



FUNDACION LA SALLE

ARE TRIBAL ECONOMIES "EMBEDDED"
IN KINSHIP SYSTEMS?¹

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According to Sahlins (1968: 74) economies that do not have specialized units of production are "embedded" in society. Hence he states that:

~~#~~
VENEZUELA

"The family is to the tribal economy as the manor to the medieval European economy, or the industrial corporation to modern capitalism: each of these is the central production institution of its time" (Sahlins 1968: 75).²

There seems to be an underlying assumption in anthropological literature, not quite justified I think, that in economies lacking specialized units of production, the bulk of economic activity is necessarily carried out by (consanguine) kinship groups which, in the absence of corresponding political structures, serve to enforce agreements and therefore preclude freely entered into contracts.

My aim in this essay is to show that transactions in tribal economies are not necessarily determined by ascriptive constraints of kinship structures but that, in many societies with bilateral kinship groups, especially hunters and gatherers, contracts have been at the base of

1. The present article is based on some material contained in an unpublished dissertation (UCLA, 1972). Research was funded through grants from the Centro Latino Americano de Venezuela (CLAVE) and the Venezuelan Indian Project of the Latin American Center at UCLA.
2. It is only fair to point to the intellectual honesty of Sahlins who substituted "household" for "family" (1972: 76) once he realized how misleading the latter concept is.

economic organization. These contracts were long-range socially responsible contracts — not divorced from the societal context and oriented to mere things — just as property in these groups was a social responsibility, to be shared by and put at the service of the community.

If this contention should prove to be correct, it would have quite radical implications indeed. The source of contradiction in the institutions of technological societies would be located not so much in the logic of economic strategies but in the lack of constraints that make economic units answerable to society as a whole.

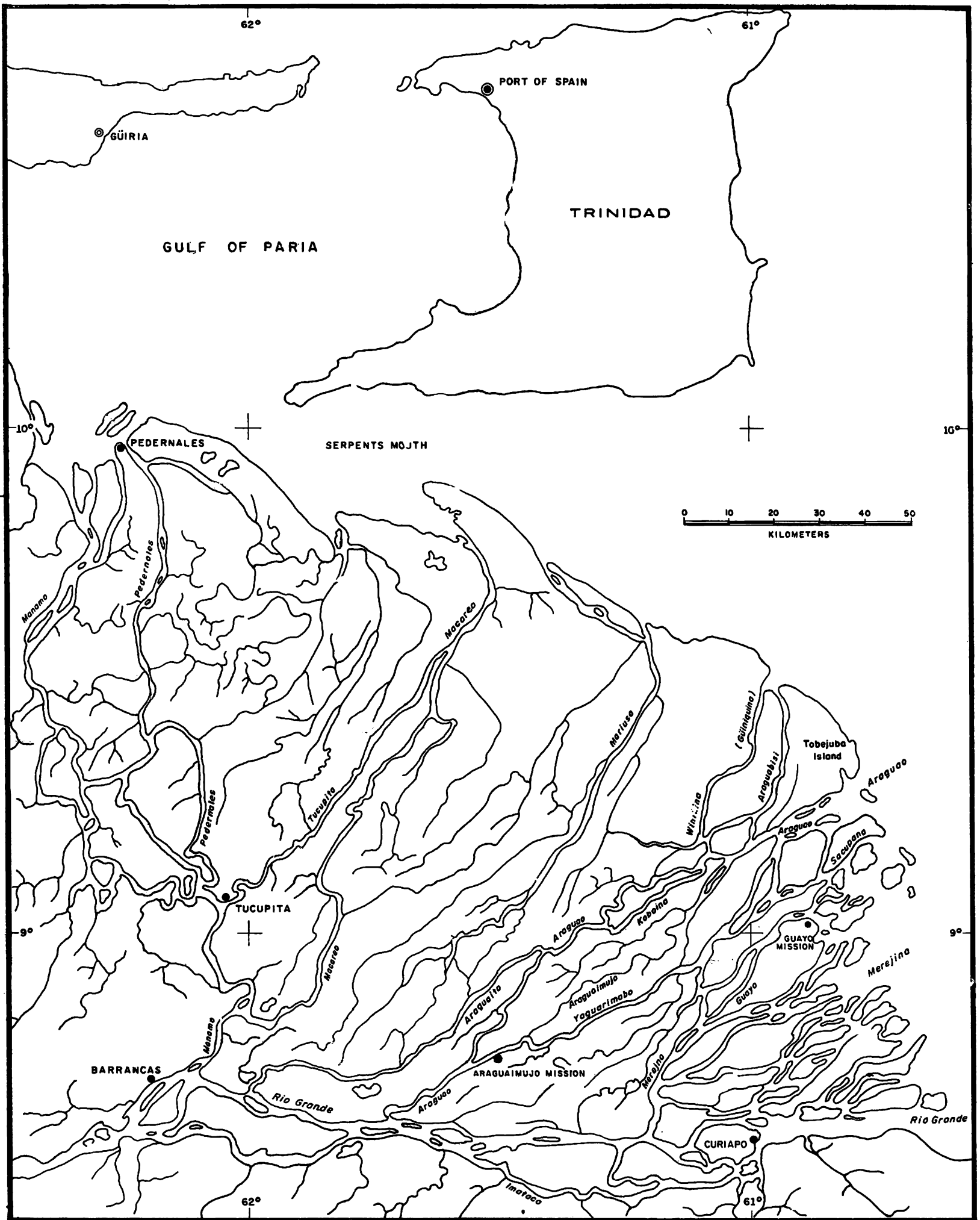
The specialized firm thus differs from society in that it is able to limit arbitrarily its membership while simultaneously maximizing economic gain. From this viewpoint, apatriate multinationals, national labor unions and socialized state economies all pose basically the same problem.

As to the economic role of corporate kinship groups, some researchers appear to have been misled by "tribal" societies in the strict sense which are prevalent in Oceania and Africa. These had often developed important economic differentiations along consanguineal kinship lines which constrained individual economic strategies in respect to contractual behavior.

Sahlins' above-quoted statement is correct insofar as it clarifies the fact that, in tribal societies, households are primarily economic units. His statement in its original form might be misleading, however, because it fails to distinguish families from households.

The economy of the Warao, an indigenous group living in the Orinoco Delta of Northeastern Venezuela and adjacent areas, has as its core element for the organization of production, as well as distribution and consumption, household units based on bilateral extended families, but formed and tied together by associative networks according to personal preferences and propinquity. Households, which are residence units and not kinship groups, may contain non-kinship-related members. The kinship of some members of the residence unit may be fictitious and/or ritual. Even those who are kinsmen and do reside together as such, do not do so because of ascription to any particular household, with the exception of younger children.

