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MOVING UP AND DOWN. THE IN-BETWEEN PEOPLE OF THE *CHAWPIRANA*, NORTHERN POTOSÍ, BOLIVIA

Cabreca is a community in the Bolivian Andes. Movement and the inhabitants' mobility are crucial to their lifestyle. This ethnographic paper deals with the ways in which people of Cabreca move around and position themselves with regard to other inhabitants of the wider area. The community lies in a zone called *chawpirana* (middle/centre zone), an area that lies between the highlands and the valleys. *Chawpirana* people move throughout their own region in order to benefit from the whole expanse of middle altitude, and move beyond their region to communicate with the people around them.

Key words: Bolivia, Andes, Quechua, mobility, flexibility, visiting, in-betweenness

This paper is based on fieldwork done between 2008 and 2009 in Cabreca, a small community in the Bolivian Andes. The place lies in the region of Northern Potosí which covers different ecological zones from highlands to low valleys. Within Northern Potosí there are drastic differences in altitude which has led anthropologists to think of the area in terms of its vertical zones. John Murra has referred to the Andean ecology as "vertical control" (Murra 1980). This concept has been assimilated by many anthropologists working in the Southern Andes. It explains how people that belong to one ecological area control land in other ecological zones and thus gain access to the resources of those zones. This way of managing land may have resulted from necessity, i.e. the need of products from the other ecological zones (Mujica 1985:122). In contrast, Mayer argues that this form of control has political roots (Mayer 1985:46). Indeed many ethnographers have dealt with the "vertical organisation" of the area (e.g. Godoy 1990; Abercrombie 1998; Mayer 2002).

Anthropologists have primarily looked at the contrast between the *puna* (the Andean highlands) and the lower valleys and the relation between the two. The two zones are characterised by different agricultural potential. While typical *puna* products include potatoes, *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes) and llama wool and meat, valleys are predominantly associated with maize, whose cultivation is possible at around 3,500 m and less (cf. Solomon 2001:397; Mendoza and Patzi 1997:9). However, between the two zones lies another one, the *chawpirana*. This middle region has not been given much attention, but has been mentioned in studies of *puna* and valley. These references suggest that the *chawpirana* is an area of importance, and that ethnographic fieldwork in this zone would be rewarding. People travel through this region in order to maintain links between *puna* and valley. The composition of the *chawpirana* and its middle altitude have led to assumptions that the *chawpirana people* are possibly being "more self-subsistent than those cultivating further away from this intermediate zone" (Harris 1985:322). Still, according to my own experience in Cabreca, this does not mean that people do not leave the *chawpirana*. The inhabitants of the *chawpirana* want access to products from the other ecological zones. Just like people from the *puna* and the valley, they also travel in order to acquire them. Moreover, the *chawpirana* people are also very mobile within their own area and they are able to grow both tubers and maize, foodstuffs characteri-stic of the other two zones.

It is by no means clear what territory exactly the *chawpirana* covers and how it relates to its surroundings. Although the area has occasionally been mentioned in earlier ethnographic work, there remains a gap. In the glossary of his monograph, Henry Stobart defines the *chawpirana* as the "central region of medium altitude, which is situated midway between the highlands and the valleys". Stobart reports it to be understood as "a conceptual axis articulating between the upper and lower regions of *ayllu* territory" (Stobart 2006:290). This idea of the *chawpirana* as both a region and an axis is complex. Stobart's definition does not clarify who understands the *chawpirana* as a conceptual axis. In my own experience the people of the *chawpirana* do not.

The word *chawpirana* contains the concept of *chawpi*, i.e. the Quechua word for centre or middle. *Rana* means zone. While many descriptions of the *chawpirana* include references to altitude of both the *chawpirana* and the two zones that it separates (*puna* and *valle*), it becomes obvious at the same time that the *chawpirana* cannot be seen in these topographical terms only. When looking at other parameters that characterise the *chawpirana*, it becomes clear that it is not defined as a single specific bounded area. Its depiction as a line is a conceptual simplification of reality, which concentrates on dualistic concepts; here the relationship between *puna* and *valle*. Restrepo Arcila calls the *chawpirana* an imaginary strip of transition (Restrepo Arcila 2004:38). The different representations of the *chawpirana* thus vary from being a transitional zone to a

conceptual line which divides and balances *puna* and valley. Before travelling to the area I was confused and challenged by the different definitions and references. How could the *chawpirana* be a conceptual axis and a zone in its own right, one that is inhabited by people? I set out to find out how these people would define their own position.

