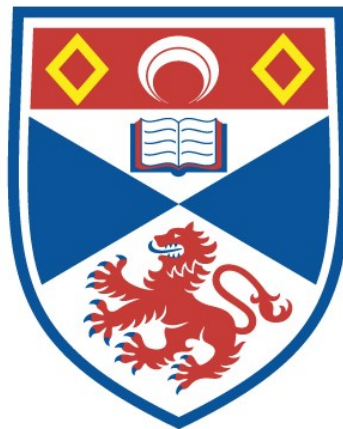


BEING A *VIVIENTE*: CONFUSION, PERSONHOOD AND AUTOCHTHONY
IN TWEO COLDITA (QUELLÓN, CHILOÉ, CHILE)

José Joaquín Saavedra Gómez

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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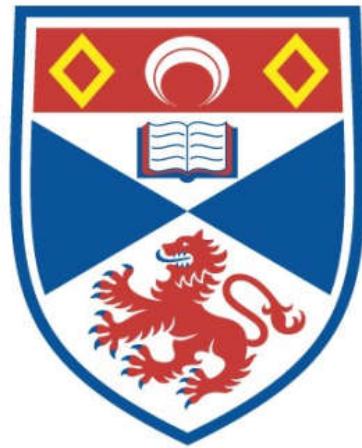
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Being a *Viviente*: Confusion, Personhood and Autochthony in
Tweo Coldita (Quellón, Chiloé, Chile)

José Joaquín Saavedra Gómez



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Social Anthropology at the
University of St Andrews

22 March 2023

Abstract

This thesis addresses notions of personhood in Tweo Coldita, an indigenous community located on Coldita island (Chiloé). It addresses relationality, selfhood and autochthony by means of the Colditan notion of "*viviente*", "a person who is living" in spaces between forest and tide. These spaces or "*campos*", which Colditans strive to keep open, constitute a "lived world of confusion" from where the *viviente* emerges. Confusion describes how moving "borders" (environmental, social, temporal and of selfhood) tend to overlap, threatening to drive the *viviente* and its environment towards a lack of differentiation. To be a proper *viviente* is a constant struggle in a mythicized world. I argue that the latter's confusing nature, along that of the *vivientes* themselves, can be elicited from a "mythical schema" stemming from a Chilote version of the Treng-Treng and Kay-Kay Vilú myth. In this narration, a catastrophe makes the sea and the lands clash, and a lonely, mad man is left in a submerged world. This resembles Tweo Colditans' notions on confusion: colliding environmental elements growing over the *campos* and loneliness as a limit for the *viviente*, a person that is constantly menaced with being turned inwards and that must strive to relate to others and reproduce a world. Because of this mythification, a doubt lingers about the *viviente*'s origin. This doubt is reflected in the relationship with dwelling places, the *campos*, in the form of a confusion *within* that emerges as a feeling of "uncanniness". I propose that the haunting of the uncanny in Tweo Coldita has to do with the problem of autochthony, the impossibility to fully belong, making the constitution of *vivientes* an impossible task. The *viviente* is constantly diluting into confusing selfhood through the very mythicized structuring of the world enacted from the *campos*. These Colditans notions allow to discuss relationality, personhood and the self, and recent descriptions of Chiloé as defined by the tradition/modernity dyad.

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To my wife, Mackarena,
and my children, Isidora and Domingo,
for staying with me through thick and thin.

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Introduction

1. Synthesis and framework of the argument

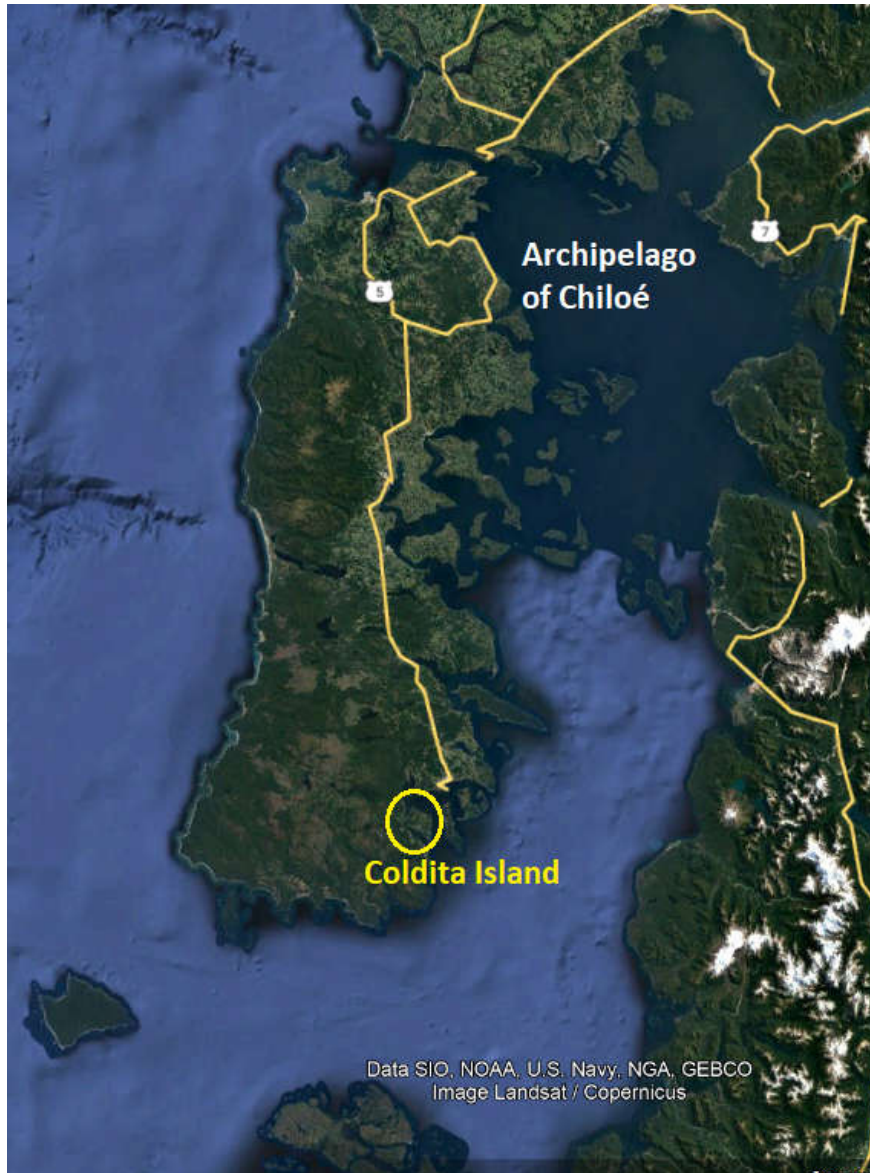


Figure 1: The Archipelago of Chiloé and Coldita¹.

This thesis explores framings of personhood in Tweo Coldita, a Williche Indigenous community in Coldita island, Archipelago of Chiloé, Chile. An account of the experience involved in becoming and relating to oneself there, it may be read as ethnographic theorisation of the process of gaining personhood in a mythicized, haunted land. Haunting experiences of attempting to

¹ Google Earth screenshot modified by the author.

become a human subject in Coldita mirror instabilities generated both by Chiloé's historical trajectory and the existential journeys of Colditans² living caught in its wake. The instabilities involved can be summarised in terms of processes of colonization, migration and modernization. However, what is involved has less to do with how events have unfolded in an external historical time, and more with how Colditans have managed to make sense of their history according to their own notions.

The main Colditan notion involved in this discussion is that of the "*viviente*" person, which can be translated as "a person who is living", and thus, as I interpret it, as "a person who is striving not to die", different from the dead, from spirits and witches. In Coldita, a *viviente* is someone who lives in a space between the forest and the sea, where work ("*trabajo*"), is conducted. Colditans call this space "*campo*" (a field). It is comprised of a direct access to the shores, a cleaned space around the households, an orchard, fields for crops and pasture, a surrounding "*renuevo*" (young forest) and portions of "*monte*" (tall forest) with varying degrees of human intervention. *Campos* are distanced from one another. Colditans believe that each *campo* belongs to the families who have been working in them for decades. Nevertheless, this belonging or "owning" also involves legal ownership, in differing ways. Indeed, because of historical events described in this thesis, different property regimes exist within the community.

Work, among other skills, entails keeping a *campo* open or "clean" ("*limpio*") against the impinging growth of the forest that pervades the mountains. It also involves minding the movements of the tide, and leaving signs and marks of human habitation in those *campos*. These signs and marks were also left by the Colditans of the past, thus constituting memory, and a relation between living and dead. Through the *viviente* notion, Colditans reflect on sociality, anxiety, loneliness, death, memory and the overall confusing nature of their world; that is, on their paradoxical belonging to their places of dwelling, the *campos* themselves. Indeed, Colditan sense of belonging reflects the instability referred above, which is in turn reproduced by *vivientes* themselves as they relate to a haunted, confused world, and as they enact an unending process of stabilising and maintaining the very meaning of being a *viviente* in actual social life. I approach this conflicted sense of belonging by means of the concepts of autochthony and of the uncanny, which ultimately connect to their mythicized experience of space and time, especially to the "suppression" of historical time lying at its core.

I consider that the *viviente* is a specific iteration of what it is to be a person. The *viviente*, both a concept and a lived, historical structuring of experience, is an unstable being in persistent dissolution. This dissolution occurs within a world constituted by mutually effecting "borders" that become menacing when they draw closer, cancelling each other over the *campos* where *vivientes* make themselves and where they dwell. As such, the *campos* are also defined by shifting borders between the sea and the forested mountains of Coldita, as these emerge and are transformed by work. Such closeness and overlapping of everything with everything I call "confusion" (*confusión*), an effect of the tendency of borders to meld that is at the core of Colditan experience. Confusion is reproduced when borders between the environmental (tide, *campos*, growing forest and the creatures and presences related to them), the social (the self and the others, including witches and wandering souls) and history (the relation of the *viviente* with the past, especially the dead, and with the future) begin to overlap. The *viviente* emerges

² Throughout the thesis, I use the word "Colditans" to describe Tweo Colditans, unless otherwise stated.

from and is assailed by these confusing border crossings which are, in turn, mythicized. This mythification, enacted by *vivientes* themselves as they engage with events, allows the constitution of a present besieged by an unfathomable, haunting past that filters through the interstices of the world. This is especially so in loneliness, a privileged estate of the *viviente* when addressing confusion as a powerful, attractive force.

It is because *vivientes*, standing in their *campos*, reproduce these overlapping borders through work and mythification, that they can be considered as subjectively bordered both within themselves and in relation to their exterior; just like their own *campos*. By means of their engagement with these borders, *vivientes* can be affected in their minds and bodies, by spirits, witches, other *vivientes* and by the overall shifting, unclear boundaries of a world that produces feelings of fear and despair, that hence defines the *viviente*. *Vivientes* are driven towards physical incapacity, excessive thought, idleness, anxiety, depression, madness, loneliness and death, reflecting both their own constitutive confusion and that of their lived world. In sum, the *vivientes* are both informed by and create the bordered/bordering lived world that simultaneously dilutes them: a “lived world of confusion”, whose boundaries reflect a lingering, unliveable sameness, as things, events and entities emerge and dissolve.

My approach to this ever-diluting, bordered/bordering person is that which has been called “relational”. According to Cecilia McCallum (2023), personhood must be considered a dynamic practice, a compound of relations that amount to specific notions of the human, rather than a “fixed state of being”. This is at odds with Western concepts of the person (especially those still deployed by social sciences), namely an “*a priori biological individual*”, an autonomous entity that would be the product of a pre-existent society through “socialization”. According to Marilyn Strathern (2018), “relational” is “*an epithet applying to all manner of links, ties and connections, whether concrete or abstract*” (238), utilized by social scientists to grasp “*the interconnectedness of phenomena*” (238) that “*bear on one another*” (239). “Sociality”, one of the kinds of connections that the relational allows, has become necessary, and nowadays common, to refer to the relations within which persons exist. It emphasizes the “individual as a person”, as a social entity (237), and as the potential for social relations, not opposed to “society” (1996, 55). Personhood hence emerges as a “*matrix of social relations*”, and not prior to them (2018, 238). In this thesis, I consider that the *vivientes* and their world are constituted relationally, including social relations (sociality) but also other “relations of relations” (environmental, historical, mythological). Nevertheless, I will also argue that, alongside its relational character, there is an irreducibility to the *viviente*’s self or being, which is the source of its confusion.

McCallum (2023), considering that relationality allows to grasp specific iterations in which relations are meaningfully structured, refers different ways in which non-Western personhood emerges: the Amerindian “cumulative human” (a self that is constituted as a transformable body where sociality amounts to embodied, material interaction) or the Melanesian “dividual” or “partible person” (persons as made of shared pieces and perspectives, oscillating between completeness and incompleteness in order to exchange them) (6-7, 10-7, 22-6). I wish to demonstrate that the *viviente* is a kind of person in this way. Nevertheless, for Strathern (2018), the “partible person” entails going beyond the “relational person”, namely individuals connected to one another. For the author, sociality and intersubjectivity may carry the society/individual dualism with them, while the partible person avoids the “individual” as pre-

existing any relation (241, 244). If our notion of the *viviente* differs from the “relational person” is one of the issues addressed in the Conclusions. As noted above, and whatever kind of relationality the *viviente* involves, their condition as an autonomous entity with an inner, confusing self is an important question.

As noted, the person cannot be if not historical, and in this thesis I address the history of the *viviente* in many ways. For Christina Toren (2005), the constitution of persons and of ideas develops not as an externality but from relations between people and between people and their medium; that is, “microhistorically”. Persons come to be in pre-given settings of social relations and meanings but also act and innovate upon them, allowing the living person to reproduce both continuity and change (60-2). Toren (2019) proposes that what is at play is a “*self-producing transformational system that has sociality at its core*” (1), an autopoiesis of persons as both the subjects and objects of social relations, of meaning and of their inherent history. Persons become who they are in an environing world alongside other persons, and there is nothing analytically prior to this processual development (39-44). Throughout this thesis, I assume that relations between the *viviente* and the lived world of confusion operate in this same way: personhood is constituted as *vivientes* relate to the environing world, to others and to themselves, reproducing multiple borders through practice and thought and the transformational continuity of all relations and meanings.

The last point I want to make about personhood relates to the “self”, to the experience of being oneself. Part of this ethnography is concerned with how the confusing state of the world affects the *vivientes*, driving them towards fear, anxiety, loneliness and madness. I describe these afflictions as an “inwardness” of the person, an isolation from social, environmental and historical relations that drives the *vivientes* towards dissolution. Because my approach is relational, the person and the self cannot be discrete, pre-existent entities: they are relational themselves, produced and transformed within a structuring of relations (or “borders”) that constitutes a lived world. Indeed, the distinction between the person as constituted by relations and the self as “inner life” would be only analytical: the self constitutes itself through meanings made by others, and persons require of a self in order to posit the uniqueness that allows innovating upon them (Toren 2005, 61). So, at least from a Colditan point of view, the self and the *viviente* are related, amounting to an inwards border that is never stable and that both reflects and is reflected upon the borders of the world.

Nevertheless, and because of my experience in Coldita, I do believe there is something ungraspable or irreducible about “*what goes inside*” (Lienhardt 1999, 145): an “unclear” limit that is partially thematized when addressing the self in relation to the *viviente* as a person. According to Martin Hollis (1999), there is an “elusiveness” to the relation between the person and the self: they are partially in “tension”, and are thus not reducible to one another. So, even if there is no such thing as a “pure” ungraspable self, the inwardness of a person stands at a blurred place that makes them the object of specific thematizations (217-231). For Michael Carrithers (1999), and whatever the social might be (which he equates to the “collective”), it cannot “translate” everything relating to the inner life of persons, to the “*human being alone*” (248). This makes sense in Coldita, as Colditans struggle to maintain their *viviente* condition ongoing, within borders and against the perils of loneliness in a haunted world. We are again confronted with the “relational person” suggested by Strathern: is the *viviente* relationality one

between relations themselves? Or is it rather between selves as persons? How is that relationality structures lived experience in Coldita? I will consider this in the Conclusions.

As noted, this thesis describes the paradoxical belonging of the *viviente* to the bordered/bordering *campos* where they dwell. *Vivientes* produce both the borders of the world and the possibility for their cancellation, including that of their own conditions of personhood. My argument is that Colditan places, the *campos*, reflect something uncanny to those who feel that they belong to them -- their ungraspable origin. This is because *campos*, and thus people, are constituted from an initial state where “nothing” existed, and to which they can always revert: by means of opening, maintaining and inhabiting *campos*, the *viviente* reproduces the conditions that make confusion possible. This is where the concept of autochthony becomes relevant: work makes *vivientes* feel that they belong to a *campo* because they were raised or born in it, or because they opened it with their respective families. But places are not so transparent, and they don’t only reflect personal memories and familiarity: Colditan *campos* are made of overlapping borders that reflect confusion. Belonging to a place is necessary for the *viviente* to exist, but it also entails dangers, given that the *vivientes* must constitute themselves from a bordered/bordering world. This state of sameness or of a lack of differentiation dwells within *vivientes*. It follows that *vivientes* cannot be or feel absolutely autochthonous, belonging in an unmediated fashion to a *campo*. In such a belonging, they would let the environment dilute over the *campos* and be turned in on themselves, lonely and mad, which is a dangerous affair. But escaping this unmediated relation to place is also dangerous: relating to the environment and to others, even if necessary, involves risks of its own.

At this point, I ground my discussion in a famous essay from Claude Lévi-Strauss, “The Structural Study of Myths”, where he interpreted the Oedipus myth. Lévi-Strauss (1963) suggests that this tale copes with the cultural, universal issue of being born from blood relations (a man and a woman) or from the earth, that is, autochthony. Being born from the earth is a “theory”, an ideal of belonging held by many peoples. But empirically, human beings can attest that they are born from a man and a woman, and thus from kin. The problem “*cannot be solved: born from one or born from two? Born from different or born from same?*” (216). Therefore, autochthony describes a belonging of the self to place that is equal to a belonging of the self to itself and not to others. It is generalized loneliness and enclosure. What interests me here is that, according to Lévi-Strauss, and even though being born from the earth is a mythologically desirable trope (as the origin of humanity, for example), it is common for those mythological figures who were born this way being depicted as physically flawed: being autochthonous means being devoid of those characteristics that allow persons to develop. But belonging to the land is essential: the earth gives food; it gives a place to live and so forth. So autochthony must be escaped but it cannot be so, given that a nurturing, “true origin” must pre-exist kinship. This “*contradiction*” between “*experience*” and “*theory*” nevertheless confirms the cosmology in social life, given that social experience and the myth share that same contradiction of being insurmountable.

In sum, even though it must be escaped because of the flaws it entails, avoiding a deep, unmediated belonging to the land would be cosmological self-destruction. There would be no sense of belonging at all. A drive to self-sameness lingers in social life. In Tveo Coldita, this “being flawed” of autochthony refers to loneliness, an incapacity to keep work ongoing amidst overall madness. But relating outwards to the moving environment and to others involves

corresponding dangers. It reproduces the lingering reversal of the world that is anchored in the *campos*. In this sense, an absolute, stable relation of *vivientes* with their own *campos* is unattainable. It would entail closing or radically clearing, cancelling or “completing” the lived world of confusion that makes the unstable *viviente* personhood possible. I argue that Colditan experience is determined by the paradox of autochthony: the *viviente* opens *campos* to dwell in, belonging to them by means of work and social relations, but that same belonging reproduces confusion at the same time, due to the dangers of autochthonous dissolution.

This lingering, unmediated belonging takes us to the “uncanny”, to the haunting of the Colditan lived world of confusion where attaining personhood is the aim. It emerges both inwards and outwards from *campos* and *vivientes*, and from an unspeakable, dangerous origin of things: a world without *campos* and without *vivientes*, a non-world where loneliness, an inwardness of the self, is unleashed. James Siegel (2006) defines the uncanny as a point where “everything relates to everything”. Sameness is an excess of meaning that witches seize to affect others, turning them isolated and alone. Similarly, Jeanne Favret-Saada (1980) relates the uncanny to the fear of odd details, to repetition of things and events. It is the force of sameness that witches deploy to affect their victims. It is also useful to consider Martin Heidegger’s (2019) descriptions of anxiety as a fundamental state of the person. In anxiety, that which is very close, the being-in-the-world itself, is both accessed and foreclosed. This closeness corresponds to a sameness of the self with the self where a person does not feel “at home”. This ontological state is always “at the back” of the person, and cannot be resolved, only avoided.

But it was Sigmund Freud (1919) who described the uncanny in more detail. For him, the uncanny amounts to a feeling caused by that which lies hidden in the close or the familiar, something that is repressed in the original constitution of the person’s psyche. It is expressed as a confrontation with a primordial “double”, a “same” that emerges in certain situations, producing anxiety. In this sense, I treat the uncanny as the sameness, lack of differentiation or confusion already referred, an excess of meaning, an unthematized origin lingering “at the back” of the *viviente*’s being. The problem continuously returns: the *campos*, and the *viviente*, have their origin in an environmental, social and overall mythological sameness or the lack of differentiation between borders that repeats itself as social life unfolds. In relating to the lived world of confusion, the *vivientes* are confronted with and reproduce the uncanny, that which is hidden “in plain sight” within themselves and in their *campos*. It is in this sense that confusion lies at the very background of the Colditan lived world, and this is why I suggest that we consider confusion as a form of the uncanny, or an expression of it.

The connections between the main concepts of this thesis (*viviente*, confusion and autochthony) will be described through local notions of space and time, signally the space-time of myth. While space relates to the *viviente*’s endless engagement with the environment, with others and with themselves, time relates to a sense of history. Colditans employ a “model of time” that defines their present as a constant dealing with events and memory, and as a “clearance” that attempts to create borders with a mythicized past. It is within this model that the dead or “*antiguos*” (the “ancients”) exist, emerge from and menace current *viviente*’s belonging. *Antiguos* achieve this through their deadly attraction for the living and through their co-constitution with contemporary *vivientes*. At the same time, the model defines the present as bordering with a future that has been at least partially determined beforehand by these same *antiguos*. This

means that the *viviente* is unstable in time also, given that the present is assailed by what *vivientes* try to keep outside their temporal borders. Those *antiguos* that stand at the limit of the Colditan imagined temporality are the Chono, a nomadic, seafaring people that dwelt to the north and south of Chiloé and that are now considered extinct. Because of their nomadic ways and their reluctance to stay anywhere for too long, the Chono represent a radical expression of autochthony and confusion.

As suggested, the ethnographic analysis presented in this thesis is informed by a key myth connected to the lived world of confusion, giving it its mythic form. Our myth is a Chilote version of the Mapuche narration universally known as “Trengr-Trengr and Kay-Kay Vilú”. The version I draw on here was written down in the 1960’s by the Chilote Indigenous leader José Santos Lincoman. Lincoman’s rendering connects both the spatial and temporal dimensions already referred, constituting what I call a “mythic schema” along other local versions of this same myth. The symbolical elements or materials of this schema include a catastrophe caused by improper behaviour; the excessive movements of the tide and of the land, and the pervasiveness of the forest; the isolation of families in promontories and the despairing sacrifice of kin to the sea; the creation of an insular landscape. A lonely, bereft mad man is left roaming by the shores; someone who embodies the possibility of migrating elsewhere, of reconstituting social bonds across a broken world. Throughout all of the chapters, this myth will serve as an analogue to the Colditan lived world of confusion and to the problem of autochthony.

Lastly, the final chapters discuss the tradition/modernity dyad, which scholars have often deployed when addressing the history of the Archipelago of Chiloé. I suggest that the relation of the *viviente* with their own history, by means of the “emplacement” (Austin-Broos 2009) of different events, entails innovating ways of addressing temporality. These forms of relating to time, which I call “mythification”, depend on the elements of the mythic schema. In the Conclusions, I consider if Colditans could have had a sense of the conditions of their own extinction for a long time. The problem is if the concept of acculturation, and the tradition/modernity dyad, could be dismissing notions of space, time and abandonment, of relating to events and of evincing history. This question will be framed within the already mentioned context of heavy modernization of the archipelago during the last four decades, and within the concomitant abandonment of Coldita island. Lincoman’s myth will be essential to reach an answer, especially the figure of the man roaming the shores of an island world that, after a sea-land catastrophe, has to be traversed and opened again.

2. Tweo Coldita



Figure 2: Map of Coldita and its surroundings³.

The Williche Indigenous community of Tweo Coldita is located at the northern section of the Coldita island, south of the Archipelago of Chiloé. It belongs to the Quellón commune of the Chiloé province, and to the Los Lagos Region of Chile. Nevertheless, Colditans do not only inhabit the island but also the southern coast of the biggest, main island of the archipelago. I refer to the latter as Isla Grande (Big Island), or as Coldita Isla Grande. Coldita island and Coldita Isla Grande are separated by a very narrow canal, also called Coldita⁴. In the northern portion of this canal, where Tweo Coldita is, the tide is so strong, and the sea so low, that a causeway between the two halves of the community emerges twice a day of the community around the La Mora islet. Low-sea trails (*“senderos de bajamar”*), made by the constant walking of Colditans, help a person avoiding the silt of the low tide, traversing from one side to the other or walking along the shores. When the tide is high, Colditans use their boats and motor-boats to visit neighbours, to cross the canal or to travel to the closest city, Quellón. No public roads exist between Coldita Isla Grande and the rest of Chiloé, and so transportation is made by sea. Colditans follow these strong tides on a daily basis. They determine the days for sowing, the places for anchoring boats, the walks from one house to the other, the proper time for mollusc gathering and fishing or the proper days for cutting down a tree.

³ Google Earth screenshot, modified by the author.

⁴ In Tweo Coldita, it is 300 metres wide at its narrowest point, and 1.6 kilometres at its widest.

Coldita's landscape is one of sea, land and forests. In Coldita Isla Grande, a dense Valdivian rainforest still covers the mountain ranges despite the industrial timber endeavours of the 1980's (at Puerto Carmen) and islanders' own firewood cutting. In Coldita island, the rainforest is sparser. When connecting Coldita island's households to electricity, an enormous road across the forested island was opened and several poles were placed, all of which involved deforestation. Colditans live dispersed. Each group of two to four houses, most of them related by kin, is hidden from the others by hedgerows and growing patches of forest. Lands of differing sizes, cleared from the forest, can be spotted here and there at both sides of the canal, between the mountains and the tide and often close to the shores. Some of these lands have been abandoned, lost in higher grounds within the vegetation, as their owners migrated to Quellón or elsewhere. Colditans often say that, in the past, more and bigger *campos* were cleared and laboured, but that the *monte* has grown again. From a distance, Colditans can easily identify older *campos* on the brink of collapsing under the forests, who were their owners, who lived there and what did they do.

