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GENEALOGY OF A GHOST TOWN: KINSHIP, MATRIFOCALITY AND ADOPTION IN AYQUINA-TURI[1]

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This paper is a first approach to the kinship and social organization of the Ayquina-Turi Atacama Indigenous Community (El Loa Province, Antofagasta II Region) from the perspective of a genealogical inquest made in situ and in the city of Calama. The discussion unfolds in four stages: first, an introduction to the setting where the ethnographic inquiry was conducted; second, the presentation of the problem which inspired the research; third, the exposition of the baseline information; and fourth, the analysis thereof. In contrast to the current situation in other peasant indigenous communities in the Central and Southern Andes, it is possible to identify a strong tendency towards the conformation of matrifocal family units related to a generalized practice of intrafamily adoption, which finds ethnographic echoes reverberating in other places of South America, namely British Guiana.

Key Words: matrifocality, adoption, genealogy, generation, northern Chile

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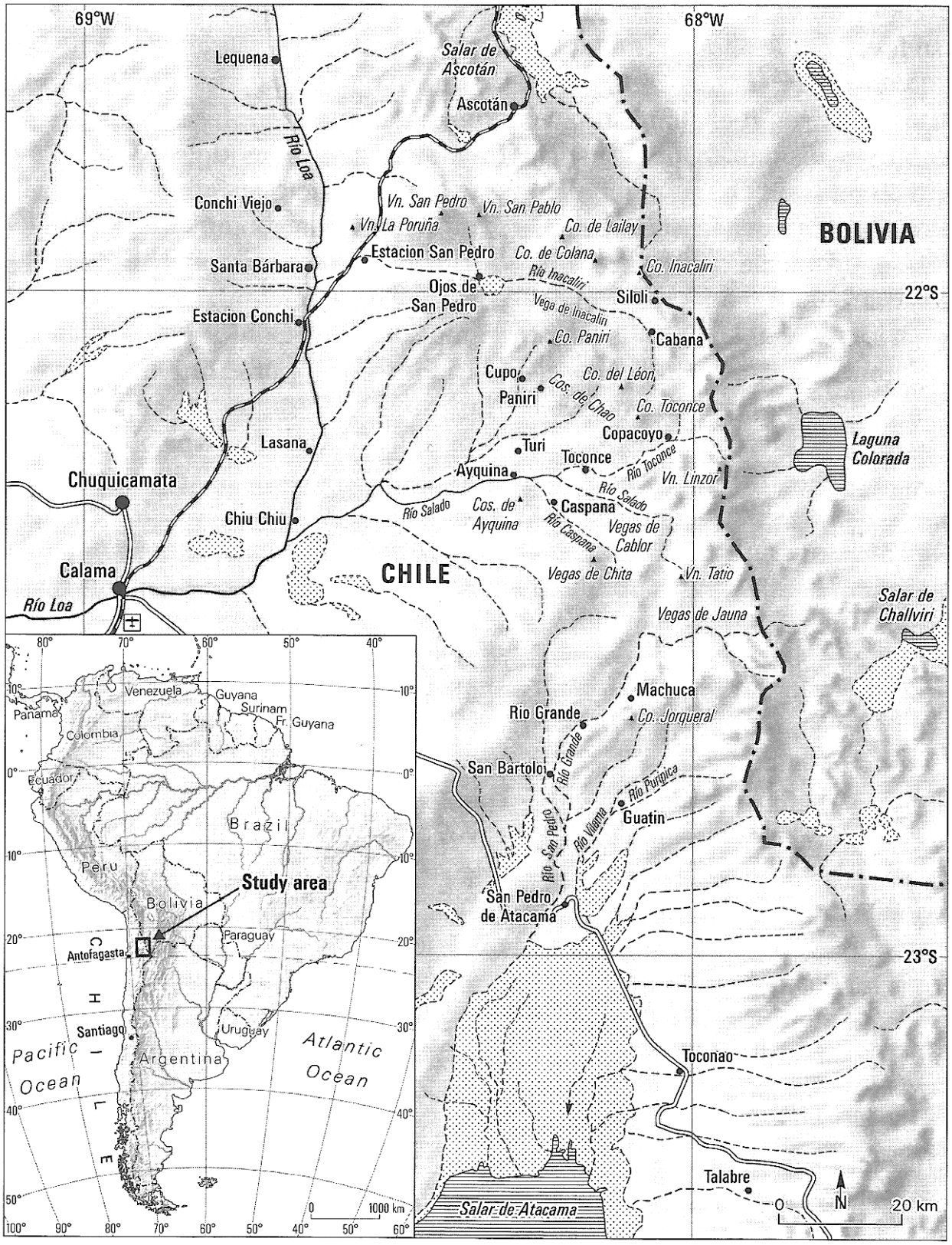
The Setting

Immediately after the passing of Indigenous Law No. 19253 in 1993, a series of indigenous communities were set up at Alto Loa, a part of the Atacama desert corresponding to a stretch of the namesake river belonging to the El Loa Province (Antofagasta II Region): Caspana, Conchi Viejo (1994), Lasana, Ayquina-Turi, Toconce, Cupo, San Francisco de Chiu Chiu, Ollagüe (1995), Estación San Pedro (2000), and Taira (2003). Additionally, by virtue of Decree No. 189 of October 8, 2003, Alto Loa was also established as an Indigenous Development Area.

The Ayquina-Turi Atacama Indigenous Community (see Map 1) spreads over extremely arid land covering 24 thousand hectares (59,305 acres), at an altitude of 3,000 m above sea level (9,842 ft.).). It includes the areas of Panire, the Turi wetland, Topaz, and the village of Ayquina, which comprises the largest number of dwellings and public buildings and is at the head of the Ayquina ravine, situated on the north-western bank of the Salado River canyon. Here lies the area's most sophisticated network of terraces and irrigation channels extending over nearly 10 hectares (24.7 acres) that attests to a remarkable human achievement. Appearing as a tiny speck of green set amidst an endless expanse of white sand, the agricultural area is irrigated by seven brooks flowing into an equal number of ponds that feed the areas where each household's farming terraces are located. The logic of the valley's agro-hydraulic system is based on the joint and continuous work of these water streams which, through larger channels, irrigation ditches, and ponds convey and distribute water to the entire ravine.

The region's main crops consisted of corn, potatoes, wheat, and alfalfa, which were complemented in time with barley, broad beans, oca, and all kinds of "vegies," as well as *tuna* groves, vineyards, and fruit trees. Livestock farming also played an important role, especially llamas, lambs, goats, and until the mid-twentieth century, mules, donkeys, and horses that were raised as pack animals (Sanhueza T. & Gundermann K. 2007). In fact, agriculture and farming are so intertwined that they become one single activity, where the former having to adapt to the conditions of one of the planet's most arid high-altitude deserts has the pressing need to consistently use the guano produced by the latter to literally manufacture soil. Access to farming land is mostly passed down from parents to children or else between spouses after the death of one of them. There is also another system whereby land is transferred to the offspring of direct relatives by those in charge of raising them, and which is quite relevant to our Discussion. Other ways of getting land include buying, selling, and renting – mostly among relatives –, requesting it directly from the community authorities, or the mere assignment of land to third parties by individuals who, on account of their old age or of having migrated, cannot work the land themselves.

Until 1993, the region was managed by "neighborhood councils," and the farming land (except for the *bofedales*, Andean wetlands) was shared out among various "owners," members of



Map 1: Location of the main villages in the study area (Castro 2009: 84).

the council, who had the right of usufruct. That year the "council," also known as "*asamblea comunal*" (Castro R. & Martínez C. 1996; Gómez 1980), became an "indigenous community." There is a transition period with both organizations coexisting until 1995. Being an "indigenous community," the access to land and water is set by the rules guiding such organization, which does not exclude other rituals like the annual cleaning of the irrigation channels taking place during the third week of September (Castro & Varela 1994).

Therefore, until the 1950s, the families inhabiting the Ayquina-Turi territory were devoted to agriculture and farming, and additionally to pack animal transport and to the gathering of a variety of resources like *yareta* – a key source of fuel for furnaces in the mining industry during the first half of the 20th century –, wild fruits, and *paja brava* (Castro R. 1994; Manríquez 2017). Since then, this strong bond began to be seriously threatened as a result of the expansion and radicalization of the mining activity in the region (Yáñez Fuenzalida & Molina Otárola 2008). Mining in Alto Loa has had a series of harmful effects on the human/agriculture relationship; on the one hand, the great damage caused to the availability and quality of water resources needed in agriculture –, and in life in general –, and on the other, its appeal on individuals who now have the opportunity of making a profit which until then was something beyond their expectations. As a result of migration – supported and promoted by the mining activity itself and by the urban and road infrastructure – fields, terraces, and villages were gradually abandoned. The vastness of the Atacama desert is crisscrossed by a network of roads which are hardly ever used and are more or less connected through a number of mostly uninhabited villages. This is the case of Ayquina-Turi where, following a series of paradoxically uninterrupted circumstances, a desolate desert became dotted with green patches of land that were seriously threatened by exceptionally large-scale mining. This activity drew away the individuals that used to keep this delicate balance and emptied the villages to the point of becoming ghost towns.[2]

The Problem

The ethnographic research in kinship conducted among the agro-pastoral and peasant-indigenous populations in the Central and Southern Andes has reached a certain degree of consensus to trigger our discussion. The argument (Sendón 2016: 139-147) may be summarized as follows. Although kinship among these populations is of a bilateral nature, agnation plays a significant role in specific contexts and populations, thus leading to the establishment of localized descent groups or even to the creation of truly agnatic descent lines stretching back deep in time. It is no