Visiting as a Form of Movement

One characteristic typical of the communities in the *chawpirana* is the constant movement of people. In this section I will describe some of the types of movement that are part of life in the *chawpirana*. After visiting several communities that are supposed to lie in the region of the *chawpirana,* I decided to settle down in the Quechua-speaking community of Cabreca.[1] My hosts were Clemencia and Germán, a middle-aged couple. Their son Javier was 16 at the time of my arrival. Since he had left Cabreca to find work and did not return during the year, we never met. Although there were several communication problems at the beginning, I was soon welcomed into the small family and treated as a household member.

Cabreca has no electricity, and the next road is a three-hour walk away.[2] There is a wide network of footpaths that connects the inhabitants to the world around them. Cabreca has 58 homes, but this does not mean that there are 58 active households in the community at any one time. Whole households can move for temporary periods. The community changes during the year. The seasons and the changing climate influence the appearance of the hamlet. Moreover, as the fields that lie between the houses are planted, the overall appearance of Cabreca is also affected by when the owners sow, how well the plants grow and when the crops are harvested. During the rainy season the rivers in the area rise, and whole footpaths can be washed away. Walking becomes more difficult. In addition to the changes in the physical environment, the essence of Cabreca as a place is also changed by the movement of its inhabitants.

Like other Andean peoples, Cabrequeños are characterised by their mobility (cf. Rockefeller 2010). When many of them are away, Cabreca can seem like a ghost town. At other times, when they are living and working at home, or during special occasions, the hamlet is very lively. There is no centre like a plaza or a main street that other, bigger communities might have, although there is a school and a church. During my stay in Cabreca I only saw the church used once when the priest

[1] Although the atlas that I used during my fieldwork uses the Quechua place names, I am using Cabreca instead of Kawriqa here because Cabreca is what I have seen written down in documents and on signposts.

[2] I was often lucky to get a lift on that road with officials, medical staff or engineers working in the area. Some people from Cabreca walk all the way to the mining town Colquechaca several times a year. When I walked the whole way once, it took me about 14 hours.

visited the village.[3] The school next door is in use. One teacher teaches all children of primary school age in Cabreca. However, given that the children are also very mobile and integrated into the working day, they do not attend class regularly. The school does not serve as a community centre where people meet. Instead single households can become such centres. Whereas a single family may host the entire community during a particular holiday, visiting different households belongs to the everyday routine. These visits may have a specific purpose; visitors might e.g. make work arrangements with the hosts or borrow something. Very often they are carried out with the intent of casually exchanging news and maintaining the social network necessary for community life. This network is very flexible and includes people who come from other places. During my entire stay in Cabreca I was constantly introduced to new people. Some of them were Cabrequeños that I had not met before because they had been away. Others were visitors from other communities who make regular, although infrequent, visits.

In other communities it may be custom to follow only explicit invitations (Rockefeller 2010:80). In Cabreca and the surrounding communities visiting is initiated very much by the visitor, and visits are often unannounced. Overnight stays are common even by spontaneous visitors, as they do not require any preparation. The visitor will simply be included in the household routine and be given blankets to get comfortable on the ground. One evening, Ernesta, an elderly woman, came to visit us. She was offered some dinner but refused a second serving, saying that she would eat at home. I fell asleep while she was still talking to my hostess and was not surprised when I woke up beside her the next morning. Clemencia had convinced her to stay for the night rather than letting her walk home in the dark. Similar scenarios are common.