Colditans engage in various productive activities described locally as work: clearing of *campos* through slash and burn; agriculture (especially potatoes for self-supply, selling and exchange); cattle farming (cows, sheep and pigs for meat) and poultry farming (hens, geese and ducks, for meat and eggs); shellfish (mainly clams and mussels⁵, relatively meagre) and algae collection (*luche* and *luga*⁶); horticulture (infusion and medicinal herbs, spices, garlic, beans and vegetables); boat fixing; transport; touristic services; fishing (mainly *robalo* and *pejerrey*⁷) and crab⁸ fishing with traps; timber and firewood cutting; and crafts, mainly made by women. Many Colditans are seasonally employed in aquaculture centres operated by non-Colditans in the Coldita canal. The canal is filled with "lines" ("*líneas*"), floating strings from which "collectors" (*colectores*), pieces of nylon net, hang. These can be used both for the collection of mussel seeds and for growing mussels. Some Colditan families have placed their own. Selling and exchanging products and work is common within Coldita. The economic strategies of islanders are based on the cooperation between kin and friends: a balance between money, self-supply and exchange of work and products, in close relation to the city.

Two Coldita is an "Indigenous community" in a very strict sense. First, Coldita has historically comprised a single territory since several families began to arrive at the island from the north, probably from the mid-19th century or earlier. Starting around the 1900's and until the 1970's, different "*capillas*" (chapels)⁹ were built both in Coldita island and in Coldita Isla Grande. In Chiloé, *capillas* have entailed the formation of a "community" around them. Two Coldita is located around the Oratorio *capilla*, built at the island.

⁵ *Mytilus chilensis* and *Venus antiqua*.

⁶ *Ulva Lactuca* and *Gigartina skottsbergii*.

⁷ *Eleginops maclovinus* and *Basilichthys australis*.

⁸ *Cancer edwardsi*.

⁹ A common population distribution pattern in Chiloé from Colonial times. A *capilla* was built by missionaries amongst a very dispersed group of people, usually by the shores and surrounded by empty houses that were only used during religious festivities. In time, some of these *capillas* became proper towns, while others (like Coldita) maintained its dispersed distribution (Saavedra 2014).

Also, starting from the mid-20th century and especially during the 1980's, Indigenous Colditans have fought for their lands under the eaves of the General Council of Caciques¹⁰ of Chiloé, created during the 1930's. Its main mission has been the reclaiming of the Indigenous lands stolen by the Chilean republic in 1900. By general rule, these lands or "*fundos*" were bought by Indigenous people in colonial times, but were not recognized by the nascent nation-state of Chile. When Timoleon De La Taille, the Fundo Coldita's legal owner in the 1980's, tried to evict Colditans from their lands, Tweo Coldita became politically organized, and remains so to this day under Chilean law.

So when I say "Tweo Coldita Indigenous community" I am referring, first and foremost, to an organized indigenous group, in which the majority of its members are kin to each other. This is the organization that I first contacted to do fieldwork. It includes inhabitants of the northwestern partialities of Blanchard (on the Isla Grande), Oratorio (facing Blanchard, on the island side) and La Mora, in the coastal middle of Coldita. All of them live by the narrowest and shallowest section of the Coldita canal that separates the Isla Grande from Coldita island. Second, I am talking about a territory and a community that became organized around a *capilla* in the 1900's, and that belongs to a portion of the *fundo*. This territory goes from Puerto Carmen to the north (where the timber companies operated) to the La Mora island and the Tweo river to the south (hence the name of the community), including both sides of the canal. Not only Indigenous people live in this space, but also descendants of non-Indigenous *vivientes*. Even though my focus was on the Indigenous community of Tweo Coldita, and on this specific portion of the *fundo*, this group of people does not limit itself to legal or administrative boundaries. This means that my ethnography will sometimes refer to non-Indigenous people and especially to the Piedra Blanca Indigenous community (to the south of the canal), with which I was also acquainted.

The Tweo Coldita Indigenous community is comprised of around twenty families. The census of 2017 counted 69 people living in the territory comprising Oratorio, Blanchard and the La Mora sectors, but this does not account for the floating population that comes and goes from Quellón to Tweo Coldita. I believe that they amount to around 20 people, both adults and children. Coldita island and Coldita Isla Grande have many more inhabitants. The eastern coast of the island, called Punta Paula and known for its mostly non-Indigenous population, amounted to 55 people in this same census. The Piedra Blanca Indigenous community is home to 64 residents, most of them indigenous, while the locality of Quemay has 30 residents¹¹. Thus, the territory of Coldita has around 240 people, dispersed in a territory of around 50,000 hectares.

Colditans have had a strong relationship with Quellón since its foundation. In the 1980's, extractivist neoliberalism transformed Quellón into a home for aquaculture, small-scale fishery and fish processing industries, retail shops and sprawling neighbourhoods. Urban migration increased steadily. In 1982, urban population in the commune was of a 34,3%, reaching a 65,7% in 2017¹². An undetermined number of these new residents came from outside of Chiloé,

¹⁰ Indigenous leader. Nevertheless, the most common term in Mapuche and Williche Indigenous communities in Chile is *lonko*.

¹¹ Censo 2017.

¹² Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) (1982, 2018), Consulted on the 28th of October of 2021. https://www.bcn.cl/siit/reportescomunales/comunas_v.html?anno=2017&idcom=10208

searching for the jobs that this industrial, port city had to offer. An also undetermined number of residents came from nearby islands, looking to settle in town. Quellón is a poor city. 13,2% of households are poor in income, surpassing both the country (8,6%) and the Los Lagos region (11,7%). In “multidimensional poverty”¹³, Quellón is 23 points over its income poverty, reaching a 36,2% of households. Indeed, islanders, including Colditans, have been moving to a port city where life is particularly harsh. Cash flow is abundant, and fishers would usually spend their money in alcohol and drugs before sailing again. Salmon aquaculture’s insufficient wages, industrialization and engagement with unregulated, multinational companies and the global market has produced low quality housing; lacklustre services (health, sewerage and electricity) and low-income inhabitants. Urbanites have been forced to occupy risk zones, too close to processing plants and the coast. Moreover, during the last forty years, the environment has been polluted and sea resources ravaged, forcing urban migrations further.

In 1997, a law mandating that all children must complete high-school was approved. As there are no high-schools in smaller islands, many families decided to live in Quellón to see for their children. Because motorboats had become widespread in recent years, travel became easier, taking Colditans around an hour and a half to get from Tweo Coldita to the city. And so, during the 1990’s and the 2000’s, they begun to migrate to the city or to live in both places at the same time. They were looking for income and steady jobs, and still are. They seek to improve their quality of life and have access to modern goods and technology. Decades ago, Colditans went to Quellón to barter their products, but would not stay there. Nowadays, many Colditans have a permanent house in town. Some seldom return to their lands in the island, while others go back and forth. Younger islanders are inclined to stay at the city, finishing regular education in order to get qualified jobs. They are generally not educated at Coldita by their families, and thus will not learn many of the economic activities that are necessary to live in a *campo*. As in the rest of Chiloé, a generational gap widens, and a sense of abandonment pervades.

3. Other general notions

To better frame this thesis, let me present some other notions that are put at play throughout the chapters.

This thesis is very much inspired by Peter Gow’s work, especially “Of Mixed Blood” (1991). In this book, Gow described how, for the Piro of the Bajo Urubamba, history is a long process where blood mixing, the production of people and the constitution of places between the forest and the river are intertwined through kinship relations. As blood gets mixed between different families and groups over time, the Piro believe that they are distancing themselves from a past in which they were not civilized, that is, when they did not live in proper settlements but in the forests.

Gow also addressed the concept of “work”, describing it as the means by which kin and non-kin relate to one another to produce food and a community in a certain space. These local notions

¹³ Access to health, education and to basic services like sewerage and drinking water. It also considers nutrition, quality of houses and of jobs and overall quality of life (UNDP 2021).

of history allowed Gow to make an incisive critique of the concept of acculturation. If the Piro have such a complex concept of history, concomitant to the production of persons, how can we just dismiss it when so-called external events are imposed onto them? In “A Myth and its History”, where he described how a specific Piro myth thematizes relations between different kinds of people in the present, Gow suggested that interpreting native people’s history as if beginning with the conquest denies us the possibility of learning how they themselves conceptualize events in their own way. Gow followed Lévi-Strauss’ *Mythologiques* closely: native peoples of the Americas (or elsewhere) have a history of millennia that we cannot fully access by historiographic means. Ethnography and myth, as non-historiographic ways of structuring time in symbolic terms in the present, can be gates to approach how natives understand their own history (Gow 2001; Lévi-Strauss 1969, 1-32).

This thesis addresses very similar topics to those described by Gow in his ethnography. The opening of Colditan places between the forest and the sea; the relations to other *vivientes* through work; the reliance on a myth to illuminate how Colditans conceptualize space and history; blood understood as a mixing of substances; and the problem of acculturation (our tradition/modernity dyad) were all inspired by his work. Gow (1991) suggested that what is important to the Piro in the production of people and history is life. Nevertheless, he does refer to the complicated relation between the Piro and the dead. Places where persons have died are generally avoided, and those who are close to dying relate more to their ancestors than to other living people (179-83). Even so, the Piro seem to be less interested in the dead than in the living. In this thesis, more than the production of life in the opening of *campos* and in kinship, I am interested in the *viviente’s* instability, their falling towards madness and loneliness, their constant efforts to belong. Following the thread left by Gow, the idea of people becoming alone, close to the dead and thus to something dangerous is one of my starting points. In a way, while Gow was concerned about how local notions of history played out against acculturation, in this thesis I question if local notions of space, history and of the person could not entail historical and mythological notions of their own dissolution. This adds to the literature on personhood exposed above: I will argue that the Colditan *viviente* not only holds notions about relational development of persons, but also of the self as difficult to grasp.

I also find it necessary to further explain my use of the concept of “confusion”. It is certainly a very generic word both in English and in Spanish, and could be considered too innocuous. I decided to use it after being told that I was “*totalmente confundido*”, “completely confused”, by a Colditan friend: unable to speak properly, assailed by an excess of thought, erratic, sad or even depressed. Colditans would use the word in specific cases where I thought it had a very deep meaning, as in confusion in people’s minds or confusion spread by other *vivientes*. Thus, I decided to turn it into a central concept in the argument of this thesis, despite the risk of it sounding too familiar. Maybe it is because of this familiarity that the uncanny can be derived from it. As I see it, Colditans employ “confusion” to describe the effect of things coming too close, be it environmental elements, events, people or that which lies within any person; that is, as a way of addressing the encroachment of visible and invisible borders, and therefore the threat of a suppression of differentiation.

I also need to explain what I mean by “borders”. The main reason for using this concept is that I was very impressed by Coldita’s tide: it draws a limit for the sea, distinguishing it from the land.

But this limit is not a limit as such, given how strongly and constantly moves, transforming the Colditan space in a similar way to the *renuevo*. I chose the word “border” because it entails this possibility of being overlapped or overflowed. As I will argue, the tide, as a border, mediates this world and is mediated by it, putting various elements or dimensions together, both distancing and bringing them close. It can also be said that “border” entails “*relations between other relations*”, between “conjunctions” and “disjunctions” (Lévi-Strauss 1990, 189-90), and thus a mutual effecting between the dimensions at play. Another way of considering borders is the concept of the “chiasmatic” (Wagner 2019): the point at which self-differentiation unfolds by means of a proximity/distance dyad that makes symbols co-constitutive, relational. Thus, a border is the chiasmatic, ungraspable “between” relations of conjunction and disjunction, between dimensions that can be rendered too close or too distant.

Therefore, I consider borders as permeable boundaries between different elements or dimensions of the lived world of confusion, be they environmental (the tide, the moon, the forest, the *campos*); social (the distances between *campos*, the timing for having conversations, the need for working with others); personal (the *viviente*’s body and mind); or even invisible or supernatural (the dead, *the* spirits, the powers of witches, strange creatures roaming the territory). These borders share a materiality and tend to approach and meld with one another, and thus to mediate or affect each other in various ways. In very general terms, these effects involve relations of affinity, as described, for example, by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2010): what two entities have in common is that which differentiates them (166-75) (for instance, the intertidal zone between land and sea). This means that differences can only be achieved from an undercurrent of undifferentiated proximity pre-existing those entities. For Viveiros de Castro (2018), there is a “*hierarchical encompassment (...) of resemblance by difference*” in native Amazonia (380). Something similar happens in the Colditan lived world of confusion, although reversed: difference is ever reproduced through borders and the *viviente*’s work, in tandem with an uncanny sameness that filters through every relation. Or, paraphrasing Joanna Overing (1986), the lived world of confusion is made of “*the coming together of unlike beings*” (137), affinal and dangerous to each other. In Coldita, this danger amounts to confusion caused by the melding of borders, as they reproduce not only difference but also their original lack of differentiation. But, as already noted and probably contrasting with Viveiros de Castro or Overing’s descriptions, I believe that, for Colditans, it is this lack of differentiation or sameness that lingers dangerously in the background.

So I consider that *vivientes*, in their social, physical, historical and internal life, are ever-attempting to maintain distances between borders ongoing from the very moment that they are made to emerge in this given enviroing setting. This is done by mediating these border’s mutual effects and by actualizing and innovating on the available meanings. At the same time, mediation is achieved, and also fails, through work and social bonds; that is, through both engaging and producing the world of confusion.

As noted in the first section, mediation is made from Colditan *campos*, making it necessary to be a bit more clear about the concept of place. I base myself in Keith Basso’s (1996) famous notion: that place is there where meaning is both instilled and reflected to those for whom that place is meaningful, positioning the person in a shared world. I think that Basso’s concept is a good starting point. Nevertheless, one of the key points of this thesis is that places are not

necessarily transparent in their meanings, but that they might reflect confusion. Places do not only hold those things that are familiar but also those that might be dangerous.

Another concept that I want to introduce from the start is mythification. As mentioned, essential to this thesis is a version of the Mapuche myth of Treng-Treng and Kay-Kay Vilú, told by Lincoman and also by a Colditan friend, Nancy Nehue. I consider that Lincoman's myth constitutes a "mythical schema" for Colditans: a set of meanings, attitudes and perceptions linked to symbolical materials that are deployed in inventive, embodied ways ("emplacement"). Catastrophes such as earthquakes and floods, along the tide, the *monte*, migration, the Chono people, witchcraft and loneliness, are all elements that Colditans historically employ to relate to the environment, to others, to events, to the dead, to themselves and thus to autochthony, making the lived world of confusion, and personhood, emerge in both continuity and change. In this ethnography, I consider myth and time as Lévi-Strauss did (1963). Myths comprise a synchronic or structural time, a diachronic or narrative time and also an absolute time that is cosmologically expressed in the structuring of the present and in moral behaviour. This absoluteness of time functions in narrational contexts where historiographic temporality is suppressed or re-referenced, as to give it an order and a meaning (196). I will also consider myth from a geographical point of view. By acknowledging, with Lévi-Strauss also (1990), that myths structure the cosmos in the realm of symbols, and that this cosmos is made of vertical and horizontal mediations (earth and sky, land and water), I address Lincoman's myth from the perspective of the tide, as it horizontally mediates a mythological catastrophe in time and space by covering and uncovering the world; that is, by moving its dangerous border and repeating the menace of confusion that lies within this mythicized world.

4. Chiloé topics

As already noted, the Tweo Coldita Indigenous community is a Williche community. It would therefore belong to the Mapuche people of south of Chile. Nevertheless, this thesis does not engage in depth with Indigenous political organization, or with how Colditans experience their indigenous identity. I do not necessarily consider the lived world of confusion as eminently 'indigenous'—except in as much as autochthony is experienced as a problem that is central to Colditan notions of personhood.

Today, it is not prudent to delve into indigenous adscription in Chiloé, given the political ethnic landscape of the archipelago. As Tomás Catepillán (2023) notes, recently the Major Council of Caciques and Communities of Chiloé, a group that split from the General Council, claimed that indigenous identity in Chiloé is "Veliche" and specific to the archipelago, instead of Mapuche. There was a failed attempt to approve a law to bring this into effect in Congress. Moreover, the Major Council asked the Los Lagos University to conduct a study that would justify their claims. This study began in 2018, raising eyebrows because of the apparent connection between the University and the attempted law. The University apologized publicly, clarifying that it had not been involved in any attempts to pass the law.

Writing about indigenous identity in Chiloé would entail taking a political stand. But the Indigenous history of Chiloé is complex, given the hold that the Spaniards had over the

archipelago, the close relation between Indigenous people of Chiloé with the Crown by the end of the 18th century, the theft of indigenous land by the Chilean state in 1900, the role of continental Williche in helping to shape new indigenous organizations in the Archipelago and so forth. At the same time, Colditans do not adhere to their indigenous identity only. In my experience, they say that they are both Indigenous, Williche, Mapuche, Chilote, Chilean and even Chono. So ethnicity as political representation of the Indigenous is not nearly the only way in which Colditans consider themselves to be.

Also, it is not at all clear that the *viviente* concept is an Indigenous one. In Coldita, non-Indigenous people would also employ it. As I argue in Chapter 4, it is likely that the concept comes from migrations within the Chiloé area of influence, starting around early 19th century. If it were Indigenous people that first began to migrate in this way, thus adopting the word, it cannot be elucidated from the available data. As far as I know, the concept is quite spread between Osorno and the Aysén region, where Chilotes travelled or lived.

The only other author that seriously addressed the *viviente* was Phillipe Grenier in his famous book “Chiloé et les chilotes”, although somewhat sparsely. Grenier said that the *viviente* is similar to the “*occupier*”, namely those who live in a land not as colonists or pioneers but as “*défricheurs*”. Thus, the word seems to describe the people who transform a forested land into arable land¹⁴. Although this is the only clear-cut definition Grenier gives of the *viviente* during the Chiloé of the 1970’s, other interpretations of his can be linked to it.

Grenier (1984) suggested that Chiloé was a “*pays*”, a country with its people and thus with a landscape, although an “incomplete landscape” at that. This incompleteness comes from a comparison with Grenier’s natal France, specifically the French “*bocage*”, the countryside. At the same time, Chiloé would be a continuous “*rivage*”, a coastline, because Chilotes had been unable to abandon their colonial spaces of habitation between forest and sea. This would also mean that Chilotes had not achieved the substantial clearing of the hills allegedly necessary to live inland. It is in this sense that the Chilote landscape would be incomplete: islanders are confronted with a “*marge incertain*” of a forest that has not been tamed. The incomplete landscape is put against a “*paysage de forêt primitive*” that is intact or empty because of the technical incapacities of the inhabitants of the archipelago. Given that there are two landscapes at play, Grenier declares that the landscape of Chiloé is “*perpétuellement inachevé*” (28-9). For Grenier, the “real” landscape must be the European one: because the forest is “empty”, no relevant intervention has been made so as to shape it through human means.

A first conclusion that can be derived from this is that *viviente* is not an indigenous concept exclusively, but a Chilote one. It can also be said that, for Grenier, the Chilote *vivientes* have tried to transform their landscape into a *pays*, but failed¹⁵. In contrast, I do not think that Colditan

¹⁴ I am grateful to my friend and scholar, Javier Cortés, for this and other translations from Grenier’s book.

¹⁵ A contemporary author that has interpreted Chiloé from the perspective of landscape is the anthropologist Francisco Ther. For him, landscape depends on a socially constructed and transformative process (the “territory”) defined by variable temporalities and differing experiences. A landscape would be a perspective specific to any given territory (such as Chiloé’s), giving meaning to its forms and movements: it is a “mental image” that integrates psychological, social and biological features, from the position of human beings. In tandem with perception, landscape also emerges from specific social

vivientes relate to a “landscape”. When working in their *campos* and at sea, Colditan *vivientes* do not perceive a landscape but rather endlessly overlapping, interacting borders. Peter Gow (1995) suggested that, in the Bajo Urubamba, landscape is something difficult to think about, given the density of the forest and the impossibility for distant observation (44-5). The Piro experience “landscape” as social relations that have produced a lived world. In this sense, the Piro would be “implicated” in the landscape, which is the same as to say that it is this kinship that the Piro “see” when they address it (49-56). I would go a little bit further than this. From a *viviente* point of view, there is no landscape at all but a lived world of confusion. Grenier missed the point: the *viviente* would not fathom to clean all of the forest, to subvert its uncertain margin. This would entail making the world of borders disappear. He also left the tide outside of his argument¹⁶.

That the *viviente* concept is (probably) a Chilote one does not mean that I dismiss Mapuche influences completely. First, the Treng-Treng and Kay-Vilú myth is a Mapuche myth. My interpretation of it as a geographical narration that relates to the constitution of a lived world of confusion, the Chono people, migration, loneliness and overall autochthony, could be of use to other researchers interested in Mapuche mythology. As it will be suggested in Chapter 1, the continental versions of this myth usually describe a world where, after a terrible catastrophe, the seas that flooded the lands returned to their original levels. Chilote versions, in line with the archipelago’s characteristics, suggest that the waters never receded: Chiloé is a flooded world, an archipelago indeed. One could speculate that the Treng-Treng and Kay-Kay Vilú myth operates geographical torsions, so to speak, within the Mapuche world: when we approach the archipelago from the north, the geographical and historical materials that narrators employ begin to differ.

Another possible issue comes from an overarching reality in Chiloé: the generational gap. Not too many people live in Coldita anymore, there are close to no children at local schools and the young generally live in Quellón, working or attending regular education. Many of the young have not experienced life in Coldita in a permanent fashion, and many of them do not even use the word *viviente* anymore. So it could be argued that this thesis centres too much on “old” ways of living, customs and beliefs, and not in present processes of change. As described in Chapter 4, many researchers consider the 1980’s as a turning point for the archipelago, the beginning of

networks and embodied tasks within specific socio-ecological settings, producing “differentiated landscapes” in the same territories. As such, landscape is a dynamic, socio-environmental space-time phenomena. Although I believe this is a valid theoretical framework for describing territorial and socioenvironmental topics, I don’t think that Colditans think about landscape in this way, or that landscape is too relevant for them. See: Hidalgo et.al 2015. Also: “¡El Paisaje ha muerto! Reflexiones desde la antropología del territorio”, Master Lecture for the “Comisión de Patrimonio Cultural y Medio Ambiente” and the “Comisión de Comunicaciones del Colegio de Antropólogas y Antropólogos de Chile A.G”. 21 of January of 2021. At <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=93NH9rn7H7Y>

¹⁶ Several authors have followed on Grenier’s steps in interpreting Chilote culture as an “in between”, although from a “turn” to both the sea and rituality. They have described the *mestizo*, “traditional”, rural Chilote society with the concept “land-sea customary system” (“*consuetudinario*”). This system would connect persons to a certain equilibrium of the envioning world, and to one another, through expected social and cultural behaviour, including that towards the environment and non-human entities. Although I certainly refer an in-between, land-sea dwelling in Coldita, I do not consider equilibrium or the traditional to be relevant here. See Álvarez 2011; Skewes, J., Álvarez, R., & Navarro, M. 2012; Álvarez & Ther 2016.

the demise of “traditional” Chiloé. It follows that my descriptions of witches, working in the *campos* and so forth would belong to a world that is disappearing.

As already noted, I am not interested in acculturation but on local notions of change. As Colditans have engaged with modernizing processes for more than a century, and still do, different generations are raised in different ways and have learned different kinds of work. The generational gap, even if wide, is ongoing both historically and in how Colditans understand it. The young now live in the city, and have access to new goods and technologies. But, as I will show throughout this thesis, migrations to Quellón, and from elsewhere, have happened many times, and are thus at the core of Colditan autochthony. The tradition/modernity dyad has not much to say about Colditans’ own ways of narrating history, according to their own forms of memory and their own experience of time. If it is true that something is being lost forever, then this should be addressed from local notions.

In sum, the contribution of this thesis to contemporary ethnography in Chiloé is a description of a specific locality with a specific history, and with a specific, relational way of making persons, and historicity, emerge and dilute.

5. Ethnographical approach

My ethnographical approach is that everything that I describe in this thesis involves my attempt in representing the specific lived world that I experienced: that of Colditans. Following Peter Gow (1991), I consider the lived world as a “found situation”, namely that of an anthropologist and of those they relate to in a place and a time. It has concrete persons for whom it is meaningful, along with a concrete environment and concrete actions that unfold within it and that shape it (59). This is what my experience and descriptions refer to. I observed and participated of this lived world between November of 2018 and November of 2019. As Magnus Course (2011) defines it, my approach was “*ad hoc*” (9): I adapted the way in which I held conversations with people, the topics that I wanted to address, the places that I visited or the relations that I nurtured according to how my relationship with Colditans and the territory changed along the way.

This found situation in which Colditans and I related to each other had very specific characteristics. I entered the community through an agreement: the Tweo Coldita and Piedra Blanca communities allowed me to conduct fieldwork in their territory in exchange for my help with community issues¹⁷, especially the Lafkenche Law¹⁸. My most intense relation was with Felipe Llancahuen. He believed that our relationship was about work, because of how I had entered the territory. It was because of the unravelling of this friendship that Felipe, at the end

¹⁷ It was my friend, and long-time collaborator of the communities and of the General Council of Caciques, Raúl Espoz, who allowed this arrangement to go through.

¹⁸ A law that allows coastal Indigenous communities to apply for the exclusive administration of their coastal space or “Maritime Coastal Space of Aboriginal Peoples” (ECMPO, in Spanish). Tweo Coldita and Piedra Blanca teamed up to reclaim this space, but the application has been delayed for more than a decade by the Chilean state.

of my fieldwork, told me that I was “completely confused”. Also, it is probably because of this relation that this found situation guided me to the issue of work and confusion.

The concept of work might be interesting for ethnography, given that, in this context, it entails a relation to people and to the environment, and thus to knowledge. Work can be understood as a way of learning, which is what some Colditans expected me to do in order to fulfil the expectations of my promised support: to learn about them. They also questioned if I was genuinely able to learn or to conduct my work, *if* whatever I was doing was real “work”. According to Jacob Meløe (1988), learning something that is “true” entails observing what others do in their spaces of activity, and what others do is usually work, since it involves skilled activity in a delimited space-time. For Meløe, activities at sea, and other kinds of productive activities also, are taught from an experienced world. Meløe calls this “work”, which can only be properly conducted after learning about it within the environment. In turn, any given truth about this same environment can only be described through learning how a certain work operates, its different nuances and periodicities (389-393). This ethnography unfolds just like that: I was urged to learn about work, its effects on the environment and on people, in order to understand the community’s world and the *viviente’s* experience in the present. But this entailed a contradiction: my work was not their work. In fact, my work was not even proper work, because it had too much to do with thinking.

Lastly, and despite our different backgrounds, despite their being indigenous Chilotes and me a foreigner, both Colditans and I are Chileans, we speak Spanish and we have both lived our entire lives in Chiloé: we certainly have things in common. Nevertheless, the issues of confusion and work, words that I share with Colditans, took on a whole new light during fieldwork. To those involved in this “found situation”, whatever was common or the same between us appeared as strangely different, close but distant, even “uncanny”. I believe that this commonness was an asset for my learning of what the Colditan lived world of confusion looked like, even if I probably failed in doing so.

