imagine a present and future in which they are agents of history, not its victims; and how they understand themselves today as a people and community is very much rooted in the accounts of violence and victory in the past.

The Jankho Kjarka war, as it is referred to in Wila Kjarka, is not simply an event but a memory to be recalled. The violence within the community and indeed between families cannot be simply forgotten because the result is in daily view: the two cemeteries, the eroding fields, and the ever-decreasing size of Jankho Kjarka. The extreme violence of cannibalism, which is a key feature of accounts, serves to justify the split by demonizing the people of Jankho Kjarka, but its recounting has another purpose: It frames the events in terms of the victory of Wila Kjarka over not only the people of Jankho Kjarka but also the hacendado. Victims become victors, and the true villains, the hacendados, are ultimately defeated. That the violence is remembered and recounted in generic ways serves to offer a foundational myth for the new liberated community.

As twenty-first-century Wila Kjarkeños contemplate their present and future in the days of the latest Bolivian Revolution, they do so through the lens of history: For them the events of the mid-twentieth century are indeed a major point of reference, but it is not a history that will be easily recognized by historians and politicians. For Wila Kjarkeños their historical consciousness profoundly informs the distinction between jaqi and q'ara, which so inflects their everyday lives. It is tempting to see these terms as simply mapping on to the conventional categories of Indian (or indigenous) and nonIndian, but to do so would be to try to understand Wila Kjarkeño identity in outside terms. A clear element here is being a member of a community, the kind of community many outsiders readily identify as being indigenous. But how does one become a member of the community?

FOUR

From Fetuses to Mountain Ancestors

Encarnación lived on the other side of the plaza, but I really got to know her when she fell off a ladder and ripped open her cheek. By that time I had become known for my first-aid kit, and Encarnación came to see me, her teeth visible though her cheek, and asked me to sew it up for her. I was impressed by the calm with which she made this proposition and wondered about the pain she must have been enduring. I must confess that I declined to sew up her cheek, but cleaned and dressed the wound and suggested she go to Choquepata or Sorata and have it sutured professionally.

I did not know it then, but Encarnación was pregnant, and as her belly grew, her scar healed. One night she went into labor. I was aware of some of what was going on: Teodosio had been called. I did not hear cries of pain across the plaza, but this did not surprise me as I had already learned that Encarnación could endure pain stoically. My comadre, Agustina, told me that things were not going well; there were problems. “Will the baby be all right?” I asked stupidly. I got absolutely no response from Agustina. It was, at any rate, a stupid question because one does not refer to babies in childbirth but sullus (fetuses), and of course, the concern
was primarily about Encarnación. In the developed West, women now very rarely die in childbirth, and the death of a child is seen as a tragedy; in Wila Kjarka both are relatively frequent, although infant mortality is much higher. The primary concern is for the mother, a productive and full member of the community, than for the fetus.¹

Encarnación died that night. As far as I can gather, she hemorrhaged. I was led to understand that she gave birth, but the baby subsequently died. No one could or would tell me how. Encarnación was given a full community burial, but people simply did not respond to my questions about the baby, who seemed not to have been buried—at least, not in the cemetery, which showed only one new grave.

This episode in the early months of my fieldwork impressed on me how little I knew about anything that happened in Wila Kjarka. I did not even know what questions to ask. But I did know that this sad incident raised questions about the status of fetuses and babies in Wila Kjarka, as well as how a mother’s health is valued over that of her fetus. It also raised questions about how one becomes a fully fledged member of a community, and how this is recognized and marked, especially at death.

At its simplest, one might suppose that just being born into the community to parents of the community would confer membership, and that birth would be a highly celebrated event. In fact, birth is a largely private event, not marked by the community, unlike any other socially significant event in one’s life. In contrast to other parts of the Bolivian Andes (e.g., Abercrombie 1986; Arnold 1989), there are no descent groups in Wila Kjarka, so birth does not even confer membership to such a group. That is, there is no notion of descent in the sense of belonging to a lineage understood in genealogical terms. This is not to say, however, that there is no communal sense of identity with the ancestors; in fact, quite the contrary is true: The ancestral spirits, the achachis, give legitimacy to the human use of their land. Nevertheless, even though people are related to the achachis, it would not be correct to say that people understand themselves to be directly descended from them.

In Wila Kjarka, as appears to be the case in many Austronesian societies (Bloch 1991), personhood is a process that arguably is only completed on the death of an adult, an event that is of far greater social significance than a birth. Personhood, including its gendered aspects, is not understood to be rooted in substance but in practice, how one acts upon the world and the kinds of human and extrahuman relationships one has: The process of being jaqi, being a gendered person, and being a human being are, unsurprisingly, tightly intertwined. To understand what it means to be jaqi, we need to understand how one becomes human.

In Western discourse one is simply born human, and there are many parts of the Western world where people extend the recognition of human nature to the fetus and embryo. Wherever one positions oneself on this debate, the point at which one is human is clearly defined: at birth, at conception, or when the fetus is viable outside the womb. The Western debates are about the point, the moment that defines human from nonhuman. Such clear-cut definitions are quite alien to Wila Kjarkeños, who have a much more fluid understanding of ontology.

Wila Kjarkeños use the word sarnaqwa to talk about their way of life, and it literally means walking. Life is a movement along a path, thaksi (see also Arnold 2006), and one translation of custom is sarnaqwa, or one’s walking. What makes people different from each other is the way they move through their lives, what they do, and where they are going. People follow different paths, and according to which path one follows one may become jaqi or, indeed, qara, and the path begins with how one comes into the world.

The ability to produce children is important to adults and is one of many manifestations of their ability to engage productively with the world and produce from it. At all levels, production is underwritten by the spirits. Fields will not produce if the relevant spirit is not feted, nor will animals reproduce if the right rituals are not performed, and human procreation is similarly assisted by the spirits. There are numerous spirits that have various manifestations, genders, and names. They are not, however, different entities, for they are part of the same tellurian matrix (Salerno 1987: 126). The major manifestations are the (female) earth spirit; the pachamama; the (male) mountain spirits, the achachis; and the house spirit, the kunturmanani. It is the kunturmanani that is most closely associated with the birth of humans as he presides over household production. People are explicit about these spirits being profoundly connected, and on more than one occasion people have explained the kunturmanani to me by saying he is the “pachamama” of the house. The kunturmanani “cares for us” (uywaypaxita), where uywaña is a word for caring but also for “bringing up,” as in caring for a child.