Other overnight visits were planned and lasted longer. The guests would be staying for a few days and become temporary household members, who take on tasks in the household. Thus, helping with agricultural work may be the purpose of the visit. Visitors included relatives, and especially children would often come to help in our household. The bigger a nuclear family, the less necessary these visits are. Although there is a whole system of labour reciprocity (*ayni*) in which everybody participates, the need to enlarge our small household was felt especially during the sowing season and the harvest. Gradually I became part of the visiting network myself, visiting other households as well as traveling to other communities. At the beginning of my stay, when I travelled on my own, I often visited schools, as I was able to introduce myself in Spanish to the teachers and get some information on the community. But later on I always accepted invitations and was welcome to stay with people from the community, complete strangers

[3] *Padre* Andrés, the priest, lives in the parish of Colquechaca, a mining town in the highlands. He travels throughout the district and comes to Cabreca on an annual visit.

who fed me and let me sleep among them. It became quite clear to me that I was gaining very different insights into the communities in this way.

The Flow of People – the Flow of Information

As people travel, knowledge travels. The constant flow of people in and around Cabreca means a constant flow of news. Temporary migration and mobility enable maintaining the household both in terms of securing food and building and cultivating social relationships. People whom I met for the first time even after nearly a year of living in the community were often Cabrequeños that had been away and returned home. Early on, when Germán told me about his family, I realized that many Cabrequeños must have moved away. During the first *Todos Santos* celebrations that I attended in Cabreca he introduced me to his younger sister who had been living in Cochabamba, one of Bolivia's major cities, and to a brother who had come from the *puna* to join the commemoration of an uncle. Additionally he explained that he had several more brothers and sisters living away from Cabreca.

The Cabrequeños not living in the hamlet might be away for seasonal work in other areas or they might have moved permanently. One woman who came to visit had been living in Santa Cruz for 11 years. When I talked to her just before her one-week visit was over, she assured me that she would not be able to stay any longer as she missed the comfortable city life. After 11 years away from Cabreca she could not appreciate my voluntary stay in her home community, and her disbelief at my plans was enormous. I encountered the same disbelief in towns, where people could not comprehend that I was choosing to live in Cabreca.

Another guest who came from a neighbouring community in order to help with the maize sowing shortly after my arrival was Clemencia's nephew, her brother's son. As he had spent time in Cochabamba and had been in the army, he spoke Spanish very well. When he came to visit, I had spent the previous couple of weeks, my first weeks in Cabreca, trying to communicate with my hosts and neighbours in Quechua. The opportunity to talk to him in Spanish, to understand and feel understood was very refreshing; I was looking forward to seeing him more often because he was very helpful at mediating between my hosts and me. However, he only returned once more for another agricultural job. I did not see him again for the rest of the year. Many other visitors were very familiar with my hosts, but over the course of the year I only saw them once. Others returned more frequently and we repaid some of those visits.

All these visitors were part of a wide network of people and always had news and information about other mutual friends and relatives. News also travelled between neighbours within Cabreca. Even though my Quechua skills were very

basic at the beginning of my stay, I could often understand when people were talking about others. Clemencia and Faustina, a neighbour and close friend, would often lower their voices when they commented on other peoples' behaviour or incidences involving other Cabrequeños, because the very same people might overhear them. For me these conversations were a useful source of knowledge. I agree with Van Vleet (2003) who points out the usefulness of gossip as data as it can reveal a lot of information on community life. Many of the relationships between Cabrequeños became clear to me through overhearing such gossip.