6. Structure of the thesis

Across the chapters, this thesis goes from the spatial (the lived world of confusion in its environmental, social and psychological borders) to the temporal (a history of Coldita and a Colditan model of time). Between space and time there is witchcraft as a transition between the two, given that witches make use of both place and time as forces to affect their victims.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the Colditan lived world of confusion in terms of a mythicized Colditan environment, constituted by borders between forest, land and sea, and especially by the tide and the *monte*. This is where the *viviente* unfolds in-between. First, it introduces my relationship with Felipe Llancahuen and a specific situation that inaugurates the issue of *campos* considered as places, and also those of work, loneliness and confusion. It will be suggested that work engages with the environment, leaving traces in it and allowing memory to emerge. This enables introducing an analysis of the myth of Treng-Treng and Kay-Kay Vilú, as it addresses a similar environment to that of Coldita. In turn, place and the lived world are defined. After this, the Colditan *viviente* as an entity placed within a lived world of confusion, and affected

by its borders through work, is deployed, informed by the elements or materials of the analysed myth. Lastly, the concept of mythical schema is proposed, as a frame for further descriptions in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the environmental borders of the lived world of confusion affecting the *viviente*, and thus with the borders constituting *vivientes* themselves: body and mind, and the inwards relation between them. It first defines what a proper *viviente* is expected to be, in terms of their capacity to have clear thoughts and a clear mind, devoid of confusion. This involves speech, namely to “*saber conversar*” (“knowing how to hold conversations”). In turn, the *viviente’s* ability to judge other’s capacity to “*entender*” (understanding), along their confusing mind states, is addressed. From here, the chapter further describes what work looks like. Overall, it will be defined as an unstable, adaptative multiplicity of tasks entailing a certain knowledge, namely “*saber trabajar*” (knowing how to work). Nevertheless, work is always incomplete, given that the opening of *campos* makes the borders that affect the *viviente* exist: a proper *viviente* cannot be achieved, and confusion is always propagated.

Then, the chapter addresses the effects of the multiplicity of borders within the person, produced by the environment. This is especially expressed in conflictive sentiments. The “*susto*” (scare), produced from the outside and made to lodge in the heart, will be discussed, specifically how is that it produces excessive thoughts, desperation and loneliness. The consequences of *susto* entail an inwardness that makes the *viviente* become diluted or cancelled out. Because work opens bordered/bordering *campos*, creating the lived world of confusion, these dangerous sentiments are inescapable. Then, the chapter turns to another characteristic of the lived world of confusion: blood in social relations, entailing a dangerous proximity between everyone (“we are all the same”) that produces specific effects across *vivientes* through confusion.

Chapter 3 addresses witchcraft. Witches engage with the borders of the lived world of confusion and drive *vivientes* inwards towards anxiety, loneliness and madness, that is, unbelonging and death. The chapter proposes that witchcraft is the reverse of work. By opening *campos* and relating to others, work allows witchcraft to operate as a tampering of the borders with which work engages, including the *viviente’s* body and mind. The chapter concerns with a specific witchcraft situation that will be relevant in following chapters: a strange entity or “thing” buried in a disputed *campo*. This “thing”, used by witches to turn people sick and mad, will be described as related to historical moments, namely land property and past *vivientes*. What the “thing” does is questioning the presence of *vivientes* in those places affected by it. The “thing” will also help us better understand how *campos*, or places in general, reflect something dangerous or confusing to those who feel that belong to them. The chapter introduces the concept of the uncanny more clearly, and confusion as a form or expression of it: witches “play”, so to speak, with the uncanny. They make a conflicted sense of “ownership” emerge, of belonging to oneself and to the *campos*; that is, autochthony as a paradox. Chapter 3 begins the transition towards the *viviente* and time, as witches utilize suppressed forces of history to attack.

Chapter 4 is the first chapter to fully address the issue of time, by describing an event after event history of Coldita and of the Tweo Coldita Indigenous community. It introduces the tradition/modernity dyad as it has been employed in Chiloé by scholars, and how is that acculturation may not be the better framework to address native ways of engagement with time. Then, it traces the historiographical trajectory of the Colditan *vivientes*, starting from an

initial migration from the north towards the island. The chapter describes several modernizing events with which Colditans have engaged during the last 120 years. The most important of these events is the migration that, around the 1950's, began to occur from Coldita island to Coldita Isla Grande, as families crossed the Coldita canal and settled in lands belonging to timber companies. This particular event will be paramount for the following chapters.

Chapter 5 describes a Colditan model of time, namely how is that Colditans engage, manage and inscribe the above events from their *campos*. It is mainly concerned with the issue of the *antiguos* as an essential part of this model. *Antiguos* exert their influence in the form of a force, that of confusion, over the *viviente's* present and future by standing for the limit of what is available, the collective Colditan experience of the past. The *vivientes* hold a co-constitutive, bordered/bordering relation with the *antiguos*. The *antiguos'* influence is described by means of their past dwellings in Colditan places, their forgotten beliefs and their closeness to witchcraft and to the uncanny. *Antiguos* drive the *vivientes* towards loneliness, madness and dissolution, because every *viviente* is, potentially, an *antiguo*, both alive and dead. The *antiguos* will also be shown as having effects over a recursive climate, similar to that described in the myth, and over current moral behaviour. Ultimately, the relation between *vivientes* and *antiguos* entails processes of mythification, as materials are drawn from the mythical schema. To trace the Colditan model of time in terms of mythification, the chapter also describes the concept of emplacement as the way by which *vivientes* inscribe events, including the *antiguos*, thus producing a bordered/bordering, unstable present. Mythification also involves invention, and therefore obviation and masking.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the relation between the *viviente*, the Colditan model of time and the most radical *antiguos* that Colditans can imagine: the Chono. The Chono are shown as the conceptual limit for the *antiguos* notion. The *vivientes* are threatened by the Chono presence in time and in space, that is, by the signs and traces left by them in the territory, and by a part of Colditan history that has been mythically suppressed: migration. Indeed, Colditans have not decided if they are Chono or not, and how is that the Chono historically relate to them. The Chono are within the *viviente's* self, and also at their outside; that is, very close and very distant. They thus represent the radical possibility of cancelation of the *viviente*, given their tendency to migration, their closeness to one another, the powers of their witchcraft and their disinterest in opening *campos* and in belonging. The Chono are an uncanny presence *par excellence*, and are at the core of the issue of the *viviente's* autochthony.

The chapter begins by introducing my friend David Peña, standing in front of his vessel after having built a "*rancha*" (a provisory hut) in a similar manner to that of the Chono, before beginning to clear a *campo*. Then, the Chono people are succinctly described and, in the following section, Colditan mythification of the Chono is addressed. Then, the chapter returns to one of the main traits of the Colditan lived world of confusion: the canal and the tide. It will be shown how, for Colditans, the canal is a main element for mythification. Its strong tide channels mythological materials that allow autochthony to emerge in relation to the issue of historical migration, and of being driven to a non-belonging. The Chono invention is essential for understanding this.

Having reached a deep understanding of the *viviente*, of the lived world of confusion that the *viviente* occupies, hence of Colditan autochthony, the conclusions will posit the question of the

viviente as a relational kind of personhood, especially through the thematization of the self and of autochthony running through this thesis. The conclusions also reassess the issues of migration, of historical abandonment and of acculturation through the tradition/modernity dyad. In light of the current state of affairs: is it fair to treat these phenomena as an external pressure over passive, enclosed subjects? Or do these space and time notions, this mythification, say something about the death of the *viviente*?

To finish this Introduction, I address two topics that have been left out: Colditan women and Neopentecostalism.

7. Colditan women

The reader might soon realize that this thesis does not differentiate between Two Colditan men and women's experiences of the world. It was, in part, a matter of scope: addressing this difference would have taken a considerable portion of the writing, and so I chose to leave it aside. But there is another reason. Paradoxically, many of my informants were women of different ages, but when they talked to me about *vivientes*, work, confusion, depression and myth they took a masculine point of view. Work at the *campos* and the sea, and feelings of loneliness, were usually described as male characteristics; that is, of men that ought to engage in work activities outside households, where women usually stay. In Coldita, the only well-defined kind of work that women do, one that transforms the environment at a distance from the house, is potato cultivation. As I see it, and as a very rough analysis, Colditan men are placed at the centre of the mythicized world of confusion, given that work, even though some women can also reproduce it, is one of the main means to relate to its borders and be affected by them. For instance, Colditan women have been more capable to relate to modernizing processes and to life in Quellón. They finish school, find jobs, marry outside the island, relate to new people and imagine their lives as improving. Meanwhile, many Colditan men fall into alcoholism and other addictions. A few commit suicide (I knew of three suicides, or attempted ones, while doing fieldwork) or become depressed. It could be the case that women are less interested in mythicized time, that of confusion and loneliness, and thus more able to engage with history as events to which a certain adaptation is needed. This does not mean that women do not feel confusion or loneliness, that they do not fear witchcraft or that they do not reflect on autochthony. It just means that, as *vivientes*, they seem to experience the lived world of confusion from a different border.

Another example: In Lincoman's version of the myth of "Trengr-Trengr...", a family man is left alone and mad by the shores of an island after a catastrophe; that is, abandoned and confused. Meanwhile, his wife takes the decision of sacrificing herself to the sea that is now flooding the world. From the perspective of the man, who is at the centre of the myth, this looks like suicide. But, if one could take the woman's perspective, it could be that she responds to the situation by trying to overcome the now fractured archipelago: not suicide, then, but an attempt to find another horizon. Nevertheless, in this thesis I do not address the issue of gender directly (with the exception of some paragraphs in Chapter 2). I have chosen to take a broader approach:

describing the Colditan experience of personhood and of autochthony in its most fundamental form, referred to me by both women and men as they enacted it differently but overall together.

8. Colditan Neopentecostal witchcraft

Lastly, I want to address another topic that I left out of the thesis: the difference between Catholic and Neopentecostal¹⁹ ways of addressing witchcraft in Coldita. As in the rest of Chiloé, Coldita has engaged with a centuries-old kind of Catholicism that is particular to the Archipelago: yearly processions around the local *capilla* with big feasts afterwards (the “*fiestas patronales*”) (Moreno 2010, 8), the adoration of local saints embodied in statues (“images”) and believed to be the saints themselves (“*santos patronos*”), or collective praying (“*novenas*”) (Bacchiddu 2009). At Coldita’s *capillas*, people gather to celebrate the locality’s *santos*, by means of festivities called “*fiestas de supremo*”. Each saint is celebrated in a different day, and each of them has a flag and a banner. After the mass, the flag and banner are taken out of the building by the family in charge of organizing the festivity. This family, referred as “*supremos*” (especially the head of the family), precedes the procession, carrying the image as the other images of the *capilla* (usually three) follow with their respective flags and banners alongside the parishioners. After the procession, the next *supremos* are chosen and a feast is celebrated. The *supremos* organize the feast themselves and ask other Colditans’ help during the year, especially in providing food. Colditans consider that the *fiesta de supremo* is a birthday party for the “image”: balloons are placed inside and outside the *capilla*. The *fiesta* must be properly celebrated, lest the *santo* refrains from seeing for the community during the next year. After the feast, a party is held.

I believe that *fiestas de supremo* help Colditans relatively stabilize their sociality, crossed by complicated distances and suspicion (Chapter 2). This is done in a context that reduces distances under the embodied divinity that the *santo* concentrates. Colditan Catholicism is thus a way of dealing with the confusion and loneliness that witches seek to produce, by means of a notion of the divine as embedded in social relations (Bacchiddu 2009, 61). In this sense, Colditans do not place the divine in the transcendent but in the immanent, that is, in relationality (Itzhak 2021). This entails a specific notion of how witchcraft must be managed, namely from social relations themselves, because it is there that both witches and the divine dwell. This is different for Colditan Neopentecostals. Colditan conversion to Neopentecostal churches began in the 1980’s, but has intensified in recent years. As in other iterations of Pentecostalism, Colditan Neopentecostals believe that the world (“*mundo*”) is foul, because the Devil, spirits and demons dwell there (Stroeken 2017). They must thus refrain from it, especially from Chilote Catholic practices (Bacchiddu 2009). For Colditan Neopentecostals, witches do exist, but they are controlled by the Devil himself. It follows that witchcraft will be managed in an unmediated, intimate relation with God, who gives them the power to fight against the foul world: the divine is, for them, transcendent.

¹⁹ A less strict version of Pentecostalism (Fediakova 2004).

These two ways of understanding witchcraft unfold from both the shared lived world of confusion and the *viviente* notion that this thesis describes, and so I will not further address them separately. Similar to their Catholic neighbours and kin, Colditan Neopentecostals claim that what is at stake is loneliness and behaving properly as *vivientes*, even though they shift the focus to a transcendent divine. Therefore, the discussion between Colditan Catholics and Colditan Neopentecostals is not ontological, but moral and epistemological: moral, because it entails an evaluation of how to relate to the world and to others, and epistemological, because it posits the problem of how the world can be known. Indeed, Colditan Catholics think that believing in witches is unavoidable, while Colditan Neopentecostals would say that believing in witches gives them, and the Devil, power, and thus the world must be kept away (an action that, for Colditan Catholics, turns witches uncontrolled). What Neopentecostal Colditans deploy is an innovation that shows that witchcraft, and the Colditan lived world, is indeed historical. In this thesis I address Colditan historicity in other ways, leaving the Neopentecostal one for another occasion.

Chapter 1: A Lived World of Confusion

1. Overview

In this chapter, I interpret three versions of a myth to delineate a concept of a Colditan “lived world”, at the centre of which stand the notions of confusion and *viviente*. What is brought to light is a general panorama of mutually effecting borders that would dangerously approach each other if not for the presence of the *viviente*. This state of affairs informs (and is informed by) what I come to call, paraphrasing Toren (2014), a “mythic schema”. This schema is made of symbolic materials and perceptions that produce *vivientes* and a mythicized world in a relational fashion. It is an enacted, embodied, transformational system, and not a structure that would constitute the person externally. Indeed, Toren (2018) builds her concept by criticizing Philippe Descola’s notion, namely a socializing of individuals and a transmission of the schema in an unchanged fashion, a mental representation and not a historical development (406).

This chapter addresses Colditans notions of “space”. I approach space from the point of view of places emerging from a land-sea environment. This emergence makes space, an analytical dimension with no proper distances or order, meaningful. Peter Gow (1991) suggested something similar: that the Piro of the Bajo Urubamba make dwelling places through relations of work and care, producing kinship and thus people, history and an orderly, meaningful life. I also consider Keith Basso’s (1996) concept of place, especially the idea that place is where meaning is reproduced and reflected as memory is built, giving a person or a group of people a position in the world. Indeed, Colditans say that their *campos* hold traces made both by living and dead *vivientes*, meaningfully connecting persons to their surroundings, to the past and to others in daily experience. Following Jakob Meløe (1988, 1988-1), I also employ the concept of “conceptual space” or “activity space”. Space is meaningful, or true, to those collectively involved in shared activities and capacities to observe that space.

In Coldita, places are mythicized. To show this, I relate different versions of the Mapuche myth of Treng-Treng and Kay-Kay Vilú to Coldita’s environment. In Lincoman’s narration, a catastrophe is produced by a convulsion that constitutes a world of isolation: the archipelago, with islands covered by forests bordering the coasts. It is between these borders that Colditan places exist, and thus the *viviente*. Lévi-Strauss (1969, 1990) suggested that myths operate mediations between oppositions to address logical and experiential contradictions. It is through oppositions and mediations that meaning emerges, and that the “cosmos” is structurally and experientially produced and ordered. One of the dimensions of this cosmos is geographical, or horizontal (along with the astronomical, vertical one). It contains social and spatial distances, mythologically mediated. If, as Peter Gow (2001) noted, myths are narrated to address different historical problems in different moments or contexts, then these mediations are not crystallized but dynamic. In Coldita, the mythicized tide and low forest represent such a horizontal, cosmological mediation.

2. A Colditan *campo*

During an April afternoon of 2019, I was standing on the Blanchard pier with Felipe Llancahuen. He had been recently chosen as *lonko* or “head” of the Tweo Coldita Indigenous community. We were looking at his grandfather’s *campo* from a distance: a 180-hectare portion of both clean and forested land that had been laboured since around the 1950’s, and where Felipe has lived from a very young age. His grandfather, José Chiguay, had died nearly a decade before and left the *campo* to his children, but only Felipe was living there permanently. A couple of weeks before, Felipe’s family had moved. He had felt lonely, fearing depression, as he struggled with abandoning Coldita just like many of his kin and neighbours had done. But he was not feeling lonely anymore. He had decided to stay in his grandfather’s land.

We were about to travel back to the city in Felipe’s motored boat, an 8-metre vessel with a cabin and, at the time, a 40hp outboard motor. The vessel is essential for his daily endeavours. Every morning, Felipe sailed to pick up the only three young students of the locality at their houses, and took them to the Blanchard primary school. The children could not make the trip by themselves. There is no road connecting the *campos*, and the morning high tide covers the low-tide trails. As many Colditans did, every night Felipe had to make sure that his vessel had not been beached by the night tide, which, as it comes and recedes, obliges one to pay close attention to the Coldita canal.

Because of a heavy storm, Felipe had not kept the motorboat safe that night. With the first low tide of that day occurring fairly early, Felipe walked the low sea to pick up one boy, his nephew, and brought him to school. Even with so few children living in the Blanchard locality, it was Felipe’s job. It assured him and his family a regular monthly income. In addition, Felipe had to mind his cows, sheep, hens, and geese, which he exchanged, sold, or drew products from; cut *leña* (firewood) and extract stakes from the forest (*arrayán* – *Luma apiculata*- long stakes for making fences). Years had passed since Felipe had had the time and help to clean his late grandfather’s *campo* and work the land.

When I visited during April of 2019 Felipe had been alone for some weeks. His wife, Nancy, and their three children had moved to Quellón. Their eldest daughter had already been attending high school in Quellón and was living with Felipe’s brother. Nevertheless, having one child in the city and staying in Coldita is bearable, but paying for two is not. Nancy and Felipe’s town house is located at the coastal neighbourhood, near a pier and a salmon processing factory. This neighbourhood grew, and still does, around an unpaved street. During the summer, clouds of dust are raised by the vehicles that traverse it and, during the rainier months, it is filled with ponds and holes. Many residences lack public sewerage. Houses are built very close to one another in a disarranged form, generally by their owners and with diverse materials, including scraps of other buildings. For instance, Felipe and Nancy’s house base was reinforced with timber that they took off a shed from their *campo*.

During the weeks prior to my visit, Felipe had felt divided, not here nor there. He had a decision to make but a definitive answer was not coming to him. As we stand on the Blanchard pier that afternoon, Felipe told me:

“This is what I was telling you. From here I looked at my grandfather’s campo, wondering if I should go to Quellón or stay here. I felt sad and alone”.

I wish to describe how Felipe’s grandfather’s *campo* looked like to him that afternoon, as he symbolically distanced himself from it. This will be useful to understand Colditan places from a subjective perspective, that is, as a meaningful, historical space where work has been done, memory has been built and where changes occur.

In front of us, the cement dock extended westwards towards the shore. We could see the cleared lands and, beyond them, the *monte*: the forested mountains where the land is covered by an entanglement of trees and vines. At the other end of the pier, there is a fence. From here, at the edge of the *campo*, an area of green grass of less than a hectare holds the Indigenous community headquarters. Slightly to the north, behind another fence, are the Blanchard school and the *posta* (the local clinic) on a terrain provided by grandfather José himself. At its western limit, the grass field is bordered by a small forest of low apple trees planted by José, where geese, hens, and sheep roam. Next to it, surrounded by another fence, lies the old family house where Felipe lives: a small, one-story building with an old *tejuela* (wood shingle) exterior made of cypress (*Austrocedrus chilensis*) and a rusty zinc roof. Its’ front yard has diverse objects dispersed here and there: wooden planks, motors, hoses, toys, cables and seashells. There are also some poplars (*Populus alba*) and willows (*Salix babylonica*), sown by José.

Beyond the fence surrounding the house another green field extends towards the forested mountains, although less uniformly. Some cows and sheep were grazing in the long, yellowish pasture where the grass grew naturally. Westwards, towards the forested mountain tops of the Pirulil mountain range, the *campo* is bordered by the *renuevo*. The *renuevo* is the new forest that grows after the tallest forest has been cut and burnt. At this latitude, it is mostly comprised of *luma* (*Myrtus luma*), myrtle, *canelo* (*Drimys winteri*) *coigüe* (*Notofagus dombeyi*) and of different kinds of bushes, specially the ever-growing and dense *quila* (*Chusquea quila*), a perennial bamboo. An old wooden gate separates this second field, usually called *pampa*, from an open, long and sloped third field, bordered by the humid, Valdivian forest of southern Chiloé.

The *campo* gets steeper and the forest denser as it crawls over the cleared lands. Here and there sprouts of myrtle can be seen, some small while others reaching a tall man’s waist. The *paja ratonera* (*Hordeum comosum*) the *junquillo* (*Juncus proceuts*) and the tall grass become pervasive. Felipe had told me that the *campo* needed to be cleaned. He and a close friend and distant kin, known for his skill in this task, had made a “*roce*” on it some three years before. *Roces* are a local name for slash and burn, that is, cutting the trees, the bushes and rushes and then burning them. Felipe’s friend had brought his cutting tools, mainly an axe and a *rozón*, a kind of sickle for cutting branches and thin trunks. *Roces* are usually done during the last months of the year, starting around October. The *renuevo* is cut and the remains of branches and trunks are then piled up on the spot to be burnt during the summer. *Roce* is a most essential activity for Colditans because it keeps a clear place around their homes. There, they can tend to their animals and crops, and access the forests and the sea. “*All of this is work, to keep on taking all of this out*”, Felipe told me once, while walking through the *pampa*: “*That is the work, all the time*”. *Rozar* is a difficult endeavour. To clear a new place where only thick forest prevails, a couple of men could spend more than a month if using chainsaws. Old people, the *antiguos* who

only relied on axes and *rozones*, probably spent their lifetime making their *campos*, slowly gaining ground over the forest.

It is different to make a *roce* for agriculture, and for building a house, than it is for animal pasture. For the latter, only the *roce* itself is necessary. The former would also need “*destronque*”, the uprooting of the burnt tree stumps, because the *renuevo* grows too quickly. Done in this way, the forest will take more time to grow again, probably decades, at a much slower pace. *Destronque* requires the force of oxen and, in more recent times, tractors, but these are seldom available in Coldita. The *antiguos*, more interested in potato cultivation and in other kinds of crops than Colditans today, did extensive *roces* and *destronques* in their *campos*. Some of them are still there where the *antiguos* left them.

After some months of working with his friend and kin, Felipe burnt what was left, but did not do a *destronque*. After a couple of years, the young forest began to grow with no more control than that of the cows and sheep. Felipe did not have the time nor the help to solve the problem: there are almost no people left in Coldita to work with.

Following the *campo* westwards, approaching the forested parts of the mountain range, some six old “*melgas*” can be spotted as if fossilized. *Melgas* are low, long and thin lifts of ground where potatoes are cultivated. Chiloé is known for its landscape of slopes and of cleared pastures where square, fenced and tilled lands are rendered into these successive, long lifts of soil. Decades ago, when José used to sow potatoes in large quantities, the “*tizón*” fungus²⁰ (*Phytophthora infestans*) killed a whole crop, and these *melgas* were left untouched. Nowadays, Colditans produce very few potatoes: it is too risky, and there is not enough workforce available.

The *renuevo* becomes taller and begins to close over the *campo*. Months later Felipe would tell me that such *renuevo*, now very tall, had been once *rozado* by José. Therefore, the *campo* had been cleaner some two decades prior. Identifying a place as not as clean as before is not only an observation on productivity: the state of this *renuevo*, which is not *pampa* nor *monte*, is a sign of another person’s life, of the work they did with others. In José’s *campo* and in others at Coldita, taller *renuevo* is crossed by dozens of small trails traced by cattle, dogs and humans who constantly traverse them, just like the low-sea trails at the beach. Three or four contoured roads keep on going up the mountains through a *renuevo* that eventually becomes *monte*, a space that is fairly traversable even though it is covered by the foliage of tall trees. There are still roads up there. Nevertheless, many of them are completely covered by the *quila*, no longer usable if they are not cleared. José worked in those mountains with other *antiguos* when the cut of the cypress was still legal, selling it to a timber company stationed in Puerto Carmen, south of Coldita Isla Grande.

Thus, while we were standing on the pier looking at the *campo* and the *monte*, Felipe was not only looking at his grandfather’s work but also his own: their traces are intertwined in time and space, both to one another and to other traces that extend well into other *campos*, worked by other people. He also saw the border of the *monte*, menacing to cover it all.

²⁰ Under certain weather conditions (a temperature of over 10C° and above 75% of humidity), the *tizón* burns the leaves of the potato plant and rots the tuber. This fungus has been a problem for Chiloteans since around the mid-20th century (Grenier 1984, 213).

3. What there is to see: being alone, being confused

I propose that Colditan space is made of places, *campos*, and of perspectives that make them meaningful: the *campos* are filled with signs and traces of work, with time and memory, with presences and absences. The philosopher Jakob Meløe (1988-1) proposed the concept of “conceptual space” or of “activity space”, where persons observe their own activities and those of others. These observations and activities allow space to hold a “truth”: objects and relations can only be meaningfully perceived when something is done with them. In this sense, each of these spaces is elicited by “*what there is to see*” (91), where observation amounts to both the act of observing and to “*let oneself be guided by*” (91). Projective observation of my own actions and of those of others is essential to properly see and hear inside that specific space. According to Meløe, this complex “*makes up the prose of life*” (92).

I believe that Felipe, during my fieldwork, was trying to make me understand “what there was to see” in his *campo*, what was meaningful in Coldita as a whole. He showed me the signs and traces of his grandfather’s *campo*, and told me about his work. He spoke to me about the loneliness he felt when doubting his own relationship with that place.

There were two reasons why Felipe could speak to me about those issues that afternoon. First, there was our trip to the mountains of three months before. Climbing up the *monte*, he showed me things that I would have not spotted if I went alone. As we traversed the forest westwards, coming in and out of sudden clearings, we had to try different, mostly interrupted tracks, again and again. While doing so, Felipe would show me the places where José and other *antiguos* cut the cypress, bringing them down the mountain with oxen-dragged wagons. A few burnt trunks were still standing here and there as a result of an old *roce*. He showed me trees - *canelo*, *coigüe*, *tepú* (*Tepualia stipularis*) – that had fallen naturally or had been cut a long time ago by *antiguos*.

We also reached a space where Felipe had been working three years before. There was a low *renuevo* where he had made a *roce*; a *rancha* (a tent or provisory hut, quickly built and easily dismantlable) deep within the tall *monte*, barely standing, where he produced coal with an iron oven; axe marks left in some *canelo* trunks, made to test if they were suitable for till production; and another *rancha* where the *monte* suddenly opens up. He showed me some wooden structures where planks and firewood were stored, and pieces of felled trees from which he had cut timber for his vessel’s keel. Along the way, Felipe would look around and identify trees that could be used for making boats and oars, as if the sea was also present in the *monte*. We sought some trees that his grandfather had sown, still there within the *renuevo*. He also described to me the several trips that the “*cipreceros*” (workers of cypress) would do during a single day up and down the mountain, in comparison to the three to four hours that took us to do the same, but only once. And when we reached the top of the mountain, there where the cypress had been cut decades before, he told me:

“To reach this place you need to have been here not only once, but many times. You would need to have known this place before, to have worked in it. Otherwise you would not find the covered trails. If a person enters this place without knowing it, he will surely get lost”.

