

Cuiba

ETHNONYMS: Cuiba, Cuibos, Cuybas, Kuiba, Quiva

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1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Pimenepiwi, Aitopiwi, Yaraüraxi, Waüpiwi, Siripuxi, Mayarax; Cuiba; Guahiban Language Family (4)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): CUI (7)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): "Situated near the center of the Orinoco plains, Cuiba territory is roughly bounded by parallels 5° and 6°34' N and meridians 69°40' W and 71°. Within Colombia, the three bands occupy the banks of the rivers Casanare, Ariporo, and Agua Clara; the other three bands, in Venezuela, are located on the Arauca, Capanaparo, and Cinaruco rivers" (2).

1.4 Brief history: "Although the evidence remains scanty, nothing now known suggests that the Cuiba have occupied any territory other than their own. The region has most probably undergone many transformations, invasions, wars, conquests, appearances of cultural groups from elsewhere, and disappearances of some groups altogether. But this small group of hunter-gatherers seems to have survived largely unchanged.

The first known contact with European invaders came as early as 1533 and for the next century was limited to those crossing Cuiba territory in their relentless pursuit of the mythical El Dorado. Jesuit missionaries were the first to colonize the area, in the later part of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, but they seem to have had only limited success with the settled Guahibo horticulturists, whereas their contacts with the nomads remained distant and at times violent. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the following 200 years were apparently quiet.

In about 1950 pressure from the civil war in Colombia pushed cattle herders progressively into Cuiba territory. On the whole, relations with these settlers have been a disaster for the Cuiba, who have often been chased from many parts of their own land. Camps have been attacked by people with firearms, Indians have been deliberately killed, and the last thirty years of Cuiba history can be read as typical of the genocide of so many South American Indian populations. The traditional Cuiba strategy was to avoid contact with the invaders by seeking refuge near the smaller rivers, away from the main waterways, but now most of their territory is occupied. The Cuiba have nowhere to escape and possibly no choice but to settle on whatever piece of land remains and to survive by cultivating newly created gardens.

The Cuiba visit their neighbors mostly for the pleasure of meeting different people and breaking the routine. There is no significant trading between groups, intermarriages do occur but are rare, and there are no other social or political activities

beyond the level of the band. It is worth noting that, from visiting neighboring horticulturists, the Cuiba have become fully aware of techniques of cultivation and of making pottery and a few other artifacts, which they themselves never use or make” (2).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: “First contact with European invaders as early as 1533...Jesuit missionaries were the first to colonize the area, in the later part of the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century” who were expelled in 1767. “In about 1950 pressure from the civil war in Colombia pushed cattle herders progressively into Cuiba territory. On the whole, relations with these settlers have been a disaster for the Cuiba, who have often been chased from many parts of their own land. Camps have been attacked by people with firearms, Indians have been deliberately killed, and the last thirty years of Cuiba history can be read as typical of the genocide of so many South American Indian populations” (2).

“The Mission years was a crucial set of events that altered political and cultural practices of the Cuiba. It was the Spanish Jesuit order of the Catholic Church that brought Christianity to the South American frontier. Forcing the native people onto settlements held by missions would force a complete reformation of society and economy. Eventually the Cuiba would be forced to live in specifically designed Spanish organized towns. Even with some of the lessons given in both the native language and Spanish, all activities were forced to revolve around the Catholic feast days and celebrations. During border wars, the mission Indians were given weapons and ‘taught’ warfare, with their own way of fighting thought to be barbaric. When the Jesuits left, the native people went back to the forests, grasslands and obscurity. Little of the practices that were taught to the native people by the Jesuits seem to have stood the test of time. Some Spanish derived words have survived, but the memories of where they originated from have disappeared.

The impact that the missionaries made on the Cuiba was miniscule but nonetheless altering. As the native people move closer to towns, Catholic celebrations get intermixed with the celebrations of the native people. With later contact, the Cuiba adapted to the life on the fringes of the rainforest, and on the grasslands. The grassland is a man made landscape, and from time to time, the practice of burning the dry grass is done by both settlers and native people. Mortality rates within the Cuiba living and working with the settlers are high. Alcohol is also a very big problem when they live near settlers. There is little that is done to keep Western customs out of the villages, and the changes are obvious” (9).