[2] Although nowadays the Ayquina-Turi Atacama Indigenous Community has 137 registered members, only a handful of old men live there permanently: 19 families in Ayquina, 16 in Turi, and 1 in Panire. The remaining members live in the city of Calama on a permanent basis. This is the main urban center in the province of El Loa and is located 73 km (45 mi) away. However, they keep their homes in the village of Ayquina with the purpose of occupying or renting them basically during the festivities of Our Lady of Guadalupe (September 8th), when tens of thousands of people attend the celebrations. For an analysis on the depopulation of indigenous communities and villages in Chilean territory as well as on the integration guidelines at a regional, national, and even international scale, see Gundermann Kröll & González Cortez (2008).

less true that the seeming generalization of this type of kinship layout is challenged by ethnographic evidence[3]. Limiting for now the discussion to the surrounding geography, a first example is found in the shepherds of the Huancar district, located in the Argentine portion of the Atacama plateau (Susques Department, Province of Jujuy), where the average household consists of seven individuals, and half of them include three generations: father and/or mother, children, and the daughter's children. This phenomenon relates to the fact that in Huancar more than half of the women with children do not live with a permanent spouse and remain with the respective families where they were born. As a result, many families lack adult men and the male component is restricted to children and old people. These matrifocal families, without adult men or with only old men, do not have a lower social status or an unfavorable economic condition (Göbel 2008: 225-228). Although the "matrifocality" term was not used for its analysis, the Huancar case seems to face us with a phenomenon of this kind. For the time being, this concept refers to a type of family group consisting of a mother or group of mothers residing in the same household with their respective children, without necessarily involving the men's moving to their spouses' place of residence after marriage[4]. Having said this, it is fair to point out that this definition hides the complexity of the factors involved in this type of organizations. Therefore, one of the purposes of this paper is to set them out clearly.

A second example, this time from the first region of Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá, in the northernmost end of Chile, seems to confirm the observations above, thus stealing the limelight from agnation and the tendency towards the continuity of patrilineal descent in the Andes and in northern Chile. Indeed, although the Aymara plateau communities from this first region recognize themselves as bilateral, they seem to embody, more than any other community, a society of a cooperative nature organized in localized lines of patrilineal descent. These are considered the owners of the land they occupy, and acknowledging themselves as descendants of a common ancestor, they reproduce themselves over time following principles of agnatic succession, which are strengthened by means of female exogamy through the steady practice of virilocality (Cerna M. *et al*. 2013: 49 and 56). However, according to the census and genealogical records available, the Huallancayane *estancia*[5] (Cosapilla village, *comuna*[6] of General Lagos) consists of a "lineage" which, at the turn of last century, was only made up of women. Over time, this lineage was subdivided into two "sublineages" operating through "different descent logics": one agnatic and another "uterine." This would be the result of a series of "exceptional" or "irregular" circumstances implied by the system due to its own "flexibility"; the group of siblings does not include male components (if they are included, it is the male siblings who go to take up uxorilocal residence at their wives' *estancias*); unmarried women live at their place of birth as single

[3] See the ground-breaking dissertation by Denise Arnold (1988) on the Qaqachaka *ayllu* in northern Potosí.

[4] We therefore distinguish between "matrifocality" and "matrilocality," as the former defines a type of family group while the latter refers to a postmarital residence pattern.

[5] Sparse shepherd settlements in the highlands consisting of a one-room dwelling, corrals, and grazing fields.

[6] *Comuna* is the basic administrative unit of the State and is known as municipality in other countries.

mothers; and the unmarried, childless only daughters stay at home with their parents (Cerna M. *et al*. 2013: 56-59). With regard to the case under study, the situation is as follows: the group is composed of fifty related individuals descending – as far as the sources have shown – from a common female ancestor. This group is divided into two subgroups who occupy and inherit two well-defined parts of the *estancia*'s territory: one has a strictly agnatic structure, while the other is strongly matrifocal, as its women were unable to build strong marital relationships or else are single mothers that ended up living at their place of birth (Cerna M. *et al*. 2013: 65). Taking into account the anthropological and ethnographic literature devoted to the region, everything seems to indicate that the "uterine" line of descent would be an exception to a type of organization composed of groups with a strong agnatic bias[7]. Now, if this were not the case? In other words, could the presence of female groups in fairly fixed land areas belonging to precise genealogical segments not be an exception but rather one of the features that define, along with other traits, this type of kinship organization? Although we do not intend to suggest that this be the case of the ethnographic evidence corresponding to the plateau of the Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá regions, the Huallancayane case is an invitation to compare the abundant information coming from the first region in Chile with the information from the Huancar district in Argentina. It is also an invitation to add new information, should there be any, related to our discussion for comparison and accuracy purposes and thus have a larger picture of the kinship webs woven by the populations of this southern Andean region.

The Data

The data included below are the result of a genealogical inquiry conducted among some heads of households in Ayquina-Turi and in the city of Calama between 2016 and 2018. Although the survey was aimed at the community's "elderly adults," it was welcomed by other community members, thus totaling 27 genealogies (where 16 of the interviewed egos are women and 11 are men). These genealogies provide information on a universe composed of 657 individuals (323 ♀ and 334 ♂) distributed in six generations (G+3 (8 ♀ and 9 ♂), G+2 (30 ♀ and 31 ♂), G+1 (60 ♀ and 58 ♂), G0 (107 ♀ and 97 ♂), G-1 (98 ♀ and 118 ♂), and G-2 (20 ♀ y 21 ♂)), where G0 comprises the 27 interviewed egos belonging to the age group between 75 and 85 years old (15: 8 ♀ and 7 ♂), G-1 comprises the egos descending from the above generation between 55 and 65 years old (10: 6 ♀ and 4 ♂), and G-2 comprises two egos (man and woman, and their relatives in

[7] Technically known as "*comunidades sucesoriales*" (of a "patrilineal," "patrilocal," and "corporate" nature) (Gavilán Vega 1996; González Cortez 1995; González Cortez 1997; González Cortez & Gundermann Kröll 2009; Gundermann Kröll 1998; Gundermann Kröll 2005; Gundermann Kröll 2018), the cases of the (first) region relate to a model whose ideal prototype (already fading) could still be observed in Isluga (Martínez 1975). Evidently, the expansion of this kind of organization is connected to the participation of an Aymara *ethos* which, in the case under study, far from enjoying an untarnished life is subject to the constraints of the passage of time (González Cortez & Gavilán Vega 1990). In recent years, the Huallancayane *estancia* has undergone a series of structural changes leading to a continuous division of its territory which in turn brought about the gradual disappearance of descent groups and more marked bilaterality regarding land inheritance rules (Moreira y Cerna 2017).

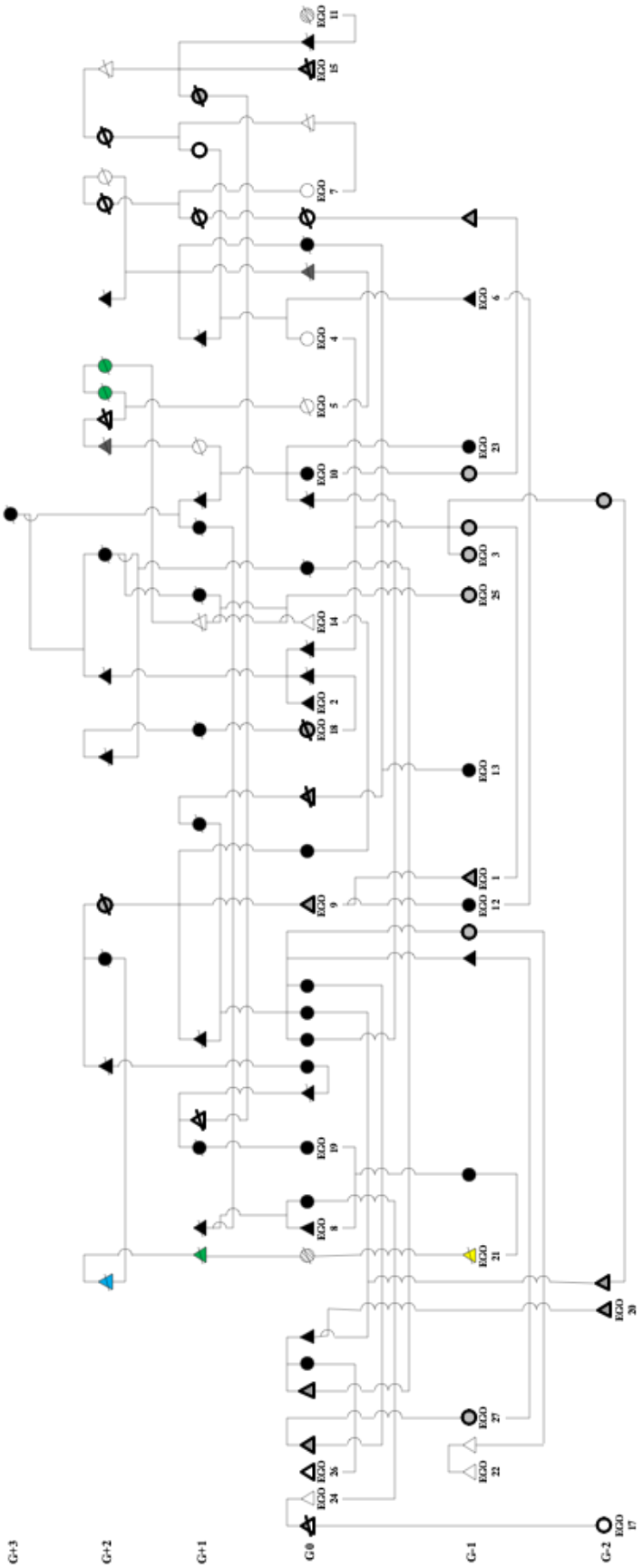


Figure 1: (Part of) kinship ties between the egos registered in the sample.

the same generation) who, in our sample, are exceptional on account of their age (both 45), descending from the two previous generations[8]. Thus, the sample considers a time range of approximately 130 years, going back to end of the 19th century. After ordering and laying out the inquiry data from a genealogical viewpoint, what stands out first is the high degree of kinship among most individuals interviewed. Figure 1 shows a summary of the overall information obtained, as it would be too lengthy to include its entirety in an article of this nature. It is however a rather accurate overview that helps to identify the kinship ties existing, first, between the interviewed egos and, second, among these same egos based on the tie that links them to a third individual, who was not interviewed and who is related to one or more of the 27 egos surveyed and can be identified on account of his/her registration in their respective genealogies (see Figure 1).