Residence among the traditional Warao subtribes of the Central Delta is *uxori/matrilocal*. A woman thus exercises her influence on economic



MAP 1: THE ORINOCO DELTA

decisions of residence units from the *inside* rather than from the *outside* of that unit. Moreover, residence rules, among the Warao as with other tribal societies, are complex and therefore open to manipulation. It also has to be pointed out that in endogamous kinship groups with bilateral descent, kinship categories do not structure social relations or, specifically, economic relations, but are supplemented by other organizing principles such as personal preferences and/or propinquity.

Among the Warao of the Central Delta, the household head may consult with the principal members of this residence unit and decide if they want to reside in the main settlement or move to a more or less isolated satellite location. Exact household composition is also to a large extent decided by such personal preferences, which may be dictated by economic considerations. Personal preferences — based on economic, political and other considerations — are expressed principally in long-range contractual commitments of households, entered into through affinal ties.

There seems to be a general failure to distinguish clearly between consanguineal kinship and affinal ties, which properly are not kinship ties, or at the very least must be set apart as *contractual kinship*. There are, admittedly, societies whose economic organization is based on *consanguine* kinship groups where membership is by ascription. These corporate unilineal kinship groups, however, in my opinion present rather special, if widely encountered, cases. Perhaps through personal or research bias, the more generalized organization seems to me that of societies with bilateral descent such as often encountered in band societies.

To make my point, I would like to present some material from the Winikina, a Warao subtribe of the Central Delta. In 1973, 444 *Winikinarao* resided in 5 settlements. In 1971, when the data for the present analysis were gathered, 436 individuals of the Winikina subtribe resided in 42 basic households in 7 settlements. Many individuals are, of course, able to produce a consanguineal kinship term for nearly every other member of their settlement. It is, however, by virtue of their *affinal* ties that a good percentage of adults do reside in their particular household. Even some of the consanguineal terms may be activated or allowed to lapse according to choice. As a consequence, the social relations of Winikina economic and residence units exhibit four elements of choice: (1) affinal kinship ties; (2)

ritual kinship and adoption; (3) fictitious consanguine kinship; and (4) propinquity without known kinship ties.

A good indicator of the weight of these elements of choice should be the percentage of affines and unrelated persons forming part of households at any given time.

The 42 basic Winikina households distributed over 7 settlements in 1971 and the kinship relations of each individual member to the male and female household heads (*hanoko arotu*) respectively are analyzed. As is true for membership in any organization, some affinal relationships are not subject to influence by all other members, *wi-si-hu* among others. The assignment to different categories is also somewhat arbitrary since the use of kin-terms is situational and may shift according to the emphasis desired if there are several terms from which to choose³.

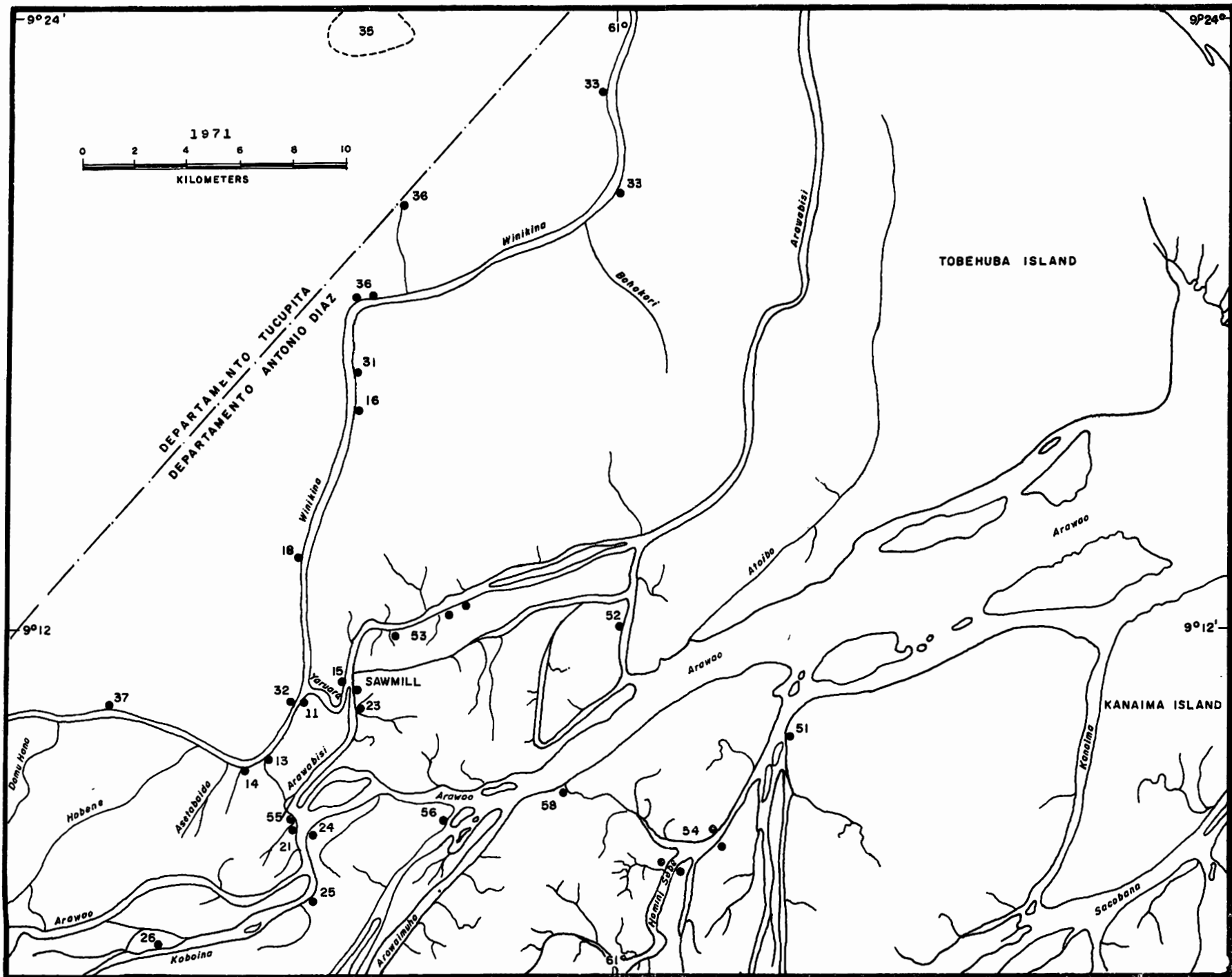
All percentages have been calculated twice, once from the point of view of the male household head and once for a female *ego*. If we take as a basis the 42 basic households, *hanoko*, we find that for the male *ego* there are 39% affines, 2% unrelated and 59% consanguines. The numbers for the female *ego* are 38%, 2% and 60%, respectively (see: Table No 2).