In hindsight, it is as if Felipe was informing Meløe’s concepts on observation and activities in specific meaningful spaces: he knew what there was to observe as he traversed the *campo* and

the *monte*, and he made it clear to me. He also knew what would happen next: even though the trails were covered, he was quite aware of where other, open roads might be, where certain trees would have grown, where the cypress once were. And he knew this not only because of his own work but because of other's, both alive and dead. He had been led through the forested mountains many times by his grandfather and now was teaching to see. Thus, during that April afternoon, Felipe had already described the *campo* to me, a true conceptual space as we traversed it westwards, and so he could confess that he felt sadness in leaving it. It is my impression that Felipe believed that I could partially understand how he felt, and why: he had shown me how the *campo* came to be, and how he was unfailingly tied to it. Now, he was explaining to me how that intrinsic relation between himself and the place meant that both he and the *campo* could disappear as the border of the *renuevo* grew.

The second reason why Felipe told me all of this has to do with something from the day before. We were sitting at the big table of Felipe's house kitchen. For Chilotes, the kitchen is the main room of the house, where the ever-lit stove is located and where sociality occurs. It was late in the afternoon, and Felipe spoke to me about his land and how it came to be the property of José Chiguay. Immediately after this, Felipe, quite harshly, strongly, and out of the blue, said:

"Do you know what bothered me the most? When you asked me over and over again when we would leave to Quellón".

When I showed my surprise, he replied that I already knew the answer: they would leave at the outset of the school term. He continued by saying that, during those past months, he had been in pain. His body shook persistently, and he could not sleep. In my absence, he would loudly question Nancy, his wife, on why I insisted on asking them about the matter.

Felipe became less angry, but brooding. He had been oppressed by a profound sadness: he kept on thinking that, if he left, he would be abandoning the place where his grandfather worked. When walking from the pier to his house he would see José's *campo*, and felt sorrow. In time, he realised that he was getting "the depression" (*"la depresión"*): being a Neopentecostal, he believed that the Devil was getting inside of him through a malicious spirit that preyed on his sadness. But one day he remembered that, if he were with God, he would never be alone. His family should be alright, even if living in another place. On another occasion, Nancy Nehue, Felipe's wife, told me that she thought my bipolarity was caused by a "spirit of loneliness" (*"espíritu de la soledad"*) that assailed me, that produces anxiety and that it roams the Colditan *campos*, attacking people. Similarly, David Peña, when visiting his family house in Quellón, told me that there is a *"tremenda soledad"* across Coldita, an "enormous loneliness". It was this spirit that Felipe felt too close, unleashed by the abandonment of the territory.

As he observed the *campo* from the pier, considering the possibility of leaving it behind, I believe that Felipe saw past traces of work and his own as inseparable things. He came to be himself by learning how to work with José and by being fed by doña Chila, José's wife, who tended the house as it is customary for Colditan married women to do. This imbues so much meaning into his relation to that *campo* that, when thinking about leaving, Felipe's body trembled, he could not sleep and felt exposed to an evil that only God could save him from. He felt that he was becoming mad. Felipe expected me to understand this pain in light of the conversations we had had and of the trips we had made. It was no coincidence that he expressed his anger to me

during that April visit. Despite having talked to me about his relation to his grandfather and his work, and even taking me to a trip to show me its signs in the land and on him, I still insisted on asking about something that I should have known was meaningful.

What is it that Felipe wanted me to see? I believe that this question is easier to understand when contemplating another conversation that Felipe and I had in November of 2019. We had been trying to visit different family houses to collect some information that the Indigenous community needed. In failing to do so, we returned to Felipe's house. This time it was I who was brooding. The end of my fieldwork was nearing and I had been struggling with my and my family's return to the UK, mainly money issues. Apparently, my state of mind showed. Felipe and Nancy seemed to perceive that I was out of focus, turned on my own thoughts and somewhat absent. I do not remember what exactly the conversation was about. But I remember how it ended. I told Felipe that I was worried about money, and that, if I had it, I would not feel so anxious or depressed. By then, I had already learnt the key words that Colditans use for this state of mind: despair ("*desesperación*"), depression, "*asustado*" (frightened) and especially confused)

Then, I said something along the lines that having money usually fixes a lot of problems. Felipe burst into a sudden anger, and said: "*If those are your thoughts, then you are completely confused! You cannot work for the community anymore*". With that, Felipe and I fell apart. There was a long silence in the kitchen while I waited the public motorboat that takes Colditans from the island to Quellón and back ("*lancha de recorrido*"). As the motorboat arrived at the pier, I said goodbye and left.

My confusion came from the fact that I was too worried, turned in on myself. I ended up being just as alone as Felipe had felt months before, haunted by depression and excessive thoughts. I believe that, in Colditan terms, we were both affected by confusion, in the sense that we had been both unable to properly relate to the exterior. Felipe reacted that strongly because he believed that I had not understood a thing about his own previous mental state. He realized that such a state could have hindered his capacity to work and to keep the *campo* ongoing, to relate to others and to "see", and to engage with his *lonko* position. He had been separated from Coldita as a meaningful place but had returned to it through God, overcoming his loneliness. It is because of that particular, foul state of mind that I believe Felipe had been confused, turned in on himself, just like me that day. I had not listened to what he had told me, nor seen what he had showed me. I had not learned to be within that world of forests and sea; like him before, I had separated myself from it as I brooded inside my own mind. And I had not found a cure.

Here, I am interested in Felipe's confusion. As he was confronted with the doubt of staying or leaving, as he felt lonely because of it, and as he imagined his *campo* being abandoned, Felipe was turned in on his own mind, on his "self". He became angered and depressed, finding it increasingly difficult to engage with his *campo*. As we will consider in the next chapter, Colditans say that excessiveness of thought hinders the bodily capacity to work and to relate to others. So, in his depression, Felipe was being affected by a closeness between his mind and his body, as he felt more and more lonely and enclosed. At the same time, he projected the *campo* as being covered by the forest, including the signs of past and present work. Turned in on himself, he was being disjoined from his grandfather's activity space. The border of the *monte* reflected a border inside the self: the forest growing over a place resembles that of excessiveness of

thought “growing” over embodied, environmental and social relations. This multiplicity of proximities affects a person’s sense of belonging: Felipe felt both there and away at the same time, that is, confused, assaulted by the spirit of depression. I argue that Felipe was not seeing a *campo* frozen in time but a moving environment of several borders meeting over another border, that between his mind and his body. This is what Felipe’s confusion looks like: a fear of borders getting too close, cancelling each other out, making any liveable place disappear, dissolving the person that engages with them.

What Felipe was observing that afternoon tells much of the Colditan lived world that I will present below. Loneliness is a privileged starting point for addressing the main issue of this ethnography: the concept of *viviente* and its relationship with the self. I will relate the above situation to the Mapuche myth of Treng-Treng and Kay-Kay Vilú, and how it could speak to the *viviente*’s experience. In the next sections, three versions of this myth will be addressed. One of them was told to me by a Colditan, a 17th century priest registered another, and the other was written by José Santos Lincoman. I begin by describing Lincoman’s account.

4. Lincoman’s version of the myth

I aim to connect Felipe’s activity space, an example of dwelling in Coldita, with a mythicized world. The common theme is confusion. Like in Felipe’s account, Lincoman’s version of the myth of “Treng-Treng...” ends with a disarrayed world of closeness between borders of sea, land and person, with no *campos* and with a lonely, wailing man who is unable to engage with the environment and with others. To show this, I will summarize Lincoman’s version and then compare it with a very well-known version of the Mapuche myth, that of Padre Rosales. I will show how Lincoman’s tale connects to a fractured island world, where the water submerging a previous geography is central. There is a catastrophe caused by an ill way of living; a disarrayed setting of separated islands with no *campos*; loneliness; and the lingering possibility of resuming sociality. This world strongly resembles the activity space described in the previous section: Colditan *campos* are placed by the sea and by the forested mountains, where different borders endlessly change.

Lincoman’s version is called “Cómo se dividió Chiloé (cuento muy antiguo de los Huilliches)” (“How Chiloé got divided – a very ancient tale of the Huilliches”) (1990, 84). It was written down by Lincoman, a renowned Indigenous leader who was the initial head of the first and more prominent Williche organization of Chiloé, the General Council of Caciques, in the 1930’s. The book from where this myth is taken is a posthumous compilation of Lincoman’s work as a writer, and it is comprised of both poems and tales. Especially in the poems, the *lonko* puts several topics at play, most especially that of identity. Probably because Indigenous people of Chiloé politically organized as Mapuche-Williche communities only in the early 20th century, supported by continental indigenous organizations, Lincoman seems to be assessing his own identity. When young, he travelled to the Argentinian *pampas*, to northern Chile and to the southern archipelagos, looking for work, and engaged with the national workers’ movement and the Chilean communist party. Lincoman writes both from the position of a Mapuche, a Williche, a Chilote, a communist, a worker, a Chilean, and from poorness and hunger. In thematizing these

notions, it is as if he himself was attempting to clear his own confusion, engaging with ancient and recent history through his writing.

We don't know where Lincoman heard the myth of "Trengr-Trengr..." or the context of transmission. During the 20th century, many authors acknowledged the existence of this Mapuche myth in Chiloé²¹, of which I believe Lincoman's tale is a version. Nevertheless, there is almost no reference to tellers or to contexts of telling²². Most Chilote versions seem to be partial transcriptions of the first known one: that of Padre Diego de Rosales recorded in the 17th century, a continental iteration. But there is reason to believe that this myth had been told in Chiloé for several centuries before Lincoman wrote down his tale. Rosales' version (1877 [1674]) mentions the archipelago as one of its sources, as we will see. In Lincoman's book, "Cómo se dividió Chiloé" is the only text that gives any nuances about origins. He writes that the nomadic Chono people, his "Chono grandfathers", were the initial tellers, even though the title defines the tale as Williche: there is an identity ambiguity at play.

Lincoman's narration is as follows:

Once, there was a great earthquake that turned the land upside down and submerged it. The earthquake took people and animals to the sea, and buried others. After a few days, the earthquake calmed down, but very few people survived: many died out of hunger and from the cold. One man was stranded on an island without any food, with his wife and children. The sea would not come down, and they ran and plead aloud for it to recede. All his children died, but one. He called his wife and asked her if she was willing to kill their last son. She replied: "it would be better if you kill me", and he did. The boy cried and screamed: "mom, the sea will take you".

Some days later the man was crying, and his son asked him: "why do you cry?". "Because I was going to kill you!", said the man. The boy replied: "my mom told you that you should take me to the sea, and that you should go down to the beach". "But you will be lost forever!", retorted the man. The boy answered: "It does not matter. My mom and brothers died, and I should go too".

Deeply troubled, the man carried his son, and the boy kept on saying "don't cry" to him. Arriving at the place, the man shouted, and a wave came and dragged the child to the sea. Then, the rivers and estuaries were left with an abundance of different species of fishes and shellfish.

Alone, the man began to protest loudly. He called his wife, he called his sons, he sang out of joy and cried afterwards. He kept on asking himself: why did I kill my children and my wife?

This is how this version ends: a lonely, mad man. To interpret this, I follow Peter Gow's advice on approaching myths. Gow (2001) suggested that, to address a myth from an ethnographic perspective, the person who told it and the context in which it was told must be considered. Gow follows Lévi-Strauss closely: if myths transform when structurally "obliterating history", producing symbolic inversions and symmetries from other myths and giving meaning to events, then it is people who bring about these transformations according to context (87-88, 96-97).

²¹ See, for example: Cañas 1910; Cavada 1914; Tangol 1976; García 1985; Quintana 2007; Marino & Osorio 2014; Trivero 2019.

²² Except for the version analysed by Constantino Contreras, heard by him in Taucalón of the Chauques islands during the 1960's, and the one registered by Alberto Trivero, also heard in the Chauques but heavily modified by him (Contreras 1966, 156-7; Trivero 2019).

Lévi-Strauss (1969) allowed this trail of thought, when saying that myths bring together a linguistic, structural level with a biological, physical level. The latter relates to the effects that myth narration has on people in situations of telling, and how myths, coming from an anonymous source, are reflected upon by persons who might be different from the original narrators (8, 12-18).

During most of his life, Lincoman lived in Compu, around fifty kilometres north of Coldita, by the inland sea of Chiloé. He was born in 1910 and died in 1984, experiencing a time where there was no main road connecting the southernmost part of the Isla Grande with the rest of the territory. The only way to travel was by boat, following the coast and crossing the several estuaries that cut the shores of Chiloé's sea. As noted, it is difficult to say when and why Lincoman wrote down this "ancient tale". Raúl Molina²³, who selected and compiled the texts, told me that it was probably written after the Valdivia earthquake of 1960, the strongest registered in history. Its magnitude went beyond 9 in the Richter scale, hitting around 1,000 kilometres of land and coastline between the Cautín province and the Taitao peninsula. An eight-metre wave struck shores and natural quays, dragging down houses and sweeping animals away (Grenier 1984, 447-449). The event transformed the geography of the archipelago. The coastal zones sunk between one and two metres, submerging agricultural lands, turning meadows into swamps, narrowing or even erasing entire beaches, raising the sea level and the sea floor and obliterating shellfish banks and seaweed forests (Grenier 1984, 448-449; Mardones & Mancilla 2009, 16).

The key elements of Lincoman's narrative resemble this earthquake and tsunami. In the tale, the sea and the land clash against each other and vice versa, over and under. This creates a gigantic turmoil that drags people and animals into the waters. But it is the sea that hits both the people and geography harder. It rises violently, floods the lands where people lived and, finally, it never goes down, even if those left alive plead for it. Then, a few survivors are left in what we are led to think are different islands.

Lincoman's version also resembles a Chilote geography. To the south of Queilen, the eastern coast of the Isla Grande is cut by three estuaries across 46 kilometres in a straight line. These are probably similar, if not the same, to those that Lincoman describes in the myth, where fishes and shellfish are left. In Compu, Lincoman's home, there is the "estero [estuary] de Compu", where the small Chala island is located. To the south, there is the "estero de Huiladad", not far from the Chaullín island. And there is also the "estero de Yaldad", sheltering the really small Linahuá island and opening towards the seas where the Laitec, Cailín and Coldita islands are. Between Coldita and the Isla Grande there is the canal, considered another *estero* by Colditans, even though, in geographical terms, it is not the mouth of a river.

²³ I approached Raúl Molina in July of 2019, and he guided me through his experience in the Archipelago. He also lent me an interview he made with Carlos Lincoman, nephew to José Santos Lincoman and probably the most famous *lonko* of Chiloé. I am very grateful to Raúl Molina for his time and interest in my research. He passed away in 2022.

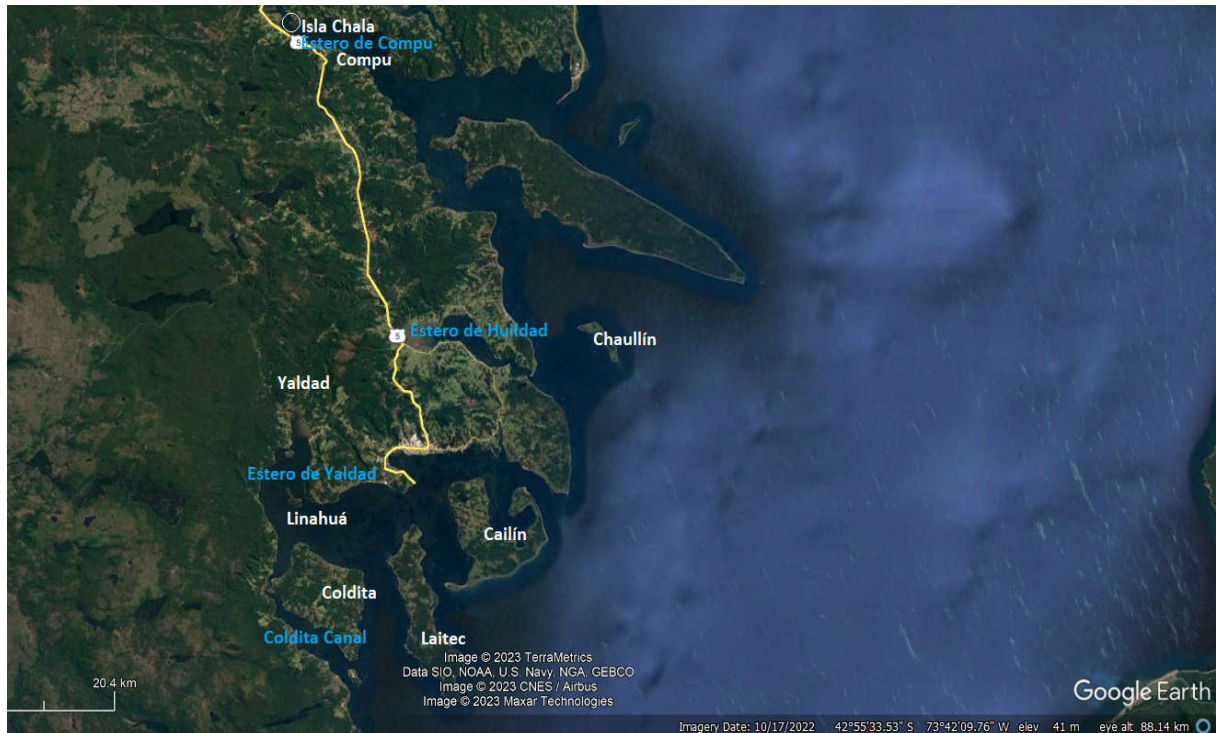


Figure 3: Compu, the estuaries and Coldita²⁴.

Lincoman probably had these *esteros*, canals and islands in mind when writing the tale. As his nephew Carlos Lincoman remembers, his uncle was an expert sailor. With other mariners, he travelled across the Corcovado Gulf towards the Guaitecas Archipelago, and knew the inland sea of Chiloé by heart. When venturing southwards to fish, to fish-dry, to gather and smoke shellfish, to hunt sea lions or to cut timber²⁵, he must have passed through Yaldad, Coldita, Cailín and Laitec to dock at the natural quays.

Lincoman’s narration describes an *estero* that is devoid of fish and molluscs and then full of them after the catastrophe settles into an archipelago geography, and after the family of the wailing man is dead. It is located by the island where they were stranded, probably like other families suggested in the tale. I argue that Lincoman’s mythological narration is located in the *esteros* region of the Isla Grande, which he knew well. Most events of this version occur in a landscape that emerges from the catastrophe: a world that resembles the south of Chiloé, cut by *esteros* and canals and populated by islands. At the same time, Lincoman narrates the constitution of something that happens apart from a larger, previous world. I thus also argue that Lincoman’s life, territory, and experience of catastrophes operate a mythological particularization that is exclusive to the Archipelago.

Indeed, the narration seems to geographically particularize another version which, I propose, is a transformation of Lincoman’s and vice versa: the myth of “Treng-Treng...”. I understand “mythical transformation” from a very loose reference to Lévi-Strauss’s propositions: a homological transposition (by means of shared symbolic materials) of a myth that belongs to the same people (the Mapuche, in this case), performed through telling, hearing, and ecological adaptations. All versions of myths are transformations and mediations of other myths, meaning

²⁴ Google Earth screenshot modified by the author.

²⁵ Raúl Molina’s interview with Carlos Lincomán, Compu, 1988.

that there is no such thing as an original version, at least structurally speaking (1963, 209 –228; 1969, 3-5; 1976, 18, 65-6)

As I said above, the first version of “Trengr-Trengr...” that we know of is Rosales’s, most likely a mainland version but with a clear reference to the Indigenous people of Chiloé of the 17th century. This version is as follows:

In ancient times, the sea rose and flooded the lands. The catastrophe was caused by two monstrous snakes battling each other. One of the snakes, Trengr-Trengr, lived in the mountains. As it knew that the sea would overflow, it sent an old, ragged man to inform humanity of the catastrophe, and that they should take refuge in the hills. But they did not believe the message, and laughed. They said that if the flood were to happen, they would be turned into “*sea bass, tuna, and other fishes*”.

In the lowlands lived another snake, Kay-Kay, who caused the sea to rise and flood the earth. Trengr-Trengr made the mountains rise towards the sky, surpassing the sea. People ran to the top of the Trengr-Trengr mountain, carrying their children and food. Eventually, the sea reached the people that were escaping. Then, it happened as foretold: they were left swimming over the waters in the shape of sea creatures. Others were turned into stone, thanks to Trengr-Trengr. Rosales writes that one of these stones, “Mankián”, was found in Chiloé, shaped like a woman carrying her children.

After the flood, those who had been turned into fishes (Rosales includes sea lions and whales here) came out of the sea. They approached the women and fathered children with them, creating different “lineages”. Rosales was told that these marriages resulted in “mermaids” who sometimes emerge from the waters, holding their babies.

Very few humans were saved on the higher ground: many of them died as they got too close to the sun. They covered their heads with wooden basins, but these began to burn. Many people had their bodies scorched, or became bald.

Survivors of the catastrophe suffered from hunger as they became trapped in the mountains. They were forced to eat one another. According to Rosales, two women and two men were left alone on the mountain tops, called “Llituche”. They were the original people, ancestors of today’s Mapuche (in Mapuzugun, *llitun*: “to begin, to start something”; *che* “people”) (Augusta 1916).

The Llituche were asked to sacrifice one of their children and to offer her to the sea creatures. Trengr-Trengr compelled them to quarter the child in four parts, and to gift the pieces to the mermaids and to the “Kings of the Fishes” (most likely the Millalobo, a creature half sea lion half human that rules the seas) (Cárdenas 2005). After this, the sea and mountains returned to their original levels (1877 [1674], 4-5).

Resemblances between Rosales’ and Lincoman’s versions are evident. First, in Lincoman’s version the struggle between the snakes is replicated through the clash between the land and the sea. There are no snakes, but their elements are present. At the same time, in both versions the sea rises, flooding the world. Nevertheless, in Rosales’s version the mountains rise, while in Lincomán’s the promontories stay the same, becoming the islands that result from Chiloé’s division.

Rosales' account gives us a clue as to why the catastrophe happened in Lincoman's version. People do not hear Treng-Treng's advice, as they mistakenly think that the person who visits them is only a ragged, old man. This is a behavioural fault. In apparent relation to this, Rosales (1877 [1674]) registered another story, namely about the origins of the Tagua-Tagua pond. In this tale, the Mapuche are punished with an earthquake and downpour for their "vicious customs" and "obscenities" during times of "abundance" (258-9). Lévi-Strauss (1990), when approaching the myth of the snakes, describes this ill behaviour as "debauched living" (183). Lincoman does not give a direct account of how people lived before the earthquake struck and the sea rose, but he does suggest that they had lands and animals. It is fair to assume that whatever happened before had something to do with this "debauched living" in "times of abundance".

Nevertheless, there are also differences. In Rosales' version, the sacrifice is said to have produced a new people, the Llituche. Hunger, which affected those left living in the mountain (and also present in Lincoman's account), was overcome by establishing a certain custom: a relation of ritual exchange with the creatures from the sea. In Lincoman's version the outcome of the catastrophe is grimmer. In a similar fashion to Rosales' version, the man is forced to sacrifice his wife and surviving son to a faceless sea that seems to have a will of its own. But here the result is not the possibility of starting again, but loneliness. The only means for survival are sea resources, but that is not what the previous state of existence offered: abundance.

More importantly, in Lincomán's version the sea does not return to its original level, and the world is left flooded and divided. In Rosales' version, the sacrifice and food sharing with the amphibian creatures caused the sea to recede, and thus a new pact between land and sea was created. In Lincoman's version, the sacrifice is followed by an abundance of sea resources and by loneliness. The man dwells in a world that has been geographically transformed, especially the relation between land and sea, as the waters dismembered a territory that was once whole. A new border between elements is produced that the lonely man must confront.

Lévi-Strauss's (1990) interpretation of the myth of "Treng-Treng..." takes Rosales' as its source, considering it the origin of baldness. For him, what is relevant is the emergence of cooking fire, as the sun scorched people's hair but also the wooden basins, producing fire from wood: his interpretation of the myth focuses on the sun, and the rising sea is mostly left out of the analysis. Cooking fire, starting from a "here" where the Llituche would be located, keeps scorching heat from the sky at bay through mediation, and thus the myth is put in a vertical, astronomical axis (earth-sky). But Lévi-Strauss also shows a more horizontal, water-bound transformation of the myth that could relate to the rising seas. In "Treng-Treng...", the mediation of socially-produced fire occurs between the burnt (the sun is too close to the earth: the scorched people) and the rotten (the sun is too far away from the earth: people are transformed by water). Lévi-Strauss transposes this mediation to a wooden canoe that, in some Amazonian myths, protects people from water baldness. The cooking fire from wood and the wooden canoe operate in similar ways but each in a different "axis": vertical the first, horizontal or geographical the second. When one is "folded" into the other, vertical "space" (distance and proximity between sky and earth) is given temporality through horizontality (geographical distances) and sociality, and vice-versa. This produces the "up there" and the "here", the "here" and the "over there" (183-188).

Lincoman's version emphasizes this horizontal mediation: the sea is depicted as similar to a tide, receding and rising against the land. It covers the hills as it grows, killing and isolating people. Therefore, the tale describes a geographical and temporal constitution of a world (people move towards the hills, from "here" to "over there") defined by social relations turned inwards (isolation, hunger, incapacity to share) and by engagements with the environment. This engagement relates to a suggested, previous "debauched living" that produces catastrophes that only leave immediate, marine resources at hand. These do not depend on collective work, but on loneliness. I argue that Lincoman's version mythicizes the tide as a transformational horizontality that repeats the catastrophe each time, making a temporal, archipelago-geography emerge along a place to live by the sea, a "here" between the hills and the shores that must be attempted to resume life. This "here" resembles the Colditan *campos* between the tide and the forested mountains. In turn, the resuming of life takes us to the issue of potentially traversing the *estuarios* in order to reach other islands and people after the catastrophe. What is left latent in the last moments of Lincoman's version is the man's need to reach out to others if he is to abandon his loneliness. Sailing would be the only way of resuming sociality, a collective way of life that does not depend on the dangerous sea. In sum, the central elements of this version are the immersion in "debauched living"; the horizontality of the tide as a geographical and temporal mediation; the emergence of a fractured world with no *campos*; isolation, madness and loneliness; and the possibility of sailing elsewhere after a sacrifice. As its name suggests ("How Chiloé got divided ..."), Lincoman's narration has this more geographical, "horizontal" approach at its core.