“During the late 1950s, the introduction of a land reform program became a legal justification for settler invasions of indigenous lands. The Cuiba were compelled to reduce their territory, forced to become more sedentary, and required to accept strangers using their hitherto traditional lands, which resulted in reduced access to resources (Fonval 1981). The nonliterate Cuiba were disadvantaged, relative to settler farmers, in negotiations with bureaucratic agencies and in their ability to interpret the legalities of their rights. Hence, the Cuiba have had to find new means of subsistence, most of the

time by working on farms. Cattle production does not demand a large work force, however, and few Cuiba were ever employed. Those who do find employment on ranches receive low wages and few benefits. Displacement and persecution have a range of health sequelae, including malnutrition (Sumabila 2000, 1992).

The Cuiba battle for land and mobility is a battle for physical and cultural survival. The Cuiba have become infamous for their conflicts with local farmers, which have resulted in many Cuiba deaths. Meanwhile, cattle ranchers report the Cuiba to the local authorities (the police, the National Guard and the army) for “invading” ranches, theft and assault. During the 1980s and 1990s, Cuiba territory (especially in Colombia) was marked by constant tension between guerrilla groups, military and paramilitary organisations.

*Criollos*³ who wanted to rid the area of indigenous peoples accused the Cuiba of being intermediaries for Colombian guerrillas. At the same time, under the pretext of protecting themselves from the guerrillas, local farmers increased the number of firearms and armed men on their ranches. Both the Colombian and Venezuelan armies appeared to work more to protect the interests of landowners than the rights of the Cuiba.

Despite the fact that the 1999 Venezuelan Constitution highlights recognition and respect for indigenous land rights, culture, language and customs, in 2001, the Venezuelan government developed a plan to “improve” Cuiba social and economic conditions by reducing mobility. The Plan Apure-Sinaruco, which did not consider the needs of a hunter-gatherer ethnic group, was a civic-military arrangement oriented around limiting Cuiba mobility in a tense border zone (Asamblea Nacional de la Republica Bolivariana de Venezuela 2002). In 2003, the Venezuelan government started to restore the rights of indigenous peoples by following the principles of the country’s constitution. On October 12, 2005, Cuiba people received legal title to land, which is a first step in rectifying centuries of exploitation and extreme marginalisation.” (8).

1.6 Ecology: “The territory consists mostly of grassy savannas dotted with palms and scattered shrubs, broken only by rivers and the gallery forest that fringes their banks. The climate is tropical, with a well-defined division of the year into a rainy season, between April and November, and the rest of the year, when any rainfall is exceptional” (2).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Differing answers-- Population total: 2,830; 380 in Venezuela and 2,450 in Colombia; 1,880 are monolinguals (7); “Each band normally has between 150 and 300 members, it is reasonable to estimate the total Cuiba population as somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500. The entire Guahibo cultural area has a population probably approaching 20,000” (2); “Because the Cuiba are hunter-gatherers who move over an extensive area that criss-crosses the Venezuelan-Colombian border, and frequently cohabit regions with other ethnic groups, it is difficult to ascertain their exact population. The latest

census data (OCEI 2002) indicate that there were 428 Venezuelan Cuiba. Sumabila estimates, however, that in 2002 there were approximately 1050 Cuiba living in the Romulo Gallegos Municipality (the Capanaparo River area) of Apure state, with three other settlements having at least 16 huts (24 at El Paso, 16 at Barranco Yopal, and 32 at Caño Mochuelo)" (8).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): "During the study, the Cuiba of San Esteban depended primarily on game and roots for their subsistence. The total edible weight of meat acquired over a 22-day period was 1511.9 kg (approximately 2,345,593 calories). Capybaras, fish, cayman, iguanas, and turtles are the most important wild resources for this group. Feral cattle and pigs also contribute a good deal.⁷ Roots are the major carbohydrate staple among the Cuiba. They provide more food than wild animal resources when measured in kilograms (1394.7 kg), but provide less calories than game (944,840)."

"In contrast, only very small amounts of fruit, honey, and eggs were taken: 14.5 kg of fruit, 2 kg of honey, and .3 kg of eggs. In addition, 6.3 kg of plantains were harvested from abandoned fields not planted by the Cuiba, and therefore considered to be a "foraged" food. The energetic value of these resources totals 21,050 calories, a very small quantity when compared to the contribution of game and tubers. Thus, the total number of kilograms and calories of foraged foods taken by the Cuiba comes to 2929.7 and 3,311,483 calories. This represents 97'7 of the total food consumed" (6).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: see 2.1

2.3 Weapons: "Men used bows and arrows, spears, harpoons, fish lines, and hooks for capturing animals. The puncturing ends of these weapons are made out of metal which the Cuiba have obtained through trading since the colonial period, or before (see Morey, 1975)" (6).