Hence, Ego 1, for instance, is related to the following interviewed egos: Ego 4, his mother-in-law, Ego 6, his brother-in-law, Ego 9, his father, Ego 12, his sister, Ego 14, his uncle, Ego 27, his female cousin[9]. Ego 1 is also genealogically connected with Ego 2, his mother-in-law's brother-in-law or his wife's father's brother; with Ego 3, his mother-in-law's daughter or his wife's sister; with Ego 5, his uncle's grandmother's sister's daughter; with Ego 10, his female cousin's husband's sister; with Ego 13, his uncle's niece; with Ego 19, his great uncle's daughter's niece; with Ego 20, his uncle's grandson or his female cousin's son; with Ego 21, his great aunt's grandnephew; with Ego 22, his female cousin's husband's brother; with Ego 23, his male cousin's sister; with Ego 25, his uncle's sister; with Ego 26, his male cousin's sister's husband. Furthermore, a closer look into the information helps to establish another series of genealogical connections: between Ego 1 and Ego 7 through Ego 4, the former's mother-in-law and the latter's aunt's granddaughter; between Ego 1 and Ego 11 through Ego 4, the former's mother-in-law and the latter's husband's aunt's granddaughter; between Ego 1 and Ego 8 through Ego 19, the former's great uncle's daughter's niece and the latter's wife; between Ego 1 and Ego 15 through Ego 4, the former's mother-in-law and the latter's aunt's granddaughter; between Ego 1 and Ego 24 through Ego 19, the former's great uncle's daughter's niece and the latter's sister-in-law; between Ego 1 and Ego 17 through Ego 19, the former's great uncle's daughter's niece and the latter's uncle's sister-in-law; and finally between Ego 1 and Ego 18 through Ego 20, the former's uncle's grandson – or his female cousin's son – and the latter's female cousin's nephew. Therefore, and due to the link he has with them, through them or else through a third individual registered in one of his respective genealogies, Ego 1 is related to or has some kind of genealogical

8 The generational order of the individuals making up the sample has taken into account their respective ages, i.e., the age group to which they belong. In this sense, it should not surprise us, for instance, to find a pair of siblings belonging to different generations, or to note that the generational distance between a parent and an offspring is two generations instead of one, as should be expected. In any case, as we shall see in more detail later, these "inconsistencies" between the generational position and the genealogical bond in two or more cases are not solely accounted for by the age difference between them.

9 We omit here the identification of the "in-law" (or affinal) status of some of the genealogical connections registered, especially "aunts and uncles," "cousins," and "nieces and nephews," as well as the "step-" relationships, to name a few, particularly "stepchild," "step-sibling," and "step-grandchild," This is illustrated in Figure 1.

connection with 25 of the 27 interviewed egos, thus becoming together nodal points of a large and close-knit web whose characteristics we shall attempt to unveil[10].

A first classification of the individuals making up the sample should pay special attention, for the reasons mentioned above, to their respective places of birth and residence. The largest concentration consists of men and women born in a community in El Loa other than Ayquina-Turi (i.e., Caspana, Conchi Viejo, Lasana, Toconce, Cupo, San Francisco de Chiu Chiu, Taira, Ollagüe, and Estación San Pedro) and who reside (or have resided) in one of these communities or in the city of Calama (216). The second largest group comprises men and women born and residing in Ayquina-Turi (131), followed by another group of men and women born in Ayquina-Turi but who reside (or have resided) in Calama (111). Another relevant group is composed of men and women born and residing in Calama (80) and, to a lesser extent, another group of men and women born in one of the communities of El Loa other than Ayquina-Turi and who reside (or have resided) in Ayquina-Turi or in the city of Calama (44)[11]. Is it possible to make some type of generalization regarding these distributions?

First, we should point out that the distinction between men and women born in Ayquina-Turi and *in situ* residents or those residing in the city of Calama does not hide the fact that both subclasses belong to the same class, i.e., men and women actually born in Ayquina-Turi, whose majority is strongly related to each other. From this perspective, this class totals 242 individuals where G0 – i.e., the reference generation composed of subjects over 70 years of age – appears as a hinge generation regarding a phenomenon that grew over time as a result of the migration process promoted by mining: the steady dismantling of what up to G-1 seemed to be a kinship system or at least a kinship pattern of regional scope[12].

This pattern basically consisted in the establishment of marriage alliance and descent relations within each of Alto Loa's rural populations and among some of their segments. Based on the genealogical information gathered at Ayquina-Turi, of the total marriages registered throughout the six generations (209[13]), 26 consist of unions where their respective members were born and resided *in situ*; 15 were unions between men and women born and residing in Ayquina-Turi with women and men born in some communities in Alto Loa that moved to Ayquina-Turi; 3 were already existing unions whose members were born in some of the communities of El Loa and who moved together to Ayquina-Turi; 7 were unions between men and women born in Ayquina-Turi with women and men born in any of the other communities of El Loa and who continued to

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10 In other words, these 25 egos are connected to Ego 1 as "consanguines," "affines," "consanguines' affines," "affines' consanguines," "affines' affines," and "affines' affines' consanguines." The exceptions at this kinship level are the cases of Ego 16 – not included in Figure 1–, Ego 17, Ego 22, and Ego 26, born and raised outside Ayquina-Turi.

11 We omit any other possibilities because they are too random compared to those identified above.

12 Table 1 illustrates this concept. Up to G0 most of Ayquina-Turi's population had been born and had resided in this community, and also since G0 but more markedly since G-1, most of this population moved to Calama. The same phenomenon is observed in the remaining communities of El Loa, together with the increased number of individuals already born – and residing – in this city since G-1.

13 Of whom 6 correspond to G+3, 22 to G+2, 47 to G+1, 73 to G0, 49 to G-1, and 12 to G-2. No difference is made between "marriage" and "cohabitation."

Table 1: Place of birth and residence of the individuals registered in the sample

	G+3	G+2	G+1	G0	G-1	G-2	Total
■	6	**20**	**32**	**46**	26	1	**131**
■	1	2		6			9
■			1	1			2
■		1	9	**27**	**63**	11	**111**
■		1		3	3		7
■	6	**27**	**62**	**72**	**42**	7	**216**
■	2	2	6	19	15		**44**
■	1	2	1	3	2		9
■	1	6	1				8
■			1	4	3		8
■			2	5	**52**	21	**80**
■			3	18	10	1	32
Total	17	61	118	204	216	41	657

Note: The colors assigned to the squares in the first column of the table correspond to different combinations between place of birth and place of residence of the individuals registered in the survey and are the same as those assigned to the men and women shown in the figures.

live in them; and 38 were unions between men and women born and residing in the other communities in El Loa and not in Ayquina-Turi. This means that a little more than 40% of the marriages registered in the sample were celebrated between individuals born in any of the communities in the area under study. This percentage increases up to 65% if we consider the cases where at least one of the individuals, born in Ayquina-Turi, migrated to the city of Calama or moved to any of the communities of Alto Loa where his/her spouse was born[14]. Had these distributions been relatively even over time and space, everything would seem to indicate the existence of a certain endogamic tendency towards the establishment of marriage unions in each of the villages, along with another tendency, which is rather exogamic or at least a second-order endogamy, leading to marriages between men and women from different villages. Besides these two tendencies, there is also the possibility, albeit low, that couples who are already established in one of the villages move to other villages in the region where their offspring will reside. In any case, these three variables ("endogamy," "exogamy," and "relocation") account for the high presence of in-

[14] These cases amount to 48 but we will omit their internal distribution to avoid providing too many details at this stage of the presentation.

dividuals and married couples born and residing in other communities in Alto Loa: these are the relatives (ancestors, contemporaries, or descendants) of the spouses born in one of the villages but residing in another, or of those married couples that moved to a village in the area other than the village where they were born. The Ayquina-Turi case, even in the abridged version shown in Figure 1, clearly attests to the inferred model: most of the marriages registered were formed between individuals born and residing in Ayquina-Turi; some of its members married members of other villages in Alto Loa; some married couples from the other villages moved to Ayquina-Turi; and many of the members of Ayquina-Turi are related to members of the other villages in the ascending or descending generations or the egos' own generation. Should this pattern be effectively close to the ethnographic reality, the rest of the villages in Alto Loa should be able to genealogically replicate it[15].