TABLE No 1

Population WINIKINA/ARAWABISI 1971

<i>Tribal Warao</i>	No	River	Subtotal	Total
Yaruara Akoho ("Barranca")	122	Winikina		
Naonoko Akoho	33	Winikina		
Simon Ahanoko	25	Yaruara		
Hebu Wabanoko ("España")	83	Winikina		
Moriki Hana	25	Winikina		
Koberuna	97	Winikina		
Lorenzano Ahanoko	51	Winikina	436 ⁴	
Hana Kahamana	120	Winikina	120 ⁵	

3. One individual, for example, addresses his maternal uncle consistently as *datu*, while the latter does not use the reciprocal term *mabido sanuka* but *mabarayudu* (*wi-si-hu*) as an expression of the esteem in which he holds the younger man.



MAP 2: WINIKINA AREA

LEGEND:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 11 = Yaruara Akoho (Winikina Hanokoida) | 26 = Hobure |
| 13 = Naonoko Akoho | 31 = Koberuna |
| 14 = Asetaba Ayabuara Akoho (just abandoned) | 32 = Lorenzo Ahanoko |
| 15 = Simon Ahanoko | 33 = temporary dwellings of Koberuna people |
| 16 = Hebu Wabanoko (España) | 35 = Rafael Ahanoko (general area) |
| 18 = Moriki Hana | 36 = temporary dwellings of Rafael's people |
| 21 = Arawabisi Akoho | 37 = Hana Kahamana |
| 23 = Juan Mata Ahanoko | 51 = Siawani |
| 24 = Koboina | 52 = Diaru Kabanoko |
| 25 = Barakaru | 56 = Naba Sanuka (mission village) |

Sources: Hydrography: Cía. Shell de Venezuela; sheet N° 82; Cultural Data: H. Dieter Heinen.

<i>Tribal Warao</i>	Nº	River	Subtotal	Total
Juan Mata Ahanoko	30	Arawabisi		
Arawabisi Akoho	120	Arawabisi		
Koboína Akoʼo	80	Arawao		
Barakaru (Jesús Báez)	40	Koboína		
Hobure (Zambrano)	40	Koboína	310 ⁶	866
<i>Acculturated Warao</i>				
Sawmill	40	Arawabisi	40 ⁶	40
<i>Criollos</i>				
Sawmill	40	Arawabisi	40 ⁶	40

TABLE Nº 2

AFFINAL AND CONSANGUINEAL TIES TO WINIKINA HOUSEHOLD HEADS

	Male Household Heads			Female Household Heads		
	affinal	consan.	unrelated	affinal	consan.	unrelated
<i>I: Basic Households, HANOKO</i>						
all household members	153 39%	232 59%	9* 2%	149 38%	236 60%	9 2%
minors under 15 excluded	120 67%	53 30%	5 3%	113 63%	60 34%	5 3%
<i>II: Breakdown by Household Units</i>						
BASIC AND EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS:						
all household members	67 37%	104 58%	9 5%	67 37%	104 58%	9 5%
minors under 15 excluded	50 62%	26 32%	5 6%	50 62%	26 32%	5 6%
HOUSEHOLD COMPOUNDS:						
all household members	22 30%	52 70%	— 0%	18 24%	56 76%	— 0%
minors under 15 excluded	18 53%	16 47%	— 0%	16 47%	18 53%	— 0%
HOUSEHOLD GROUPS:						
all household members	68 41,5%	82 51,5%	11 7%	75 46,5%	75 46,5%	11 7%
minors under 15 excluded	53 63%	26 31%	5 6%	49 58%	30 36%	5 6%
TOTAL:						

4. Census May, 1971.

5. Estimate, 1971 (do not belong to Winikina/Arawabisi subtribe).

6. Estimated from censuses, 1962 and 1969.

	Male Household Heads			Female Household Heads		
	affinal	consan.	unrelated	affinal	consan.	unrelated
HOUSEHOLD UNITS:						
all household members	157 38%	238 57%	20** 5%	160 39%	235 56%	20 5%
minors under 15 excluded	121 61%	68 34%	10 5%	115 58%	74 37%	10 5%

By adding the household heads, the total sums up to the total Winikina population:

* 153	** 157
232	238
9	20
42 Heads of <i>Basic Households</i>	21 Heads of <i>Household Units</i>
<hr/> 436	<hr/> 436

These numbers are, however, very biased by the weight of children who are not yet fully active economically and continue to live with their natal families. If we exclude persons under 15 years of age, when girls customarily marry and boys enter the labor force as *neburatu*, we get a different picture. For the male *ego* 67% are affines, 3% unrelated and 30% consanguines. For the female *hanoko arotu* the numbers are 63%, 3% and 34% respectively.

The results are as impressive if we calculate not from the basic households, *hanoko*, but from the effective household units, i.e. extended households, household compounds and household groups. Table N^o 2 gives the distribution of Winikina household units by household numbers; an *ad hoc* definition of these units is given in a footnote to Table N^o 3.

Computations for the 21 effective household units give for the male *ego* 38% affines, 5% unrelated and 57% consanguines. For the female *ego* the percentages are 39%, 5% and 56% respectively. If we again exclude minors under 15 years of age, we get for the male *ego* 61% affines, 5% unrelated and 34% consanguines. For the female *ego* we have 58%, 5% and 37% respectively.

One seems to be able to draw from the foregoing data that among the Winikina Warao, economic and residence units are formed largely in non-ascriptive ways, i.e. though a child is born into families which in turn enter into the composition of residence units, from the moment that individuals become economic decision makers, they have a great

deal of choice either as to which unit to join or whether to influence the membership of the unit in which they are already taking part. This does not necessarily mean choice without constraints. There are specific constraints such as are present in any organizational setup. An employee in a modern corporation has rather less influence on who will work next to him than a Warao. Furthermore, one must not lose sight of the fact that contracts are "free" only before they come into force. Once entered, they "constrain". On the other hand, there are constraints operating in these small scale societies that are absent from most of today's short-lived and anonymous contract relations such as buying and selling in a supermarket. Public pressure enforces long-range and socially responsible contracts. Among the Warao there are institutions to deal with "breach of contract", such as the *monikata*, a jury of elders before whom a case is argued and which adjudicates a verdict.