As Hugo Carrasco (1986) puts it, the myth of "Trengr-Trengr..." describes the constitution of a "second cosmos" (41-4). This theory is adequate for Chiloé, when comparing its geography to that of the Araucanía region. Just south of the Chacao Canal, continental Chile breaks into several islands as the coast and the central valley flood. In the south of mainland Chile, from where most of the known versions of "Trengr-Trengr..." come from, there is an extended valley between the Andes and the coastal range. One of the key aspects of Rosales' version is that, after the struggle, the waters return to their original level, in correlation with a valley that is at a distance from the sea. This is the same valley that, in Chiloé, is underwater. In Lincomán's version, the world is left submerged. The sea does not recede again and the Archipelago is constituted as a flooded world with scattered promontories.

It is in this specific sense that Lincomán's version is geographical or horizontal, producing a meaningful relation between space, time and sociality: it relates a certain custom, both broken and possible to recover, to a particular world of islands. This world is, certainly, Chiloé. Therefore, Lincoman's narration builds a "second cosmos" in a two-folded sense. First, in terms of a separation from a previous custom, likely Mapuche in nature; and second, in terms of a particular geography (that experienced by Lincoman), a space-time correlation of its own, settling an environment and the people relating to it.

I will call this mythicized world a "lived world of confusion", characterized by a "mutual effecting between borders" from where persons are produced. A world where loneliness is an inescapable possibility, given people's "debauched" relations to the environment and to one another. A world where borders between land and sea, and between persons, are perpetually transformed and interwoven with people's behaviour. A world where sociality amounts to the crossing of

boundaries resembling estuaries and canals. This is how I understand Felipe's experienced lived world: an instance of the *viviente's* unstable relations to places, both constituted and diluted by the world that they produce; that is, by a state of confusion.

I will now summarize the notions of lived world and of place that I will use throughout the thesis, and how they relate to Felipe's situation.

5. Lived world and place

In considering how Felipe observed his grandfather's *campo*, it follows that the Colditan lived involves a strong attachment to place, a "belonging". According to Keith Basso (1996), places are built through "symbolic materials" that bind people together through ideas, behaviours and values imprinted in a shared environment. Persons incorporate these meanings into "*their own most fundamental experience*", as places reflect symbols back through language and memory. Places involve imaginative, inventive historical productions. They are felt and thought with intensity, and are thus imbedded with emotion and knowledge: places can be thought as residing within the person (Loc2576-2608). Basso postulates that senses of place are immediate, difficult to question, and "*a regular aspect of how things are*" (Loc2591).

I believe that Felipe, in reflecting on leaving his *antiguos' campo*, felt that he was becoming displaced, devoid of his relation to a lived world: the traces on the brink of disappearing at the beaches (the low sea trails); the roads through the forest menaced by the growth of the bush; the *campos*, the tide and the sea moving on their own, with no one there to see for them. If he departed, anything he could say about *campos* in Coldita would cease to be true. As Meløe put it: he would become an improper observer. Nevertheless, this possibility of becoming out of place, that a place reflects back something beyond meaning, is not necessarily contingent: it is a characteristic of the Colditan lived world of confusion, as loneliness in Lincoman's myth shows.

In Coldita, place is the *campo* where the houses of a single consanguineal family are located. These *campos* are dispersed throughout the territory, separated by patches of *renuevo*. In them, families share food, means for work and animals, and reach for other *campos* to create social bonds. They are located by the tide and the *renuevo*, between the sea and the mountains. The *campo* must be first opened, cleared of trees and rushes by *roce* and then kept that way, as if stabilized. It is in these *campos* where meaning is both elicited and reflected back to the *viviente*, allowing meaningful relations with the environment and with others. They hold the memories of the *antiguos*, signs and traces of work, and other marks produced by different events. In sum, Colditan *campos*, considered as places, produce both space and time within a lived world of confusing borders: the *renuevo* that grows over the *campo*, the tide that must be followed, the complex relations between people and *campos* themselves. Both dwelling in these *campos* and their constitution are informed by the mythological elements described above, making the *viviente* both emergent and diluted: after the catastrophe, the sea became too close to the land, and the wailing man was left alone in that closing border where no *campos*, or places, existed. The border was reflected back to Felipe by a madness within, which resembled this closure. Therefore, places are not completely transparent. They reflect the very possibility of the Colditan

person's enclosed self, their dissolution, their instability while dwelling in this lived world of confusion.

In this sense, the lonely man wandering by the coast speaks to Felipe's felt loneliness and displacement: an incapacity to act, to speak and to observe within places that are disappearing.

I will now turn to the Colditan version of this same myth, exploring these ideas further.

6. A Colditan version of the myth

The following local version of "Treng-Treng..." complements Lincoman's in various ways. First, it shows how the myth meaningfully relates to a Colditan lived world. Second, it allows the introduction of the *monte*, and thus the relation between land, sea and forest. And third, it shows how the myth repeats in Coldita, as the tide and the *renuevo* move and endlessly constitute a world crossed by catastrophe and recursive behaviour.

In early December of 2018 I was staying at Nancy and Felipe's house in Blanchard. One morning, I found myself alone with Nancy in the kitchen, and asked her if she followed the moon to sow. She told me that she did, but that after the earthquake of 2016²⁶ a displacement between the moon and the tide endured. For instance, until some years ago, a big, yellow moon meant that the sea would begin to "*mermar*", but that was not the case anymore. Colditans call "*merma de marea*" (tide decrease or stagnation) a sudden stop of the tide, when the moon is in the middle of its crescent or waning cycle. During the *mermas*, the sea "*no baja ni sube mucho*" ("it does not grow nor ebb that much"), tending to be "*mar lleno*" (full sea). *Merma* is also the receding of the tide during a single day cycle.

Nancy explained to me that the sea is now fuller and ebbs less. When I asked her about the effects of the 1960 earthquake, she told me that she heard from her *antiguos* that it had been the same: a sudden mismatch between moon and sea. Some parts of the land sunk while others became exposed. In other places the tide began to ebb more, and less in others. I then asked her if she knew of the myth written down by José Santos Lincoman, and then narrated it to her. She reflected about it for a while and then replied that she had indeed heard something like that before. Then, she narrated her own version:

The *antiguos* said that everything in Coldita was once *monte*, before people came and made their *campos*. This can be observed in the trunks and roots left in the "*chena*", a narrow, humid grass and rush strip between the solid land and the coast. When the tide grows this former *monte* and cultivated land becomes hidden, but is exposed again when the sea recedes. The *antiguos* also said that a long time ago the sea was filled with an "abundance" of shellfish and fishes. But because of their behaviour ("*su propio actuar*") towards each other and nature, catastrophes occurred. For example, Colditans caused "evil" ("*mal*") to one another. Catastrophes came in the form of earthquakes, sea rises ("*subidas de mar*") and extreme heat.

²⁶ It took place on the 25 of December, reaching a 7.6 in the Richter scale, its epicentre 28 kilometres southwest of Quellón. It is the strongest earthquake registered after that of 1960 ("Terremoto de Chiloé", at <https://emergenciaydesastres.mineduc.cl/terremoto-de-chiloe/>, consulted 29 of September of 2022).

The turmoil made the sea become fuller (“*más lleno*”), like it is today: the *antiguos* knew that this would happen again. There are many signs that this is true: the vanishing of the local, Chilotean black hen; the consumption of modern food instead of local food; the contamination of the waters and its concomitant production of foul oxygen (absorbed by the trees, poisoning their roots and, in turn, activating volcanoes and earthquakes); and the generalized disrespect for the elderly.

First, let us consider how Nancy’s version puts the *monte* at play. In her account, people arrived at Coldita when the *monte* was pervasive and the sea was filled with resources. Then, these people began to relate to one another, implicating that they started to work, to open *campos*. But they eventually made evil to one another, and thus catastrophes endured. Because Nancy compares the present with the mythical time, following the *antiguos* prediction of a repetition of events, I propose that one of the effects of the catastrophe is *campos* being no longer viable. The mythical *antiguos*, faced with sea rises, earthquakes and a scorching sun, became unable to dwell in their *campos*, just like Lincoman’s lonely man. And so the *monte* grows towards the canal. This is also happening today, as Colditans migrate to Quellón and the territory is abandoned.

Monte is not only a forest but a forested mountain. This helps us approach the “hidden” *monte* in Lincoman’s account (1990). One could assume, considering the similar geography between Compu and Coldita, that Lincoman’s mythological family had to turn to the *monte* to find shelter. When offering his wife and son to the sea, the lonely man had to “*bajar a la playa*”, “go down to the beach” (84). That is, he had come down from the hills to the coast. At the same time, and as Nancy’s version suggests, it could be the case that a period of abundance, in *campos* formerly reclaimed from the *monte*, was also the rule. But, in the present of the myth and after the catastrophe, the lonely man is unable to replicate this: the *monte* grows, the tide rises, the world is covered and no *campo* can be opened between land and sea. This is just like in Felipe’s grandfather’s *campo*: the forest is cleared but it eventually grows and reaches the sea, if no one sees for it, if no living person is working the land. In sum, Nancy’s version adds another border to our analysis, similar to that of the tide: the *renuevo* of the *monte*. Synthesizing these versions, it can be said that, once, there were people working their *campos* who enjoyed abundance, but who misbehaved. A catastrophe of land and sea endured. The *monte* grew and the sea rose, colliding over dwelling places and menacing to become one single border. Turning to Lincoman’s version and to Felipe’s situation, a concomitant state of loneliness made it difficult to resume life again. These colliding, overlapping environmental borders are reflected by the man’s madness. Nancy’s version asserts that this will happen again.

Second, let us consider how Nancy’s version elicits a mythicized lived world where the myth repeats in the present. For this, I suggest that we approach a local understanding of the tide. Similar to Lincoman’s version, in Nancy’s the catastrophe pertains a turmoil relation between land and sea. Her account describes consecutive earthquakes and sea rises until the sea stagnates and stays full, leaving the lands submerged. The tide reveals the signs of the previous world (the former valleys, one could say) by receding and leaving the ancient trees exposed. At the same time, when Colditans describe their sea as having tides that are not so strong, they are also saying that the sea is *mermado*. For Colditans, this condition is caused by catastrophes, especially earthquakes. As such, the notion of a current *mermado* state of the sea after 2016

seems to comply with the versions of the myth analysed here. Indeed, the mythological outcome is also a sea that, after the catastrophe, is fuller, turmoiled, unpredictable, and that refuses to recede: tides are not clear anymore.

In Nancy's account, there is a sense of repetition in at least three ways. First, the *mermado* sea is both a characteristic of the mythological time and of the present. Second, catastrophes keep on happening because people will always behave in a certain way, as the *antiguos* said: another catastrophe will unleash in the future because of a "debauched living". Third, and given that in Nancy's version the trees of the *chena* are both exposed and covered by the tides every single day, a repetition of the events of the myth emerges: the sea rises towards the *monte* and then recedes only to rise again, tending to reproduce the horizontal mythological cycle in a persistent *mermado* state.

It is in this sense of constant tendency that we can understand the third point suggested for this section: a relation between Lincoman's and Nancy's mythological accounts and the Colditan geography, a mythicized world that changes second after second. The coming and going of the tide relentlessly blurs the border between land and sea, as this border always "tends". The mythological catastrophe produces a similar world, where the borders between *monte*, land and sea are dangerously undefined in a fractured, archipelago-like world. I propose that the tide repeats this in the present. The land is not exempt from these movements, even though in another, slower timing: that of the border of the *renuevo* growing over the Colditan dwelling places, towards the sea. In turn, the differential, bordered/bordering movements of the tide and of the *renuevo* affect people living in their *campos*. As our versions of the myth suggest, it is people's behaviour that brings these catastrophes about, repeating like the tide.

All of these borders constitute the mythological, horizontal mediation suggested by Lévi-Strauss, although in a multiplicity²⁷. As the tide, the forest, the *campos* and sociality move, they constantly constitute the Colditan mythicized world in time and space, by means of the symbolical materials that the myth provides at any given conjuncture. What is at the centre of this world are the *campos* where meaning is elicited from within this multiplicity of mythicized borders. The versions considered seem to describe the dangers of them cancelling out, along the disappearance of *campos* as places of dwelling. Loneliness would not allow persons exist, given that no mutual observation of tasks, and no truth, could be elicited where no *campos* have been opened: the person turns in on themselves. But because the events of the myth repeat through people's behaviour, this danger cannot be escaped. The cancelling of borders in the environment, and over the *campos*, is mythically and emotionally reflected within the *viviente*. I believe that this is what Felipe was feeling, or at least in part, when faced with his *campo* alone: the cancelling out of the borders produced by work, in relation to himself. He felt like he was repeating a behaviour that could only end in a catastrophe, namely the abandonment of Coldita as he moved to the city.

There is another element to compare in Lincoman's and Nancy's versions of "Trengr-Trengr...": witchcraft. In Nancy's version, witchcraft amounts to the "evil" that people did to each other

²⁷ For a different structuralist discussion of the environmental dimensions in mythological Chiloé, see the work of Jaime Blume (1984). The author suggests a "lost unity" after the sky allegedly vanished from Chilote mythology. This is at odds with our analysis of tendencies and of the unstable, mythicized lived world.

when in “abundance”. In Lincoman’s, witchcraft is apparent in the powers of the sea, demanding a sacrifice from the isolated family. Different from Rosales’ version, where sacrifice creates relations between humans and non-human creatures, the sea acts as an entity that lures the man into giving his family away, affecting his mind. First, his wife convinces him of sacrificing her, but sociality is not fixed. Then, he sacrifices his son, receiving an abundance of marine resources that only require collection to enjoy them. Interestingly, the child seems to lure his father too, through a lie: he suggests to him that it was his mother who asked for his sacrifice, but this does not seem true. The man is left mentally disturbed, mad and alone, roaming the beaches and with no *campo* of his own. As we will consider in Chapter 3, Colditans believe that witches approach and lure people. Their ultimate wish is to consume persons in loneliness, like this mythological sea.

7. Mutually effecting borders and the *viviente*

Having delineated a Colditan, mythicized lived world of environmental and social borders, in this section I suggest that this world can be described with the central concepts of this thesis: confusion (the mutual effecting between these borders) and the *viviente* (the Colditan person).

In the Colditan lived world, the borders between the sea, the land and the forest affect one another directly. First, let me address how the sea and the tide affects the land. A way to approach this specific effecting is potato cultivation. To sow potatoes, a plot of grassed land is chopped with a kind of hoe (“*gualato*”), making a rectangular plot of removed soil. Potato seeds are then planted in lined-up holes. After this, the grassed soil must be flipped (“*volteada*”), usually with a plough operated by sheer strength or by a pair of oxen. The resulting squared turfs of grass and soil are then left on each side of the lined-up, planted seeds, producing the *melgas*. The *melgas* are then grinded (“*majadas*”). When the plant of the potato has grown, it has to be covered with soil (“*aporcada*”).

Both the sowing and the covering of the potato must be made with the waning moon (“*caída de luna*”, also “*mengua*”) or in *mermas de marea*, lest potatoes become rotten. More specifically, potatoes can be sown up to four days after the crescent moon begins, but not beyond it. The reason behind this relates to tide currents having an effect on the land. On the waning moon, especially while the sea is still *mermado*, the tide has less currents (“*menos corrientes*”). This allows sowing the potato seeds by avoiding the water currents that rotten the crops. In general, everything that grows beneath the soil must be sown and worked with the waning moon or the *mermas*. Tide currents (and thus the moon) make the crops produce too many roots (“*raizadas*”) and rotten, because of the intense effects of the sea. It follows that everything that sprouts above the soil (wheat, broad beans, peas) must be sown on the crescent moon (“*creciente*”).

The sea and the tides, through the moon, also affect the trees, both in the *monte* and in the *campos*. A tree can be cut on both the waning and crescent moons, depending on the purpose of the timber. Colditans refer that the waning moon and the *merma* make the sap of the tree settle inside the roots, and thus the trunk becomes drier. The resulting timber is said to be less prone to tear, and can therefore be used for building houses, furniture and boats. On the

contrary, the crescent moon, and thus the growing tide, make the sap climb up the trunk, and the timber becomes more easily split. This timber will be useful for firewood and shingles.

Colditans say that *antiguos* believed in other relations between land and sea. A witch might collect soil from a potato field and throw it into the sea when the currents were strong, making potatoes turn "*maleadas*" (rotten). Cooking fire was not to approach the sea, or sea resources would disappear. If a fire were made on the beach while collecting shellfish, the spirits of the sea would deny sea abundance. The same goes for pouring hot water into the sea: the spirits would become angered, and flee. As considered in Lincoman and Nancy's versions, shellfish and fish are particularly sensitive to human behaviour on land. These past beliefs reflect this. Also, the Colditan way of life involves a close following of the movements of the tides: the proper times for sailing, the anchoring of boats, the opening of the causeway between Coldita island and Coldita Isla Grande, the collection of molluscs and, as noted above, the effects of the sea currents on trees and crops. This means that proper behaviour imagined by Colditans involves a know-how these tides, a constant minding of the sea.

In terms of how practices and elements of the land affect the sea, Colditans say that water is sensitive to pernicious attitudes, and to conflicts between people on land. Apart from sea rises, this is especially so for sea resources. According to Juan Luis, a Colditan in his thirties, the *pelillo* algae (*Agarophyton chilense*) around Coldita disappeared "*because of people's quarrels*", and "*because they did not manage nor worked it properly*". It was the same case with the urchin that once thrived on the eastern shore of the island, and with mussels. "*Before*", Juan Luis told me, "*the low sea was filled with choritos. One could walk and stick a foot in the sand, and there was a bed of them there*". It was Colditan's ill behaviour that made all of these sea resources become scarce, or gone.

Lastly, let us turn to the border between the *monte* and the *campos*: the *renuevo*. The *renuevo* moves towards cleared land; that is, the *campos* themselves. Because these places are maintained both against and following the border of that growth, the *renuevo* actually allows the possibility for work and for leaving traces: *campos* are created as Colditans engage with the *renuevo*. At the same time, the border of the *monte*, the *renuevo* as such, covers the *campos* and thus the very possibility of a lived world. As I describe in Chapter 2, the *monte* is filled with dangerous spirits and creatures that might affect persons, crippling them and turning them inwards with excessive thoughts, just as Lincoman's lonely man. It is thus necessary that the Colditan person minds this border too. The effect on the *monte* of those living in the *campos* is self-evident: they have to cut it and burn its rests to make the *campos* viable, producing the *renuevo*.

I argue that there is a "mutual effecting between borders" at play. The tide and the *renuevo* are borders that endlessly overlap and affect one another by mediation of the *campo*. In turn, the borders of place, of the *campos* themselves, are permeable to those environmental borders of the sea and the *monte*. If these borders meld, if Two Colditan persons and places cease to exist, then no lived world could be rendered possible. Following the epithet that Felipe directed at me, I call this "confusion": an effect of the dangerous overlapping produced by the mutual effecting between borders. Confusion relates to a proximity of dimensions and its materialities, a closeness where distinguishing one thing from the other becomes dangerously difficult. Through confusion, the unstable integrity of those dwelling within these borders is always at stake. What

is being risked is falling into madness and loneliness, both expressions of confusion: an excessive relation to an enclosed self that resembles an enclosed world. It is in this sense that I use the concept of “Colditan lived world of confusion”, namely a mythicized world of environmental, social and temporal instability, including that of persons.

The kind of person that emerges from this lived world of confusion is the *viviente*. The *viviente* both constitutes and is constituted through the opening and clearing of *campos*, the following of the tide and the overall relations to the environment and to others. For the *viviente*, confusion is an inescapable condition, given that it reflects, in social relations and in relations with the self, the mutual effecting of borders, producing the bordered/bordering places at the centre of this world. To elucidate what the *viviente* actually is represents the overall project of this thesis, but some initial notions can be offered here.

Once, I asked Nancy if there had been more cleaned lands in Coldita in the past. Her answer is very revealing of what a *viviente* might be:

“When there were people before, yes [there were more cleaned lands]. If you look from a medio [from the middle of the canal, in a boat], you will see that those lands that are now renuevo were tall monte, all of that was tall monte. People themselves were dedicated to working and cutting all of that down, and that is why you have low renuevo. You can immediately tell where there is a viviente because there is low renuevo there, just like in this campo. Those places that are now covered were open a long time ago, forty years ago. There are no more vivientes there but monte, almost the height of the tall trees or bigger. That is how you can tell how many years have passed since there was a viviente there. For example, here you can see the renuevo, how the monte grows, and if you come back twenty years from now you will see that that same monte is covering the trails: all of that is being lost”.

A *viviente* is a person who persistently dwells in a Colditan place: a *campo*. A *campo* is a clearing won to the *monte*, located by the sea. But the *monte* and the tide couldn't be meaningfully observed, as Nancy does, if not for the borders between the forested mountains and the canal, as they trace the *campo*. These borders are mediated by the *vivientes* in their dwelling, making social and geographical distances emerge. In this coproduction between sea, *monte*, *vivientes* and places, the environmental borders grow and recede. The *viviente* ceases to be when nothing is done in this activity space. With no *vivientes*, the mediation that is the *campo* is annihilated. “Work” is the main activity of the *vivientes*: it is the means by which they relate to the mutually effecting borders that constitute the lived world of confusion. There is no place without work, and thus no *viviente*. But, at the same time, there are no borders without work, and thus no state of confusion without *vivientes*.

It also follows that a *viviente* is, as an ideal, never alone. Because opening *campos* and keeping them that way relies on other people living in their own *campos*, there is, again as an ideal, no *viviente* by themselves. A *viviente* exists within a family group and embedded in kin ties between places, sharing activities and concepts of the world. Following Meløe, there is also no *viviente* if work is not being observed by others. Nancy says that if I want to observe *vivientes*, both alive and dead, I must stand from the canal, *as medio*. Indeed, I would usually ask Colditans about *campos* when sailing together, looking at them from a distance. Everyone was aware of which *campo* belonged to whom, what kind of work was done there and why and where their owners

migrated, if they did. By displaying their capacity to recognize another *viviente*, these kinds of observations allow Colditans establish their *viviente* condition. Therefore, a *viviente's* work, their traces and signs, must be attested by others to be meaningful.

In this sense, the wailing man in Lincoman's version of the myth is a potential *viviente*, not a proper one: it depends on him to open a *campo* and relate to others if loneliness will be overcome and a mythicized, lived world of confusion resumed. *Vivientes* are measured in time. The extent of the *renuevo* and of the *monte*, as they approach the sea, tells of the years that have passed since a *viviente* dwelled there. It follows that a time threshold will be eventually reached and the *viviente* will become progressively forgotten, not to be remembered anymore, which is a form of loneliness in death. Such state is reached when the *campo* is no longer distinguishable, the traces of work almost completely gone. This was the threshold that Felipe felt close to when thinking about departure. Thus, the mythical wailing man's state of mind is not an exception but a lingering condition that defines the *viviente* and the lived world of confusion. The *viviente* is only completed as an ideal, never in act: there is always a certain relation to a hidden, overflowing self that defines the Colditan personhood (that is, confusion), which reproduces a "debauched living".

8. One being only

I return to Felipe and me, standing by the pier. Looked at from what has been said in this chapter, it seems that Felipe worried about how loneliness endangered his *viviente* condition. If he stayed, being alone would have made it impossible for him to do what he needed to do. He would have been unable to work without his wife and family, and therefore incapable to keep up with his surroundings: depression would have consumed him. Nevertheless, this feeling is not novel: it is rather an intensification of a condition of the lived world where he experienced an environment, others and himself.

Lincoman's version of the myth directly speaks on this sense of loneliness and depression. In a world that has been flooded, the lonely man asks to himself aloud: why did I kill my family? He laughs, and then cries. He is overcome by depression, Colditans would say: he is confused, alone, assailed by excessive thoughts, erratic, turned in on his opaque self. This kind of extreme confusion stems from the lived world itself, from a mutual effecting between borders that has deeply disturbed him: a turmoiled relation between land and sea. They have been rendered too close, in a confusing affair. It seems to me that Felipe was coping with something similar: he felt lonely because his family had gone away, across the sea. When he saw how the *monte* was progressively covering his worked land, stretching over the canal, Felipe perceived confusion between the mountain and the *campo*. Sea and forest would eventually become "*un solo ser*" ("one being only"), as a Colditan described to me the *mareas mermadas* after the 1960 earthquake. Just as depression pertains a turning inwards when lonely, an internal indistinction within, the sea and the *monte* menace to constitute a single, undistinguishable border as they cover the *campos*: an unliveable world with no *vivientes*, "*un solo ser*", an unleashed, undifferentiated self.

Both Felipe and the man are standing by themselves, on the border between land and sea. But while Felipe is looking at the *monte*, the wailing man is looking at the sea: if one stitches both perspectives together, the Colditan relation between sea and *monte* becomes apparent.

Lastly, I consider the symbolical elements of this lived world of confusion as a “schema”. They amount to the different borders and events suggested in the versions of the myth: recursiveness of behaviour, catastrophes of land and sea, the tide, the *antiguos*, isolation, witchcraft, loneliness and madness, absence of *campos*, the potential for resuming social life and, overall, the tendency of borders to meld. I follow Toren’s (2014) definition of schema. She considers it a shared, microhistorical, autopoietic, self-producing, self-regulating, self-differentiating and thus transformational system that makes persons relationally created in both their physical and mental constitution, and within an environing world that humans bring into being for themselves through intersubjective relations. A schema is always emergent, never fixed. It allows both “assimilating” what is given to the person from birth and “accommodating” it or transforming it. This entails the structuring of sensations and of perception (what is made relevant to perceive in order to elicit meaning: the “given”) and the shared concepts for this structuring. The schema develops both in difference and in continuity, embedded in relationality with others and with the world. Overall, this means that schemas are not external, “cultural” structures or connective models that imbue orderly meanings into biological persons. Rather, their symbolical elements and relations are ever lived and embodied in inventive action, making persons unique, historically constituted and transformational as they evince the schema in sociality. This is why I call our schema “mythical” and not “mythological”: I am not directly dealing with the structuring between different versions of myths, but with how it is that they are enacted and lived through evinced mediation.

Thus, our mythic schema involves certain symbolic elements, given features and behaviours that are historically emplaced and enacted. *Vivientes* both employ and transform these elements, and hence the schema, within an environing world. This makes *vivientes* historically produced entities; that is, emergent, unstable persons in-between intensely felt, space-time confusing borders. These borders are reproduced through practices, attitudes, emotions, ways to perceive and/or to observe that are never fixed, but in permanent unfolding. In the next chapter, I consider how the *viviente* comes to be within this transformational, mythicized world.

Chapter 2: Mind, Work and Loneliness

1. Overview

In this chapter, I describe mutual effects between persons and the elements of the Colditan environment. I also attempt to deepen our understanding of Colditan loneliness as a turning inwards of the *viviente*, a radical expression of the Colditan self. I propose that the *viviente* reflects the cancelation of environmental borders in their constitution as a mind/body border, rather than as a mind/body duality. With this, I attempt to show how the lived world of confusion and the *viviente* entail a sharing of materiality between different dimensions.

Confusion, work and *viviente* are intertwined. Confusion is the conventional state of the Colditan lived world, and work the means by which the *viviente* engages with it, producing borders that tend to cancel each other out. These borders are reproduced in the relation between body and mind, which in turn determines the *viviente's* capacities to work and produce speech. Work and speech cannot keep confusion completely at bay, as the *viviente* originates within it. *Vivientes* manage confusion from the outside (the relations with the environment) and from within (the mind and its effect on the body and onto the self).