The kunturmanani and, by extension the other tellurian beings, are ultimately responsible for the fertility of the married couple and the arrival of the fetus into the world. The act of conceiving and giving birth does not, however, produce a person; whereas birth is an important
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The indication that a woman and a man have achieved personhood to the extent that they can productively maintain a household and reproduce, for the child, birth merely produces the raw material out of which a person may be created.

CONCEPTION

Both conceptions and births are reckoned in terms of fiestas. Early on in my fieldwork I was impressed that a midwife (uñuyu) could so confidently predict that Yula's baby would come on the feast of the Holy Name. The baby was, in fact, born a week and a half later, so I was surprised to hear people not only profess ignorance of the birth date but talk of the birth as having occurred on the feast of the Holy Name. The significance of this is not that people in Wila Kjarka have difficulty with the calendar but that a birth event should occur at a time when the community assembles and fetes one or other aspect of the tellurian spirit world.

Conception, too, is said to occur during fiestas. To comprehend the importance of fiestas in birth, one must appreciate the difference a fiesta makes to the life of villagers. For most of the year, the people of Wila Kjarka live and work in their household units, occasionally exchanging labor with close kin and fictive kin. At these times there is little social contact between villagers; there is, for example, no generalized visiting, even among kin. The exception would be when children visit an elderly grandparent to take them food or when a sister or mother visits early in the morning. In these cases, close kin sit in the doorway or just outside it. Nor do people stop to chat on their way to and from the fields. People do talk during work breaks, but that is within the family unit and compadres who are helping each other. Young men often play soccer an hour before sunset, but there is very little of what one might describe as generalized sociality.

The contrast between the profane time of day-to-day existence and the sacred time of fiestas is quite striking: During fiestas, all agricultural work ceases or is handed over to adolescents and children; in some of the larger fiestas, the adults of the community eat and drink together for several days. It is a time of heightened sensitivity: People cry, laugh, shout, fight, and flirt with great intensity.

It is during fiestas that the community is most engaged with the powers of the tellurian spirits who bring rain, enable the earth to produce crops, confer wisdom and agency on people, and also accord humans the ability to produce children. Communication is generally achieved through making offerings directly to the underworld spirits in the form of alcohol, coca, cigarettes, and sacrificed animals, but also through households sharing food, alcohol, and conviviality. The consumption of alcohol on such occasions, as Thierry Saignes points out, generally for the Andes, "contributes in unifying men with themselves as well as with spirits, gods or the dead (its use annuls the division between sacred and profane spheres)" (1989: 104). The sharing of coca leaves also has a similar effect as Catherine Allen has carefully documented for a community in Peru (1988: 137).

An important feature of fiestas is the strong sense of community solidarity that is expressed, and people went to great pains to point out to me how everyone in the village was in attendance (even if this was sometimes not the case). In Wila Kjarka there is a running tension between household interests and community interests—a conflict that is never ultimately resolved (cf. Albó 1975). Indeed, it is also the case that many tensions surface during fiestas, assisted no doubt by alcohol. As people are sleep deprived and drunk, these tensions surface, often violently, but they are also quickly resolved, and this may have a cathartic effect in preventing disputes and rivalries from smoldering indefinitely.

More positively, fiestas are occasions when the whole community acts as one household sharing food, drink, and coca together as well as dancing, which has an explicitly procreative aspect. Dancing is said to sexually stimulate the earth goddess, the pachamama, and thus increases her munificence of procreative powers. It is thus through fiestas and the sharing of food, alcohol, and coca with each other and the spirits that the community and its identity is created and affirmed.

There are two broad reasons why conceptions are believed to occur during fiestas. First, because this is the time when the enabling power of the spirits is most immanent, and, second, because this is when people are more relaxed, less inhibited, and consequently more amorous. Several people from Wila Kjarka told me that sexual intercourse between couples occurred with much greater frequency during fiestas than in the periods between them. A sharp contrast is made between the sex acts of adolescents, which occasionally occur when they are herding (cf. Millones and Pratt 1989: 35), and the sex acts of adults, which occur within a stable relationship and in the domesticated space of the household. Adolescent sex is considered "wild" because the adolescents are unmarried and is performed beyond the community boundaries. As such, they invite neither sanction, condemnation, or interest on the part of adults (de la Cadena
surrounding conception quite simply reflect the belief that men and women create children together.

Blood and semen combine to create a growing formless bloody mass (wila maruqas) until the fourth month of gestation, when the fetus begins to move. At this point, the fetus has hair and bones and is known as a fetus (sullu). People say that if a pregnancy aborts before the fetus begins to move in the belly, what comes out is blood and tissue of no determinate shape; after this, it looks like a fetus.

Throughout the pregnancy the couple will make regular offerings to the condor-falcon (kunturmanani), who is the principal household god. This is especially important should the woman become sick during pregnancy. Offerings made to the kunturmanani will ensure that her spirit (ayayu) returns and the pregnancy proceeds to its full course.

During pregnancy, the woman will continue her chores, but they will gradually diminish, particularly the heavy ones, as the pregnancy develops. A pregnant mother has access to specialists in case there are any problems during her pregnancy: the yatiri (shaman) and the uswiri, one of the many women in the community who has experience with childbirth. The yatiri deals with problems of a more spiritual nature, those matters that involve the ayayu. The uswiri massages the abdomen and predicts the date of the birth. This date is the date of the fiesta during which the uswiri believes the child will be born. She will also make sure the fetus is positioned properly by performing thallhapiña—having the mother lie on an awayu (carrying cloth) and maneuvering the awayu by the ends.

BIRTH

A birth is very much a private, household affair, and not much attention is accorded it by villagers beyond those directly involved. A birth generally takes place at home, where the mother-to-be is attended by her husband. In Wila Kjarka, it is the man's duty to make sure his wife is comfortable, warm, and well fed. She will birth squatting or standing with her knees bent, supported by her husband or whoever is attending (cf. Bradby 1998: 51; Platt 2002). The man's role is also to fill the room with smoke, as this is thought to assist the birth and specifically move the contractions on (cf. Platt 2002: 139). The mother is given lamb broth as well as other rich and fortifying foods during labor and for several days after the birth. When a birth is difficult, the yatiri, Teodosio, is sometimes called. He told me he cuts his nails and spreads lard on his arms in order to help him
get the baby out. Sometimes, he said, he has to put his arms in up to his elbows, but then it comes out easily.'