TABLE Nº 3
WINIKINA HOUSEHOLD UNITS ⁷

Type	Household Number	Total Nº of Household Units	Nº of Basic Households
Basic Households	111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 126, 302, 303, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312;	14	14
Extended Households	{ 114, 118;	1	2
Household Compounds	{ 181, 182; 321, 322, 323, 324;	2	6
Household Groups	{ 119, (121) 122; 151, 152; 131, 132, 133, 134, 135; 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169 170, 171;	4	20
		21	42

7. Household Units

Basic household:

Hanoko. One sleeping structure.

On the other hand, the adult member in a traditional Warao group enjoys considerable freedom from other constraints such as arbitrary power relations. This is especially true for the women, who have a considerable influence on traditional Warao society. There are mechanisms of dependence, to be sure. Human desire for self-assertion has produced many ways of inequality. Among the Warao these were the outcome of conspicuous giving, of admittance to the territory of another subtribe, or of non-retributed healings by medical practitioners. These relations correspond to and carry the same terms as that between the village elder, *aidamo*, and the young unmarried worker, *neburatu*. The *aidamo* also receives "prestations" from his sons-in-law, married workers, *nebu*. But these inequalities are not passed on through the generations, are controlled by public opinion and in any case are not comparable in strength to the coercions of wage labor and debt peonage, much less to the "encomienda" system of the Curiapo area, where Warao communities were owned and inherited by outsiders and, least of all, to outright slavery and forced labor. This is why traditional Warao groups lived until recently in their refuge habitat deep in the moriche palm groves of the deltaic islands. As older Warao like to put it, "Life was harder in those days, but our hearts were lighter".

As an epilogue I would say that the foregoing argument does not invalidate the contention that tribal economies are "embedded" in kinship, but it strongly compels us to emphasize clearly the contractual character of affinal ties that makes them radically different from genuine consanguineal kinship. It also prevents us from drawing premature conclusions as to "just how" economic mechanisms work in small-scale societies. The "embeddedness" of the economy in society,

-
- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Extended household: | Sleeping arrangements (only) extend over two, or rarely more, <i>hanoko</i> . |
| Household compound: | Several <i>hanoko</i> that produce and consume as a unit, but with some internal differentiation due to size. |
| Household group: | A number of otherwise independent <i>hanoko</i> , united in their obligations to the head of the group. |

While *hanoko*, "place of the hammock", basically refers to one house structure, the concept is equally applied to household compounds and household groups, if they form whole settlements, e.g., Lorenzano Ahanoko, Simón Ahanoko, Juan Mata Ahanoko,, Rafael Ahanoko.

The above *ad hoc* typology is meant only to make clear the stages of Winikina households. I do not think they are comparable cross-culturally, only the underlying rules are, such as modes of resource allocation that are operative in different units and societies.

though an interesting observation, is not of itself diagnostic, or even a clear-cut criterion. For as Godelier (1971; 2: 151) rightly points out: "Economic [phenomena] cannot be reduced to the functioning of non-economic relations, neither can they be wholly understood from this starting point. It is not on the level of these relations that one comprehends the need to program production factors in a certain way to obtain those products which one requires under given ecological and technological conditions. Economics is not ecology or technology and does not dissolve in the study of kinship, religion, etc." (Translation supplied).⁸

ABSTRACT

Social relations between affines have frequently been treated under the general heading of kinship, i.e. together with the relations between consanguines. The present article argues that social relations of affinity constitute long range social contracts and as such are fundamentally different from consanguineal kinship.

This condition should be taken into account especially in analyzing economic subsystems. Data from the Winikina, a subtribe of the Warao Indians of the Orinoco Delta in northeastern Venezuela, show a high percentage of affines in the composition of households and corresponding residence units. We hope to show that social relations of affinity — not kinship categories per se, which in this endogamous population are generally those of consanguines — are the decisive factor in structuring economic behavior.

RESUMEN

Las relaciones sociales entre afines a menudo han sido consideradas bajo el tema general de parentesco, es decir, al mismo nivel que las relaciones entre parientes consanguíneos.

⁸. ...l'économique ne se réduit pas au fonctionnement de (rapports non-économiques) et ne peut être entièrement compris à partir d'eux. Car ce n'est pas au niveau de ces rapports que l'on saisit la nécessité de combiner de façon particulière les facteurs de production pour obtenir les produits dont on a besoin dans des conditions écologiques et technologiques données. La science économique n'est ni l'écologie ni la technologie et ne se dissout pas dans l'étude de la parenté, de la religion, etc."

En el presente artículo se argumenta que relaciones de afinidad, o sea parentesco por alianza, constituyen contratos sociales a largo plazo y de esta manera difieren fundamentalmente del parentesco por consanguinidad.

Este hecho debería tomarse en cuenta especialmente al analizar subsistemas económicos. Datos de los Winikina, una subtribu de los indígenas Warao del Delta Amacuro, manifiestan un alto porcentaje de afines en la composición de unidades residenciales. De esta manera el parentesco por alianza se revela como un factor decisivo en la estructuración de relaciones económicas. ~~XX~~

~~WINIKINA, PARENTES~~

~~INDIGENAS WARAO~~

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House 111					
Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
46	= ANTONIO PACHECO	ex-KABITANA, Yaruara Akoho	HANOKO AROTU	hu	111
57	= Petra		wi	HANOKO AROTU	111
17	= Josefina Zapata		wi, wi-br-da	br-da, TEKORO	111
34	= SANTIAGO RIVERO		da-hu, mo-br-so-so	da-hu, hu-mo-br-so-so	111
26	= Josefina Pacheco		da	da	111
9	EZEQUIEL		da-da	da-so	111
5	Tirsa		da-so	da-da	111
3	Esperanza		da-da	da-da	111
13	SERVINO (SILVINO)		wi-da-so	da-so	111
9	RAFAELITO	son of late VICTOR	br-so	hu-br-so	163
19	= PASCUAL RIVERO	visit, son-in-law of late VICTOR	br-da-hu, mo-br-so-so-so	hu-br-da-hu, hu-mo-br-so-so-so	152
17	= Angelita		br-da	hu-br-da	152
1	Gladys		br-da-da	hu-br-da-da	152
22	RAMON SEHBA	visit, building house (cf. #121, Gabriel)	—	—	141
17	= Gloria		—	—	141
Total: 15 persons					House 112
54	= CIRILO RIVERO	KABITANA, Yaruara Akoho	HANOKO AROTU	hu	112
54	= Celina		wi	HANOKO AROTU	112
72	= Rosa		mo	hu-mo	112
32	= FRANCO GALAN		da-hu, mo-fa-so-so	da-su	112
29	= Florencia		da	da	112
6	BENIGNO		da-so	da-so	112
3	FIDEL		da-so	da-so	112
1	RUDOLFO		da-so	da-so	—
27	= Micaela		da	da	112
3	Florinda		da-da	da-da	112
1	JUAN		da-so	da-so	—
18	OTILLO	at mission-school	so	so	112
13	Berta		da	da	112
24	= PRIMITIVO	Visit, building house	si-da-hu	hu-si-da-hu	141
24	= Emiliana	(cf. # 121, Gabriel)	si-da	hu-si-da	141
5	EMILIO		si-da-so	hu-si-da-so	141
2	ALBERTO		si-da-so	hu-si-da-so	—
Total: 17 persons					