When walking around Cabreca or on the way to and from the surrounding fields, meeting people along the way is very common. Besides a greeting and the inquiry *walliqllachu* (are you well?), one is very likely to be asked one of the following two questions: *imataq ruwashanki* (what are you doing?) *or mayman rishankichu* (where are you going?) (cf. Harris 2007:140). I do not recall being asked *maymanta jamushankichu* (where are you coming from?). The present and plans for the remaining day were more important than what I had been doing. As they seemed very useful when doing ethnography, I got used to asking the same questions. Although people often answered *mana imapis* (nothing) when asked what they were doing, the little conversations on the way would always lead to some information eventually. But even without meeting anyone, individuals can often see others and know what they are doing anyway. Watching others from a great distance is often possible due to the landscape. Sometimes the view might be only in one direction; one might be seen but not see anyone. The view is particularly good after the harvest, when high maize bushes or beanstalks have been cut down. In this setting seeing precedes knowing. People's eyes are trained to see things from a great distance, and they are familiar with personal traits and mannerisms or recognise clothes, and can tell others apart. Allen describes how "everybody watches everybody else" in an Andean community in Peru (1988:41). I was amazed when sitting in a field with a couple of people one day. We could see four people walking along a path toward Cabreca. But while they looked like little ants to me, the others began deducting who it was. Their eyesight combined with the knowledge they had of who might be arriving and who might travel together, allowed them to speculate who the travellers were. Objects and animals provided clues.

Observing people is not the only way of looking for clues about their activities. For example, the smoke of an open fireplace often reveals that somebody is at home, even though that person cannot be seen. A few times I returned to Cabreca after being away for some time and did not see any smoke coming from our house. When I got closer I found the house empty. Due to their knowledge of the movement of others, the neighbours were always able to tell me where my hosts were. News travelled via a network of mobile people that spread them. When the priest was due to visit, there were regular updates on why he had not

arrived yet and when he would arrive. This communication worked without phone conversations or any other technology.

What always puzzled me most was when news arrived on my hosts' son Javier. Javier had left his parents' household before I arrived. His mother was particularly affected by his absence, because he is an only child. This means that there were no other children in the household, whereas other families in Cabreca have up to six children. Children in the household are not only a way of preventing loneliness, every child is also a worker with specific tasks. As I was "adopted" into the family, Germán often mentioned my being company to Clemencia so that she would not be alone. Javier had gone away with one of Clemencia's nephews. Every so often news reached the house that Javier would come and visit. It was especially before certain *fiestas* Clemencia and Germán proudly told me that Javier would arrive any day soon. He never did. I began to question where they had the information from, and how they were in touch with him. Other Cabrequeños who live away from Cabreca and home more regularly are the main distributors of information from far away. A few times Javier's parents were very excited because of his supposed return. Once Clemencia even prepared a special dinner for him, she was so sure that she had received accurate information. Apart from the news that came from other travellers, there was another way to find out about Javier, where he was and how he was doing. When people who could read the coca leaves[4] were visiting Clemencia would ask them to tell her about Javier. There were other young men who travelled while I was in Cabreca, but came home for the big *fiestas*.[5] These young men were typically very good musicians and played a big role in the musical aspect of the holidays.

Another type of moving around that is different from everyday movements and migration, but also related to *fiestas* and big events, is travelling with a group. One of these big occasions was a carnival. People were preparing for weeks, and the carnival was the number one topic of conversations. Sometimes it was only mentioned as the next major date in the calendar and used as a time reference. But very often I was asked if I would go dancing and what I would be wearing. Even though we had discussed this so often in the previous weeks, I was asked again when the carnival began if I was sure and if I really wanted to be dressed in the special carnival outfit and go. The whole community met in order to have *chicha* (the homemade maize beer) and food, before a group of 25 of us left for a neighbouring community to continue the celebrations there. From there, we travelled on to yet another community. Walking in the rain and in the dark was part of the excursion, as was walking in a drunken state. Throughout that entire trip

[4] Mostly elderly men can read the coca. They spread some coca leaves on a cloth, and from the way the leaves fall they can answer questions.

[5] A lot of the main *fiestas* in Cabreca are of Catholic origin but celebrated with traditional Andean elements.

the group stayed together: men, some women, mostly young girls, and a couple of children. There were regular breaks during which the faster walkers would wait for the others to catch up and rest, and it was made certain that nobody was left behind. At another *fiesta* in Surumi, a near-by place of pilgrimage, I tried to talk to other people in order to learn something about their places in comparison to Cabreca. I was scolded for not staying with the Cabreca group, although I had not arrived with them in the first place. Perhaps I now belonged to the Cabreca group in their eyes, had been accepted as one of them and was supposed to move with the group and thus express my belonging. This belonging did not permit me to talk to or be invited to join any other group. *Fiestas* are a reason for Cabrequeños to move in different ways. A *fiesta* might be the reason for a migrant to come home and it can also be the reason for Cabrequeños to travel as a group and mark their Cabrequeñoness.