First, I describe what Colditans think is an ideal, if unachievable, *viviente* in speech and work. It is unachievable because Colditans believe that other *vivientes* are often confusing. It is also unachievable because minds tend to turn in on themselves in excessive thought and become unclear, and because even though work relates the *viviente* to the environment, it allows confusion to reproduce. Then, I describe how the mutual effecting between the borders of the lived world of confusion are played out within the *viviente*, in their bodies and minds, which constitute another, similar border. The *viviente* is shown at the centre of this complex, making all of these effects possible. Lastly, I come back to the relation between Felipe and me, as one relating to work.

2. The proper *viviente*: speech and mind

In this section, I address how Colditans consider a proper *viviente* is in their capacity for holding conversations, the primary form of speech. Collective mate drinking reproduces the timing of these conversations. It allows asserting one's own condition of proper *viviente*, respectfully listening to interlocutors. The practice of having conversations and drinking mate with others, following certain timings, will be referred as "*saber conversar*" (knowing how to hold conversations), which will lead us to the concept of mind. Indeed, a proper *viviente* must also have a clear mind, devoid of excessive thoughts and therefore of confusion, lest be unable to talk properly. This enables any *viviente* judge the minds of others, but it also means that confusion lingers within the self as a doubt. Judgment of others has mainly to do with the capacity to "*entender*" (understand), which other *vivientes* are said to lack. In their absence, Colditans bash others for *no entender* how to work or behave. In contrast, to name the things done in the land and the marks left there, asserting that one's own work is proper work, is a

recurrent theme in conversations. Colditans tend to avoid self-criticism. They often praise themselves, their own ways of working, their knowledge of practical things and of the current state of affairs (in the community, in the Quellón commune, in Chiloé, in the world).

I myself was criticized for *no entender*. For example, me and two Colditan men, Felipe being one of them, were climbing a steep hill, searching for a stray horse. I asked Felipe, for the third time, which family had owned that land. Felipe was annoyed by the question. “*That is why some people of the community are upset with you: because you no entiende*”, he replied. In the same vein, Dora, an elderly Colditan woman, told me that she would no longer talk to me because “*usted no entiende*”: about *campos*, about families, about the past. She felt that speaking to me was futile: how could she explain anything if I just did not know? “*No converso más*” (“I won’t speak anymore”), she said many times during a conversation of September of 2019. Leaders from Coldita’s committees²⁸ would say that people *no entiende* about the ongoing projects and programmes, and that external agents manipulate them. Leaving a *campo* abandoned, being lazy and leaving one’s own family unattended are also signs of *no entender*. In sum, other persons are never proper *vivientes*, because they *no entienden* how to work, how to behave and the overall affairs of the community and the world.

A *viviente* has to be able to relate to others through speech, that is, through “*conversación*”, (conversation) or “*conversa*” (short for “conversation”). The verb *conversar* can be used in a myriad of ways that are difficult to translate from Chilote Spanish to English: *lo conversó* (talked about it, as to imply “he/she said it”); *me conversó* (talked to me, implying “he/she spoke to me about something”); *lo dejó conversado* (he left it [there] spoken/said instead of “he spoke about it”, remaining as information that belongs to the speaker); *los antiguos lo conversaban* (the ancients talked about it, that is, “the ancients said it”); *se lo conversé a él/ella* (I talked about it with him/her, implying “I said it to him/her”); *para qué voy a conversarlo, si usted no entiende* (why would I say this to you, if you do not understand [what is necessary to know in order to follow what I will say to you]”); and *eso yo siempre lo converso* (I always talk about this [to others], meaning “I always say this to others”, given that he/she knows about it first hand).

These verbal forms show that to *conversar* is to speak: it relates to experience, information, memory and the capacity to meaningfully engage with others. From the *viviente* perspective, any form of legitimate, oral speech is *conversar*. There is no form of speech that does not involve talking to other people: speech is impossible in loneliness. When alone, you can only talk to three kinds of entities: yourself, the dead and the Christian God. These are not proper conversations because there is no understanding involved, no assessment of the interlocutor. So, in order to *conversar*, it is necessary to *entender*, to share an experience with others and to evaluate their capabilities. To *entender* and to hold conversations, a *viviente* must also be a good listener, and not talk excessively.

As Giovanna Bacchiddu suggested about the Apiao island (Chiloé), both affable conversations and conversations for asking favours are seldom held outside houses, because hospitality and favour exchanges are deployed in the household, especially the kitchen. This is the same for Coldita. *Saber conversar* is mainly reproduced in the kitchens, where the stove is: that’s where

²⁸ The Indigenous community, the neighbourhood committee, the water committee, the Islands committee, the Territorial Indigenous Development Programme committee, the Church committee and the Indigenous People’s Coastal-Maritime Space committee.

conversations about work, witchcraft, politics, community affairs and other events take place. Mate drinking during visits between family and friends is essential for this. Bacchiddu (2019) described how “*visitas*” (visits) are conducted in order to ask for a favour, creating social relations of “*obligación*” (obligation) between households. These visits entail a certain timing in the conversations involved, usually addressing vague topics before touching on the actual reason for the visit (124-127, 134, 137). In Tweo Coldita, conversations do occur in contexts of favour asking. But Colditans also like to *conversar*. Plain as that. This is relatively at odds with some of Bacchiddu’s observations, namely that “*visiting is a serious and fraught practice, since it implies crossing boundaries, defining roles, and highlighting otherness*” (126). There is certainly a “danger” in relating to others, and to the environment, which affects the *viviente*. But even if those others *no entienden* and are thus sources of conflict, conversations are highly desirable. They represent a chance for self-assertion, for showing “clearness”.

Colditans meet specifically to have *conversas*, because they are necessary. By general rule, they would invite me into their houses without even knowing me, and I was astounded by how open they were. Almost every time, the invitation was followed by the question of whether or not I drank mate. By the end of the evening, they would ask me to come back and have another conversation. Colditans would often say “*estuvo buena la conversa*” to their interlocutors (the conversation was very good). This would always entail the drinking of mate, as no proper conversation goes without mate herb.

Mate is bought in town, and there is always a bag in each household. Some Colditans might get nervous if they do not have any, and would often say that they need mate to *conversar*: “*the mate opens the conversa*”, I was told more than once. Similar to what Bacchiddu (2019) described for Apiao (127), the host of the house, usually a man, puts the mate herb in the gourd. They must also keep the water hot in the kettle but never boiled, lest the mate become “burnt”. After pouring the water, the host is the first to drink: the first sip is the bitterest, and they would not want their guests to taste it. Then, they give the mate gourd to one of the guests, who will drink the full boiled water and then pass it back to the host, so they can pour water again and serve it to the next person, and so forth. The gourd goes from one guest to the other, and the mate is served during the whole conversation. By general rule, one must say “thanks” when you do not want any more mate. Colditans explain that those unaware of this rule would thank when the first mate is given to them. They are thus left without mate, as the expression is interpreted as a withdrawal.

As I see it, collective mate drinking is the actual timing of *conversa* as a notion, defining what it means to *saber conversar*. Colditans say that mate brings people together, allowing *la conversa* as such. For example, a mistake that most non-Chilote people make is delaying the drinking of the mate, keeping the gourd for too long and not passing it back to the host. Colditans get nervous about this, and not only because others are being prevented from drinking. Most especially, this relates to interrupting the conversation. Holding the mate gourd will surely mean that you are talking too much and not letting others enter the chat, especially the host.

Indeed, to *saber conversar* one must also know how to listen and be silent. Excessive talk is not welcomed, nor is interrupting others. Another relevant aspect is that hosts must be able to hold on to a theme, so it is usual that they return to the topic of conversation if it has changed too much: “*I have to finish my conversación*” was an expression used when a conversation had

moved elsewhere. This lets a host, and sometimes a guest, assert that they know what is being talked about, and that they are not digressing. Those who digress *no saben conversar* because digressing is too much like talking to yourself.

Topics of *conversas* cannot be forced, lest one be seen as trying to control it. Once, I was having a conversation with Felipe and another guest. When I made a specific remark about some issues regarding the indigenous committee, Felipe shouted: “*there is the fire, do not step on it!*”. He later explained that the *antiguos* would say this when someone pinpointed the issue at hand. To “step on the fire” is to address the topic too quickly and directly, extinguishing it too soon. Conversations about important things need time to grow.

Collective mate drinking enacts the ideal relation between *vivientes* who *saben conversar*. The ritual allows the host to assert their condition of *viviente*, relating to others inside his house and showing that they can talk properly. Most of the time, conversations touch on the topic of work, past or present, asserting the condition of *viviente* to the interlocutors. The host will most likely touch upon the work they have done, recently or in the past, demonstrating their presence in his own *campo*. In Coldita, conversations prior to the very reason of the visit are not idle: they serve the purpose of reproducing a certain timing, a flow of information, and of showing the capacity to *conversar* and work. It is important to note that, because the host also drinks mate, they do not constantly speak: they must also take their time in sipping from the gourd, and in listening. This lets guests show that they can also talk about what they know and who they know, and about what they have done through work.

The question of who initially *conversó* what is being said is always relevant; that is, the source of the information, be it oneself, a relative, a close acquaintance or a very well-known *antiguo*. A person must ensure they are speaking from experience. In this sense, mate drinking and *conversar* determine what can be known amongst those who participate in the conversation. Whatever escapes one’s own experience as an asserted, clear-headed *viviente* is prone to cause confusion, and thus make knowing anything impossible. In conversations, certain information is held as a binding truth between those involved, even if partially: what is said is passed on from one *viviente* to the other, and it will be held in their minds as thoughts, as we will see. Whatever I can know of anything relevant comes from conversations with others, and thus from speech. As a Colditan friend put it, when talking and drinking mate “*we should see each other’s faces*”: *vivientes* are expected to be transparent and responsible for what they say. It is conversation that makes something true, in the sharing of experiences that hopefully (but never fully) will make confusion clearer. In sum, to know is to have speech, that is, to *conversar*. I propose that *conversar* is a way to keep confusion, that which cannot be determined in its origin, at bay when a number of *vivientes* meet, enabling *vivientes*’ self-assertion in front of others.

But no conversation is perfect. Mate drinking is a model, not reality itself. Maybe interlocutors talk too much, get too angry and aggressive or talk about something they do not know about: they *no entienden, no saben conversar*. If a *viviente* needs the presence of others for conducting work and conversations, and if those others are usually described as if lacking certain capacities, it follows that one’s own condition of *viviente* is at stake when approaching them, because they might confuse me: confusion lurks in conversations.

All of this must be taught. As Dora, the elderly woman who told me she would not talk to me anymore, explained to me, “*no one will teach me how to conversar now. I would never forget how to do it, because my father me conversaba. I remember everything that he me conversó, a long time ago*”. To *saber conversar* is learned from adult *vivientes*. Children are taught how to talk to others through *mate*, to which they are introduced from an early age in conversations with kin and close acquaintances. A Colditan woman in her thirties once told me that her child, of around ten years old, was very special: “*he is more mature than other children, he drinks mate with the adults and knows how to conversar on equal terms with them. He asks about the antiguos’ things*”. Here, what is identified as proper *viviente* characteristics, in a child who acts as an adult, is *saber conversar* in ideally horizontal relations, that is, without interrupting and asking adequate questions, especially about the past. Children are restrained from talking too much to adults when visitors arrive, as they could humiliate the host by taking the conversation elsewhere. This is considered rude, and children would usually just watch how *mate* is being drunk. But they do listen, and the topics can be very adult-oriented: alcohol, drugs, sex, gruesome witchcraft cases, harsh criticism of other *vivientes*, money issues. Children are expected to progressively understand these topics, and to accumulate knowledge through listening to adults and the elderly.

A person can start partaking in proper *mate* drinking around adolescence, having learned the timing of conversations. Adolescents are believed to have experiences of their own, suitable for sharing. In Chiloé, this capacity is called “*juicio*” (judgement). I remember a Chilote woman I met in 2014, just north of Quellón. When I told her about my life story (that I had not been born in Chiloé but had lived in Castro, the capital, since the age of four), she replied: “*o sea, usted vino a tener juicio acá en Chiloé*” (“so, you acquired *juicio* here in Chiloé”). *Juicio* is the capacity to assess others’ intentions and the situations in which a *viviente* might find themselves in. This involves the “somewhere” where raising develops and the personal experience accumulated in it: in Coldita, the *campo*. It follows that one can only judge those experiences’ that are known, usually created in dwelling places similar to one’s own. With *juicio*, experiences obtained by children when growing up become valid for working and *conversar*: now they *entienden* and can relate to other’s experiences, asserting themselves as *vivientes*.

In contrast to young and adult *vivientes*, older Colditans are usually allowed to speak and be heard with no interruptions. It is understood that, as people grow old, they no longer share life experiences with living *vivientes*, because most of their kin and acquaintances have died. Therefore, they no longer know people with whom meaningful conversations can be held. But, at the same time, they are respected for what they know. Even if they are believed to speak in confusing manners, jumping from one topic to the other idly, Colditans consider that they must be heard anyway, because of their knowledge of the past (Chapter 5).

Colditans would say that they make constant efforts to work with others and to *conversar* with them. My friend Belasio Llancahuen, of some fifty years old, would often declare something like this. I stayed at his house in the La Mora locality, in Coldita Island, on many occasions. He lives with his wife, his second son and his younger daughter and her son, Belasio’s grandchild. His *campo* is a small portion of rocky land by the La Mora islet. It has two households, the second one belonging to his elder son, who lives with his wife and daughter. In May of 2019, while chatting in his kitchen, Belasio told me “*I can drink mate with everyone and conversar with*

everyone. But they might have no mind nor heart, no arms nor legs, a complete disorder within them. Some people are double-edged, unpredictable. Sometimes people misbehave with me, they do not invite me to drink mate, and I feel pain, frustration, anger, confusion. But I understand, with my clear mind and my thought (“pensamiento”), that there is something bad within them, that they no entienden”. To have no mind, heart and limbs entails that those people that Belasio relates to do not know how to work or think. Unlike him, they *no entienden*, because, while he himself has a clear mind, others do not. Despite this perceived confusion, this evil, Belasio must continue to engage with them. He must behave properly even with those who do not, lest become like them: a source of confusion, a person who *no sabe conversar*. But, in relating to them in this way, a doubt on how other people see him, and how this gaze affects him, lingers. He internalizes how other *vivientes* think of him because he is already bound to them, to their judgements.

In Belasio’s account, *saber conversar* relates to a concept of mind. In Coldita, references to mind are very frequent, especially when asserting one’s own capacity to *entender*. Mind is located inside the head, and is usually described as a compound of thoughts. Thoughts tend to proliferate as they are influenced from the outside, swarming and producing different forms of confusion, such as depression. A mind must be clear (“*clara*”), free of such proliferation, in order to operate properly. *Conversar* with others, and especially engaging with work, are the means for achieving this, keeping excessive thinking at bay. To have a clear mind (“to understand with my mind”, as Belasio put it) is a characteristic that Colditans would claim for themselves. They would say that they *entienden* and that they have good memory, especially when recalling the “*cosas antiguas*” (the old things) and past conversations. As Juana told me after a meeting of the indigenous committee, a person and especially a local leader “*has to have a clear mind to bring together [the vivientes], to conversar and to entender*”.

I propose that the clear mind opposes the confusion inside *viviente*’s minds and self. Similarly, Huon Wardle (2018) wrote about Jamaica’s street life in terms of the moral sentiments allowing people to judge one another empathetically. Empathy lets Jamaicans transcend the partial incapacity of fully knowing another’s intentions. In turn, “bad mind” is a psychic state that is usually imagined as residing within others, but those others might judge me in the same way. Jamaicans, Wardle suggests, ponder themselves as besieged by other’s bad minds, by their “negative empathy” (51). This is similar to what Belasio describes as the “bad” within others, their overall “disorder” and unpredictability. A proper person should try to understand others and be good with them despite their bad minds, as Belasio claims to do. Bad mind is an “agency” that can affect others in “toxic” ways (55), spreading and even killing those to which it is directed (66). In our example, Belasio’s sadness and anger are produced by the disorder within those who deny him mate: they produce confusion. As bad mind, confusion lingers inside other *vivientes*’ opaque selves, menacing to spread. In his account, Belasio needs to understand this confusion in order to ease its effect on him: he keeps on relating to other *vivientes* despite their ill intentions. This is essential to keep a clear mind.

Judgement of others’ minds, says Wardle (2018), allows one to know one’s own. But to assert bad mind in social relations is also to say that, within people, “*lurks awareness of an absence of knowledge of why they are who they are*” (66). Therefore, there is a persistent doubt about how minds actually work, including my own. Other’s will also judge what lies within me, the clarity of

my own mind, my good or my bad intentions, and how my acts might affect others. When Belasio defines his mind as clear, and others' as spreaders of confusion, he also asserts a doubt about his own self that can only be partially dissipated by relating to others, by trying to understand them in order to understand himself. Therefore, the unclearness of most minds and the clearness of one's own define one another in borders that tend to meld. I propose that these borders are also elements of the lived world of confusion.

Consequently, and in terms of the ideal, proper person, the *viviente* must have a clear, strong, discrete mind, with distinguishable thoughts: *juicio*. A similar Colditan concept to a confused mind, opposed to a clearness of the mind, is to have a heavy mind ("*mente pesada*"). A heavy mind is full of thoughts, and thus a person influenced by it does not speak too much to others and *no entiende* what is being told to them. In contrast, a clear mind needs others, *conversa* and work, to keep itself that way. Minds are always prone to become confused through excessive thoughts and sentiments that usually have their cause outside, in other *vivientes* or, as we will see, the surroundings. Also, to keep a mind as clear as possible is a constant effort. Colditans often say they are "just like you see me" ("*así como me ve*"), and humble; that is, a single, readable person. These are all concepts that underscore the transparency of a person, the easiness of relating to them. In sum, clearness: "I am not the source of any confusion". Nevertheless, the relation between the *viviente* as a person and the self as an unclear affair is never resolved.

But a proper *viviente* cannot only *conversar* with others. They must also work and relate to the environment in a certain way. In the next section, I describe the concept of work further, as Colditans employ it.

3. The proper *viviente*: work

Here, work will be interpreted as the opening of places or *campos* and the leaving of signs in those places, keeping confusion at bay through the engagement with the exterior. But, at the same time, work produces the borders that make confusion exist.

When asked about how they are doing, Colditans often reply "*a pura pega*" (only working), being *pega* a common Chilean slang for work: they present themselves according to their capacities to work, to their *saber trabajar*. Knowing how to work entails knowledge of the environment, of the conceptual space, in Meløe's terms (1988): the tides, the seasons for fishing and sowing, the proper trees to cut, the climate, the *roces*; but also the tools, the types of woods, the boats. As noted in the previous section, a *viviente* who is a host for mate drinking will almost always talk about their own work.

Work is usually described as something that men do, while women would often stay at home, making food and tending both the garden, the poultry and the pigs. Women also work in the potato fields. But activities such as boat fixing, timber cutting and *roces* are almost exclusively the work of men. Both men and women collect shellfish and algae, but it is usually women who are in charge. Mollusc cultivation in aquaculture lines is also the task of men. Without women, men tend to feel lost. They lack the necessary food for work, as they usually do not know how

to cook. For Colditans, proper food is spiced food, and includes potatoes or shellfish, usually in the form of stews. The production, giving and sharing of this food, as Colditans see it, is essential for raising children, sociality and for managing work in the *campos*, or even in town. In Blanchard, I knew a couple that was struggling because the wife had become chronically ill. She could not “help” her husband anymore, the man said to me once. He told me that, in an outburst of anger, he reprimanded her for not feeding him when going “outside” to work. “*Am I supposed to only eat air?*”, he scolded her.

Proper work is a complementation between man and woman that depends on the production (or buying) of food in the *campos*. Food relates to locality, there where *juicio* is attained. To be a proper, embodied *viviente*, it is necessary to partake in the forms of sociality that the eating and sharing of certain foods allows. Nowadays, Colditans mainly depend on food bought at the city, but they still praise local produce and the cooking capacities of women (although the majority of Tweo Colditan women are also acquainted with work activities). As noted, food is important to produce (masculine) bodies fitted for work. Men are expected to be “outside” of the house, engaging with the different sections of the *campo*. Without food, the body stagnates, and men’s engagement with the surroundings is hindered.

As in the Piro case described by Gow (1991), in Coldita marital relations also involve entering relations of work, concreted through the building of a house and a garden and the fostering of children, giving them food (123 – 145, 150, 157). In growing up, children are expected to acquire *juicio* and memory, and thus learn to work in the *campos* where they were born. Parents or grandparents guide boys, and sometimes girls, in becoming skilled in different land-sea tasks. Until some two decades ago, the young were expected to marry someone from Coldita or at least from the Quellón commune; to open and keep a *campo* clear (be it by clearing a portion of *monte* within the family lands, or by opening a covered *campo* that belonged to a dead kin), to work with Colditans from other *campos*, to bare and/or raise children and take care of their elders when they near death. Nowadays, Colditans raised in this way fear that they have failed to show this to newer generations. They claim that the young do not possess “*a body that is capable of working*”, and that they *no entienden* how to do it. They blame the city, and processed food. Meanwhile, many young Colditans are eager to return, and to work. This shows how body, mind, work, food, sociality and *campos* between land and sea co-constitute each other, making Colditan persons emerge as bordered/bordering, mind/body entities.

When speaking about work, Colditans refer to it in direct relation to the product or setting where work is being conducted, using synecdoche and ellipsis. In Spanish, instead of saying “*trabajar en el campo de papas*” (“working in the potato field”), they would say “*trabajar la papa*” or “*trabajarle a la papa*” (“working the potato”, “working for the potato”). Instead of saying “*trabajar en el campo*” (“working in the *campo*”), they would say “*trabajar el campo*” (“working the *campo*”). And, instead of “*trabajar en la playa*” o “*trabajar en el mar*” (“working on the beach”, “working at sea”), Colditans would say “*trabajar el mar*”, “*trabajar el molusco*” or “*trabajarle al molusco*” (“working the sea”, “working the shellfish”, “working for the shellfish”). Thus, work is a direct relation to the surroundings, and it is this direct relation that makes it constitute the *vivientes* and the places where they dwell.

Work is also a multiplicity of tasks. As a Colditan friend once told me, “*there are many ways of work. You have to learn them all*”. One must know as much of those different activities as

possible, because it is necessary to *“saber trabajar cada cosa”* (“to know how to work each thing”). All of these kinds of work entail knowing and engaging with the environment. Apart from relating to one’s spouse, and to kin living on the same *campo*, work involves relating to neighbours. This is usually done through the *media* system, which involves dividing a task between two people. For example, animals might be left in the *campo* of another Colditan, as for whatever reason the family is not able to tend for them. The benefit for the owner will be the pasture, while the *campo*’s owner might receive a number of animals or their meat. In other situations such as *roces*, a Colditan might ask for the help of a neighbour who is good at conducting the task. The payment is usually made in lamb or cow meat, or with the promise of reciprocating the help. Other cases involve money: one Colditan family might pay another for cleaning molluscs harvested from the lines, or for fixing a boat. Work flows between people and places, connecting households and *campos* to each other. This goes in tandem with mate drinking, and thus with conversations about work. In considering work as the leaving of signs in places where Colditans dwell, it follows that this is a collective effect: traces throughout the territory amount to shared memories of past endeavours, asserted in conversations.

In the past, work was conducted collectively through *mingas*²⁹, and Colditans resent that this is not the norm anymore. Indeed, work “outside” is nowadays conducted mostly by oneself. Colditans criticize their neighbours for not being available to help in the tasks of others, be it because they expect payment in money or because they have migrated. Work is turning to be concomitant to loneliness and abandonment, and thus its relation to confusion, described in following paragraphs, has become more apparent: *campos* are becoming enclosed, too distanced from one another, devoid of outwards relationality.

Work is also an unstable affair. Each season, each year, each decade, work might be different. Desirable and feasible kinds of tasks change from one generation to the other. Colditans also say that weather, product accessibility and available help from neighbours make it difficult to predict work during each season. In any particular year, algae might be abundant in the summer, or maybe fish, or mussels, with fair prices at Quellón. These abundances would allow Colditans ensuring food for household consumption, and also money. But other years might be scarce in sea resources, and thus a small potato plot might be sowed for family subsistence, and for bartering with neighbours. Maybe the salmon aquaculture industry is suffering an economic crisis, and more attention will be given to the *campos* and the shores. What kind of work is needed, and where resources and money are coming from at any given moment, varies. Means for work might be abandoned for years and then recovered. It is in this sense that *entender* is crucial: to have a clear mind in order to decide what kinds of work can be done is the content of

²⁹ *Mingas* are a collective work endeavour, characteristic of Chiloé’s livelihood. It involves an invitation to complete a certain task, such as harvest or house building, extended by a specific household to their neighbours and kin. The host family will offer a big feast. The favour must be returned to any of the families that partook of the activity, especially by showing at their *mingas*. For Daughters, *mingas* are the quintessential trait of “traditional” Chiloé (Daughters 2019, 51-68). Similar to what Daughters notices in his ethnography, Colditans lament that *mingas* are seldom practiced anymore: “before, people would do *mingas* for wheat harvest and the job would get done, but no one works like that anymore”, said Felipe to me once. And, according to Belasio, “nowadays everyone wants money, not like before, when *mingas* were conducted. Everyone worked along their neighbours, helping in their *campos*”.

saber trabajar cada cosa. Work is an adaptative capacity in relation to others and to the environment, including the city.

In terms of these inventive adaptations, Mark Harris' (2005) remarks on the life at the Amazonian floodplain are helpful. There, tasks are not "embodied" into a landscape, because the yearly flooding of the Amazon river covers the cultivated lands. There is no continuity between seasons, and everything must start again. This makes it so that "*the way of life and the environmental characteristics [of the Amazon floodplain] privilege the here and now (...) traces of past actions, instead of being inscribed on the landscape, remain in this whirling force of present activity*" (198). This presentism entails "practical" and "hybrid" skills, as riverine peoples "*struggle to constitute oneself in time*" (199). The concept of "*inteligência*", similar to *entender*, is also deployed by these floodplain dwellers. It describes the ways of performing a task according to a certain know-how ("*jeito*"). This involves improvisation in adapting to the environment, but also a history that is always in flux, given that the accumulation of skills, one generation after the other, changes as the medium does (201, 203-204, 213-216).

Through work, Colditans are attuned to the different rhythms of the tide, of the land, of the *monte* and of Quellón. All of these spaces are connected by work, and consequently by different skills that are both learned from adults and peers. Like in the Amazonian floodplain, and even if the Colditan environment moves slower, "traces of past actions" progressively disappear. The ways to keep traces and places afloat, and to what extent, vary depending on historical and economical contexts. Some skills might be put on hold, new ones learnt, older ones put to good use. Harris' remark on the "struggle to constitute oneself in time" makes much sense here. The movements of these borders, and the economic contexts that hit Colditan livelihood, constitute the space where the multiplicity of work activities occurs as a means to relate to the environment, lest a person becomes unable to enact the *viviente* condition. Work is an essential constitutive of the *viviente* in their effort to keep a world open.