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
		ISIMOI AROTU			
62	= JAIME ZAPATA	"owner of sacred flute"	HANOKO AROTU	hu	114
58	= Anita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	114
40	= Anastasia		wi	hu-wi, TEKORO	114
48	= FRANCISCO ROJAS		da-hu	da-hu	114
27	= Fortuna		da	da	114
8	CRISTOBAL		da-so	da-so	114
6	María Erminia		da-da	da-da	114
4	Aleli		da-da	da-da	114
1	Avelina		da-da	da-da	—
11	RAMON		so	so	114
10	FERMIN		so	so	114
10	MUNDARAI		wi-so	hu-wi-so	—
51	= GABRIEL SANCHEZ	Visit, building house (cf. # 121)	—	—	141
29	= Josefina		—	—	141
13	Casimira		—	—	141
11	Patricia		—	—	141
10	Brigilia		—	—	141
1	UNICO		—	—	—
Total: 18 persons					
					House 115
42	= BERNARDO JIMENEZ	ex-FISIKALI, Yaruara Akoho	HANOKO AROTU	hu	115
47	= Carmelita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	115
22	= GERMAN		da-hu	da-hu	115
17	= Inocencia		da	da	115
1	Female		da-da	da-da	—
13	AQUILINO		so	so	115
10	FELICISIMO		so	so	115
20	= MICACIO ALONSO		—	—	?
Total: 8 persons					

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
72	= JOSE VELAZQUEZ	Secondary WISIRATU	HANOKO AROTU	hu	116
60	= Margarita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	116
32	= Otecia		da	da	116
13	= DANIEL		da-so	da-so	116
11	AQUILINO		da-so	da-so	116
10	VICTOR		da-so	da-so	116
7	LOTE (HORTENSIO)		da-so	da-so	116
2	Elvira		da-da	da-da	116
27	= GERONIMO		so	so	116
26	= Marcolina		so-wi	so-wi	116
7	QUINTILIANO		so-so	so-so	116
6	MISAEI		so-so	so-so	116
4	PEDRIN		so-so	so-so	116
23	= JESUS BOADA		so	so	116
16	= Ana		so-wi	so-wi	115
Total: 15 persons					House 117
35	= ALEJANDRO GALAN		ANOKO AROTU	hu	112
32	= Margarita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	112
8	Savasita		da	da	112
7	Amelia		da	da	112
5	Areli		da	da	112
3	Aura Virginia		da	da	112
Total: 6 persons					House 118
28	= BRIGIDO LORENZANO		HANOKO AROTU	hu, mo-fa-so-so	114
32	= Helena		wi, fa-fa-da-da	HANOKO AROTU	114
11	Iriana		wi-da, fa-fa-da-da-da	da	114
7	Cleria		da	da	114
6	AMERICO		so	so	114
3	MAURICIO		so	so	114
1	ELTO		so	so	—
20	= JOSE MONROE		wi-fa-da-hu	fa-da-hu	200
16	= Lucía		wi-fa-da	fa-da	114
Total: 9 persons					

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
64	= LUIS JIMENEZ	ex-KOBENAHORO	HANOKO AROTU	hu	114
60	= Rosa		wi	HANOKO AROTU	114
17	= Bernardina		wi	hu-wi, TEKORO,	
70	= Antonia		wi	br-wi-fa-br-da-da	114
				hu-wi (hold)	absent
1	Luisita		da	hu-da	—
29	= ELISEO		da-hu	hu-da-hu	absent
32	= Sita		da	hu-da	absent
6	Angela		da-da	hu-da-da	absent
2	Dori		da-da	hu-da-da	absent
34	= CESAREO RIVERO		wi-da-hu	hu-da-da	absent
36	= Celina		wi-da	hu-wi-da-su	142
9	ENRIQUE		wi-da-so	hu-wi-da	142
1	ANGELITO		wi-da-so	hu-wi-da-so	—
40	= SEVERINO		wi-so	hu-wi-so	absent
32	= Delfina Paredes		wi-so-wi	hu-wi-so-wi	absent
8	Gisela		wi-so-da	hu-wi-so-da	absent
14	Plácida		da-da	si-da-da, hu-da-da	absent

Total: 17 persons

(future House 121)

Tempo- rarely living at:	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head
	GABRIEL SANCHEZ		(HANOKO AROTU)	(hu)
#114	= Josefina		(wi)	(HANOKO AROTU)
	Casimira		(da)	(da)
	Patricia		(da)	(da)
	Brigilia		(da)	(da)
	UNICO		(so)	(so)
#111	= RAMON SEMBA		(da-hu)	(da-hu)
	= Gloria		(da)	(da)
	= PRIMITIVO		(wi-so)	(so)
#112	= Emiliana		(wi-so-wi)	(so-wi)
	EMILIO		(wi-so-so)	(so-so)
	ALBERTO		(wi-so-so)	(so-so)

YARUARA AKOHO, May 1971

House 122

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
52	= FACUNDO JIMENEZ		HANOKO AROTU	hu	200
43	= Margarita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	200
28	= HERMENEGILDO PAREDES		br-so	fa-so-da-hu, hu-br-so	200
19	= Teresita Galán		br-so-wi	fa-so-da	112
9	Leticia		br-so-da	hu-br-so-da	200
5	Estilia		br-so-da	hu-br-so-da	200
1	Cruz Auristela		br-so-da	fa-so-da-da, hu-br-so-da	—