The focus here is unambiguously on maternal, not fetal, health. Tristan Platt and his colleagues (2002) have suggested that recent developments in reproductive health policy have moved the focus away from maternal health to fetal health at the expense of women. This is consistent with the position of the Catholic Church, which prioritizes fetal health over maternal health, even if the woman should die as a result. I concur with Platt and his colleagues, who observe that the death of an infant is an occasion for sadness and tears but "does not even remotely have the traumatic significance of the death of a mother" (Platt 2002: 130). For Platt a parturient woman is engaged in nothing less than a battle for life, an inversion of the male role on the battlefield (2002: 132).

What is most certainly the case is that motherhood in Wila Kjarka is understood very differently from that of the self-sacrificing mother that is referenced in school celebrations and national discourses, much less the mater dolorosa of orthodox Catholicism. In a culture where reproduction is not valued particularly highly and women are admired more for their productive capacities than their reproductive ones, women are neither defined in terms of the children they produce nor even are they principally defined as mothers. Women are much more likely to be ashamed than proud of the number of children to which they have given birth. Birth is most certainly not a singular experience that defines a woman as an adult or fully contributing member of society (although it certainly plays a role); rather, it is a dangerous and potentially traumatic event that must be overcome.

Whether women in Wila Kjarka think of themselves as warriors or not, they are certainly aware that they have a very good chance of not surviving childbirth, since they will know many women who have died giving birth. Most births, happily, do not end in this way, and once the baby is born the attendant cuts the umbilical cord and waits for the placenta to emerge. The cut has to be measured from the umbilicus: two fingers for a female child and three fingers for a male child, so that his penis will grow.

This is a very rare example of an instance when Wila Kjarkeños explicitly recognize that gender is rooted in physical differences, because gender—as with personhood generally—is usually spoken of in terms of processes and activities. It is obvious that, even though they treat small children as genderless, parents know that they will grow into male and female; that the outer expression of gender is ultimately attributable to the genitals they have a birth; or rather, that genitals signal gender, even if they do not necessarily determine it. Moreover, Teodosio's account of what must be done to ensure that males and females grow properly suggests that physical sex does not develop "naturally" but, rather, it must be assisted by the agency of the knife.

In this, people in Wila Kjarka are similar to those cultures that practice genital cutting in order to ensure the "proper" development of a child's genitalia, be they to remove the foreskin of the penis to make it protrude more, or removing the clitoris "in case it grows large like a penis" (Talle 1995). In these cases, people understand the physical body to develop into male and female with the assistance of human intervention. Even in Wila Kjarka, as in other Andean communities, where people do not see genitals as the root explanation of gender, it is interesting to note that genital development is dependent, at least partly, on human intervention; and consequently, human culture plays a role in determining someone's sex. Even at this stage of development, one's identity as male or female as well as one's identity as jaqi or q'ara is part of a social process; it is not simply "given."

After the umbilical cord is cut, attention is given to the placenta. Teodosio comments: "The hot placenta has fat, and with a large needle I take that fat out and, with the blood of the placenta, I cover [the baby] completely.' The fat must be white, opaque, and that is why it must be taken out with a needle. It is with that fat that the child is spread." Covering the child with this fat protects it from bad airs and malign spirits.

Children are very vulnerable to illness because their ajayu spirit is not considered to be well settled in the body. They are consequently prone to ajayu flight, which causes illness, and, if it is not quickly returned, will result in death. This vulnerability to soul flight, which can be occasioned by something as simple as fright, is evidence of their tenuous tenancy of the land of people on the surface of the earth.

As the child enters the world of humans, the physical link with the spirits below must be cut. The placenta, part of the world of spirits, must be carefully returned. After the birth, the placenta is taken at night to a place in the stream where the stream spirits, the sirinus, dwell, and there it is washed (sirintaña). Then it is returned to the home, where it is buried in a corner of the house of the kunturumamani, the house spirit.

The baby and placenta come into the world together, and the umbilical cord is what links the child to the world from which it came. It is not surprising then that the umbilical cord is a very powerful offering to the
The act of rubbing the placenta with fat is an ancient practice for many societies. The placenta is a crucial organ in fetal development, and its removal is a pivotal event in the birth process. This act is performed to ensure the safety and well-being of both the mother and the infant. It symbolizes the transition from the fetal to the newborn state, marking the end of the pregnancy and the beginning of a new phase in life.

Once the child is born, it is cleaned and swaddled, but it is not fed until at least twenty-four hours after birth. It is believed that this helps the baby adjust to its new environment and allows it to conserve energy for its first feeding. Babies are tightly swaddled, and the swaddling clothes are tied with a wide woven belt called a wak'a. The wak'a is usually woven by the mother, and its purpose is to protect the baby from evil spirits and to keep them safe. There is also the belief that the wak’a will hold the baby tightly and will not deform it.

If a child dies shortly after birth, it is buried without a name. The burial site is chosen at a distance from the village, and only the women are allowed to participate in the burial ceremony. The women sing a special song to guide the baby's soul to the afterlife. The burial site is chosen carefully, and the women say a prayer to ensure the baby's safe journey. The women thenと言って, "Those without name are buried down by the waters where there are many rocks; down there by the river they are buried. Six I have buried there, six (Wawawara k'irta'anya, allitattawaychisapaxaya)."

At this stage of its existence, the baby is considered nonhuman, and it has neither speech nor a name. Anunnamed baby is considered still to be a fetus (sullu), and it is for this reason that data on neonatal deaths are so difficult to obtain. It is impossible to know if one is recording infanticide or neonatal deaths, and after some time, the data tends to be more reliable. On several occasions, when talking to women about the number of babies they had, they omitted births of babies who died in the first weeks or even months of life and of which I happened to be aware. It is during the period before the naming ceremony that infanticide, when it occurs, is most likely to take place. Infanticide during this period is considered something like a late abortion. Nancy Scheper-Hughes has put forward a similar interpretation for mothers in Brazil who cease to care for their babies because they, for one reason or another, do not think they are worth the effort (1992: 432–33). Unwanted pregnancies in Wila Kjarka are usually dealt with by recourse to herbal abortifacients or, exceptionally, by a visit to the pharmacist in the nearest market town. In