Flexibility

Not only are Cabrequeños very mobile but also highly flexible. Travel plans can develop within a very short period of time. Travel can also be planned over a long course of time and suddenly change very spontaneously. Just like the carnival preparations left room for me to opt out, any planned trip leaves room for alterations. Although plans are always flexible and can change easily, having a plan at all and some idea of when something was going to happen, turned out to be very important to my hosts. As soon as I had mentioned that I would perhaps travel in the future, I was regularly asked when I was going. It did not matter if I only had a vague idea or concrete plans; the inquiry was repeated regularly. People did not only ask me when I was going but also when I was coming back. My reply seemed irrelevant but somehow very important at the same time.

Cabrequeños' typical flexibility was reflected in travelling and planning as well as the way in which they move between homes. While every family has a permanent home in the hamlet, they also move around and erect temporary shelters at different spots. These multiple temporary homes are built in the fields that the people own. Due to the high range of altitude within their reach, Cabrequeños are able to grow a variety of crops. Their fields are far enough from the hamlet to make moving the whole household worthwhile. When I had only arrived in Cabreca, Germán took me down to some maize fields. I thought we had come for the day, but I did not return to Cabreca for 11 days. Clemencia had moved down before us, and this was the temporary home where goats and sheep were kept. Between two of these three fields there was a hut with a grinding stone and a fireplace. Another time we stayed in a field which was going to be a potato field on the other side of Cabreca. The shelter that was to be our home there for several

weeks was erected within half a day: a few poles supporting a roof made from the strong *ichhu* grass. It was also quickly deconstructed again when we moved back to the hamlet. Even though people have multiple homes and stay in those huts for temporary periods, mobility still characterises everyday life during those times. Some household members may go to Cabreca or to other fields to work them every day, others pasture the animals in the surrounding area. Provisions have to be collected from the hamlet and from fields that might be at higher or lower altitudes still from the temporary home.

Temporary homes entail some changes of the social network and people's relationships, because one is likely to have different neighbours when staying there. All Cabrequeños have multiple homes and move around the same time, i.e. when the annual agricultural cycle requires it. However, their fields do not lie in the same patterns as the houses in the hamlet. Thus the position of a field or a home has an effect on their daily contacts. My hosts' house in Cabreca is on the edge of the hamlet with only one more house in that direction. Not too many people pass it on their way. On the other hand, one of our temporary shelters was right beside a footpath that was frequented by many people on their way further down, back to the hamlet, pasturing or travelling to other fields. Exchanging a few words with those people as they were passing was much easier than in the hamlet.

The way the households are equipped reflects the flexibility that moving the whole household without much effort entails. A temporary shelter needs a fireplace and a roof which are both built with great skill and very quickly. A grinding stone will be put up, and all other things that are needed are taken along from the house in the hamlet. The most important items include a cooking pot, matches, a knife, plates, blankets and food crops. The main reason for moving to the fields is so that they can be fertilised. Every household in Cabreca owns sheep and goats, and while they pasture in their surroundings during the day, they are kept in a little fenced area on the fields overnight. The animals' droppings are the only dung that is used in Cabreca. Every day the fences are moved to another part of the field so that the whole field is covered eventually. The animals cannot be left alone overnight, so it is worth moving the household to the field for the time of the fertilisation process.

Mobility

All members of the Cabreca society are constantly on the move. Although women are more attached to the household and do not travel to towns or as far and much as the men, they are very mobile because of pasturing and visiting other households. Old people like Germán's father Anastacio put the animals out to pasture and work in the fields regularly. Moreover, he did not avoid longer walks to the neighbouring communities. Elderly people keep very lean and agile. At the beginning of my stay I was easily overtaken by them. With time, I got used to the

altitude and my stamina improved from living like the Cabrequeños and being nearly as mobile as them. I had learned to move around with and like them.