Total: 7 persons

House 126

36	= ESTANISLAO	Two brothers living neolocally	HANOKO AROTU	hu	126
30	= Delia		wi	HANOKO AROTU	126
7	Luisa		da	da	126
6	Juana		da	da	126
4	Purificación		da	da	126
28	= SILVANO		co-HANOKO AROTU, br	.hu-br	126
27	= Lucía		br-wi	co-HANOKO AROTU,	
				hu-br-wi	126
7	Gertrudis		br-da	hu-br-da	126
5	ISA		br-so	hu-br-so	
3	Florinda		br-da	hu-br-da	126

Total: 10 persons

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
60	= TALEJO	Secondary WISIRATU	HANOKO AROTU	hu	131
64	= Rosa		wi	HANOKO AROTU	131
77	= Rosa		wi-mo	mo	131
42	= BIVAS		da-hu	da-hu	131
35	= María Rosa		da	da	131
2	Cecilio		da-da	da-da	—
14	KAMERO	at mission-school	da-so	da-so	131
14	Casilda		da	da	131
12	FERMIN		so	so	131
11	Rosaria		da	da	131

Total: 10 persons

House 132

48	= SEMBA		HANOKO AROTU	hu	132
42	= Mariana		wi	HANOKO AROTU	132
42	= AUGUSTO		da-hu	da-hu, mo-da-hu-br-so	132
27	= Lorenza		da	da	132
7	MAXIMINO		da-so	da-so	132
6	VALENTIN		da-so	da-so	132
13	Elisea		da	da	132
9	Julia		da	da	132
7	CESAR		so	so	132

Total: 9 persons

House 133

41	= SEGUNDINO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	131
33	= María		wi	HANOKO AROTU	131
13	GERONIMO		so	so	131
11	Alicia		da	da	131
10	TIRSO		so	so	131
2	LENCHO		so	so	131
1	Elecina		da	da	131

NAONOKO AKOHO, May 1971

House 134

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
20	= SILVERIO HEREDIA		HANOKO AROTU	hu	131
18	= Mariana		wi	HANOKO AROTU	131
1	José Manuel		so	so	—

Total: 3 persons

House. 135

22	= VALENTIN		HANOKO AROTU	hu	132
18	= Hilda		wi	HANOKO AROTU	132
2	Marcela female		da da	da da	

Total: 4 persons

SIMON AHANOKO, May 1971

House 151

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
51	= SIMON RODRIGUEZ		HANOKO AROTU	hu	151
34	= Avila		wi	HANOKO AROTU	151
15	Berta		da	da	151
13	MOISES		so	so	151
10	ALTO		so	so	151
2	CRISTOBAL		so	so	—
57	= JOAQUIN RIBERO	ex-FISIKALI, Winikina	wi-fa	fa	151
24	= HELIO		da-hu	da-hu	151
17	= Dominga		da	da	151
24	= GUILLERMO		wi-br	br	151
2	= Zuli		wi-br-da	br-da	151
Total: 11 persons					

SIMON AHANOKO, May 1971

House 152

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
35	= BERNABE		HANOKO AROTU	hu	152
33	= Juana Rosa		wi	HANOKO AROTU	152
30	= Maria Rosa		wi	si, hu-wi	152
16	BASILIO		so	so	152
13	CESAR		so	so	152
9	María		da	da	152
8	ANSELMO		so	si-so	152
3	Cecilia		da	si-da	152
47	= TOMASITO	own house under construction	fa-fa-br-da-hu	hu-fa-fa-br-da-hu	sawmill
42	= María Jesús		fa-fa-br-da	hu-fa-fa-br-da	sawmill
22	= JULIO*		fa-fa-br-da-so	hu-fa-fa-br-da-so	sawmill
21	ALFONSO		fa-fa-br-da-so	hu-fa-fa-br-da-so	sawmill
19	Milia		fa-fa-br-da-da	hu-fa-fa-br-da-so	sawmill
18	= Cristina*		fa-fa-br-da-da	hu-fa-fa-br-da-so	sawmill

* married, but no further data obtained.

Total: 14 persons

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
44	= INOCENCIO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	161
60	= JOSEFINA		wi	HANOKO AROTU	161
22	= KAMERO		wi-da-da-hu	da-da-hu	161
18	= Aurora		wi-da-da	da-da	161
1	OLANDO (ROLANDO?)		wi-da-da-so	da-da-so	—

Total: 5 persons

House 162

65	= CARLOS ZAPATA	KABITANA, Hebu Wabanoko	HANOKO AROTU	hu	162
48	= Tomasa		wi	HANOKO AROTU	162
47	= Zenobia		wi	si hu-wi	
18	CECILIO (CESAR)		so	so	162
19	DAMASO		so	si-so	162
8	Margarita		da	si-da	162
7	GILBERTO		so	si-so	162
5	DARIO		so	si-so	162
18	= FELIPE		da-hu	si-da-hu	111
15	= Rosina		da	si-da	162
27	= Mercedes		da	da	151
6	Petrica		da-da	da-da	151

Total: 12 persons

House 163

68	= ISAIAS RODRIGUEZ	Principal WISIRATU	HANOKO AROTU	hu	163
67	= Antonia		w	HANOKO AROTU	143
32	= Celina (Juana)		da	hu-da	163
7	Florentino		da-so	hu-da-so	163
4	ALICIO		da-so	hu-da-so	163
20	= BONIFACIO		da-hu	da-hu	163
17	= Mariana		da	da	163
1	Elviria		da-da	da-da	—
18	DIONISIO		so	so	163
12	Altagracia		da	da	163
8	MICANIO		da-so	da-so	163

Total: 11 persons

HEBU WABANOKO, May 1971

House 164

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
35	= LORENZO MORENO	FISIKALI, Hebu Wabanoko	HANOKO AROTU	hu	164
35	= Justina		wi	HANOKO AROTU	164
12	REMIGIO		so	so	164
10	Iginia		da	da	164
8	Josefina		da	da	164
7	ESTEFANEO		so	so	164
5	PATRICIO		so	so	164
68	= VICENTE		fa	hu-fa	164
67	= Antonia		mo	hu-mo	164
57	= Agustina		wi-mo	mo	164

Total: 10 persons

House 165

50	= BUSTILLO (UBONI)	secondary WISIRATU	HANOKO AROTU	hu	165
34	= Genovita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	165
9	Epifanea		da	da	165
7	ANTONIA KOTUA		so	so	165
3	BENIGNO		so	so	165
12	Daniela	at mission-school	wi-da	da	165