Contrary to many traditional beliefs, contraception is not easily available in Wila Kjarka. Coitus interruptus is not widely practiced, and many couples complain of the difficulties of abstinence: "It is too easy to make a mistake (puntasta'jampamuna)." Indeed, given that sexual activity increases during feasts, when people are very often drunk, it is easy to see why contraception, by whatever method, is not deemed to be very successful in Wila Kjarka. Although people clearly desire fewer children and often spoke to me about methods of contraception, it is not generally openly discussed. Arminda Chinu told me that people don't talk about it for fear of being criticized: "Some speak badly, others will scold and criticize; that is why people remain silent." According to the health worker in Choquepata, only two women in Wila Kjarka are availing themselves of free contraception. In the health worker's view, this is because women are ignorant, because their husbands want to have children, or because they themselves want to have children. Many women in Wila Kjarka, however, are wary of the substandard medication that is often given in the health post in Choquepata. This is one woman's experience:

I went for one year, and for one year I did not bleed; but then I became pregnant. It didn't work: I had the injections in vain; and now I have my daughter . . . She is eight months old now. I went. You cannot make a mistake; you cannot go too early or too late. You must go on the right day. I went, but the attendant wasn't there. I had to go the next day and then she gave me the injection, but it didn't work. They say that you cannot make any mistake.

This experience, if it is generalized, may account for the poor uptake of contraception in Wila Kjarka. Other methods are either unavailable, considered unsafe (such as the pill), or too expensive. In practice, then, few options are open to women in Wila Kjarka to limit their pregnancies. Some people despair at the strain of bringing up children in very limited circumstances. One woman clearly had enough: "I am in great sorrow. I wish [my children] would all die; I wish they would die I say. They make me very angry; they make each other angry. I only have boys and they
are always fighting.” Such despair is extreme, but many people share the sense of frustration and the desire to have fewer children. It is very rare for people to speak of the joys of having children.

People do, therefore, attempt to limit their family size through abstention or abortion. These are always difficult decisions, but sometimes difficult decisions have to be made after the birth of a baby. People in Wila Kjarka are poor and some are very poor, to the point that caring for a sick or severely handicapped infant puts an unbearable strain on the family’s resources. Data on infanticide are difficult to obtain but, as far as I can gather, infanticide occurs when the baby has a physical defect or if it appears quite sick. Some babies are simply left to die, but I have also been told that some babies are simply left out on a cold night and other friends suggested that they are smothered. People are naturally uncomfortable about this topic and, unsurprisingly, some people not only deny that infanticide occurs in Wila Kjarka, they also say that neonates are buried in the cemetery rather than Kimurpata.

One morning as we sat around her cooking fire shelling beans together, my comrade Maruja told me that a long, long time ago, people used to throw newborns—some dead, some alive—off Kimurpata: “I have never been to Kimurpata; I don’t even know where it is!” However, a little later in the conversation, when I asked again where Kimurpata was, I received the following directions: “Follow the path past the Wila Kjarka cemetery and beyond the turn to the Jankho Kjarka cemetery. Don’t go down the path toward Sorata, just keep going to the cliff. It is right above [the place called] Siku sikuri. That is Kimurpata. But I have never been there.”

Kimurpata is above the big river, Jach’a Jawira, at a place where the waters thunder down over large boulders through a narrow canyon. This is a place of water spirits, sirimus, par excellence, and there is a homology between taking neonates to the river and the practice of washing the placenta at the stream where the water gushes out. Both places are like the fetus and placenta themselves: wet and emanating from the realm of the achachillas and other spirits of the manquapachas. By tossing the bodies of babies over Kimurpata it would seem people are simply returning them whence they came.

Teodosio told me why it was important to bury the unnamed babies in Kimurpata: “[If we buried them in the cemetery] it would be a sin. The lightning from above with bolts would come and thus that lightning would make our (jaqi) bones tremble and so enter our bodies. And so, then, all this would come to pass.”

The view of the river with Kimurpata on the left above the escarpment called Sikur sikuri, so named because the formation looks like panpipes (sikuri). The river flows fast to the land below, where the dead dwell.

Lightning is quintessentially a message from the achachillas, and indeed being hit by lightning is one of the diagnostics of having been chosen to be a yatiri. In the case of burying an unnamed baby in the cemetery, the lightning is clearly punishment from the gods, and there is an interesting parallel here with the punishment from the Christian god who brings hail on those communities that do not baptize their babies. But why would the achachillas visit such violence upon jaqi? The achachillas get angry when the normal exchanges between humans and ancestors are interrupted or blocked. In this case it appears that unnamed babies (i.e., fetuses) simply do not belong to the realm of humans and must be returned directly to the achachillas and the wet and dark world below (which is why they are buried down by the river, deep in a gorge). To bury them in the earth is to imply a relationship with achachillas that simply does not exist and,
among other things, would delay their reincorporation into the world of the ancestors.

Tristan Platt, basing his writing on the Quechua-speaking Macha some distance to the south of Wila Kjarka, presents these relationships much more clearly. He argues that the fetus is animated by the souls of pagan ancestors and that every birth is a reenactment of the mythohistorical event when chullpas were defeated by the sun and humans became Christian (2002: 138). According to this argument, fetuses are chullpas, and some support is given to this argument by the fact that the sun/son of God is inimical to newborns. The care of infants in this regard goes beyond a concern that they may overheat or burn, but rather that the sun’s rays are positively harmful even in small doses. Whether each birth is in some manner a reenactment of the arrival of the sun and destruction of the chullpas is a different matter, and I could find no data in Wila Kjarka that resonate with such an intriguing argument.

What is clear, however, is that fetuses do not have the status in Wila Kjarka as Christian souls, which, according to the Roman Catholic Church since 1871, fetuses have from the point of conception. Of course, the Church could not have come to this position before the late nineteenth century, since medical technology only confirmed the union of egg and sperm and its role in procreation in 1854. Although Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729–99) observed the fertilization of frog egg and sperm, it wasn’t until the nineteenth century, with the work of George Newport (1854) and William Harvey, that the process became better understood and the implications for human conception fully accepted. Before this time the Catholic Church considered the point of ensoulment or animation to occur when the fetus begins to move, when “quickening” occurs (between 14 and 18 weeks of gestation), although there was some debate as to whether male fetuses were ensouled before female ones. In turn, it took until well into the twentieth century for the idea to be widely accepted, even in conservative Catholic communities, that aborting fetuses in the early stages of pregnancy was murder. It is therefore not the least bit surprising that this recent development in Catholic theology has not been fully embraced in indigenous communities in Bolivia when priests are still struggling to persuade people that the purpose of baptism is other than avoiding hail. On one occasion I was talking to a Spanish priest who had spent over twenty years in Bolivia, learning Quechua and administering to a wide-flung parish. He bemoaned the fact that, after more than twenty years, he still hadn’t persuaded local people that baptism is about joining the community of loving Christians and has nothing to do with averting the wrath of God in the form of hail. “Twenty years?” I responded, “Isn’t it more like five hundred?”