Before moving forward, we should underline two other features related to the information under discussion. First, the number of cases where the members of groups of siblings are situated in different generations. We would readily attribute the phenomenon to the large number of children a couple has over their reproductive years or else to the long time elapsed between the birth of the oldest and the youngest child. These seem to have been the reasons in most cases. In fact, Ego 5 (G0) is the youngest of 8 siblings. Ego 4 (G0) and Ego 6 (G-1) are the eldest and youngest of four siblings; their father (G+1) is the second of seven siblings; their mother's sister is the mother of six children; and a brother of both women is the father of another nine children. Ego 7 (G0) is the youngest of five siblings; Ego 9 (G0) is the second of four siblings, and his eldest brother's (G+1) children total 10. Ego 14 (G0) is the eldest of 12 siblings; Ego 15 (G0) has eleven siblings; the mother of Ego 19 (G0) is the eldest of five siblings, and Ego 20 (G-2) is the third of four siblings. Ego 23 (G-1), Ego 10's sister, has seven siblings one generation above her, and her father (G+1) has four siblings distributed in three generations. Ego 25 (G-1) is the third youngest of nine siblings and, finally, Ego 27 (G-1) is the youngest of three siblings. Although the evidence leads us to easily accept the proposed solution – i.e., that the location of siblings in different generations within the same group of siblings is accounted for by the large number of siblings or the possible long lapses of time between the births of their respective members –, it involves a series of difficulties, as illustrated in the genealogical equation below. We include the generation of each Ego therein involved in square brackets (see Figure 1):

Ego 4 [G0] = Ego 1 [G-1] WM = Ego 2 [G0] BW = Ego 3 [G-1] M = Ego 6 [G-1] Z

So far so good. Ego 4 and Ego 6 are "siblings" and, in fact, both are mentioned as such in the interviews by Ego 6 (Ego 4's "sibling") and Ego 3 (Ego 4's "daughter"), and their generational

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15 Carlos Gómez (1980: 80 and 102-103) and Priscila Délano (1982: 59-60) identified these same marriage distributions in the studies conducted in Toconce and Caspana. It should be pointed out that, in our sample, it has been very difficult to define a precise, or at least predominant, post-nuptial residence pattern. Without considering the rest of the marriage possibilities mentioned, it is striking that, out of 15 unions between "*ayquineños*" and members of the other communities in Alto Loa who moved to Ayquina-Turi with their spouses, 7 were uxorilocality cases and 8 virilocality cases. Added to this uncertainty, there are 7 cases of unions between "*ayquineños*" whose spouses, originally from one of the communities in Alto Loa, continued to reside in them after their marriage.

location does not require any further clarification. But this is not the case of Ego 1, where Ego 6 appears as Ego 1's brother-in-law, his sister's husband (i.e., Ego 1 Z = Ego 12 = Ego 6 W), his sister being located in his same generation (the same as Ego 3's) and hence one below Ego 4's. In theory, this would be accounted for by the fact that both "siblings" (Ego 4 and Ego 6) are located in different generations due to their age difference[16]. Therefore, if we observe the overall genealogy from Ego 6's perspective without considering the generational distance between him and his "sister" (Ego 4), a generational mismatch would arise so that the entire reference generation in the overall sample (i.e., G0) would move to the next ascending generation (i.e., G+1). A similar phenomenon seems to occur in the case of Ego 7, Ego 4's and Ego 6's "aunt" (MBW), who from their perspective would be located one and two ascending generations away (G+1) but who, on account of her age as the youngest of five siblings, is located one generation below them, i.e., in G0, the same generation as her niece's (Ego 4) and one generation above her nephew's (Ego 6).

Now, while this second example illustrates a situation as described, the first example conceals a social practice that is quite relevant to our study area; the intrafamily adoption of newborns or very young babies by close consanguineal relatives. The "sibling" relationship between Ego 4 and Ego 6 hides the fact that Ego 4 is Ego 6's mother, as a result of the former acknowledging himself as the "son" of the latter's parents. To put it in a rather clumsy but illustrative manner, Ego 4 is Ego 6's "mother," but this bond was no longer in effect when her parents, Ego 6's "grandparents," recognized him as their "son" thus becoming the former's "brother" and *ipso facto* moving him up one generation as regards the kinship links he will establish with the rest of his family of origin. Hence the need – regardless of the ages of the egos involved – of reassessing the egos' generations when observed from the standpoint, for instance, of an affine whom he/she will marry or a relative of the latter. And this was the case we came across when interviewing Ego 1, whose sister, Ego 12, moves Ego 6 "down" again to his generation "of origin" when marrying him[17].

Second, it is worth mentioning that only 53% of the individuals in the sample were alive at the time of the inquiry, particularly those located between G0 and G-2, with some exceptional longevity cases in G+1[18]. Our readers should note that most of the living individuals in these last three generations no longer reside in Ayquina-Turi. Also, that we are not only focused on the genealogical analysis of a ghost town but of a population which, to a large extent, has ceased to ex-

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[16] Ego 4 was 80 years old at the time of the inquiry, while Ego 6 was 61. Ego 2 and Ego 4 do not mention Ego 6 in their respective interviews.

[17] Although it has not been analyzed in detail, the practice in question has also been reported in communities belonging to Chile's first region, where women with no reproductive capacity adopt their sisters' children, elderly couples adopt grandchildren, and adult couples adopt the children of their own offspring upon their early marriage breakup (Gavilán 1996: 63-64 and 72; Gundermann Kröll 2018: 181 note 29; Castro Lucic 1981: 8). In the nearby community of Caspana, this practice was also observed. It is not infrequent that the older children of a single son or daughter continue to live in the homes of their grandmothers after their marriage because of the strong filial relationship developed during their upbringing (Délano 1982: 61-62).

[18] The distribution of living vs. deceased individuals by generation is as follows: G+3 0/17, G+2 0/61, G+1 15/118, G0 113/204, G-1 181/216, G-2 40/41.

ist. However, this population has managed to pass its own social rules onto the genealogical memory of its descendants, so much so that instead of being lost in the darkness of an unexplored past these rules find a way of expressing themselves should anyone be willing to dig into them.

What the Data Reveal

What does the ethnographic evidence gathered in Ayquina-Turi teach us? In order to start answering this question we will focus on the analysis of two genealogical segments corresponding to the extended families of two of the 27 egos interviewed, considering not only the genealogical connections that can be identified in each of them but also the additional information arising from the ethnographic interview and going beyond such connections. In this sense, and trying to follow Bronislaw Malinowski's precept, we will not only attempt to identify what people say and do but also seek to cast some light on what people omit to say regarding what they did.

Let us start with our paradigmatic example (see Figure 2a). Ego 1's extended family – which is also Ego 9's and Ego 12's – begins to outline a shared pattern. First, the most remote ancestor in the genealogy (G+3) is a woman, Ego 1 FMM, born and residing in Ayquina-Turi until her death. This woman had three children (G+2): one son and two daughters. The first two were born and resided in Ayquina-Turi and respectively partnered with a woman born and residing in Ayquina-Turi and a man born and residing in another community in El Loa. The third daughter, Ego 1 FM, was also born in Ayquina-Turi and moved later to Calama. The first of these three siblings had two children (G0), a son and a daughter, who were both born in Ayquina-Turi and partnered with individuals born and residing *in situ*. The son, residing in Calama, had, in turn, four children (G-1); one of them, born and residing in Ayquina-Turi, married a man of her same origin with whom she also had a son (G-2) and with whom she still resides *in situ*; the rest of her siblings (G-1) live in Calama. For her part (G+2), the third daughter, together with a man born in another community in El Loa and not residing in Ayquina-Turi, had four children born and residing in Ayquina-Turi, except for the third, Ego 9, Ego 1's father, residing in Calama, while the second daughter of the "most remote" ancestor in the genealogy, who was married to a foreigner residing in Ayquina-Turi, had only one son residing in Calama.

We will now focus on this last group of (four) siblings. The eldest (G+1), who was married to a woman born and residing in Ayquina-Turi, had 10 children; 8 girls and 2 boys, of whom 7 celebrated some kind of marital union: the second, third, and fifth daughters (G0) partnered with men who, like them, were born and resided in Ayquina-Turi (the third daughter's husband, born and residing in Ayquina-Turi, is also the husband's mother's brother (G-1) of one of the fifth sister's daughters, who in turn is the only sister of four siblings living in Calama); the fourth daughter (G0) partnered with an *ayquineño* residing in Calama together with their children and who is, at the same time, the brother of Ego 27 (G-1, a woman born in Ayquina-Turi and residing in Calama, who married the seventh son of this subgroup of siblings) and also the brother of Ego 12's mother's husband (G0); the last two sisters of this subgroup (G0 and G-1), residing in Calama, partnered with men who were not born and did not reside in Ayquina Turi. Ego 9 (G0),

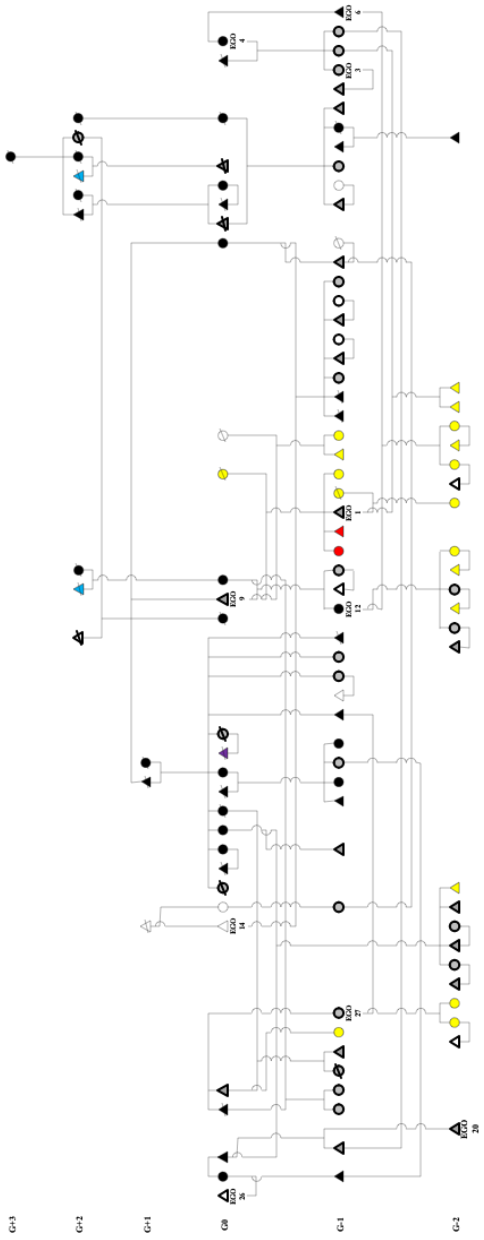

Figure 2a: (Part of) Ego 1's Extended Family.

the third male of this group of siblings (the second sister died in Ayquina-Turi without spouse or offspring), had three groups of children with three different women (the first one born and residing in Ayquina-Turi, the second born and residing in Calama, and the third born in another community in El Loa and residing in Calama). Of these siblings, Ego 12 belongs to the first group and Ego 1 to the second, which together with the third group make up a larger subgroup. The children that Ego 12's mother had while married to the above-mentioned *ayquineño* should be included in this subgroup. The youngest sister of the (four) siblings of the group (G0) married a man, Ego 14, born in another community in El Loa who went to reside with her at Ayquina-Turi and with whom she had children. These children were added to the child she had had out of wedlock. Moreover, Ego 14's step-sister's daughter (i.e., Ego 14 FDD) married his stepson, i.e., his wife's first son. Finally, we should note that Ego 12 and Ego 1 (G-1) married Ego 4's brother and

daughter, respectively; the former after having conceived children out of wedlock and the latter following the death of a first foreign wife. Ego 4 had been born in another village in El Loa, married an *ayquineño*, and lived with him *in situ*.