Total: 6 persons

House 166

50	= CASTILLO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	166
72	= Ana María		wi	HANOKO AROTU	166
37	= Eustecia		wi	hu-wi, TEROKO	166
9	Berta		da	hu-da	166
7	LUCIO		so	hu-so	166
5	GILBERTO		so	hu-so	166
3	Iduvina		da	hu-da	166
1	Rosalía		da	hu-da	—
45	= DONATO		br	da-hu	163
42	= Pastora		br-wi, wi-da	da	163

Total: 10 persons

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
46	= SIBORORI		HANOKO AROTU	hu	167
31	= Rosita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	167
9	ENRIQUE		so	so	167
8	Sofía		da	da	167
6	María		da	da	167
5	NEGO (MEKORO)		so	so	167
3	HELIO		so	so	167
Total: 7 persons					
					House 168
40	= ESTEBAN		HANOKO AROTU	hu, fa-fa-da-so	162
17	= María		wi, mo-fa-so-da	HANOKO AROTU	162
18	= ALVARO		so	hu-so, fa-fa-da-so-so	162
19	= Adela		so-wi, mo-fa-so-da	hu-so-wi, mo-mo-da-da, mo-fa-br-da-da, fa-br-da	162
14	Rosario	at mission-school	da	hu-da, fa-fa-da-so-da	162
12	Adelina		da	hu-da, fa-fa-da-so-da	162
2	FIDEL		so	so	—
1	Porfilia (Porfiria)		da	da	—
Total: 8 persons					
					House 169
41	= FELIX		HANOKO AROTU	hu, fa-fa-br-so	182
36	= Florentina		wi, fa-br-so-da	HANOKO AROTU	182
16	ESTEBAN		so	so	182
13	JESUS		so	so	182
11	Brigilia		da	da	182
8	Cleria		da	da	182
2	HORACIO		so	so	182
Total: 7 persons					
					House 170
20	= ESTEBAN SUTE (E. LIRA)		HANOKO AROTU	hu, mo-fa-si-hu-so-so	200
21	= Emiliana		wi, fa-fa-wi-br-da-da	HANOKO AROTU	182
4	Marta		wi-da	da	182
1	MALE		so	so	—
Total: 4 persons					
					House 171
39	= BETREMIN		HANOKO AROTU	hu	162
24	= Angelina		wi	HANOKO AROTU	162
2	ARMANDO		so	so	—
Total: 3 persons					

MORIKI HANA, May 1971

House 181

(NOTE: Have alternative residence at Yaruara Akoho, House 113)

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
58	= MARCO ZAPATA		HANOKO AROTU	hu	181
62	= Julia María		wi	HANOKO AROTU	181
37	= ANDRES		wi-so	so	181
31	= Venicia		wi-so-wi	so-wi	181
13	Ligia		wi-so-da	so-da	181
10	ARTURO		wi-so-so	so-so	181
8	Olimpia		wi-so-da	so-da	181
2	CRISTOBAL		wi-so-so	so-so	181
20	= TIRSO		wi-so-da-hu	so-da-hu, fa-br-so-so	324
17	= Amalia		wi-so-da	so-da	181
8	María Ursula		da-da	da-da	181

Total: 11 persons

MORIKI HANA, May 1971

House 182

(NOTE: Have alternative residence at Yaruara Akoho, House 113)

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
49	= JOSE ANTONIO PAEZ	FISIKALI, Yaruara Akoho; HOAROTU	HANOKO AROTU	hu	182
39	= Bertina Zapata		wi	HANOKO AROTU	182
37	= Barbina Zapata		wi	si, hu-wi	182
10	Anita		da	da	182
8	Jsera		da	da	182
5	LENCITO		so	so	182
3	JULIO		so	so	182
1	KAYITO (CALIXTO?)		so	so	—
6	VANGELIO (EVANGELIO)		so	si-so	182
3	ALFREDO		so	si-so	182
1	Generosa		da	si-da	—
21	= JUAN MENDOZA		wi-da-hu	da-hu	182
17	= Regina		wi-da	da	182
1	JOSELIN (JOSE LUIS)		wi-da-so	da-so	—
Total 14 persons					

27 ARE TRIBAL ECONOMIES "EMBEDDED"

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
40	= COSTEÑO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	301
25	= Carlota		wi	HANOKO AROTU	301
5	JESUS		so	so	301
57	= Josefina		mo	hu-mo	301
37	= ANZOATEGUI		mo-hu-so	hu-mo-hu-so, fa-wi-da-hu	304
27	= Delia		mo-hu-so-wi, wi-fa-wi-da	fa-wi-da, hu-mo-hu-so-wi	304
8	Ermilda		mo-hu-so-da	fa-wi-da-da	304
6	Felipa		mo-hu-so-da	fa-wi-da-da	304
37	= GONZALO CARDONA		mo-so	fa-da-hu	304
37	= Dominiquita		mo-so-wi, wi-fa-da	fa-da	304
4	CRISTOBAL		mo-so-so	fa-da-so	304
27	= COMITO		mo-wo-wi-da-hu	fa-da-da-hu	304
21	= Pascuala		mo-so-wi-da, wi-fa-da-da	fa-da-da	304
3	MALE		mo-so-wi-da-so	fa-da-da-so	304
1	Female		mo-so-wi-da-da	fa-da-da-da	
35	= QUINTIN		br, co-HANOKO AROTU	hu-br	302
42	= Juana (Cecilia)		br-wi	hu-br-wi, co-HANOKO-AROTU	302
5	Coromoto		br-da	hu-br-da	302
31	= MELCHOR		br, co-HANOKO AROTU	hu-br	302
21	= Carmen		br-wi	hu-br-wi, co-HANOKO-AROTU	302
6	HELIO		br-so	hu-br-so	302
3	Female		br-da	hu-br-da	302
1	Female		br-da	hu-br-da	—
32	= SABINO	FISIKALI, Koberuna	wi-fa-wi-so	fa-wi-so	304
30	= Juana		wi-fa-wi-so-wi	fa-wi-so-wi	
7	NINO		wi-fa-wi-so-so	fa-wi-so-so	304
5	MIGUEL		wi-fa-wi-so-so	fa-wi-so-so	304
4	ESTIMIO		wi-fa-wi-so-so	fa-wi-so-so	304
22	CANDIDO		wi-fa-wi-so	fa-wi-so	403
62	= CHARO	Secondary WISIRATU	wi-fa	fa	305
50	= Josefina		wi-mo	mo	305
20	ELADIO		wi-br	br	305
10	Erva		wi-si	si	305

Total: 33 persons

The unusual formation of household Nr. 302 came about through the death of an important shaman. By 1973 the settlement had regrouped.