The general weakness of the Catholic Church’s ability to impose orthodoxy on indigenous people notwithstanding, there is a reticence in Wila Kjarka in talking about abortion (sulluña), more so among men. One Saturday morning I met up with three friends from Wila Kjarka in the market of Sorata and invited them to a pizza. Sorata has a plethora of pizzerias. Some years ago, there was a very good Italian restaurant, and its Italian owner trained his staff. When he closed his restaurant, many of his waiters opened pizzerias in the main square and, by keeping overheads low, they all seemed to survive. The plaza of Sorata, with its restaurants, cyber cafés, and shops selling cell phones, seems a world away from Wila Kjarka. Over a large ham-and-black-olives pizza we talked about the changes taking place in Wila Kjarka and we also talked about family size. For my three companions, whom I have known since the day I arrived in Wila Kjarka, having smaller families is as much a sign of progress as the new road, chemical fertilizer, and owning a cell phone.

These men agreed that contraception was damaging to a woman’s health, abortion in particular. “You have to take care of yourself,” said Zenobio. “You can sleep together or not, it is up to you. Make love or not.” Perhaps because we were in the shadow of the church or simply in the center of Sorata negotiating stringy mozzarella, they were all keen to demonstrate to me that they were not party to the dubious customs of which I may have heard. Yet they showed detailed familiarity with the practice of abortion, even if all these incidents occurred “in the past” or somewhere else. Typical was the story of incest in, perhaps inevitably, Jankho Kjarka, where the girl buried the baby alive and the father/grandfather was expelled from the community. In Wila Kjarka men distance themselves from these accounts even more than do women, although in general people are much more relaxed in talking about their lives and practices than they are in Sorata. For example, as we shared our pizza, my friends were keen to impress upon me that they did not follow “pagan” rituals, even though I have participated in many of these with them in Wila Kjarka. People are clearly aware that such practices are taboo, especially in the mestizo world of pizzerias and cyber cafés.

What I found no evidence of in Wila Kjarka is that men sought to control their wives’ fertility or prevented them from planning their families; men were certainly interested in having a relatively small number of chil-
dren. In this, men and women generally concur: The ideal family size is four healthy children. If it is true that women asked me about contraception more often than men, it is also true that men showed a keen interest. I gave many demonstrations on condom use on the handle of a hoe to men, and this was most certainly not my initiative. Condoms, however, have to be bought or obtained from the health post in Choquepata, where people have a profound mistrust of the health workers. In other Aymara-speaking communities, anal sex (chimajat ikasitiya) is apparently used as a form of contraception, as reported to me by a resident of the altiplano, but I found no evidence that it was widely practiced in Wila Kjarka, where it seems not to be considered a normal sexual practice.

Nor did I find any suggestion that men thought that contraception would lead to promiscuity on the part of their wives, or even that a large number of children was a sign of virility. The kind of sexual jealousy that is iconic of machismo in much of Latin America, including indigenous Latin America, appears largely absent in Wila Kjarka. I am not saying that no one is ever jealous but, rather, that it is not something about which men or women are particularly anxious.

**NAMING**

Despite the widespread anxiety surrounding family size and births, many babies are, of course, born in Wila Kjarka. The newborn’s status as fetus clearly indicates that birth in itself does not produce persons, even if it does provide some of the raw materials: Personhood is something that is ritually conferred on a being by the community and the world of the spirits. The first ritual of life is the naming ceremony, known as sutiyana, which takes place a couple of weeks after the birth. Sutiyana is a fairly minor affair and, unlike all other ceremonies marking a change of status, it is attended only by immediate family members and, sometimes, the catechist appointed by a priest, who baptizes the child. This is the only form of Christian baptism that takes place in Wila Kjarka until the priest’s visit, which occurs on average once every two to three years. On these occasions, the priest performs the baptism once again, but it is a very different affair. The priest’s baptism is done in the school, where he baptizes twenty or more children in a row. The importance of this baptism for parents is that the office of the priest makes the relationship they have with the godparents (padrinos) much more formal and, consequently, implies a stronger bond.

For the sutiyana, salt and water are mixed into a paste and then daubed on the baby’s mouth and head. Salt is considered to be a quintessentially human attribute, and anointing the infant with salt is the first step of incorporation into human society. The fact that the child is daubed on the mouth is consistent with the belief that speech is a fundamentally human characteristic. Teodosio told me that he anoints the child twice, once for each of the two “souls,” the kuraji and ajayu; both are particularly vulnerable in a newborn. The distinction among kuraji, ajayu, and chuyma was never clearly explained to me, but all three animate the body of a human: kuraji (Sp. corazón) may linger after death as a ghost and is the least elaborated of the three; ajayu is the soul that wanders and must be reattached to the body to prevent death and after death to prevent the ajayu from wandering angrily in search of its body; chuyma is sometimes translated as “heart,” as it is believed to be rooted in vital organs.

Body fat, which the paste of salt and water is said to resemble, is believed to be a source of essential life force (chuyma), and the diminution or loss of it entails illness or death. This is how Teodosio told me he cured a child from ajayu loss:

With the Rosary I call it. Before this, I perform llawi with everything. I call it from these four places here. I pay and after paying I say: “Ajayu, do not tarry in returning.” With the child’s clothes or some other item I make the soul return. It comes like a shadow—not a person—just like a shadow. And then I bring it, and with that shadow I envelop the baby, and with a blessing to the left I tie up the baby well. I can also see the chuyma through reading coca leaves. That is how I cure the baby.

Fat (lik’i) is a common offering to the autochthonous spirits as a substitute for human sacrifice (Bastien 1978; Sallnow 1987). Here, however, the offering of the “fat” is reversed. By being anointed with salt, the child enters human society, and this creates a debt: The debt can be delayed by offerings such as the sacrifice of live animals or animal fat, but in the end the human body and its life force must return whence it came. Immediately at birth the child is greased with the fat of the placenta, a week later she or he is daubed with salt in a “fatty” paste on its mouth. Both of these acts are to protect the child and mark its entrance into the human world, but the difference is that the salt is a different kind of fat to that of the placenta; it is fat that is a product of human agency. It also marks ambivalence about the relationship with the earth spirits: The earth spirits are known not to like salt, and the shaman will often desist from eating salt.
before communing with the achachilas. The salt distinguishes the human world from the chthonic world, even as the chthonic world is the source of human agency.