Therefore, as suggested in the previous chapter, the relation between the *viviente* and the moving environment, through work, has fundamentally to do with keeping a clear place to live, between the sea and the forest, by the tide. For the *viviente*, opening and keeping the *campo* clear is the first, mandatory "work". Work is the means by which the *vivientes* leave signs in their *campos*, allowing the possibility of these signs being read by others, creating memory. It is also the way by which households, bodies and minds are made. A place gets covered because there is no *viviente* working there. "Covered" is an expression or aspect of confusion, in the sense that the forest has become "entangled", *monte*, making the signs of the previous *vivientes* unnoticeable: the border between the clearings and the *renuevo* has disappeared, along the signs of work and of memory. According to Gow (1991), the Piro think that "*work (...) is essentially transforming the forest (...) making residence places*". It follows that "*the village is made out of the forest, and will become forest again if it is abandoned*" (188). Hence, work is fundamentally the production of places, and thus of persons, which is also true for Colditans. Work transforms the forest and constitutes a place between the *monte* and the tide where the *viviente* can thrive, but the *viviente* is also born out of these transformations, which are never definitive. These borders are mediated by the very existence of *campos* that are never isolated but correlated through work and *conversa*.

In sum, Colditan work is a multiplicity of tasks in a concrete place or bundle of places, cleared by the *viviente* but besieged by dilution, in specific historical contexts and within a specific environment where the *viviente* emerges: between land and sea, by the tide and by the *monte*. Work constitutes both *campos* and *vivientes*. It relates Colditans to their environment and to others as they engage in social relations and create memory, and as they struggle to keep a clear mind. In the production of these relational, bordered/bordering places, the *viviente* is ingrained in the movements of the elements of the lived world, contained in the mythic schema: the sea clashes with the land, becoming indistinguishable, and the *monte* thrives when no *vivientes* are left to engage with the surroundings. As if repeating the mythological catastrophe, these dimensions become mixed with one another, that is, confused in the mutual effecting between borders.

It follows that *vivientes*, through work, keep confusion at bay but also make it possible. If the *viviente* were not “there”, opening bordered/bordering *campos* and leaving traces between the forested mountains and the sea, confusion would tend to suppress any liveable world through a lack of differentiation. The result would be completely unliveable, a realm without distinctions, or, at least, a world with neither *campos* nor *vivientes*. In the next section, I describe an example of how is that work reproduces confusion, subverting the timings of *conversas* and thus the distances between *campos*.

4. Conversations, work and the spread of confusion

When visiting his house, Belasio would usually greet me by saying that he had been “*a pura pega*”. He could have just arrived from collecting his crab traps. Maybe, he would have been fixing a fence around the La Mora islet, where he keeps his sheep and cows; he could have been fixing his boat or moving it to a safer place, or returning from cutting stakes in the forest, from working at his potato plots or from a meeting in Quellón. On any given day, he could have been minding his mussel seed collectors at the canal. Maybe, he would have visited people from Coldita island and Coldita Isla Grande in his vessel, bought molluscs from them and then travelled elsewhere to sell them. Belasio also keeps, sells and takes care of other’s cattle, is an expert pig slaughterer, and worked for the salmon industry.

Belasio is known for being a hard worker: “*that man sure works a lot!*”, it is often asserted when his boat is heard at a distance. Indeed, his work is virtuous, connecting a myriad of houses to each other. Belasio, a fisherman and shoreline collector registered at the National Service of Fishery, is one of the only people from Tweo Coldita allowed to legally sell mussels, while those who are not sell to him. He then resells the produce, acting as a local intermediary with the final buyer.

Belasio moves a lot, and meets with many people. This is not too common in Coldita, as visits between households are very limited in number and in geographical scope. Also, he is often called to perform certain tasks, especially pig slaughtering. While staying at my friend Juana’s house during March of 2020, she had three pigs. As has been described many times (Cavada 1914, 132-135; Tangol 1976, 60; Bacchiddu 2018, 120-2), pigs, pig slaughtering and pig meat have been an essential asset for the Chilote household economy and also for social relations.

“*Reitimientos*” pertain making something out of almost every part of the pig, and sharing it with close kin or neighbours. This sharing usually takes the form of “*lloco*”, a bundle of food made from pig products and other kinds of food.

Once, Juana needed to slaughter two of her pigs, as pig food had become expensive. She wanted to take advantage of the meat by storing it, selling it in town or by giving some of it to her close kin. She decided to call Belasio, as he had helped her many times before. After the task was done, Belasio was given large portions of meat as payment.

But even though Belasio is always there to help, maintains relations with many Colditans and is a hard worker, he is the target of heavy critique and distrust. He is said to speak too much without letting others speak. He is also said to confuse people, getting them conflicted with his opinions on religion and politics. As a Colditan friend once told me, “*the man speaks too much, he wants to get everyone confused*”. Moreover, it is said that Belasio changes his mind frequently, and that he is always trying to find out about everything, meddling in conversations that do not concern him. Belasio knows of this harsh criticism, and is both angered and saddened by it.

These confusions and divisions stem from Belasio’s intensive and wide-ranging way of working. In a territory where family groups live dispersed, and where visits and encounters are often limited to close kin and close neighbours, distances are of much relevance. It seems to me that the problem other’s had with Belasio had to do with these distances, and thus with a too intense flow of information: he moves too much and thus *conversa* too much, producing confusion in others and also within himself. Social distances and overall minds become too close, making both other’s and the self’s mind difficult to evaluate. Belasio, according to his islander peers, employed speech in an ill way, which turned his work into a source for confusion. He, in sum, was not a self-evident, clear minded *viviente*.

As Belasio’s, my work was also complicated for Colditans: it involved much writing and, especially, thinking. I spoke with many people, going from house to house and gathering information. While I was still an outsider to social relations, Colditans were open to talk to me about anything. But, as I became more acquainted with people and with life in the community, I became just as suspicious as someone who moves too much and talks too much.

By the end of March 2019, I was helping the Tweo Coldita community with the gathering of up-to-date information on land ownership. In one of the houses that I visited, home to a married couple, a tense situation arose. I made a big mistake, as I had been wrongly told that the title of the land belonged to one of the spouses’ sister. This was not the case. I will return to this conversation in the next chapter with much more detail. For now, I am interested in what happened afterwards. The event was swiftly informed to my friend Felipe. We were drinking mate, and it took him some time to ask me about it. He told me that one of the couple’s daughters had approached him briefly. She wanted to know whether I had told her mother that it was her who misled me. Felipe explained that I should not move any information that I was not sure of between households. I asked him if I should speak to the daughter, but he replied that I should not. There is always a time for saying things and it must not be rushed, he said: the problem would eventually fade away.

When wrongly thinking that something told by a third party was reliable, “moving” information across distances too fast, I became an agent of confusion: I did not respect proximities nor timing, and I made two households too close to one another. My work had begun to become a problem because of my forms of speech. I always wanted to know about things in any context, and did not understand that everything that must be known will, eventually, be known. Information flows from one point to the other according to the pace of social relations, the distances in space and the timings of speech that define the *viviente’s* proper ways of *conversar*. This is needed for things kept clear, just as a *campo* and a proper *viviente*. What must be achieved is transparency, keeping confusion at bay and the borders between peoples stable.

Both Belasio’s situation and mine show relations between work, mind, sociality and confusion. Work is a multiplicity of tasks that requires *saber*, keeping places open, personal relations ongoing and *viviente’s* minds clear by means of *conversa*. Because of this, *saber trabajar* is not a condition but a persistent act of engaging with the environment and with others. The same goes for *saber conversar*: it is not a fixed capacity, a characteristic that one is born with and that stays inside the mind. To *saber* relies on the constant accumulation of experience, on relations with others and on the judgments that the *viviente* makes about their minds and working capacities. These all serve the purpose of demonstrating a *viviente* status to others, and to oneself. But as noted through Belasio and me, work can also be dangerous, especially when its relation to thought becomes suspicious. Work makes people move, allowing them to hear things and to accumulate thoughts within the mind: both Belasio and me were working mainly alone. Therefore, work may carry excessiveness of thought from one place or mind to the other in a contagious way. The distances between *campos* and minds are subverted, and confusion spreads. Minds become heavy by means of an excessive flow of thoughts with no clear origin. Despite that work keeps distances (un)stable, in certain situations those distances shrink, and the *viviente’s* mind suffers the same melding of borders that constitutes the lived world of confusion.

This means that a proper *viviente* is unachievable. It is something that *vivientes* assert of themselves because of the danger of being produced within these ambiguous borders. Nevertheless, the danger is unavoidable. If everything were “clear”, that is, if no forests, no tide, no ambiguities between houses and people existed, no lingering thoughts trespassing boundaries, there would be no *vivientes*. *Vivientes* are defined both by clearness and by the relative lack of it: work opens places and leaves traces, producing memory, but it also produces the borders with which it engages, reflecting a sense of self that is at odds with the *viviente* as a person. In the following section, I describe in more detail how the relation between the *viviente* and the different dimensions of the environment adds to these mutual effecting between borders, especially to that between mind and body.

5. Body, thoughts and loneliness

I have so far described an ideal or proper *viviente*, as Colditans assert they are: *saber conversar* and *saber trabajar*, namely being good to others, having a good moral behaviour by not disturbing them through confusion. I now turn to the *viviente* in their concrete form, dwelling

between the sea and the forested mountains. This form is that of being influenced by a multiplicity of borders both outside and within: tide and *campo*, *campo* and *monte*, body and mind. These imbricated effects make it so that the *viviente* is ever-driven inwards, to loneliness and confusion.

Here, I return to our mythic schema (Chapter 1). I suggested that loneliness, the self, reflects the dangerous approach of borders, external and internal. In Lincoman's version of the myth of "Trengr-Trengr...", specifically in his incapacity to speak and work with others, the lonely, mad man reflects an unliveable, flooded world. This confusing state of affairs presumably came from a previous world where *vivientes*, or people akin to *vivientes*, misbehaved with one another, straying from an ideal sociality.

The core notions in this section are the *viviente's* psychic states, namely excessive thoughts, *susto* ("fright"), desperation and depression. They stem from the constant danger of the opening of bordered/bordering places that keep the living world of confusion ongoing. They also come from an ill relation between mind and body, a persistent tension that never stabilizes the self.

According to Gow (1991), the Piro think that "*in order to produce kinship, people must assault the natural world. This leads to illness. In order to cure this illness and prevent death from destroying kinship, there must be people 'who know', shamans. But to be able to cure illness, shamans must both withdraw from contact with their coresidents and enter into contact with demons. This means that they must bring [the demons] among their human kin (...) and it raises the spectre that they too are becoming demons (...)*" (241). Colditans also "assault the natural world" to make their *campos* enter into contact with dangerous entities, and also consider that a "withdrawal" (that is, loneliness) might be an effect of this. What interests me here is that work, in its fundamental form of clearing up a place of dwelling, involves a *viviente* embedded in the lived world of confusion. Both the *viviente* and the lived world arise from the distancing of borders between sea and mountains, allowed by that same work. But relating to the sea and the forest, producing proximities between tide and *monte*, brings about the dangers of being influenced by them.

One good example of this effecting is the sickness of "*susto*" ("fright"). A sudden occurrence that alters the self, *susto* affects the body directly, specifically the heart, staying there and making it swell and slow down. *Susto* might then produce a "withdrawal", an inwardness or blurring between mind and body, by means of desperation, depression and thus loneliness.

The idea of a *susto* dwelling inside the body is widespread in Latin America. According to the "Guía Latinoamericana de Diagnóstico Psiquiátrico", *susto* is one of the many "Síndromes Culturales Propiamente Latinoamericanos", and is considered a "*loss of enthusiasm induced by an intense fear*" (Unidad de Salud Colectiva 2009, 129). Susan Weller and A. Triana (2015) define *susto* as "fright sickness", "*widely recognized and prevalent among many Latino groups in North and Central America*" (1,2). As a "*culture-bound*" sickness, it pertains to various symptoms across different human groups, such as anxiety and a lack of interest in life (3). These authors refer that *susto* might be caused by a "shocking" experience, sometimes related to "*the Devil or spirits*" (2).

In Coldita, anxiety and loss of interest in life are indeed attached to *susto*, along the issues of "shocking" experiences, spirits and the Devil. According to Weller and Triana (2015), in order to

cure *susto* “*prayer, home treatment and traditional healers (an herbalist, a curandero, or a wise older woman) are the most employed*” (2). Colditans also say that *susto* can be cured with the use of herbs, in the household. But there are *sustos* that are very old, more difficult to treat. In these cases, a stronger medicine from a *machi de pueblo* can be employed, *machi* being a word in Mapuzugun for a healer who identifies sicknesses, cures them and sometimes engages with spirits to do so. Dorte Brogård (2019) has described how, for continental Mapuche, the *susto* can be diagnosed and cured by *machis*. She has also described how, for the Mapuche, *susto* involves the soul being captured, and how witchcraft might be at play (4, 74, 158).

The researchers at the Unidad de Salud Colectiva (2009) suggested that, in Chiloé, *susto*, *espanto* (dread)³⁰ and *pesar* (sorrow, regret) are the same thing. The *susto* has emotional undertones. It is produced by something sudden, be it natural or supernatural, and it is ubiquitous to the whole of the archipelago, both amongst Williche and *mestizo* (132-134). The effects of *susto* accumulate in the body, eventually reaching the heart and weakening it through excessive thinking. This also works the other way around: that which accumulates in the heart as emotion, because of the *susto* itself, affects the capacity for thought. Lastly, the symptoms of *susto* identified by these researchers are mental confusion, sadness, nervousness, incapacity to work due to paralysis, listening to absent voices, loss of judgement and depression (134 – 152). All of these are of interest to us here.

In Coldita, the *monte* is a preponderant source for that which produces *susto*. One time, I wandered alone through the Colditan *renuevo*. After my return, a man at Felipe’s house told me that he himself had been there while I was roaming about. “*If we had met*”, he told me, “*we would have been asustados, we would have ran away from each other*”. Felipe recalled that the first time I went to Coldita, in 2014, I walked through the *monte* too much. An old man, now deceased, offered me lodging at his house for the night, but I had refused. “*You should have listened to him*”, Felipe told me, “*because it is dangerous to wander alone through the monte*”. Then, the other man added that there is something “evil” in there, “*things that are not good*”. Sometimes, in that *monte*, you could be riding a horse through a road and suddenly feel a shiver down the spine, a coldness, and both horse and rider might become paralyzed. A person can get lost without knowing it and then suddenly appear in a clearing beneath the trees. There is “*something there*”, a creature or spirit that might cross your path and turn you *asustado*, leaving you with “*an agitated heart*”) “*The only way to make it go away is to clear the monte*”, said Felipe.

The *susto* is said to lodge in the heart, and to directly relate to the mind: thinking too much about an unexpected situation can favour the *susto*. Colditans say that, within the *monte*, a skin rash (*cachín*) is caused by the “Chauca” or “Fiura”, a well-known female mythological creature that lives in the forest and makes men sick. In Coldita, the Chauca is considered a spirit that attacks those who are alone in the mountains, paralyzing them and making them think. Colditans talk about “*pensar*” (thinking) with interesting verbal forms. “*Lo pensó*” (“he/she thought about it”) means that someone thought excessively about something that needn’t to be pondered. When someone endured a difficult situation, “*lo pensó*” asserts that the person thought about it instead of letting it go, and therefore “a depression” (“*una depresión*”) arises through a *susto*.

³⁰ See also Contreras 1966, 88.

In the particular case of the *cachín*, my interlocutor recommended that, when disturbed by it, “*no hay que pensarlo*” (“It mustn’t be pondered”). This is because the allergy might cause “desperation” (“*desesperación*”) in the heart, a state where thoughts behave as if jumbled, uncontrolled. In a state of desperation, a person is prone to *susto* through excessive thinking. Concomitantly, *susto* makes a person think too much, given that it perpetuates the feeling of desperation. It follows that *susto*, desperation and excessive thought co-constitute each other. The *susto* will render thoughts heavier by lodging in the heart, producing desperation and depression by means of loneliness and vice versa, in a complex of interchangeable causes and effects.

These symptoms are similar, if not the same, to a mind turned in on its own excessive thoughts, to a confused self, referred in previous sections: a heavy mind. In terms of this heaviness, Colditans also employ the concept of heavy blood (“*sangre pesada*”). *Susto*, it is said, makes the heart swollen, and thus blood moves slower and turns heavier, making it difficult to work. For the purposes of working, blood needs to be light (“*liviana*”) and not dense (“*densa*”). As I was once told by Belasio, “*You have to be occupied with something. If you do not work since morning, your body stops, your blood and your mind turn heavy. Work makes your blood run faster through your veins in a better way, a lighter way*”. As noted, *susto*, “desperation” and “heavy mind” can be caused by something external: in the *cachín* case, the *monte*, a space where *vivientes* do not live, and that threatens *campos* with growing over them. A person who is *asustada*, desperate and filled with thoughts, paralyzed, turned inwards, will not be able to work: they will be incapable of relating to others. Heavy blood can thus be added to these relations between body and mind. Thinking too much, having a heavy mind and a swollen heart that makes the blood denser, a body devoid of vitality, forces loneliness, an inwardness of the self, further.

Following Janet Carsten (2011), I argue that, in Coldita, blood is a privileged substance to reflect upon the relationality that defines the *viviente* as a body/mind person. When considering blood as a flowing, changing and transferable substance, notions of the person emerge. For Carsten, it is the specific, “*unbounded properties*” (20) of blood that make it adequate for thinking as a “*vector between domains*” (28). The blood property that Colditans emphasize the most is density (heaviness). Blood is produced in the *campos*, through eating and working. Food allows working “outside”, there where resources are produced or extracted, and thus to maintain the household where food is cooked and children are born. At the same time, food produces an apt body to work and thus makes blood flow properly and light, which corresponds to a clear mind. Indeed, a flowing blood, through work, keeps excessive thoughts at bay and enables relations to others, keeping the *campo* ongoing and bodies attuned. In sum, blood flow and its velocities relates to body, to mind, to work, to the *campos* and to sociality in a co-constitutive manner. As Carsten also notes (2011), this blood is “*unstable*” (28), given that it can both produce an able body/mind *viviente* and an incapable one.

According to Cecilia McCallum (2013), the Kaxinawá consider that thoughts, through blood, irrigate the different organs of the body. It follows that ingesting another’s blood is to ingest their thoughts (136). Cristóbal Bonelli (2014), through his ethnography amongst the Pewenche (Chile), noted how blood relates to vitality and to the possibility of “*intersubjective work*” (113),

moral behaviour, consubstantiality involved in kin relations and overall sociality (109-15, 119). In Coldita, the relational connections between body, thought and sociality amount to unstable borders. The *viviente* is ever trying to reproduce an unattainable equilibrium within the lived world of confusion. Blood as both heavy and light, corresponding to a both heavy and clear mind, evinces these borders through its overflowing materiality: *susto* makes a strong emotion lodge in the heart (that is, in the blood flow), thoughts entangled, the mind heavy, work difficult, blood denser, the *viviente* turned in on themselves and, again, thoughts excessive, the person unstable, progressively alone. Blood emerges as another mutually effecting border, containing confusion.

Let's now turn from the *monte* to the sea. Like the *monte*, the tide also has effects on the *viviente's* body and mind. Colditans' relation to the canal is different to that with the *monte*. Even though the sea can be polluted by human action, humans cannot actually leave traces in the sea as such, and thus the effects of work are difficult to identify. When compared to those inside the *monte*, sea spirits and creatures are different because they can be talked to. In the past, special people, called *pougtenes* and *curiosos*, had the ability and the strength of mind to see that which cannot be seen, and to ask the sea spirits for abundance. As in other Indigenous communities of Chiloé, past Colditans would sow the sea, throwing barley and wheat seeds into the canal. The *Pincoya*, the owner and protector of the sea (Núñez 2022, 13 – 18), would use these seeds to transform them into fishes and shellfish. There is also the *Caleuche*, a ghost ship full of lights and music, surrounded by fog, which can sail underwater, transform into logs and lure people to turn them into new crew members. It is crewed by witches who might transform into sea lions and other animals, disembark and relate with people on land (Contreras 1966, 89, 127, 133-135, 148-153). This relates to our mythic schema, and how it describes the sea as a part of the lived world of confusion. In Rosales' version, the seas are populated by transformed creatures and, in Lincoman's, the sea has a will of its own, luring *vivientes* towards its waters.

Antiguos are also said to have left food on tables set by shores and rivers, as an offering to the sea lion people. My friend Juana told me that sea lions have “a body like that of a person, because they were once people”. A long time ago, she said, there were kings in the world, like the Bible states, but they began to behave in an ill manner. Then Christ died for all of us, the time of kings came to an end and those men were punished by God, transforming them into sea lions. This is similar to our mythic schema. Those people who misbehaved were once kings, in Juana's account, and frugal in Nancy's, but they acted in a way that was not expected of them. In both Nancy's and Lincoman's account, the punishment comes from the sea. In Rosales' version, some of those who engaged in “debauched living”, as Lévi-Strauss puts it, also became sea lions (“Kings of the Fishes”). In sum, there is an intimate relation between the *viviente* and the sea, in terms of the former's customs and overall approach to the environment. Behaviour determines how the sea and the creatures of the sea will approach people living on land. The sea must be constantly followed, and behaviour kept in check, lest catastrophes happen again.

Colditans sometimes describe their bodies as being *mermados*, that is, stagnated like the *mermas* of the tide (Chapter 1). Being *mermado* is being tired, unable to move properly and thus to work. In a body that is *mermado* blood has become heavy, and work difficult. A *mermado* person has also a mind that is “entangled, stressed”, according to what Sergio Mansilla, from Piedra Blanca, told me. As Colditans grow old, their health and capacity to work “*va mermando*”

("it decreases progressively"). In past times, but still remembered by Colditans, *antiguos* believed that an agonizing person would be drawn to death by the residing tide ("*vaciante*"), accelerating their sickness (see also Tangol 1944, 108). Thus, the strong current of the residing tide is linked to those bodies and minds that have become weak, closer to death. In sum, both the tide and the body, by means of the mind, might be *mermadas*. This shows a relation between the *viviente* and the cycles of the sea, especially when the latter becomes stagnated, turned in on itself, just like a *viviente* that has become confused.

Another relation between the tide and *vivientes* has to do with sea lion oil. Sea lion oil is given to infants to drink at a very young age, making them more resilient to sicknesses. The oil ingested must not be too much, lest the person becomes too sensible to weather changes, feeling them as a sea lion would. A *viviente* who was given too much oil to drink might feel too cold with the south winds, blowing when the weather is changing from colder to warmer. On the contrary, with north winds the person will feel too hot, even feverish. According to Colditans, this is the same way that a sea lion perceives weather. Here, the relation between hot and cold is described as influencing the body by means of their closeness, the sudden transition from one to the other. This also involves a resemblance between land people and sea people, as described in the mythic schema.

Tide currents have an effect within the *monte*, influencing the sap of trees (Chapter 1). A waning moon, as it dries the trunk by storing its sap inside the roots, is useful for making house and boat timber. Meanwhile, the crescent moon makes the sap fill the tree, producing a timber that is easily split, ideal for firewood. Houses, boats and stoves that are lit with firewood are essential for the *viviente's* way of living. It is around houses that a cleared *campo* is kept, and it is inside houses that cooking fire is made. When a trip is long and one is expected to sleep inside the boat, a lit stove is kept in the cabin. Boats allow Colditans to move, and also to read the tide: they can see how much it has receded according to how much their boat has sunk. These objects are, in sum, essential to the *viviente's* sense of place.

Another relation between the tide and the *monte* is that between air and sea. Colditans consider that the coldness of the sea, when exposed to the heat of the sun, produces strong currents. Tide currents affect potato crops, killing them if tide cycles are not properly followed (Chapter 1). Colditans describe potatoes as the base for proper food. Thus, tide currents affect that which Colditans hold dear in relation to their own capacity for work, namely food that keeps the blood strong and flowing, and the mind clear. By manging air currents, witches and spirits aim to affect these same things. Air currents roam the *monte*, blowing from a border between hot and cold environments, and can sprain a person's limbs, back and stomach, rendering them unable to work. Air currents thus resemble tide currents, and another border between sea and forest emerges. As in the sea lion case, hot and cold constitute the border from where these phenomena unfold.

To round-up these mutual effects between mind/body persons and the envioning world, it is important to refer the psychic state of depression, a turning of the *viviente* inwards. Depression is an excess of recurring thoughts that progressively enables loneliness. My friend Nancy once told me that she noticed that sometimes, and suddenly, I would turn sad. She asked me about traumatic events from my childhood as a way to explain my depression (which is how she interpreted my bipolarity), and then explained to me that those events might produce recurring

thoughts inside the mind, weakening it. To cure those repetitive thoughts, a remedy similar to *susto* medicine was employed on me to relax my mind and make it clearer, which comes to show how heart/blood and mind are related. Therefore, depression is an effect of an excess of thought that is out of control, enabled by the loneliness that such an excess of thought produces: a heavy mind, full of jumbled thoughts, isolates a person. For Colditans, depression is never endogenous but triggered by both social relations and by sudden occurrences, and vice versa.

Depression is a necessary effect for a *viviente* whose borders, both internal and external, tend to collapse. This psychic and physical state might drive a person to suicide, which Colditans describe as an internal struggle that is hard to analyse or judge. Nancy's brother once told me that "*we have all been in that situation. We all know how it is. When you are depressed, you go inside yourself, you get locked within. There is a force that drives you towards it, some would say that the Devil gets inside your mind, and makes you think badly [pensar mal]*". That something external might produce a certain kind of thought means that thoughts themselves can come from spirits, or the Devil. In this sense, one could follow Gow (1991) when suggesting that, for the Piro, spirits are disembodied memory coming from the outside (193): they are not people, because they have no body and don't partake in kinship relations. Indeed, Colditans believe that spirits have no body, and that they can lure your thoughts through dangerous paths. They are, so to speak, disembodied thoughts that spread confusion inside the *vivientes*, making them turn in on themselves.

In synthesis, the *viviente* is influenced and often disturbed by the borders constituting their enviroing world: between the tide and the *campo*, between the *campo* and the *monte* and between the tide and the forest, as if there were an undercurrent connecting them. The *viviente* mediates these borders by means of conversations and work, standing from their *campos*. Colditans also manage borders in their relations to other *vivientes*, judging and imagining the level of confusion that they bring to any social relation. At the same time, the *viviente* has a border within, between mind and body, which reflects these effecting borders on the outside. This means that the *viviente* is not comprised of a duality between mind and body, and that is rather a body/mind entity to which "*mind is a function of the whole person that is constituted over time in intersubjective relations in the enviroing world*" (Toren 2018, 40-1). That is, in this Colditan lived world, a bordered/bordering, emergent and unstable entity.