KOBERUNA, May 1971

House 303

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
42	= JOSE MORALEDA	KABITANA, Koberuna	HANOKO AROTU	hu	303
37	= Tina		wi	HANOKO AROTU	303
79	= Juanita		wi-mo	mo	303
10	Micaela		da	da	303
8	María		da	da	303
5	BALTASAR		so	so	303

Total: 6 persons

House 306

37	= COMPAÑIA		HANOKO AROTU	hu	306
35	= María Mariusa (Catarina)		wi	HANOKO AROTU	306
9	CLETO		so	so	306
8	Lorenzana		da	da	306
7	DAMIAN		so	so	306
5	Lucía		da	da	306
3	female		da	da	306

Total: 7 persons

KOBURUNA, May 1971

House 308

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
52	= MIGUEL BRAVO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	308
47	= Ramona Mariusa		wi	HANOKO AROTU	308
72	= María Rosa		wi	hu-wi, (TEKORO?)	308
10	JUSTO		so	so	302
8	CUQUIN		so	so	302
7	FABIAN		so	so	302
36	= AMERICANO	Visit, building new house	da-hu	da-hu	309
30	= Rosa		da	da	309
5	OTILLO		da-so	da-so	309
4	Hortensia		da-da	da-da	309
2	female		da-da	da-da	—
Tital: 11 persons					

KOBERUNA, May 1971

House 309

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
37	= ANSELMO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	309
42	= Cecilia (Ana Luisa)		wi	HANOKO AROTU	309
30	= Luisa		wi	si, hu-wi	309
18	VALENTIN		so	so	309
12	Petra		da	si-da	309
10	Aurelia		da	si-da	309
5	PATRICIO		so	si-so	309
24	= Benita		da-hu	si-da-hu	304
15	= María Helena		so	si-da	309
77	= SALVADOR		wi-fa	fa	309
62	= Lucila (Josefa)		wi-mo	mo	309
39	= MAESTRO	Visit, building new house	wi-br, si-hu	br	307
39	= María (Antonia)		si	hu-si, br-wi	307
9	PALACIO		si-so	br-so	307
7	Rosa		si-da	br-da	307
5	Quintiliana		si-da	br-da	307
4	Iduvina		si-da	br-da	307

Total: 17 persons

House 310

34	= SAMUEL IZUERO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	310
29	= Juanita		wi	HANOKO AROTU	310
7	GERMAN		so	so	310
5	Adela		da	da	310
4	female		da	da	310

Total: 5 persons

KOBERUNA, MAY, 1971

House 311

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
34	= JUAN PEREZ		HANOKO AROTU	hu	305
32	= Sabina	(sister and brother living neolocally)	wi	HANOKO AROTU	305
8	Petra		da	da	305
5	Cecilia		da	da	305
4	Angelina		da	da	305
2	MALE		so	soso	—
27	= SIXTA (SITA)	(sister and brother living neolocally)	wi-br, co-HANOKO AROTU	br	311
21	= Rufina		wi-br-wi	br-wi, fa-si-so-da, co-HANOKO AROTU	311
6	EMILIO		wi-br-so	br-so	311
4	BERNARDINO		wi-br-so	br-so	311
2	female		wi-br-da	br-da	—
Total: 11 persons					
					House 312
21	= JUSTINO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	208
21	= Eliana (Iriana)	(Two sisters living neolocally)	wi	HANOKO AROTU	308
3	female		da	da	308
1	MALE		so	so	—
19	= RENO		wi-si-hu, HARAYABA, co-HANOKO AROTU	si-hu	306
20	= Rosa II	(Two sisters living neolocally)	wi- si	si, co-HANOKO AROTU	304
1	female		wi-si-da	si-da	—
Total: 7 persons					

LORENZANO AHANOKO, May 1971

House 321

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
57	= ANTONIO LORENZANO	BAHANAROTU	HANOKO AROTU	hu	321
54	= Felicia		wi	HANOKO AROTU	321
27	= Lina		wi	hu,wi, TEKORO	321
10	Gloria		da	hu-da	321
7	FLORINDO		so	hu-so	321
20	= GERONIMO		so	so	321
19	= Carmen		so-wi	so-wi	321
3	RODRIGO		so-so	so-so	321
1	Ofelia		so-da	so-da	—
Total: 9 persons					

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
40	= CHANO RIVERO	secondary	WISIRATU	HANOKO AROTU	hu 322
38	= Domitila		wi	HANOKO AROTU	322
16	CONRADO		so	so	322
15	AQUILINO	at mission-school	so	so	322
12	EMILIO		so	so	322
4	BERNARDINO		so	so	322
2	Florencia		da	da	—
31	= PAULINO		da-hu	da-hu	322
17	= Erva		da	da	322
2	Areli		da-da	da-da	322
Total: 10 persons					House 323
35	= PACITO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	323
34	= Olga		wi	HANOKO AROTU	323
13	GREGORIO		so	so	323
10	= GILBERTO		so	so	323
7	Licinia		da	da	323
5	JOSE PEPITO		so	so	323
3	TEODORO		so	so	323
2	Josefa Antonia		da	da	—
21	= PEDRO JESUS		da-hu	da-hu	323
17	= Esterita		da	da	323
1	ULISE		da-so	da-so	—
18	= MAXIMINO		da-hu	da-hu	116
15	= Irena		da	da	323
39	= MEZA		wi-si-hu, HARAYABA co-HANOKO AROTU	si-hu	325
27	= Emiliana		wi-si	si, co-HANOKO AROTU	25
10	JULIAN		wi-si-so	si-so	325
8	Aurelia		wi-si-da	si-da	325
6	Paula		wi-si-da	si-da	325
5	Francisca		wi-si-da	si-da	325
3	Esperanza		wi-si-da	si-da	325
2	Cecilia		wi-si-da	si-da	—
Total: 21 persons					

LORENZANO AHANOKO, May 1971

House 324

Age	Name	Remarks	Relation to Male Household Head	Relation to Female Household Head	Residence 1969
43	= PEDRO RIBERO		HANOKO AROTU	hu	324
40	= Clementina		wi	HANOKO AROTU	324
17	TEBALDO		so	so	324
16	ADOLFO		so	so	324
12	Teresa		da	da	324
8	Avelina		da	da	324
5	Raquel		da	da	324
2	Isaula (Isaura)		da	da	—
24	= SEGUNDO		so	so	181
24	= Carmen		so-wi, fa-br-da-da	so-wi	181
1	MENEGILDO (HERME-NEGILDO)		so-so	so-so	—
Total: 11 persons					