Now we can make more sense of why birth and conception are always reckoned with respect to fiestas when there is no shortage of empirical evidence to contradict this (at least in the case of birth). Considering births and conceptions as occurring during fiestas—that is, sacred time, when there is an intensity of human energy and an irrigation of chthonic energy (Allen 1988)—is a recognition that fertility and human life are dependent on the supernatural world. It is not only that during fiestas people are closest to and in greatest communication with the spirit world but also that during fiesta time the tellurian beings are most satisfied. Fiestas are explicitly seen as times when one "pays" the spirits. In return for this payment the spirits of the mountains and earth bring rain, ensure the fertility of the crops and the well-being of people, and, as we have seen, ensure human fertility as well.

Immediately after the anointing with salt, the child is usually baptized by the local catechist. After establishing its relationship with the earth spirits, the child is anointed in a ritual that makes him or her a Christian (kristianu). Baptism is important to the child for, apart from having a relationship with the earth spirits, he or she must also live in a world where other forces may dominate. In a Christian age, not to be a Christian leaves one vulnerable to the powers of a hostile God who will destroy crops with hail if a child is not baptized. The sutiyana ceremony introduces the child not only to its family but also to the spirit world and its relationships with the various presiding deities: a reciprocal relationship with the tellurian spirits and a relationship with the Christian celestial spirit marked by negative reciprocity. The Christian god rarely intervenes in the life of humans except to wreak his vengeance, thus the common saying that "God only punishes." Possession of a baptismal certificate is, furthermore, the easiest way of obtaining a Bolivian identity card and, in practice, the only way open to Indians. This baptism is not officially recognized by the Church, and the priest must perform an official baptism himself at a later date, either in the cantonal capital for a substantial fee or for a much smaller fee when he makes his biannual visit.

Both aspects of this ritual indicate that the acquisition of identity, and indeed personhood, is contingent on the sanction of society. A person from Wila Kjarka is defined by his or her insertion into the group—the primary kinship group and the extended network of fictive kin—and the reciprocal ties he or she has with this network and with the community in which he or she lives (cf. Albó 1985; 8; Spedding 1989: 292). This process of inclusion begins with the first naming, but it is not until the first haircutting, the rutucha, that the child is ritually introduced into the community. Somewhat ironically, despite being accorded a name in the sutiyaña, it is not until this second ceremony that the child is actually addressed by his or her name. Until this time the child is referred to by the generic "wawa" which means "baby."

**RUTUCHA**

The rutucha exists all over the Andes (Allen 1988; Bastien 1978; Carter and Mamani 1982) and marks the entry of a child into the world as a social person. Rutucha in Wila Kjarka is frequently referred to as muruna, which means hair cutting but also refers to the cutting off of a bull's horns; a hornless bull is known as muru. Muruna in both cases refers to the cutting off of the "wild" part of bulls or children, that is, the domestication of the subject (Harris 1982: 64).

The rutucha takes place when the child is approximately a year and a half old and has already begun to speak. Unlike the naming ceremony, the rutucha involves the wider community. The ceremony begins with a libation to the spirit of the house, the kunturamani. Kunturamani comes from a combination of two words, kuntur (condor) and mamani (falcon), birds associated with the tellurian forces, especially when they act as messengers. The pārinu and mārinu (godfather and godmother) start cutting the child's matted locks and put money for the child in an inkuña, a woven cloth used for offerings made from llama wool. This process is repeated by all the adults present, albeit with considerably less money. If there is any hair left after all have had their turn, the godparents finish the cut. The locks of hair are then put in the rafters of the house. Then, all those present join in thanks to the pachamama and the kunturamani and proceed with communal drinking and eating. The drinking is also accompanied by coca chewing, with the mother of the child passing around sugar and sweets wrapped in coca leaves. This is one of the rare occasions when women chew coca, and the sweet element differentiates this type of chewing from that usually done by men, which, instead, is done with a reactive agent based on ash (yuhta).

The haircutting ceremony is the ritual that formally introduces the child into the community, whereas the sutiyana marks the inclusion of
the child into the kinship unit. It also marks the transition from infancy (wawa) to becoming a boy or girl (yuqalla and imilla, respectively). After this point, the child's death may be officially mourned and commemorated during Todos Santos, or the Feast of the Dead, where favorite food may be placed at his or her grave, as is the case with deceased adults. Even so, it is rare for a child to be mourned in this way, and it is almost exclusively adults who are remembered during Todos Santos.

The first haircutting also marks the beginning of the age of responsibility, and from this age forward the child is said to begin with household chores. In practice, however, a couple of years pass before the child begins to make a significant contribution to the household. The point, though, is that the child is deemed capable of productive labor—to act upon the world productively—an ability that is deemed to come ultimately from

the mountain spirits. Related to this is the importance of labor in creating and defining human beings. A person is not someone who simply is but someone who does; that is, personhood is processual. A gendered person, similarly, is someone who performs the tasks appropriate to a particular gender and only secondarily a person of a particular physical sex. Thus, a child does not become a social person until she or he is capable of performing certain tasks. This ability is accorded by the community and the earth spirits, who first publicly recognize the child at the rutucha ceremony. The child moves from a semiwild state—with dirty, matted locks—in which he or she is not even referred to by name, to becoming a human being, recognized and anointed by the community and capable of productive action. The rutucha can thus be seen as the "spiritual" birth of the child as opposed to the biological birth much in the same way as baptism in Christianity acts as a spiritual birth for the child. Maurice Bloch and Stephen Guggenheim's (1981) observation that such "second birth" rituals imply that biological birth is insufficient to create a "proper" human being holds equally well for the rutucha. It is clear that a baby born without any ritual is considered something less than a person in any sense.

CREATING PERSONS: MEN AND WOMEN

I implied above that the rutucha is the ceremony that created a socially recognized human being, but, in fact, it would be more correct to see the rutucha as just one of the first rungs on the ladder to personhood. The process of life is one of progressive integration into the life of the community, as one comes ever closer to the world of the spirits (cf. Pitarch 2010). In other rituals through life, such as marriage and the assumption of community offices, people approximate more and more the state of the mountain ancestors. With maturity one becomes more and more integrated into the community, until some years after death one loses identity and becomes part of the generalized earth matrix of the chthonic spirits. Out of this generalized force comes human life and agency.

