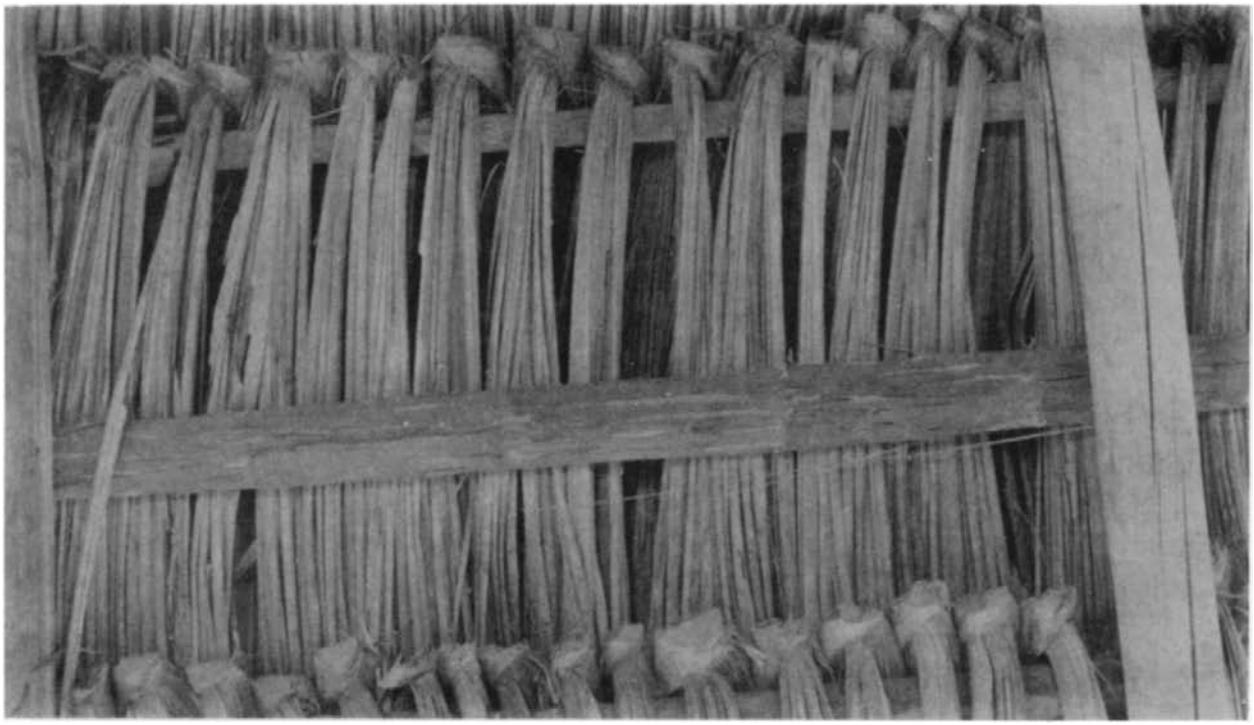


Figure 3. “Interior view of *Mauritia flexuosa* thatch used in many dwellings” (3, 364).