What can we unravel from this detailed but necessary description? Let us reconsider it without all the "fuss" of including a detailed description of Ego 1's "entire" kindred. Thus, we will omit those individuals who were not born in Ayquina-Turi or who were born there but no longer reside in the village, except for those men or women whose spouses were in fact born and reside – or have resided – there, and those who attest to this type of local kinship layout (see Figure 2b).

The first thing that strikes our attention in the "abridged" version of Ego 1's genealogy is the presence of a group of consanguines composed of men and women with a predominant number of females over males (23/15), whose most remote ancestor is a woman born in and a resident of Ayquina-Turi up until her death. This same group established 18 unions with men and women, of whom 14 partners are not related to each other. The remaining four are related as follows: Ego 27 and one of her siblings married two of the children of Ego 9's eldest brother, and Ego 9's eldest brother's second daughter's husband's nephew married one of his uncle's wife's nieces[19]. From a

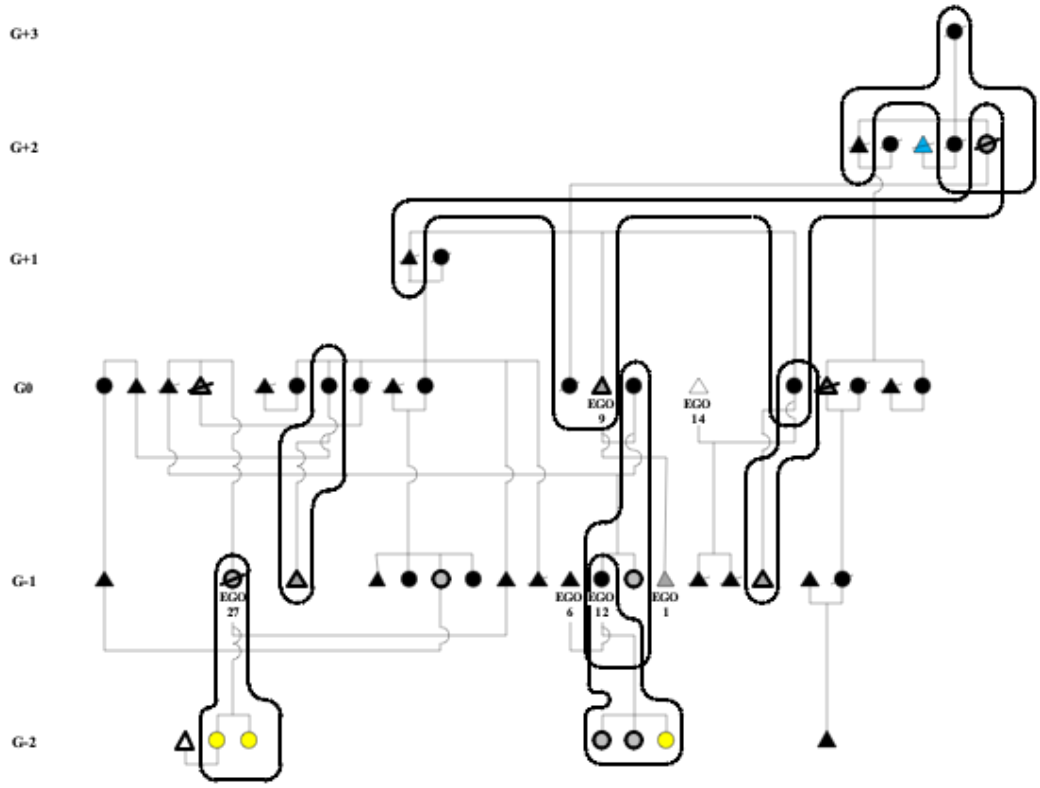

Figure 2b: (Part of) Ego 1's Extended Family.

[19] It is true that Ego 27's third brother, the eldest, is partnered with a woman who is registered in the sample. But it is Ego 9's first union, i.e., an "affine" from the group's point of view, although not so from Ego 12's perspective who sees her as her mother. Her inclusion in the diagram will be explained later.

strictly genealogical perspective[20], this would seem to indicate that we are before a group of strongly related women living in a part of the village's territory together with their "foreign" husbands (foreign in the sense of being "outside" these women's kindred), which would thus explain the presence of a "uterine" descent group in Huallancayane *estancia*: the group of consanguines does not include men; should it include them, it is the men who move to their wives' *estancias* after marriage. In a word, the women in the group are "single mothers" who end up residing in their birth places together with those women who, being unmarried, did not have any children. The problem, however, is more complex.

First, of the total married couples in the group of consanguines, at least three involve men born and residing in Ayquina-Turi and married to women born and residing *in situ*, except for one who moved to Calama (Ego 1 FMB, FB and FBS). Although fewer in number, these married couples let us observe that, at least at the village or "community" level (i.e., of Ayquina-Turi), some of the married men of Ego 1's extended family reside with their wives in the same space as their female consanguine relatives[21].

Second, there are several cases of single sons born in Ayquina-Turi who live with their female kin (sisters, cousins, mothers, aunts, etc.), whether married or not, in the village's territory, thus providing a male component to the descent group that distorts the existence of a pristine principle of matrilineal organization. The main clue we have so far to start discovering not so much the presence of a uterine descent principle but of matrifocal groups that change the composition of agnatic lines is, as was also the case in Huallancayane, the significant number of mothers who live alone with their children without having married the latter's biological fathers, who are seemingly entitled to recognize them or not. Where this is the case, it is the mothers who rec-

[20] It should be noted that we were unable to identify a clear post-nuptial residence pattern in a past population that no longer exists and in a current population that no longer lives in the place where it was surveyed.

[21] Perhaps at a lower level of analysis which we were unable to access and which would be closer to a "*caserío*" or small group of houses, the composition of the groups might reflect an emphasis on the uterine descent line: i.e., the men in Ego 1's group of consanguines born and residing in one of the *caseríos* of Ayquina-Turi and married to women born and residing like them *in situ* move to their respective *caseríos* after marrying them. Although possible, this situation would involve a systematic preference for uxorilocality which is questioned, on the one hand, by a similar preference for virilocality (see Footnote 15) and, on the other hand, by a large array of identified cases of post-nuptial residence (see Table 1). This is so even with the analysis perspective chosen, i.e., of the "village" or "community," as it is rather unlikely that post-nuptial residence practices identified at a micro level should totally contradict those observed at a higher level.

ognize their children and give them their surnames[22]. This phenomenon – i.e., the power that individuals seem to have, particularly men albeit not only them, to recognize their offspring or not –, not only expresses a generalized practice that leaves its personal imprint on the features of a given kinship layout but also the raison d'être of its reproduction over time. In other words, the composition and reproduction of kinship groups such as those found in Ayquina-Turi involves the segregation of men from the system, or else of segments thereof. In the case of Ego 1's kindred, this is noted from the very beginning as his father's maternal grandmother's children bear her surname. We were unable to identify their male parent as he had most likely not recognized them. This assumption is confirmed with the descent of the youngest sister in this group of siblings: she was not recognized by her parent and, in effect, bears her mother's surname. Her youngest daughter, however, adopted her father's surname once he recognized her upon returning to the community after more than two decades of absence. The latter woman, like Ego 1's sister's mother (Ego 12) – with whom her father (Ego 9) apparently "just had children" but whom he did recognize and therefore bear his surname –, and her father's eldest brother's second daughter also raised their children without their parents before marrying their future husbands. This is also the case of Ego 27 and Ego 12, although now during the period of moving from the countryside into town or to the final settlement in an urban environment. The type of matrifocal groups identified inside Ego 1's kindred may transcend the limits imposed in the diagram and comprise two or more generations of women residing in the same location together with their descent at a given point of their development cycle. This could be the case of the "female founder" of the group in G+3 along with her children and her youngest daughter's children in this group in G+1 and G0, or the case of Ego 12's mother and her descendants before getting married and moving to Calama or being born in the city.

Let us take a closer look at the second example that will serve as a link to articulate what has already been discussed regarding the issue of acknowledgement with the practice of adoption. It is the case already described of Ego 3's extended family (Ego 1 WZ), which is also her mother's (Ego 4) family and that of her "uncle's" (Ego 6) (see Figure 3)[23]. Here the distribution of men and women is more even than in the previous case (40/42), as is the ratio of those born and residing in Ayquina-Turi throughout the first five generations (G+3 2/3, G+2 4/4, G+1 5/6, G0 8/7, G-1 2/3). This fact comes to prove that the trend towards the establishment of matrifocal groups is not accounted for by the absence of men – either due to a systematic preference for uxorilocality

[22] This phenomenon cannot be fully appreciated in this paper due to our commitment to anonymity with the interviewees, but it is one of the outstanding features of the sample. There are also cases where the male parents, having conceived their offspring or part of them out of wedlock, recognize them by giving them their surnames, but it is the mothers who end up living with the children. Readers should bear in mind that, in the kinship diagrams, the horizontal lines – linking men and women above them – and the vertical lines – linking men and women one above the other – do not necessarily express marriage unions or descent links; that is, the graphs express the genealogical connections just as they were communicated to us during the interviews. This, however, does not mean that such lines coincide with biological links or kinship bonds among the individuals therein connected. We will discuss this in greater detail below.