2.4 Food storage: no information found

2.5 Sexual division of production: "Unlike most modern hunter-gatherers, the Cuiba live in a rich environment, and, because of this, offer perhaps the best illustration of an economy that has been described as the "original affluent society." Women produce vegetables, which are gathered during the dry season on the edge of the savannas, and men hunt animals, which are mostly caught in or near the rivers; fruits can be collected by either sex in the forest during the rainy season. Food is shared among all in a camp. In return for a week of work that never exceeds twenty hours, each Cuiba eats a daily average of a pound of meat and a pound of either fruits or vegetables. Their technology is probably one of the simplest in the world, as it includes little more than hammocks, canoes, bows and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, bark cloth, and strings" (2).

“The sexual division of labor among the Cuiba follows the usual pattern of male specialization in hunting and female specialization in gathering. Table II shows that men acquired most of the game (99.8%). The small quantities of fruits, honey, and eggs obtained by men were acquired during hunting trips. Men never dug roots with the exception of one old and sickly man who acquired 14.5 kg. Men's subsistence effort then provided 51% of the food by weight brought into camp and 69% of the calories.

Women, on the other hand, acquired primarily roots (99% of the total calories acquired), and a few palm fruit (3kg). One land turtle was captured by a woman while digging for roots. Women's foraging efforts then provided 46% of the food by weight, but only 28% of the calories.

Cuiba men acquired an average of 5665 calories per day while women produced 2156 calories per day. The average male is able to feed 2.8 consumers per day (5665 cal/day divided by 2018 cal/consumer day), whereas, the average female production only slightly exceeds the mean daily caloric intake per consumer. When a couple's food resources are pooled parents generally provide for themselves plus two dependents.

Although men produce more food than women, they do not allocate more time to food acquisition than females. Cuiba men between the ages of 20-60 spend an average of 91 min (1 hr 31 min) per day foraging ($n = 414$; $SD = 66$). Men in this age group only hunt on 28% of all man days, or 2 days out of the week. This means that, on days when men forage, they stay out of camp for a mean of 5 h 18 min (318 min). Males over 70 years of age allocate less time to foraging than younger men. Men in this age group ($n = 3$ men, 59 men days) spent only 10 min per day fishing or hunting, and they foraged on 7% of all days.

Women also spend little time acquiring food resources although slightly more than men. Adult females between the ages of 20 and 60 only forage on 32% of all days and spend an average of 112 min/day (1 hr 52 min) collecting roots ($n = 394$ woman days; $SD = 176$). This means that, on days when women forage, they spend a mean of 6 hr 32 min (392 min) out of camp obtain higher caloric returns per hour spent foraging than do females. Men's caloric returns from hunting were 3,001 calories per hour. When animals of domestic origin are included in this calculation, men's caloric returns from hunting are slightly higher. On the other hand, women's returns per hour of root collecting were only 1125 calories per hour” (6).

2.6 Land tenure: no information found

2.7 Ceramics: no information found

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: see 2.4

2.9 Food taboos: no information found

2.10 Canoes/watercraft: “This is because the Cuiba travel to and from different campsites by canoe, and the Cuiba's canoes are too small to accommodate more than one or two Cuiba families.”

“Men generally hunt during the daylight hours along the banks of rivers, streams, and swamps with canoes or on foot after traveling by canoe to an area that will be searched. Canoes are also used on most fishing trips. Hunters are usually accompanied by a second person who helps paddle while they are actively involved in the hunt. Sometimes wives and/or older children will accompany the men. At other times, adult men might hunt together taking turns with the paddling and the hunting” (6).

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): family size or “those that sleep under the same shelter” consist of a set of parents, their daughters and their husbands, and any unmarried children

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): no information found

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): male-26, women-just before puberty (3).

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: “Every adult in society has a spouse, with only the rare exceptions of the recently divorced and elderly widowed.” “The young man who leaves his own family for the shelter of his new wife finds himself living with parents-in-law with whom he must remain very formal. Often enough, at first, his wife will also become his only friend within the shelter. The relationship between husband and wife is very intense because they spend most hours of the day together and are almost never separated: they sleep, travel, eat, visit, and even hunt, fish, or pick fruit together. This intensity is probably helped by Cuiba ideas on divorce—it is relatively easy for either spouse to cancel a marriage, especially if there are no children. The Cuiba also say that the intensity of the relationship ensures that a marriage will normally either succeed or fail within a very short time” (3).