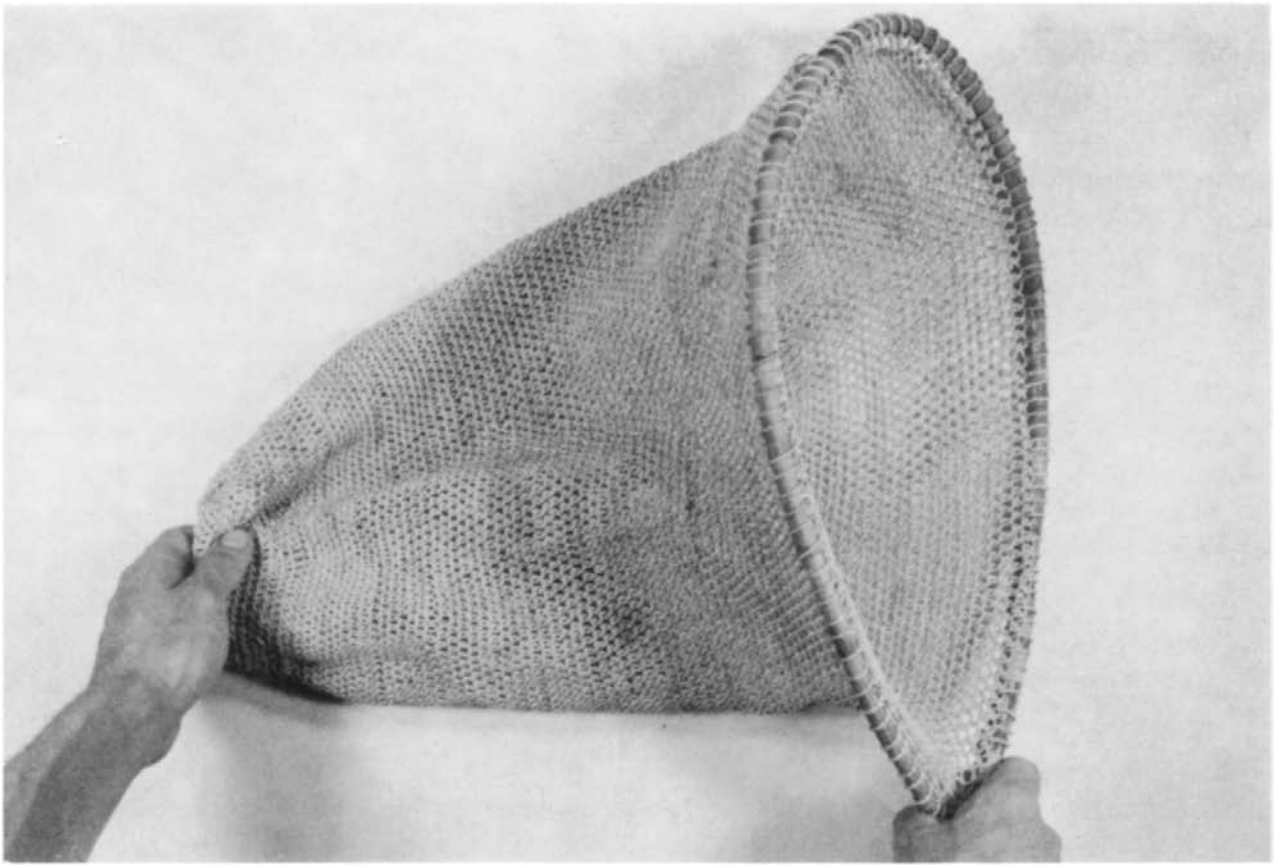


Figure 4. “A fishnet made of woven palm fiver and secured with a sturdy frame made from the thing trunk of *Geonoma deversa*” (3, 367).