[23] Figure 3 replicates the meaning of Figure 2b: it is a "summary" of the overall genealogical information of Ego 3's extended family containing the same type of information included in Figure 2b.

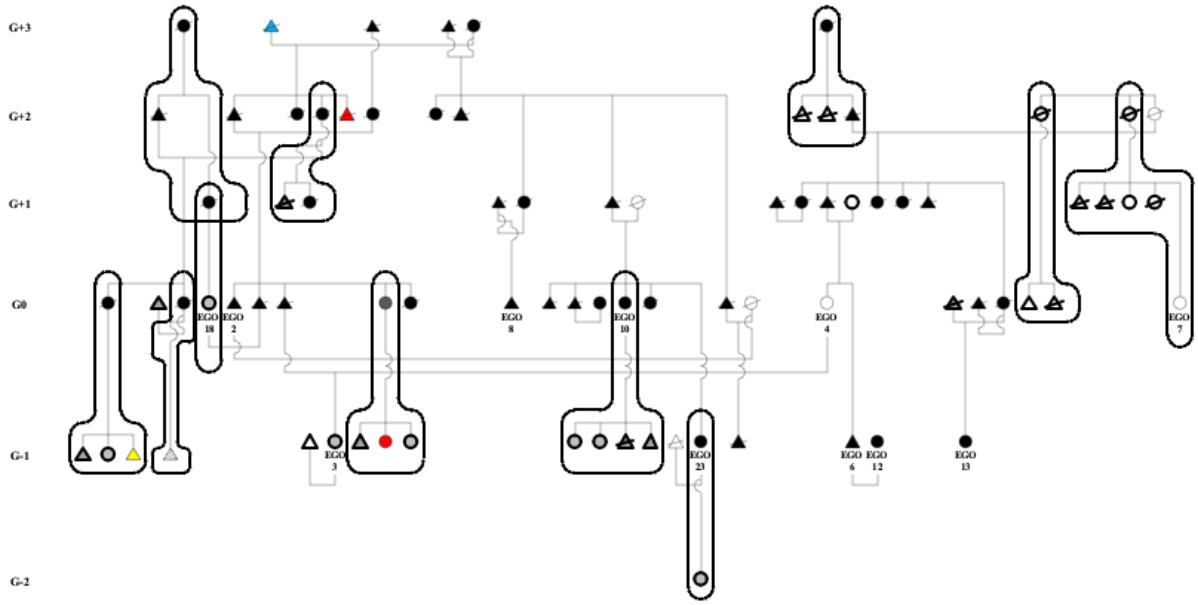

Figure 3: (Part of) Ego 3's Extended Family.

or to simple migration – but by mechanisms involving their segregation in recurring parts of the genealogical universe. And this is what happens when we notice the significant number of matrifocal groups, at least at the nuclear family level (11 cases), which does not exclude the possibility of its extension throughout the generations, thus becoming "extended matrifocal families." In any case, the examples identified in Figure 3 are explained by the same reasons as the above example. Ego 3 FFZHM (= Ego 3 FBWMM)[24] "was a single mother," that is, she raised her children and gave them her surname in the absence of their "father," who did not recognize them. This also happened with the youngest of her daughters (Ego 3 FFZHMD or FBWM), the mother of Ego 18, who also bears her surname although she knows who the "father" was, but did not recognize her either, and with Ego 3 FFZHM's son's (two) daughters (also Ego 3 FFZD). The three children of one of these daughters have a paternal surname different from their mother's, while the second daughter's son bears his mother's surname. Ego 3 FFZ, the mother of the last two women mentioned, had two children prior to her marriage who were not recognized by their "father." And in turn, the second daughter changed the surname she received from her mother. Ego 3 FMMSD (= Ego 10) is single and lived alone with her children in Ayquina-Turi, while

[24] It is true that this last Alter is Ego 3's affine and we could have omitted her, along with her next female descent, in a diagram dedicated to the former's consanguine relatives. However, we have decided to include her because her genealogical proximity spares us from drawing a fourth diagram (dedicated to Ego 18's kindred) and because we wish to underline the relevance of this type of organization appearing everywhere in the sample, of which Alter is no doubt a perfect example.

their "father," born and residing in Caspana, recognized only two of them[25]. Ego 23 (= Ego 3 FMMSD), Ego 10's sister, had her daughter as a "single mother." Finally, Ego 3 FZ and Ego 3 MFFM exhibit the same type of kinship arrangement. The former's children keep their mother's surname twice, while the latter's have a different surname from their mother's. This might suggest the acknowledgement of Ego 3 MFFM's offspring by the "father," which strikingly contrasts with his loss in the genealogical memory, at least in the segment under study. However, the memory of the mother, Ego 3's most remote ancestor on their mother's side, is still present.

Also noteworthy is the case of Ego 3 MFMZ, that is, Ego 7 MZ. In her own words, Ego 7 is "fatherless," being both her mother and her mother's eldest sister "single with children." Everything seems to point out that it is the case of "fathers" who do not recognize their offspring, although we are not absolutely certain. But the interesting thing is that this gives us an excellent opportunity to introduce the second topic of discussion (see Figure 4). Ego 7 and her siblings have only one surname (X), which is not their mother's (YZ) but another one that coincides with their grandfather's paternal surname (X). Now, their mother's paternal surname (Y) does not coincide with her grandfather's paternal surname (X) but with her grandmother's surname (Y). Fi-

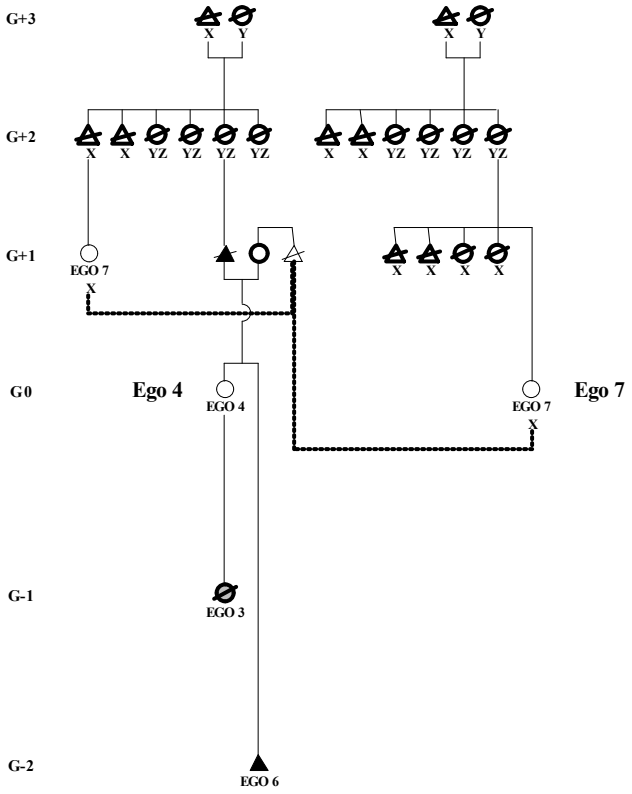

Figure 4: Matrifocality and Adoption in Parts of Ego 7's and Ego 4's Genealogical Segments.

[25] This is why the children recognized by their father bear the father's and mother's surname, while the children not recognized by their "father" bear the mother's surname twice, and vice versa if it is the mother who does not recognize her children, although these cases are exceptional.

nally, while the mother's three next older sisters bear the same surnames as her (YZ) – the paternal surname coinciding with their grandmother's surname –, the two older brothers have their father's paternal surname (X). What could we conclude from this distribution of patronymics which, if you will allow us the neologism, are equally "matronymics"? We know that Ego 7's mother raised her children "on her own" and, considering that and the coincidence of the children's paternal surname with their mother's father's surname, we might assume that it was her father who recognized her daughter's children as his own by passing his paternal surname onto them. It is precisely to this practice that we assign the term "adoption," as already mentioned in connection with Ego 4's and Ego 6's case, Ego 3's mother and "uncle," respectively. What happened here is that Ego 6's "sister" is also his parent, and her parents recognized him as their "son" by giving him their respective surnames, in this case their paternal surnames[26]. In other words, Ego 4's "grandparents" recognized their "grandchild" as their "son." With regard to Ego 7, the situation is however different. The difference in the surnames of Ego 7's mother and her sisters vis-à-vis their (two) older brothers, who bear, in the first case, Ego 7's grandmother's surname and, in the second case, Ego 7's grandfather's surname, leads us to assume that Ego 7's grandfather only recognized his (two) older sons and not his four daughters, who were acknowledged just by their mother. This second assumption adds a further problem to our initial one: why should Ego 7's "mother's father" recognize his daughter's daughter as his own if he did not recognize his own "daughter" as such? The answer to this question lies in another genealogy, corresponding to Ego 4, Ego 6's "sister." There, in effect, Ego 7's father is recorded as the same man registered as Ego 7's mother's eldest brother in her own interview (i.e., Ego 7's). Instead of seeing this as a misunderstanding, the discrepancy seems to indicate another state of things that is highly probable in light of the above considerations. Bearing in mind the generational distance between them as well as the fact that Ego 7's mother does not have her father's surname and that her offspring do not recognize a male parent, it is implicit that Ego 7's mother's eldest brother – who shares with her (and the rest of their siblings) the same paternal surname – recognized her as his daughter by giving her his paternal surname. This possibility, which arises only by comparing the genealogical material, helps to explain why, in Ego 4's genealogy, Ego 7 is registered as the "daughter" of whom appears as her mother's (eldest) brother in her own genealogy. But it does not account for the reverse situation, that is, why, in her own genealogy, Ego 7 did not record her mother's brother as her father. Expressed in these terms, the answer to this question is self-evident: had she done so, Ego 7 would have implied the possibility of an incestuous bond – even if only in genealogical terms – between her mother and her "uncle," unless she had clearly stated the process of adoption existing among them. In any case, the explanation given helps to conciliate the apparently contradictory information in Ego 4's and Ego 7's surveys regarding the

[26] The term "adoption," which is also used to describe this practice, gains its own local meaning from this perspective: it is less related to a legal process aimed at establishing filial relations similar to those that in our societies derive from a procreative act than to a reverse phenomenon, that is, the generalized practice of replacing the kinship ties associated with a procreative act by others coming from the group's kinship background. In this sense, we propound that the "adoption" becomes the positive counterpart of the lack of acknowledgement of paternity by a parent with regard to his/her offspring. This does not mean that in some cases, especially among members of the younger generations, the acknowledgment of third party's children as one's own may include a legal process to legitimize it before society at large.

latter's parents, and to appreciate an excellent example of coincidence of matrifocal group and intrafamily adoption.