Children learn to move around even before they learn to walk. Strapped to their mother's or an older sister's back, babies and toddlers are taken along to the pasture, to visit, to work in the fields. As soon as they can walk, they learn to walk along, and very early they take on responsibilities. I often met Germán's 4-year-old nephew while fulfilling my own jobs. Children learn to travel for longer periods from early on as well. An 11-year-old boy might be taken along to town by his father for a period of several weeks. A 7-year-old girl might visit a household in a neighbouring community on her own to help out relatives with the chores. A couple of the children past primary-school age were sent to the neighbouring community of Iru where they joined the boarding school from Monday to Friday.[6] All these children laughed at me on several occasions when I was not able to find my way back home, did not know where I was or when I could not fulfill simple tasks that they had been doing for all their lives. These children do not learn how to live in Cabreca by being instructed. And they do not learn for the sake of acquiring knowledge that they might never apply. "Knowledge is acquired because and when it is relevant, and increases through experience as a part of growing to maturity". Learning is not detached from everyday tasks. Rather children "learn as a part of living" (Crickmay 2002:43). This entails walking and moving about with and like the adults.

In-Betweenness

More than the other areas in the region the *chawpirana*, the middle zone is an in-between place that is characterised by movement within the area and by being a place of comings and goings. It is also crossed by people not inhabiting the *chawpirana*. In order to examine this transitional aspect of the zone, it seems necessary to define what the *chawpirana* is and what its characteristic liminal state entails. However, it is impossible to define the *chawpirana* as an enclosed area. Transitions between the zones are gradient (Mayer 1985:50), and the *chawpirana* combines different topographic characteristics. Furthermore, what a zone is called does not depend only on what one is looking at, but also on where one is in relation to it. My interest was sparked by an extensive atlas of the area (Mendoza and Patzi 1997). Although I never saw people making or using maps of a similar kind, they seemed to be fascinated by these visual representations of their lands.

In this atlas Cabreca is designated as lying in the *chawpirana*. But whenever I talked to Cabrequeños about this, they did not seem to care much about this

[6] As their work in the household is indispensible, most children stay in Cabreca and do not enjoy secondary school education.

designation. When asked where they are from, they say "Cabreca" and do not mention any other geographical terms. Many people, not only in Cabreca, laughed when I asked specifically about the *chawpirana*. Only one woman that I met when travelling said she was *chawpiranamanta* (from the chawpirana). Two visitors who looked at the atlas told me that Llust'aki was chawpirana as well. Cabrequeños, however, call Llust'aki *valle* as it lies further down from Cabreca. The same principle applies in an analogous situation: Cabrequeños confirm that Cabreca lies in the *chawpirana*, but when I was travelling in the puna, I asked people whether they knew Cabreca. Most of them replied that they know of that place in the valle. Platt recalls that "people of this area [i.e. the *chawpirana*] are sometimes crudely classified as puna people by the valley Indians, and as valley people by the puna Indians" (Platt 1986:232). The context of who is talking about the zone matters. As Harris explains, "[i]t is clear that to some extent the term selected to classify a particular ecological zone will depend on the position of the speaker" (Harris 1985:322). The speaker interprets social relationships, and positions the zone in a wider framework. Whether one uses the term *chawpirana* or *valle* depends on the speaker's position. The Cabrequeños see themselves as *chawpirana* people when asked, but otherwise do not attach much value to the term. They are in contact with the valley and the highlands but do not stress their in-between status. Their in-betweenness is determined by their activities rather than by their talk. Moving up and down within the region is typical for this in-between place, because it allows the inhabitants to grow a wider range of products. Moving to the valley and to the highlands allows them to get additional products and strengthen their social networks.