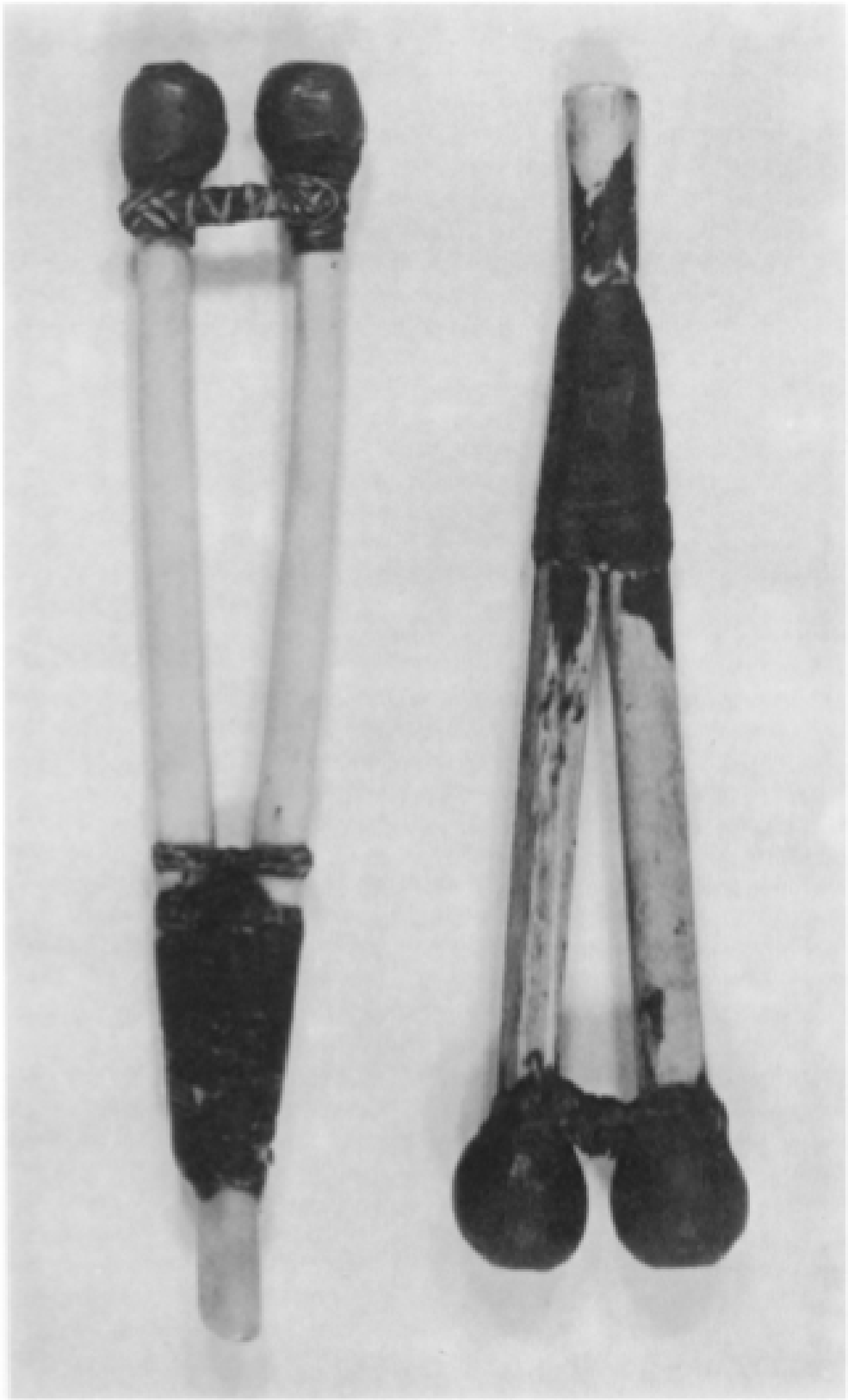


Figure 5. “Two examples of *Yopo* snuff tubes, capped with the polished endocarps of *Astrocaryum acaule* (right) and *Maximiliana maripa* (left)” (3, 372).

Figure 6. “The interior of a Guahibo dwelling. Note the hammock of *Astrocaryum chambira* fiber, the wall of an unrolled trunk of *Socratea exorrhiza*, and the hunting bow carved from *ataito*, the wood of *Jessenia bataua*” (3, 374).

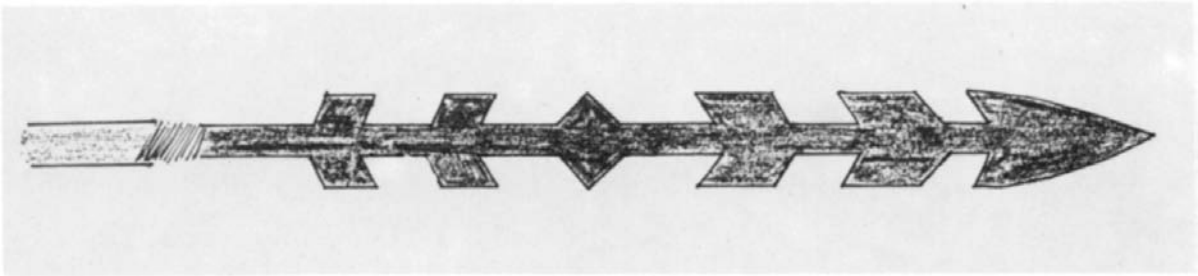


Figure 7. “A barbed arrow point made of ataito (*Jessenia bataua*) wood” (3, 375).