Our readers will rightly wonder about the degree of representativeness of this kinship arrangement in the study area. Well, and with no intention of sounding repetitive but of being as thorough as possible when processing the baseline information, we can say that nearly all the kin of each of the egos interviewed in Ayquina-Turi (and Calama) are, to a greater or lesser degree, examples of kinship practices and arrangements as described above. Let us see.

Ego 1 FBSD was not recognized by her "father" but by a third party not residing in Ayquina-Turi, and the same happened to Ego 1 FBDS, who was recognized as the son of one of his mother's sisters and her husband. Ego 5 ZS was "given" by his mother – who had other children out of wedlock – to one of her sisters who took him in as her own, and Ego 5 herself adopted two children of two of her older children as her own. Of the three daughters conceived by Ego 6's wife prior to their marriage, the first two were recognized by his mother-in-law as her own, while the third one only by his wife. With Ego 9's case we have a field day: his mother's sister's son was recognized by those who appear as Ego 9's parents in the survey; his eldest brother was recognized by Ego 9's own mother; Ego 9's mother's youngest son was in turn recognized by her youngest brother, Ego 9's uncle (MB); this same cousin's wife (MBSW) was also recognized by whom appears as her mother in the survey, as was the case of her sister's husband (Ego 14). And, according to Ego 12, her own father (Ego 9) also was recognized by whom he identifies as his "mother" in the survey. After becoming a widower, Ego 14's father did not recognize his son, who was raised by his maternal grandmother and was recognized by a third party. And Ego 14's wife was actually brought up by her aunt, as she was given to her by her mother in view of her aunt's inability to have children with her own husband. Ego 16 was abandoned and not acknowledged by her "father," as was the case of hers mother's daughter. Ego 19 was recognized as "daughter" and raised by her "grandparents" after the death of her "mother." She never knew her "father" and, following the death of her parents (i.e., her "biological grandparents"), was brought up by her "uncle" (her female parent's youngest brother) who, along with his wife, also recognized the second daughter of her "biological mother" (Ego 19 MD). Ego 20's father's sister had children out of wedlock, as did his father's brother's wife. Ego 21's father was not recognized by his "father" but by his mother, who raised him with her father, Ego 21's grandfather who, in turn, resides in Calama with his children's children whom he recognized as his own. Ego 23's father's brother and mother's sister had a daughter who was not recognized by the former and was raised by the latter. Ego 24 and his wife raised the three daughters of the latter, and he recognized the third of them – who was conceived by her mother "on her own" –, while the two older daughters were recognized by each of their respective fathers despite not living with them. Ego 25's son was recognized by his father but not raised by him. Finally, Ego 26's children were only recognized by their father and not by the woman who conceived them.

So far, then, along with the cases where male parents do not recognize their offspring (which are more frequent than the female parents' lack of acknowledgement), most of the examples mentioned are solved by "aunts" (or "sisters") adopting "nieces and nephews,"

"grandmothers" (or "mothers") adopting "grandchildren," and to a lesser degree, "mothers" who adopt "children" and "fathers" who do the same either regarding their own descendants or their spouses.' Ego 27's case deserves special note.

Like in many of the above cases, Ego 27 was not recognized by her "father" and, additionally, at a very early age she left her mother to be raised by her eldest brother. Likewise, her own brother did not recognize his "daughter" following the death of her mother. She was finally adopted by her mother's sister, i.e., her father's "sister-in-law." But the special note regarding Ego 27 is not related to the above but to what happens with Ego 27's eldest brother and his wife, referred to as "X." It is interesting to see here how the genealogical information on this couple was recorded in the different interviews performed with each of the egos involved, with the exception of Ego 9, who did not mention her during his interview (see Figure 5). The first time "X" appears recorded in the survey is in the interview with Ego 1, who mentions her as the mother of his father's (Ego 9) two older daughters whom he recognized as his own. The second mention is in the interview done with Ego 6 (Ego 12's husband), who does not add any further information to the previous interview. The situation begins to change slightly albeit significantly in the interview with Ego 12 (Ego 9's daughter), who apart from speaking of the genealogical links she has with her two parents states that "X," her mother, married a second man with whom she also had two daughters. Now, this second man, in the interview with Ego 27, is her eldest brother. As informed, he is in effect married to "X" but, unlike the information provided in the previous interview, he had conceived the daughters he raised with her prior to their marriage. Are we again facing a "misunderstanding" as in Ego 7's case? Should it be so, we would be in the presence of an example of intrafamily adoption needing no further explanation: instead of a brother recognizing his sister's daughter (Ego 7) as his own, here it is a wife who recognizes her husband's children as her own. This would explain why Ego 12 identified "X's" daughters as her own but not so much why Ego 27, "X's" husband's sister, tried a different "solution": identifying her brother's daughters as her own – and therefore previous to his union with "X"– and omitting the adoption and/or acknowledgement of "X" regarding her husband's daughters. Is this less due to a zeal

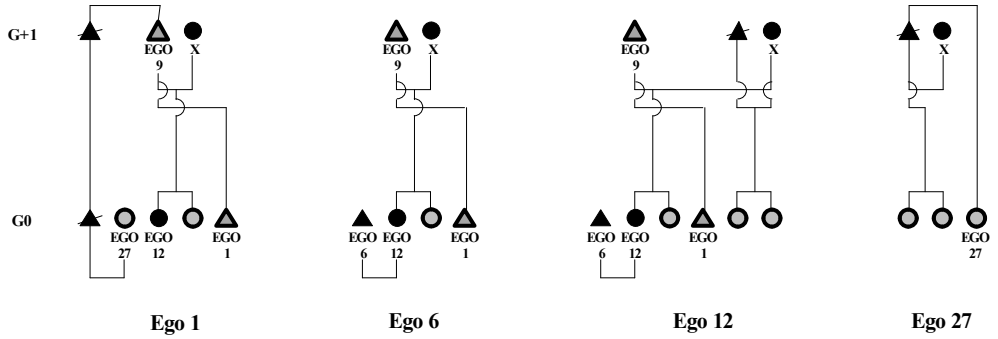

Figure 5: Adoption case in a genealogical segment common to Ego 1, Ego 6, Ego 12, and Ego 27

for "prioritizing" the consanguineal link over the affinal tie than to somehow avoiding the possibility of insinuating kinship relations that challenge the sensitivity of others when not seen from the perspective offered by the consanguineal ties existing among the individuals involved? Having defined the kinship relations existing in the group under study, the question would only be clarified by knowing with whom "X's" husband had conceived his two daughters prior to their marriage. Well, with the only woman mentioned just on three occasions throughout the survey – precisely in the cases of Ego 1, Ego 6, and Ego 12– and to whom we have not yet paid enough attention: Ego 12's sister, "X's" second daughter. More specifically, before marrying her daughters' future father, "X" lived with her two older daughters in a matrifocal household. After marrying Ego 27's brother, "X" could not conceive children with him, so that they sought to have them with his wife's second daughter, whose offspring were recognized by "X" and her husband as their own.

Even if this last case remains inconspicuous in our overall sample, upon analyzing it in the light of the above considerations it acquires major significance. So much so that far from being the grand finale of our discussion, it becomes the kick-off of a matter of investigation yet unaddressed in Ayquina-Turi and throughout the Alto Loa region. It combines what apparently looks like two of the main features of the kinship layout of the universe under study; matrifocality and acknowledgment/adoption. And it includes the possibility that the practice of adoption involving an incestuous bond may become a fact, not only in genealogical terms, as observed in Ego 7's case, but also in consanguineal terms. In a nutshell, the adoption of the daughters of Ego 27's brother and his wife ("X") conceals a case of incest, here an "incest of the second type"[27]. This explains the omission in Ego 12's interview of what is clearly set out in Ego 27's interview. And vice versa, the omission in Ego 27's interview of what is clearly set out in Ego 12's interview: the possibility of making visible a consanguineal tie in a case of adoption or, vice versa, the possibility of explicitly stating a case of adoption between consanguines. Both cases trigger at least one question: why parents who are related by blood to their children decide to adopt them. This may also explain Ego 27's tearful eyes in a gritty café in the city of Calama when asked about intimate aspects of her own family, whose impersonal description, imposed by the setting where they are presented and discussed, buries her highly emotional narration.