Although one might consider personhood to be only fully achieved at death, it is marriage that confers on an individual the status of person on a social and practical level. Marriage is the union of a man and a woman, and it is this union that completes the person. There is a strong sense, in Wila Kjarka as in other parts of the Andes, that without a marriage partner an individual is seriously deficient and will have great difficulties in reaching the world of the dead. Marriage in Wila Kjarka is frequently
“She is from here, so I knew her already. I asked her [to marry me]; she said yes” or “I was out herding and as I was going along we talked. Later, talking, we got together [literally we tied ourselves together]; we had children [literally, we met children]. That’s how it was.”

The single exception is the account given to me by Pastor Mamani, who was born in Wila Kjarka but has lived in the mestizo village of Villa Esquivel since he was three years old, so he is perhaps influenced by more metropolitan discourses of “falling in love.”

CANESSA: So how did you meet your wife [who is from up the mountain in Thikata (opposite Wila Kjarka)]?
MAMANI: We just talked.
CANESSA: So what did you talk about?
MAMANI: Getting to know each other we developed a friendship (Sp. amistad).
CANESSA: What did you say to her?
MAMANI: I told her “I love you.” [laughter] That was it; then we lived well together. We just lived well together. We never fought.

Flora gives a fuller account of how she came to know her first husband, but it is certainly not a story of romance and love:

My sister was already married here so, as an unmarried girl, I came to help her. That is how they knew me. But I didn’t know my husband; without talking we came together. I did not know my husband. One afternoon when I was here with my sister, they all arrived and I asked myself, “Why are all these people here?” My sister said: “We will live here, marry this young man.” And then my mother-in-law told me: “We will be here together, and we will not make you suffer. Your sister is here so you will have her for company.” And then my sister began to cry: “I am alone here!”

So I thought to myself that they would not allow me to suffer here, and I am just alone [in Waychu] taking care of the goats, so many goats. So they hid me; and my father and mother looked for me in vain. Eventually they went to ask my parents [for my hand in marriage], and my father was strongly opposed, and they did not pay any attention to him. After a long time had passed, my father came and forgave me. I did not go to him because I was scared he might beat me, and this is how I got married. Nowadays young men and women talk, but I did not know him and he did not know me. I cried for those days because in the emptiness and darkness we knew each other and he took me away.”
In the wonderfully detailed autobiography of Sofia Vázquez edited by Hans and Judith-Maria Buechler (1996), Sofia is uncharacteristically terse when she recounts how she met the father of her child. A young man was looking for a room to rent: "I rented him a room across the patio where people store meat now. One year later Rocio was born" (1996: 198). It is thus not surprising that Andean ethnographies have little to say about love and romance, even when focused on courtship and marriage (e.g., Valderrama and Escalante 1998).

The one apparent exception is the work of Luis Millones and Mary Pratt (1989). However, despite the title of El Amor Brujo (The Bewitching Love), there is very little in the book about love and romance; it is much more about courtship and marriage. They, for example, give wonderfully detailed accounts of how young men will indicate their sexual interest in a woman by stealing an item of clothing and waiting for her interested response in the form of stone throwing or coming to retrieve the item, each indicating a desire for sex (1989: 36). The stories of theft, stone throwing, and sex resonate strongly with what I was told about adolescents in Wila Kjarka, where theft and violence (the young girl may indicate her interest in sex by beating the pretender with her herding stick or anything else she may have at hand) are key elements in accounts. The young girl indicates her interest in having sex with the young man through her acts of violence. The suitor may provoke the act of violence by starting the stone throwing, but there is no suggestion that the sex act itself is violent or that the girl is violently taken; she is the principal agent of violence. What men and women in Wila Kjarka do not talk about, nor, apparently, Millones and Pratt’s informants, is any emotional or romantic content to the encounter.

Unlike in other parts of the Andes (e.g., Van Vleet 2008) apart from some older folk, people do not generally talk of brides being captured, literally or figuratively. It is the role of the girl’s parents to beat the young man for taking away their daughter, but, although the blows may be hard enough, there is no anger behind them.

One important difference between marriage in Wila Kjarka and other parts of the Andes is that almost all marriages are contracted within the community. In a survey I conducted in 1992, of almost all the extant marriages in Wila Kjarka (i.e., where both partners were still living), 83 percent of those marriages were between two Wila Kjarkeños. This number rises to 93 percent if we include the neighboring villages of Thikata and Jankho Kjarka. Older people, many of whom were widowed when the survey was taken, were much more likely to have been married to someone from beyond their natal village, and it appears that this very strong rate of endogamy is a post-hacienda phenomenon. At any rate, most young women in Wila Kjarka today do not face the prospect of living in a distant community when they marry. The advantage for a young woman in marrying within the community is that, not only does she stay in a familiar place, but her father and brothers can be relied upon to protect her if her husband is seen to be excessively abusive.

Finding a husband or wife appears to be based on pragmatism rather than on affect. Krista Van Vleet in her study of the people of Sullk’ata notes that “most couples would not admit that they felt affection for their partner before marriage. Most Sullik’atas do not say they married because they ‘fell in love’” (2008: 141). Van Vleet rightly points out that companionate marriage is a relatively recent phenomenon in Western culture, but “falling in love” most certainly is not. In the European Middle Ages, the bawdy and literary genre of Courtly Love is a testament to a highly developed sense of sexual passion and romance, even if not associated with marriage; and, of course, the Psalms and the Songs of Solomon in the Bible point to similar sensibilities for the ancient Hebrews. Love poetry and songs long predate companionate marriage. One can also look at the many examples of erotic love in Asian literature and legend, and the work of Jacques Lizot on the Yanomami of Venezuela (1991) shows that some lowland groups at least talk of love and passion.

I am not saying that people in Wila Kjarka do not love each other or that they do not have amorous passion but, rather, that there is no sense that this is normal or expected or even desired within or without marriage, nor is it apparently spoken about. Although Wila Kjarkeños tell many stories, and some of these are about marriage, none of these is about love or romance; they tend to be about condors taking and marrying young girls rather than about marriage between two humans.