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: no information found

- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: no information found
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: no information found
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: no information found
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: no information found
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): no information found
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? no information found
- 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): can marry cross cousin (4.26)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? no information found
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: no information found
- 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? "The Cuiba never trace lines of descent, do not form social groups based on common descent, and generally demonstrate a remarkable lack of genealogical memory" but "a Cuiba is born into a social world that is rigorously ordered: within the immediate community of the band, everyone is a relative who shares a specific kinship link with oneself. The classification even covers the entire social universe, as it extends to every known member of other bands; in fact, only non-Indians, who in any case are not part of humanity, are outside this classification system." "As

kinship defines and imposes rules of appropriate behavior, it identifies which goods to give or exchange, who gets respect, with whom to joke, and so on” (3).

4.24 Joking relationships? see 4.24

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: the “husband” will move in with the “wife’s” family and rely on them for food, shelter, etc.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: “There is within each generation a clear distinction between the cross cousins one can and must marry and the categories of siblings and parallel cousins with whom marriage is forbidden” (3).

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?) there are intermarriages but “it is rare” (3).

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: majority would probably be from the outgroup (see 4.17)

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): “There is name calling in times of war, where enemies will blame their neighbors for being less than human, and that they see the enemies or the ‘others’ as incestuous cannibals. The Cuiba regularly see settlers, and so they view settlers as stingy and inhuman, and the settlers see them as the ‘others’, and being civilized, but lazy and wild with an odd sense of clothing style” (9).

4.18 Cannibalism? no information found

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: see 1.7

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): "Each band lives and travels within an area of a few thousand square kilometers, which is recognized by all to be its own territory. Within this area, there are no permanent settlements and only a few sites that people occupy year after year. A camping site is essentially a small section of the forest where all can comfortably hang their hammocks. Since food resources are often localized, the choice of a particular site becomes a choice of what to eat and is thus a matter for debate within the group. On average, a camping site is abandoned after a week, with slight variations between the dry season, when moves are more frequent, and the rainy season, when each trip is usually longer because many parts of the forest are flooded and not suitable for occupation. During the rainy season, the Cuiba use palm leaves to build lean-to shelters, a task that normally requires less than thirty minutes and is unnecessary during the dry season" (1).

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): "Within the local group and the band, there are no institutionalized forms of political power, but the opinions of older members of either sex usually carry more weight and will often be respected. However, the activities over which these people can exercise any form of authority are mostly limited to deciding whether and where the group should move next or trying to resolve a dispute between members of different shelters. The most important decisions in life are made by couples and by those who share the same shelter, and these are domains in which no outsider would ever interfere." "Since at every level each social group is largely autonomous, there is often no higher authority with the political power of settling disputes. Like other communities of hunter-gatherers that are said to "vote with their feet," the Cuiba tend to vote with their paddles: conflicting parties will simply part and travel to distant areas of the territory, where they will remain until a time when much is forgotten and the quarrel has turned trivial" (1).

5.4 Post marital residence: "Residence after marriage follows the rule of uxorilocality; it is the young man who leaves the shelter of his parents to go and live with his new wife and her parents. The couple, "those who sleep in the same hammock," represent the minimal group in society. The next-larger unit is called "those who sleep under the same shelter" and is normally composed of a couple, their daughters with their husbands, and all unmarried children. These are the people who always live together, producing and sharing food as a unit, and who often literally share the same palm roof, use the same fire, and cook and eat together" (3). "Within the group of "those who sleep in the same hammock," neither husband nor wife is supposed to be dominant; both partners are very much the masters of their own fields of activities. Within the shelter, the authority clearly rests with the parents, until age makes them more and more dependent on their daughters and sons-in-law" (1).

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): no information found

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): see 2.4, "Sexual distinction begins early: more or less from age 3, girls begin to learn from women, boys from men. By the

time a man marries, he has become a competent hunter, but his wife is only reaching puberty and still has much to learn. This is the reason given for matrilocal residence at marriage” (3).

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: see 4.24

5.8 Village and house organization: see 5.2

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): see 5.2

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? see 5.2

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: see 5.2 and 5.3

5.12 Trade: “There is no significant trading between groups” (3).

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): “Without external interferences, the human body would neither age, suffer from disease, or die. These threatening interferences can come naturally from the malevolent forces of the world or may be sent by an enemy. The ability to control these malevolent forces, whether to harm or to cure, stems from knowledge of the world and is thus available to all but increases with age: anyone can cure—this is not the role of any specialist—but the Cuiba say only someone older than the patient can really be effective (this explains why illness in older people is so often fatal)” (10).