Some Final Considerations

In an ethnography of the parish of Zambagua (Cotopaxi Province, Pujilí Canton), located in the center of Ecuador and with a Quechua-speaking indigenous population of over 20,000 people,

[27] Strictly speaking, one of the possible variations of the type of incest identified and analyzed by Françoise Héritier: "a man with two sisters, two brothers with two sisters, *a man with his wife's daughter* (the substantial identity is between mother and daughter), or, symmetrically, a woman with two brothers, a woman with husband's son, and so forth" (Héritier 2002 [1994], p. 25, emphasis added). It should be noted that "the prohibition of incest of the second type […] is not universal. It is a type of union that may even be sought out. Everything depends on the way identical or different things must be paired or separated in a given society. The basic reasoning remains the same: it is dangerous to do one or another of two acts. Social rules therefore accompany these concerns, advocating or preventing union between persons who, to varying degrees, share a substantial identity" (Héritier 2002 [1994], p. 217).

adoption practices like those discussed here were also identified. On the one hand, it is stated that "most adoptions [take] place within the family, rearranging pre-existent consanguineal ties" and, on the other, that "the most common form of adoption [is that] in which the infants of unmarried girls are raised by the girls' own mothers" (Weismantel 1995: 689 and 699). Thus, "adults often [describe] having had more than one mother or father at different points in their lives, all of whom they consider parents to different degrees. It [is] also the case that grandmothers often [assume] the role of mother because true motherhood [is] associated with maturity, whereas young birth mothers [are] considered too immature to fully parent their children. As a result […] a child might grow up thinking of her birth mother as an older sister and her grandmother as her mother – while recognizing the other set of relations as secondary" (Weismantel & Wilhoit 2019: 196).

The issue pinpointed in Zambagua is similar to the case detected in Ayquina-Turi. Hence, we should focus our comparisons there so as to establish a possible generalization among the peasant-indigenous populations of the so-called South American "highlands." Although it is not quite time yet to embark on such an endeavor, we may nonetheless put forward some preliminary considerations on the matter. Situated in diametrically opposite locations in the Andes, both cases show a marked difference regarding kinship and social organization vis-à-vis what happens in between; the Peruvian inter-Andean valleys and Puna region and the Bolivian plateau. These territories have traditionally been inhabited by Quechua- and Aymara-speaking indigenous populations which, beyond the bilateral nature of their kinship rules, have been assigned a tendency towards agnation, an emphasis on patrilineal descent, or simply the existence of corporate patrilineages. The similarities with the Ecuadorian case, however close, end here. We are unaware of whether the systematic practice of intrafamily adoption leads to a matrifocal-type of family structure, although we are inclined to think that it does, as is the case of the shepherds in the Huancar district, the starting point of our discussion. Here we know of the existence of this kind of family structure but we do not know if it is the result of a generalized practice of adoption, although we are inclined again to believe that it is. With Huancar, Ayquina-Turi makes up a close partner that contrasts with the "*comunidades sucesoriales*" in the plateau *estancias* of the (first) region of Arica and Parinacota and Tarapacá, just as Zambagua and Ayquina-Turi contrast, somewhat roughly, with what lies in between them. In any case, the truth is that, in the light of the variables shown, Ayquina-Turi appears as an "exceptional" example in our current discussion as it combines them in a single continuum: with Zambagua it shares the adoption, and with Huancar, the matrifocality. Is there any ethnographic evidence where these same elements appear as a shared continuum? Indeed. Let us look into this more deeply.

In a little-remembered article on the term *nanna* or *nanny* and its use among the working class and rural population in Britain's contemporary society, Jack Goody confirmed that its usage was more appropriate for the grandmother living in her grandchildren's home and, therefore, being part of the household and in most cases the "mother's mother." This woman "is in fact continuing to act in her earlier capacity when she becomes a 'second mother,' nursing (in the wider sense) her children's children, and thus allowing the mother to go out to work, to help on the farm, or just to get on more freely with her household tasks" (Goody 1969: 246). In such situa-

tions, the grandchildren often call their "grandmother" "mother" and use another term, *Mum*, for their "mother." This usage recalls the case of the black population in the rural areas of British Guiana, studied by Raymond T. Smith, where "motherhood is not simply a matter of biological relationships." In fact, there "when a daughter bears a child whilst she is living in the household controlled by her mother, the child frequently grows up calling its maternal grandmother by the term 'Mama,' and its own mother by her Christian name […] This is particularly true when the grandmother has small children of her own towards whom the child adopts a sibling relationship" (Goody 1969: 247). It is interesting to note that this last comment takes us back to the initial feature in Ayquina-Turi's baseline information that raised the issue of intrafamily adoption: the cases of groups of siblings whose members belong to different generations. The situation we examined did not contemplate the case of a matrifocal family but one where a pair of grandparents adopted their daughter's (Ego 4) son (Ego 6), who not only categorized but identified Ego 4 as his sister. Although from a slightly different standpoint, we should underscore the importance of the intersection between "generational distance" and "adoption" in the establishment of matrifocal families.

What does the Guianese case teach us? It seems there is broad consensus among researchers of the African-American family in the Americas "upon the important place held by women in the family system […] the apparent weakness of the conjugal tie […] and the strength of kinship ties and particularly the mother-child bond" over the rest of the other kinship relationships (Smith 1956: 5). These observations apply to the case of the low-class black population in British Guiana. However, this is not what defines the matrifocal nature adopted by the family structure. On the contrary, "the term 'matrifocal family' [refers] not to a system of female-headed families, nor to a matriarchal family system, but to a social process in which there was a salience of women – in their role as mothers – within the domestic domain, correlated directly with the class position of the population involved" (Smith 1988: 8). In Guiana many heads of households are women, and among them, their daughters, and their daughters' children there is a "tendency […] to emerge as a particularly solidary unit, often constituting the core of a domestic group" (Smith 1973: 123). Adult men are "marginal" and even segregated from most of the group's activities, and "domestic relations are mother-focused rather than simply female-focused" as "'mothering,' or child-rearing, is the central activity of the domestic domain." Therefore, the conjugal tie occupies a much lower rung than the mother-child bond, because marriage is a practice related to a status system rather than to a kinship system. And it is precisely this bond that persists throughout the life of the individuals involved: or, more specifically, "the relationship […] between the child and the woman who 'mothered' or 'grew' him" (Smith 1973: 139-142). This bond, in turn, does not create permanent groups of mothers and daughters, and their duration over time is di-

rectly related to the development cycle of the domestic group, the matrifocal family, whose peculiarities are irrelevant here[28].

For our purposes, the relevance of the Guyanese case lies in the fact that it helps demonstrate that the three main characteristics of the genealogical sample taken in Ayquina-Turi – i.e., the generational distance existing in several groups of siblings, the practice of adoption, and the establishment of matrifocal families – constitute a "complex"[29] where we should also include the rather marked tendency of many men to avoid recognizing their offspring. Single mothers with children not recognized by their male parents, whose children in turn are not recognized by their male parents either and are adopted by their "grandmothers," with everyone living in the same household. This is what brings a special, albeit not extraordinary, feature to the type of kinship and family layout discussed so far. We only need to wonder about the continuity of the matrifocal households in Ayquina-Turi over time, and about the reasons that help to explain the tendency to their establishment. We here tread onto uneasy ground as the answers to both questions are not found, or at least fully, in the genealogical record but relate to contingencies and circumstances obviously beyond our control. Based on the genealogies, we know about the existence of matrifocal households and families, but we are unaware of their own development cycle. We assume that this cycle exists and that it is related to the marriages of the youngest women in the group and to the death of the older ones, but we cannot assure it. We also know, thanks to the genealogies, about the existence of families composed of at least a woman and her children not recognized by their "fathers," and we assume that this phenomenon is the result of a large-scope spatial mobility dynamic in the region (Núñez & Dillehay 1995; Sanhueza 1992), where numerous groups of men are absent for long periods of time. But we are not acquainted with the details[30]. The answers to both issues are closely related with each other and certainly require an ethnographic inquiry and field research, which is an arduous albeit not impossible task to carry out in Ayquina-Turi considering it is a "ghost town"[31].

Having come this far, there are only three things to comment on briefly. First, we should underscore that our case study corresponds to a period immediately prior to the establishment of the mining expansion in the region and the ensuing emptying of villages as a result of migration to the mining sites or the city of Calama. Therefore, we have an eminently rural, peasant or indigenous ethnographic case which, even if found in a marginal area in a blatant process of decay or

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[28] In order to further underpin the idea of a local meaning in the practice of adoption in Ayquina-Turi as already suggested, it is worth noting that in Guiana there are or were very few "legally" adopted children (Smith 1988: 36).

[29] Here is how Smith (1973: 139) defined the issue of the Guyanese case: "matrifocal complex."

[30] In the life stories of elderly adults in Ayquina-Turi (Manríquez 2017), there is, for instance, a recurring mention to the extended absence of the men hired in pack animal transport, railway, water supply and road maintenance or in the Chuquicamata and sulfur mines.

[31] The same could be said of the only case of "incest of the second type" identified in our sample: far from being an isolated case we are inclined to think that it is the tip of the iceberg of a generalized practice in the region.

perhaps undergoing transformation in the urban environment, shows the same ethnographic relevance in terms of kinship and social organization as that found among the peasant-indigenous populations of the Central and Southern Andes, at least since the second quarter of the 20th century. Second, it is essential to resume our comparative endeavor not only to find out whether the kinship pattern and related practices identified in Ayquina-Turi are replicated in other Andean populations (as the cases of Huancar and Zambagua might suggest), but also to revisit the known ethnographic evidence and review if we can find practices and arrangements of the same type that might have been silenced due to an insistence on homogenous models. Although abundant in exegetical terms, these models require a careful ethnographic analysis. Third and last, the problem arising in our genealogical inquiry, which we have outlined here and which has deepened as we moved forward with our description and analysis, reminds us once more that, in terms of kinship, humans do whatever they want but, as with the language, always subject to rules. In Ayquina-Turi, matrifocality and adoption are the rule and not the exception.

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