Although the range of food crops in the *chawpirana* is rather extensive, Cabrequeños still travel to increase their access to products. They go up to the *puna* in order to buy some products, and they go down to the valley in order to exchange foodstuffs. One day Clemencia and I went down to Llust'aki with two donkeys. We took things with us that the lower and warmer Llust'aki does not produce. Staying with Clemencia's relatives we also visited eight other households in order to barter. Llust'aki does not have a range of products as diverse as Cabreca. The main product is maize. The meals we were offered in Llust'aki were *lawa* (a cornflour soup), *mote* (boiled maize), *pilasqa* (boiled and peeled maize) or squashes. It is not surprising that the people in Llust'aki were delighted to receive what we brought. Clemencia had taken along some products she bought like coca and sugar and some *chawpirana* products like beans and tubers (oca, papalisa and potatoes). Given that maize is grown there in abundance and people lack other products, they are very willing to barter. An old man gave Clemencia 27 corncobs for a handful of coca. She received a similar amount for one cup of sugar.

As some maize is grown in Cabreca, the need for exchange is not as urgent for Cabrequeños. There is a bigger demand for maize before fiestas because *chicha*

has to be made. This is when additional maize from the valley is very welcome. Other travellers in want of maize come from the highlands. They need it as a supplement in their everyday diet and for ritual use, i.e. for special foods and maize beer (Arnold, Jiménez Aruquipa and Yapita 1991). Harris (2000) states that nowadays travelling by foot has decreased, because people travel by truck or buy products in the markets. Links between *puna* and valley are thus on the decline (Harris 2000:19). When I travelled to the *puna* in order to find places that were traditionally linked to Cabreca, I found that these links are no longer maintained, and that these particular *puna* inhabitants do not walk down to the valleys. However, some *llamero* families still do travel from the *puna* to the valley in order to exchange potatoes, salt, coca and other bought products for maize. A family would usually travel with a train of 20-25 llamas that carry the food. I saw a few of them when I was travelling in the *puna* as they were going down to the valleys. I also got to know a family that spent a night in Cabreca on their way home. Their twenty llamas were laden with maize. They had been in Ilili, a valley community, in order to barter, and were now slowly travelling back up to the highlands. Their night camp was outside Germán's parents' place. The interaction between these visitors and Cabrequeños was minimal. However, this could be due to the fact that most Cabrequeños were gathered at a household celebrating the saint of Cabreca Santiago that night. Although the Cabrequeños themselves do not travel in these llama trains, this kind of movement characterises the *chawpirana* as an area that features the constant migration of its inhabitants.

Conclusion

Moving and mobility are a characteristic of the Andean people. The life of the in-between people of the *chawpirana* is characterised in particular by their flexibility and constant movement, both within their territory and to other regions. They have multiple homes, and maintain links to people outside the *chawpirana*. The inhabitants of this transitional place make sense of their world by travelling and thus maintaining a strong network of social relationships. They move *uraman* (down) and *pataman* (up) to reach their own fields and to travel further to valleys and *puna*.

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KRETANJE GORE I DOLJE. LJUDI IZ PROSTORA "IZMEĐU", STANOVNICI *CHAWPIRANE*, SJEVERNI POTOSÍ, BOLIVIJA

SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad je etnografski prikaz kretanja i mobilnosti u andskoj zajednici Cabreca i oko nje. Istražuje se *posjećivanje* kao jedan od oblika kretanja u kojem kućanstvo postaje središtem društvene interakcije. Kako se ljudi kreću, tako informacije i novosti putuju s njima. Posjetitelji iz drugih krajeva uključuju se u taj protok informacija, a Cabrequeñosi im uzvraćaju posjete da bi održali svoje društvene mreže. Njihov životni stil obilježava fleksibilnost, jer se putovanja i posjeti često događaju spontano. Zbog obavljanja poljoprivrednih poslova čitava se kućanstva privremeno premještaju nekoliko puta godišnje. Ti višestruki domovi i mobilnost Cabrequeñosa unutar vlastitog teritorija karakteristični su za *chawpiranu*, prostor između brdovitih predjela i dolina u kojem se smjestila Cabreca. Kretanjem i cirkuliranjem ljudi, novosti i uroda Cabrequeñosi održavaju svoj društveni život i svoja kućanstva.

Ključne riječi: Bolivija, Ande, Kečua, mobilnost, fleksibilnost, posjećivanje, bivanje između