People do talk about sexual attraction, although not directly linked to love, and here, as in so many other cultures, food offers the language for talking about sex. To ask for food, to offer food, and to take it, are the modes through which people seduce each other and are the source of much ribald humor. Young people also throw stones at each other when out herding. Any herder soon learns to be an excellent shot in order to protect the sheep from predators, so the girls are as adept at hitting their suitors in the head as are the boys. What is also absent in any discourse about meeting a partner is kissing. I can honestly say that I have never
people can be found in different parts of the world, each with their own unique customs and traditions. Understanding and respecting these differences is important in promoting peace and harmony. The process of becoming a global citizen involves learning about different cultures, languages, and ways of life. It is through this process of broadening one's perspective that we can develop a deeper understanding and appreciation for the diversity of human society.

In becoming a global citizen, it is essential to recognize that everyone has different capabilities and limitations. Just as some people are天生 physically stronger than others, it is important to acknowledge that everyone has the right to pursue their own path in life. This includes the right to education, employment, and personal development. By fostering an environment of equality and opportunity, we can help to ensure that everyone has the chance to reach their full potential.

Another important aspect of becoming a global citizen is the role of the individual in promoting positive change. By actively engaging with the world around us, we can work to create a better future for all. It is through our collective efforts that we can address the pressing challenges facing humanity, such as poverty, inequality, and environmental sustainability. By taking action and making a difference, we can help to build a more just and equitable world for generations to come.
since the death of your father and husband on the same day.

Your mom is a very strong woman who has always been there for you. I have always admired her strength and resilience.

Any people who know you, I hope they are happy and healthy. I miss you.

I hope this letter finds you well. Please take care of yourself and stay strong.

Your loving daughter,

[Your Name]
They can only remember that, for a long time, they never knew their grandfather's face. He was always away, often in the fields, working hard to support the family. When he was at home, he was often ill, and his health was not always good. The family relied on his income to survive, and it was not easy. The grandparents took good care of them, but they were often busy with work and had little time to play with the children.

The grandparents also taught them the importance of education. They encouraged them to study hard and promised to support them in their studies. The grandparents were simple people, but they had a strong sense of duty and responsibility. They taught their children to be grateful and hardworking, and they hoped that they would be able to support themselves and their families in the future.

The grandparents also spent time with their grandchildren, telling stories and sharing their experiences. They took the children to visit their family in the country, showing them the beauty of nature and the importance of family. The grandparents were patient and kind, and they always had a smile on their face.

The grandparents passed away when the children were young, leaving behind a legacy of love and hard work. Their children continued their legacy, working hard to support their families and passing on the values of their grandparents. The grandchildren also carry on this legacy, working hard to achieve their dreams and the dreams of their ancestors.
The man who had been standing nearby turned to face Nancy. She could not help but feel a sense of unease. Nancy had never been comfortable with the man's presence, and now she felt even more so. The man's eyes were fixed on her, and she could sense his nervousness. Nancy took a step back, trying to put some distance between herself and the man. She noticed that he was wearing a suit, and it seemed to be of high quality. His hair was neatly combed, and his posture was upright. Nancy wondered if he was a businessman or a politician. She did not know him, but she could tell that he was someone of importance.

The man spoke, his voice low and commanding. "You have made a mistake, Nancy. You are in a place where you do not belong."

Nancy tried to stammer a reply, but the man's words were like a stone in her throat. She could not speak. The man continued, his voice growing louder. "You should leave this place immediately."

Nancy looked around, trying to find a way out. She saw a door in the distance, but she knew it would be difficult to reach. The man stepped closer, his every move making her feel more vulnerable. She wished she could run, but she knew she was trapped. She closed her eyes, hoping that they would help her escape. She opened them again, and the man was still there, his gaze fixed on her. She could not move, and she knew she was in danger.

The man's voice grew louder, and Nancy could hear the sound of his footsteps getting closer. She tried to think of a way out, but she knew there was none. She closed her eyes again, hoping that they would help her escape. She opened them again, and the man was still there, his gaze fixed on her. She could not move, and she knew she was in danger.
The community’s prayers ended with the final blessing mechanism.

The coffin was brought to the church, symbolizing the completion of the process. The community then gathered to pray and offer their condolences, while the sound of guitars filled the air. The community leaders spoke, offering words of comfort and support to the grieving family.

As the coffin was lowered into the ground, the community stood together, united in their sorrow. The church bells rang out, marking the end of the funeral ceremony. The community gathered to light candles, offering their prayers and farewells. The community leaders led the procession as the coffin was carried to the hearse, symbolizing the beginning of the final journey.
and other social obligations. When people miss the_ homecoming_ festival or fail to attend it, it is seen as a sign of disrespect toward the community. The festival is a time for people to come together and strengthen their relationships, and it is considered important by the entire community.

Once the festival is over, people return to their homes and the cycle continues. The life cycle in the community follows a pattern of birth, growth, and death. After death, the body is taken to a special place where it is ritually purified. The family and community then come together to mourn and celebrate the life of the deceased. The mourning period lasts for several days, during which people gather to remember the deceased and express their grief.

The cycle of life is expressed in various rituals and ceremonies throughout the year. These rituals are performed to honor ancestors and ensure the continued prosperity of the community. The connection between the living and the dead is strong, and people believe that the spirits of ancestors continue to influence their lives. The life cycle in the community is not just an abstract concept, but a living reality that shapes the way people live and interact with each other.

The image below illustrates the life cycle in the community, showing the cycle of birth, growth, and death. The diagram highlights the importance of rituals and ceremonies in maintaining the community's social order and ensuring its continued existence.

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**Diagram:**

- Birth
- Growth
- Death
- Rituals and ceremonies
- Commemoration and honor of ancestors
- Connection to the living and the dead

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*From Friends in Mountain Ancestors*
Making People, Making Difference

Chapter Four

From Fruits to Mountain Accessions
In a different way, how can we understand and compare different aspects of the environment, the boundary between humans and other entities, and the changing perspectives on these issues? The very real fact that the human experience is changing, and the boundaries between humans and other entities are shifting, is a common experience of life. Your awareness of this fact is, in a way, your awareness of a common experience of life. Your awareness of this fact is, in a way, your awareness of a common experience of life.

In the following chapter, we take a look at one of the ways in which people and the environment are changing. You are aware of this fact, and you are aware of how the environment is changing. You are aware of how the environment is changing. Your awareness of this fact is, in a way, your awareness of a common experience of life.

Although the environment is becoming clearer, it should be clear why.

Figure 4.1: A new way of understanding the environment.

The process and performance understanding of human interaction with the natural environment.

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