6.2 Stimulants: Yopo (still prevalent even after the decline of divination and healing). “Based on Sumabila’s research, in Barranco Yopal and El Paso the percentage of the adult male population who consumed yopo more than once a week declined from 80 in 1987, to 73 in 1991, to 68 in 1993 to 61 in 1997. Over the same period, female consumption rates declined from 17, to ten, to six to three.” The consumption of yopo is not constricted to shamans. It is not uncommon for women to consume yopo. In addition, yopo consumption greatly shifts from the dry to wet seasons. “Yopo seeds come to maturity during the dry season (November-March), when it is also easy to move through floodplains where yopo trees grow, allowing for ease of collection and preparation. During February and March, adult men consume yopo almost every second day. During the wet season, the frequency of consumption drops to once a week, provided seed supplies last.”

“Cuiba attribute their cultural survival to the use of yopo, which helped them ward off colonists, other ethnic groups and illness.” It also helps maintain relations among ancestors and the living.

“Collective Cuiba yopo ceremonies are the “vehicle par excellence for the maintenance of harmonious community relations,” and forums for negotiating inter family bonds and social hierarchies. Fari, a Cuiba man, emphasised the importance of yopo for keeping kin and community united. Group yopo sessions involve host-guest relations and the conjoining of families who might not otherwise interact on a day-to-day basis. Sharing yopo and visionary experiences encourages communication among participants and communities. Cuiba yopo use may be explained in terms of an expression of cultural solidarity in the face of extra cultural forces, in this case *criollos* and the military more than missionaries who, like the Cuiba, have struggled to maintain a presence in a difficult, militarised border region.”

“In Cuiba mythology yopo enables men and women to metamorphose into other animals, communicate with ancestors and to envision the future. Shamans use yopo to get help and advice from the dead to restore the health of the living. Following yopo inhalation, a shaman is able to see possible causes of illness and can enter into battle with any human responsible for causing this illness. Any Cuiba man or woman may have a yopo vision about future events in their life, and may link these visions of the future to their contemporary reality. A *dopatubin* (a man who inhales yopo) can become an animal and adopt this animal’s powers to obtain resources for others. This was the case for a man who, after inhaling yopo, became a jaguar and killed a caiman in order to protect himself and satisfy his wife’s request for caiman flesh. In another commonly told story, a woman leaves the terrestrial realm to live in the firmament after sniffing yopo (Ortiz 1994). Overall, yopo is held in high regard by most Cuiba people, whether or not they are regular users” (8).

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): “There are two communal rituals: one celebrating female puberty and the other organized whenever food is especially abundant and there are enough willing participants in camp. Both rituals are special occasions that can be deeply religious experiences but that also provide opportunities for communal feasting and rejoicing” (10).

6.4 Other rituals: “There is no institutionalized religious authority in society, and no one is specifically responsible for preserving the doctrine” (10).

6.5 Myths (Creation): “Cuiba cosmology provides a series of precepts on the order and general causes of things, which forms a system of explanation for human action and which in turn can be taken as a moral guide for conduct. In its simplest form, the logical ordering of the world resembles the yin/yang principle known from parts of Asia: a world made of differences and opposites with each element of a contrast existing in total dependence on and unison with its counterpart. The world is in a state of equilibrium between equal parts, an equilibrium that should never be broken. And as such, the world is eternal: consumed, animals and plants do return, and people are reincarnated.

Society as a whole appeared at the beginning of time and has remained unchanged. These are the more fundamental notions of the cosmology, which, in practice, become sets of personal beliefs with considerable individual variations” (10).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): “Cuiba expressive arts leave no material trace, as they take the form of body painting, communal dancing, and various types of singing ranging from set and highly repetitive patterns of dance songs to improvised and personal ballads usually performed in the calm of the evening. The Cuiba would add to this list the ability to converse, talk, discuss, and joke with others, which, to them, is very much an art” (10).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: no information found

6.8 Missionary effect: no information found

6.9 RCR revival: no information found

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: “A corpse is incinerated and a part of the "soul" follows the smoke into the sky, where it can be seen at night in the Milky Way and where it awaits its return to society in the form of a new embryo” (10).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? not likely, believe in rebirth (see 6.10)

6.12 Is there teknonymy? no information found

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) see 6.5

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: an art form, see 6.6

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.): no information found

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: see 8.3

8.2 Sororate, levirate: no information found

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): "The entire society is ordered into only twelve categories of kin (or even six categories, each subdivided by sex) and over only three successive generations, because the system also equates alternate generations, thus providing siblings and cousins with Ego's own generation but also within Ego's grandparents' and grandchildren's generations" (3).

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