Relationships with others, and work, are essential to maintain this border within stable, and depression and loneliness controlled: that is, a sense of self. In order to do so, the body must have blood that flows well, and a clear mind whose thoughts are not heavy. The *viviente's* effort is to keep dreadful sentiments at bay. Body and mind affect one another through interchangeable causes and effects, to the point that thoughts, desperation and *susto* blur the difference between them. Heaviness of thoughts and heaviness of blood, of the body, border each other: the *viviente* must avoid being disturbed by externalities that might become lodged in the heart or in other parts of the body, as they trigger excessive thinking. This mutual effecting constitutes the mythicized, lived world of confusion to which the *viviente* unflaingly belongs. What seems to be at play here, as Lincoman's version of the myth shows, is an inescapable attraction towards mutual cancelation of different dimensions approaching one another, and thus an attraction towards loneliness. The possibility of this loneliness is ever present by means of the engagement with the environment that work involves, that is, of the reproduction of the

lived world of confusion itself. Loneliness, an inwardness of the self, is a cancelling of the distances and proximities between bodies, minds and whatever lingers outside, causing confusion to grow. A heavy “self” (a heavy mind and blood) resemble the entanglement of the *monte*, its lack of internal distinctions such as that between the *campo* and the *monte* itself. A clear mind is similar to a clean *campo* besieged by the *renuevo*.

6. We are all the same

Here, I further analyse Colditans notions on blood described in the previous section. Colditans think about blood in terms of connections between persons, namely “mixing” and “pureness”. This involves a kind of dangerous relationality, as blood tends to make borders between *vivientes* meld, reflecting the inwards dilution of the *viviente* as such. By means of notions on consanguinity, blood emerges as a both self-differentiating and continual substance with excessive transferability between domains (Carsten 2011, 24-5, 28).

A very succinct description of how kinship is played out in Tweo Coldita will be useful. *Campos* have two to four houses built close to one other, and whose inhabitants hold consanguine relations across three to four generations, excluding spouses. These spouses, both men and women (there are no rules for locality), usually came from other *campos* in other Colditan localities, or from around Quellón. Spouses might be relatives at the first or second degrees, usually on the paternal or maternal sides only and never siblings. Because of the high number of single mothers, children not recognized by their fathers, adopted or “lent” children and other practices from the past, consanguineal relations are not clearcut. Kinship idiom in Coldita privileges raising when asserting one own’s family, *campo* and work, but shared blood is always a doubt. Colditans would assert, with a mix of concern and interest, that a certain married couple are actually relatives. Nevertheless, these kinship relations are seldom criticized, because Colditans are aware that they themselves could be in a similar situation, unknowingly. Today, affinal relations and preferences have changed. The young usually marry people from the city, but a doubt on mixture lingers still.

Because of this, Colditans would often say “we are all the same” (“*somos todos los mismos*”), or “we are all kin” (“*somos todos parientes*”), describing this mixture as an impossibility of tracing kin relations. They tend to stress the dangers of consanguinity. This danger corresponds to a relation between what is mixed and what is pure blood.

Peter Gow (1991) analysed what being “of mixed blood” means for the Piro. Their kin relations have to do with a “*creative mixing of blood in the production of new generations*” (89). That is, with escaping a certain purity of blood, the collapse of “*pure kinds of people existing at the beginning of history*” (252). Thus, mixed blood is created through kinship bonds with different kinds of people. For the Piro, to escape blood purity is to become “of mixed blood”, and thus civilized when compared to their ancestors, who are said to have married their close kin (1, 9, 148). This contact between different kinds of people is considered by Gow a product of history, and thus history itself. This is especially so because the mixing of people entails the making of new settlements. For the Piro, each person is thus several kinds of people at the same time, and not “pure” as past generations were (204, 252).

Colditans would also say that, in the past, kinship was made between people who were too close to one another, in terms of blood and of living in the same space. Nevertheless, this condition still haunts current forms of kinship. According to Karen, a young Colditan in her twenties:

“Here there is only entanglement (enredo). Even I get confused sometimes, and even I do not know where it is that I come from. Whenever I try to make my genealogical tree, I get confused. Here, in the past, people would say that ‘they are hermanos de crianza’ (foster siblings, siblings by dint of being raised together). Or maybe they were cousins but would call each other brothers, even though they did not know if they were brothers from both father and mother. An orphan could have been raised by a family who took care of him. Some women could have many children, and would tend for them, but no one knew if they belonged to the same father. And then surnames would be adopted for any reason, by their own will. Families were very big, maybe twelve siblings inside a single house. Those were called casas de crianza (raising houses), where you would find sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, even great-granddaughters living together. Sometimes it was difficult to tell where they came from”.

Gow (1991) identified something similar to *casas de crianza* amongst the Piro, as a descriptor for past ways of kinship. The Piro thought that their ancestors, the “forest people”, lived “*all together*” in big houses (82); that is, too close to one another, and thus not mixed with “different peoples”. Karen described something similar to me, but the ways in which Colditan *antiguos* engaged in kinship relations has made it difficult to differentiate kinship ties in the present. This is why Colditans would say that “we are all the same”. Given the adjective “same”, this is slightly different to being “of mixed blood”: it rather refers to a very dangerous closeness.

Giovanna Bacchiddu (2019) translated as “we are all the same” a concept that Apiao islanders use for describing themselves: “*aquí somos todos parejos*”. As I see it, this local notion could be thought of as an “evenness”, in the sense that, paraphrasing Bacchiddu, consanguine relations in Apiao make people symmetrically related. For Bacchiddu, this “sameness” or, as I have suggested, “evenness” relates to “*efforts to attain a lack of differentiation and homogeneity*” (123) by means of an “*antagonism reversed*” (124). “*Parejos*” would be a discursive attempt attached to the underlying necessity of creating otherness. This entails “*alternations between distance and closeness, of dependence and autonomy*” (124) that allow islanders coming back and forth from sameness to asymmetry. Thus, the “*parejos*” concept relates to consanguinity, while the creation of status, and thus of asymmetry, entails an effort to make people “*de-consanguinized*” (124).

Instead of “even”, Colditans would literally say that they are “the same”. Generally, this phrase has negative undertones, and is accompanied by a feeling of suspicion. The reason I stress that Apiao sameness targets evenness is because Colditan consanguine sameness, by contrast, resembles a constant muddling that persists within social relations. There is no evenness or symmetry in Coldita, but confusion. Being different to others is always desirable but utterly unachievable in a real, material sense, because of contagious thoughts and continuity of blood. Coldita’s “sameness” is real sameness: the absolute danger of a purity of blood.

A Colditan woman once told me that Colditan blood is “mixed”. She also stressed that it is “a single dough” (“*una pura masa*”), where distinguishing one person’s kinship from the other is difficult. Dough is something that Colditans know with some authority. They make doughs for

baking bread every day. A dough is a flexible but also compact thing. It can be stretched, but it has no differences within. The Colditan woman thought that kinship relations in Coldita were like this: you can maybe stretch them to make them more distinguishable, cutting them into pieces, but they have no real distinctions. Moreover, she also said that “*here, there is only one family*” (“*acá hay una sola familia*”). This affects selfhood, just like Karen told me: because no one actually knows where families come from, how they were constituted in the past, one’s own consanguineal origin becomes confusing as families meld together. My friend Belasio asserted that all Colditans “*belong to the same machulla*”. *Machulla* is a concept that some Williches of Chiloé, especially those who partake in indigenous politics, use to name family places (Saavedra 2014, 75, 116-8). In this sense, for Belasio Colditans come from the same place, even though they live as if they didn’t. But being from the same *machulla* has its dangers, especially the lack of the proper distances that a *viviente* needs. In sum, and as Karen also told me, “*in the end, we are all kin: all scattered, all given away, all raised together, all kin, all the same*”.

What all of this density of blood means is that “being all the same” always lingers, producing a state of *no entender* and heavy minds. Consanguineal closeness of everyone with everyone makes this same blood heavy, and Colditan minds prone to confusion when they think about it too much. This condition of heaviness comes from the *antiguos* and their kinship relations, which have not been “cut”: the confusion from the past pours into the present. Sharing an undifferentiated mind, by means of an undifferentiated blood, can be both good and bad: it is good for finding ways of working together, but it is also dangerous. Proximity of minds might cause confusion, as unwanted thoughts are shared or implanted. At the same time, and given the existence of this “dough of kinship”, suspecting the work capacity of and mental state of others becomes both necessary and tricky. Truth becomes very difficult to define, and everything could be a rumour spread to damage the self. “We are all the same” means that minds and bodies are too close.

Colditans do use the concept “*mestizo*” (mixed-blood person) to refer to those who are not Indigenous. These non-Indigenous people are not outsiders but people living in Coldita itself, especially in the Punta Paula sector at the eastern coast of the island. Looking for work, *mestizos* arrived in Coldita after those who had begun to settle since at least the mid-19th century (Chapter 4). Many Colditans feel that these neighbours do not believe they are *mestizos* but “Spaniards”, and resent that they would call them “*indios*” (indians) in a derogatory way. Therefore, while Colditan Indigenous people use the concept *mestizo* to describe non-indigenous people, non-indigenous people would say that their “others” are *indios*.

But Colditans also consider themselves *mestizos*. Thus, even though they believe that those other *mestizos* are bad, racist people, they also assert that they are “all the same” with them. Virtually no Colditan would consider themselves a pure-blood Indigenous person. As in the Piro case, they would usually suggest that they hold different “identities” within them: Indigenous, Chilote, Chilean, Colditan. They would also say that *mestizaje* is a mix of “*two races, two bloods*”. By general rule, Colditans define *mestizaje* by means of surnames, namely having an indigenous surname and a *mestizo* one. But even those holding two indigenous surnames would say that they have *mestizo* blood, because kinship relations in the past are difficult to trace. Having two *mestizo* surnames makes you a plain *mestizo*. But to be a *mestizo* having Indigenous blood is necessary. The problem is that, according to Colditans, the *mestizos* of the island do not accept

this. Because Indigenous Colditans assert that they are “the same” with those others, the difference is one of degree. They hold something similar within constituting a persistent border between Indigenous and *mestizo* blood. This is recognized by Indigenous Colditans, but dismissed by the *mestizos* themselves. This blood is untraceable. Distances and proximities between bodies and minds within the whole territory can only be calculated when assuming that there is an undercurrent stream, so to speak, of mixed blood. This blood is too similar to the pure blood of the Indigenous peoples that lived in Coldita in unfathomable times, that is, the Chono, who roamed the territory and lived too close to one another (Chapter 6).

“We are all the same” is then a double-edged notion. First, it asserts a mixing of blood that distances Colditans from the dangers of blood purity flowing from the past. But, at the same time, it creates a doubt *within*. Pure blood is dangerous because it is radically confused, to the point of cancelling itself out: it has no borders, no distances or proximities, be it inside of every Colditan or between Indigenous people and *mestizos*. There is a purity of blood lingering within the mixed blood that the *mestizo* concept entails. A capacity to engage with others, producing consanguinity, and a calculation that avoids a re-mixture of bloods of uncertain origin must be put into practice. In sum, mixed blood is dangerous because it entails a recursiveness towards a purity of blood, a stagnated, heavy substance, and a cancelation of the *viviente* that comes from it: instead of bringing life, extreme mixed blood brings death. Consanguinity permeates the whole territory as a persistent doubt, allowing the dangerous sameness of bodies and of minds emerge. This would mean that “blood” and “earth”, considered by Lévi-Strauss the poles of the autochthony paradox (Introduction), are not separated: they co-constitute each other in a very material sense.

The Colditan concept of blood mixing adds to the idea that blood mixture is always desirable and “vital”, pushing sociality forwards. Colditans seem to think something slightly different, given that mixture means borders, and borders confusion. For example, for Magnus Course (2011) the Mapuche person, *che*, is “centrifugal”, an “*ever expanding network of each person’s social relations*” (8 - 9). The *che* is constituted by different modes of sociality, namely *küpal* (patrilineal descent), affinity (matrilineality) and the capacity for “productive sociality” (autonomous thinking, intentionality and social action) (20, 25-6). Mapuche persons are constituted both prior and after the relations in which the person engages. They must transcend the determinations of blood in an autonomous way, reaching outwards to relate to others productively and forming social bonds. It follows that the Mapuche person is “open-ended”, “diffuse”, produced in ongoing relationships of debt and hospitality that can only be completed in death, when the person is ritually totalized and subtracted from sociality through the *eluwün* funerary ritual (106-110, 161).

Colditans might say the same thing: relating to others by calculating distances and proximities is necessary to produce social bonds, and thus persons with autonomous minds and bodies. But the Colditan concept of being “all the same” entails that purity of blood exists both prior to kinship and as an uncrossable limit, even if there is blood mixing going on. Despite blood mixing being desirable in order to become a proper *viviente*, there seems to be a certain “noise” around the notion. Indeed, dangerous closeness is unavoidable despite the production of social bonds in an outwards fashion. Mixed and pure, transferability and stagnation, difference and continuity, relationality and sameness seem to too similar, to collide. This is a danger for the

viviente and, paraphrasing Course, for their diffuseness: a closure of Colditan sociality, and thus of body and mind through the excessive mixing of blood, would cancel the possibility of the *viviente's* emergence, and thus of their lived world.

As such, the Colditan *viviente* might also be considered “diffuse” and “open”. But this openness involves the danger of being diluted in the multiplicity of borders that must be kept at bay. Autonomy, personal experience and/or the *viviente's* self-assertion are not safe havens. The undercurrent of both mixed and pure blood running through Coldita seems to speak of the dangers of both outwardness and inwardness in the constitution of the person, as the body/mind itself holds an overflowing of blood. This is why the “we are all the same” is addressed with a feeling of uneasiness. There is no assurance of the origins of blood, only that it was once pure or excessively enclosed. Therefore, that which is being mixed by reaching out to others also reproduces the present possibility of pureness. There is a border between the pure and the mixed that is added to those of the environment, and also to those between bodies and minds. This is all too similar to loneliness: a cancelation of all minds and of all blood, of all bodies, would leave a single, completed existence turned in on itself.

I finish this section by suggesting something that will be discussed in the next chapter: the uncanniness of confusion lingering within these borders. If, according to Course (2011), death rituality “completes” the deceased Mapuche person, constituted in social relations that were once “diffuse” in life, then for the *viviente* this completeness is dangerous, not only in actual death but everywhere. A completeness of the environment, with no borders from which *campos* could emerge, would mean an inexistence of *vivientes*: be it that the tide and the forest have become too close, leaving no spaces to subsist; that the mountain has been depleted of any forests; or that the sea has rose so high that it covers everything. A completed *viviente* would not exist, because *vivientes* are diffuse, open and unstable. Completion would entail being closed to the exterior, turned in on the self, thoughts excessive, conversations mute, places covered by the tide and the *monte*. This is just like in Lincoman’s version of the myth, where a “completed man” devoid of social relations is unable to relate to his surroundings, and is left just wailing to himself, practically dead. Whatever he did in the past is now finished. This loneliness and fear perpetually lingers around *vivientes*, as they engage with confusion from the environment and within. Death is not only expressed when dying but within every border of the lived world of confusion.

Thus, there is an unfathomable continuity, an uncanniness with which the *viviente* has to deal each time. It presents itself in the origins of blood; in the tendency of the mixed to become pure, cancelled from within; in the mind and the body; in the environment; in the lived world as a whole and as a lingering state of the self. There is “something” that is always close to the *viviente* that cannot be properly defined when it is made present, a “vacuum” where meaning is both totalized (everything means everything) and negated.

Let’s now return to Felipe, standing in front and within this melding world (Chapter 1).

7. What there is to see revisited

Felipe considered that our relation was one of work: I was working for the community and with him. He therefore taught me about what is relevant to see, and how a Colditan lived world comes to exist. But Felipe was guiding me from a position that, for a *viviente*, might be ambiguous: his own experience of feeling lonely and then not lonely anymore. From there, he tried to instruct me on how to move about the community and what a *viviente* actually is: an endless engagement with the environment and with others.

This “truth” was difficult for me to swallow because it involved an understanding of dimensions that are tricky to define. It was also difficult because I did not want my relationship with the community being one of work understood as “job”. As I see it now, there is a plethora of borders in the Colditan lived world of confusion. By being in it, working in it, loneliness and confusion were an ever-present possibility, which Felipe eventually identified in me. When he told me that I was completely confused, my overall state had already become unbearable for our relation of work. The excessiveness of my mind had clouded me, driving me towards the dangers of depression. I had not understood our work at all, becoming unreliable. In time, Felipe had begun to doubt if whatever I was doing was work or not, because I used my mind too much. To exclusively rely on one’s mind makes confusion from the self emerge, disturbing others.

Once, after working on my computer, Felipe joked that all I did was drinking mate and heating by the fire. He then told me that *“one can tell that you are working when you are in the computer, you work by thinking”*. But the following day Felipe watched me type on the laptop again, and said that it sounded like mice. Then, he asked: *“what would happen if you cut six metres of timber in one day, or collected luga?”*. I replied that I might be able to do it, but that I would end up very tired after it. Felipe laughed at my bluffing: *“I can barely do it in a single day with a chainsaw and an axe, and I end up very tired. You would end up like that too, but would not manage to do it in time. The difficult thing about the luga is what comes after collecting it, immersed in the water from five in the morning until ten or eleven. When you finish, you have to unload it and put it into bags, and that is what gets you lazy and sleepy. The sun comes out, the light of day hits you, and you just want to lay down and stop working”*.

It is clear that I did not understand the activity space that Felipe was describing. That is why Felipe laughed and explained that doing such a work is nearly impossible, even for him. It is only when understanding this that the meaning of this dialogue emerges. “What there is to see” was that I would be unable to accomplish such a difficult task, especially in my state of mind, caused by my non-work. The work that Felipe does also needs focus, a strong mind. Such a mind should relate to a specific state of the body, of the blood: light, moving and not heavy, not “pure”. Without a mind connecting to the body while working, a mind that allows one to know what will happen next and that copes with extreme tiredness, extenuating work like that would be impossible. Extenuation must be overcome through will, and will is enacted by a differentiated mind, not one turned inwards. If you think too much about it, you will just stop and fall asleep. But if you don’t think about what you are doing, you will not know what comes next, what you have to do. As I have suggested through the lonely man of Lincoman’s version of “Trengr-Trengr...”, a mind can be easily left to its own, making a person become confused.

For Felipe, our relationship of work involved being in Coldita, learning about its past and about what work, and thus *viviente*, means. Otherwise, my engagement with Tweo Coldita would have been only partial. But I worked only with my mind, and that is not proper work. I only held conversations, which were certainly valued but not enough to be trusted by Colditans. Felipe took his time to decide that whatever I was doing was insufficient: just learning about the *monte* did not mean that I understood his work and the work of the *antiguos*; by speaking to everybody, endangering proper timings of conversations, I represented a risk of confusing everything. I was not “in place”, I did not belong to a *campo*, and nor could I. This not only made my position ambiguous, but it also meant that I was damaging myself. Maybe Felipe thought that because he had been debating with himself about staying or leaving, our positions could be similar. But they were not: I ended up confused. In his view, our work relationship had become a problem for us both, and thus he let me go to avoid more conflicts.

As I see it, a Colditan lived world of confusion entails a shared materiality that allows its borders to both exist and meld, to be both too close and distanced by means of the *viviente's* existence. The “we are all the same” idea can be extended to the whole complex of effects between the sea, the tide, the land and the *monte*. This is especially so for the effects of these borders on the bordered/bordering *viviente*. The overall “truth” of this effecting must be assessed from both within the self and in relating to others, but this involves a danger that I could not foresee: *sustos* spread through blood, thoughts contaminate the minds of others, the *renuevo* and the tide affect the Colditan body/mind constitution, the self overflows distances and borders. Places are distanced from one another and enable bearable proximities between peoples, but these distances, given the undetermined condition of consanguine kinship, are not enough to keep the self absolutely stable, and thus a proper *viviente* ongoing. In sum, there is a doubt within that draws towards the pulsating confusion that permeates everything, and thus towards a state of loneliness that suppresses the *viviente* condition. The Colditan self is just as confusing as the environment in which it is constituted.

This confusion on the inside, produced by a border between body (specially blood) and mind (a compound of thoughts), makes the *viviente* what it is. As noted, the *vivientes'* interior and exterior reflect one another. If there was anything like a “real” *viviente*, this would be a fair definition: a material continuity between the self, the others and the exterior (as noted in the Introduction, “affinity”); a person besieged by their own cancelation in loneliness and confusion, caused by these mutually effecting borders. In sum, the *viviente* is an unstable, “diffuse” entity. Being a proper *viviente* is impossible, because a Colditan who does not engage in confusing relations would be totalized, enclosed, exempt from this lived world. What remains “true” is the centrality of the *viviente* that opens a place, making the shared materialities possible. As Wardle (2018) would put it, the *vivientes'* experience is “egomorphic” (52): they reflect all of these implicated effects onto themselves by means of their presence between sea and *monte*.

As we will consider in the next chapter, those who take advantage of this shared materiality are witches, who tap into the confusion haunting Colditan places.

Chapter 3: Witches and the Uncanny

1. Overview

In this chapter, I return to a situation described in Chapter 2. It involved a visit to a house where I made a statement that turned out to be wrong, propagating a situation of confusion. I will show how this was related to witchcraft. As an ethnographic experience, it will allow me to describe how witchcraft is the reverse of work. While work and conversations involve a multiplicity of ways of engaging with the environment and with others, witchcraft takes advantage of the endlessly overlapping borders, rendering *vivientes* isolated, afraid, anxious and finally alone, potentially dead. Indeed, witchcraft makes use of the shared materiality of the elements that characterize the Colditan lived world of confusion, and also the suppression of time that myth posits. In sum, witchcraft shows how confusion is a form of the uncanny: witches make use of something that is already there, both within and outside the *viviente*, something that is so close that cannot be completely seen or approached, but only felt in the very places where Colditans dwell. In this sense, places are not necessarily transparent, but might reflect something uncanny to the *viviente*. This, in turn, connects *with* the issue of autochthony.

2. A terrible mistake

As noted in the previous chapter, I was tasked with gathering up-to-date information on land ownership in the territory, especially the current legal state of the properties and the problems that may arise if the Chilean state restores them. The survey was conducted in summertime of 2019.

One of the houses that I visited belongs to Isabel and Alejandro, both in their sixties³¹. It is located in the Blanchard locality, by the shores of Coldita Isla Grande. The *campo*, slightly uphill, is comprised of a narrow strip of green pasture between two sections of low-forest and two streams; a small part of the shore, just by the intertidal zone; a large section of *monte*; and other clearances for fruit trees, potato plots and cattle grazing. The *campo* stretches west to east, from the Coldita canal up to the forested mountains of the Isla Grande. There are other houses in it, too. They belong to Isabel and Alejandro's daughters, and to their only son. Hens and geese roam about, and sometimes pigs. The houses are made of timber, zinc plates and hardboard.

At the very beginning of my conversation with Isabel and Alejandro, I made a terrible mistake. We were sitting at a large table in the main room of the house, which served as kitchen and dining room. Considering that the timing was right, I started to talk about lands, drinking from the mate gourd that was offered to me. Everything was fine, similar to other conversations I had before. But, when I made a specific, wrong remark about their property (that the *campo* did not belong to them legally, but to a close kin), everything went astray. Isabel suddenly questioned

³¹ I have chosen to change the names of those involved in this particular situation.

my relation to other Colditans and my capacity to discern what is true from what is false. Eventually, this tense conversation on land tenure led to witchcraft (*brujería*). Without suspecting it, I had delved into an old conflict between neighbours, a dispute over a piece of land in the middle of two *campos*. In that disputed space there was something hidden, an indeterminate power buried in the ground. This “thing” (“*cosa*”, “*algo*”) drove Isabel’s daughter to madness. No one knows exactly where it comes from, or what it is.

Here, I follow one of Jeanne Favret-Saada’s (1980) suggestions: “*But the ethnography consists precisely in recording what one has learnt from these failures*” (77). For the author, witchcraft implies that discourse is never neutral or merely informative: that one is “caught” in it. This relates to what I have already said: that moving information too fast between households subverts the timing that keeps confusion at bay, thus unleashing a certain power. Witches may seize the opportunity to use these confusing situations in order to dangerously approach their victims. I believe that my “failure” related to this “being caught”.

Given that the situation involved land property, let me begin with a succinct account of the modern history of land in Coldita Isla Grande, further described in Chapter 4.

3. Land property in Coldita Isla Grande

Coldita Isla Grande’s residents make use of space that belongs to the De La Taille family, the owners of the “Fundo Coldita” (Coldita estate). Since the 1900’s, the *fundo* has been owned by a succession of companies, supported by the Chilean state. Although the Spanish Crown had sold those same lands to indigenous proprietaries, the Chilean state did not recognize them. It was Mariano Llancahuen who first bought Fundo Coldita from the Spaniards, in 1823. By the time that shady land transactions began in 1901, most Colditans lived in the island, not in the *fundo* as such (Chapter 4). If there were any families in the former property of Mariano Llancahuen when the first purchase was made, they were probably few. No one knows much about them, and this will be important for my argument.

From at least the mid-1950’s, families from Coldita Island crossed the Coldita canal to occupy lands that Timoleon De La Taille, the *fundo*’s owner since 1968, was not using. Those lands, it is said, were “empty” or covered by forests, with no *campos*, and some people, especially young couples, decided to make a living in them. Nevertheless, it is evident that these lands were not empty: the previous companies had made big plantations there, alongside roads towards the mountains. There was also the lingering presence of those who had dwelled there before, and of whom very little is remembered.

De La Taille eventually tried to reclaim these lands judicially during 1981, and to evict its inhabitants. He was also the owner of the *fundos* of Inkopulli de Yaldad and Coinco, south of Coldita. Therefore, he was attempting to evict around eighty Williche families from their lands. Forty-two of them lived in Fundo Coldita. Local authorities interceded and blocked the trial, urging a field-survey be conducted (Molina & Correa 1992, 126-140). Eventually, the National Assets Office awarded legal, individual properties to many families, both Williche and non-

Indigenous. But under the dictatorship legislation, rural space considered as one's own was only that "in use", namely the land surrounding the house and the cultivated plots. Uses of the forest, or even land inheritance, were not relevant, nor the fact that Williche household distribution is dispersed. Colditans that had amassed large estates, generally non-Indigenous and capable of paying the local workforce, were given between fifteen and fifty hectares. Those who had little cultivated land were given much less.

I now come back to my conversation with Isabel and Alejandro, and to my mistake.

4. Being there in the land, contradicted

Some days prior to visiting Isabel and Alejandro's house, I had been wrongly told that their land belonged to Isabel's sister. Around 1975, she had moved from Coldita island to that same *campo*, with her husband. They partially cleared it and built a small house there. As our conversation began, I suggested that the problem should be addressed, because the property did not belong to them but to the previous occupiers. Isabel became furious and harshly reprimanded me, with a very loud and intense voice that rumbled through the room. She scolded me, saying that I had believed whatever I was told, in whichever house I had visited before: "*Who could have inscribed that land, and where!?*", she shouted. Alejandro kept calm but was visibly nervous. I had been fooled and convinced of a rumour. This rumour, as I understand it now, was meant to affect them, and I had been its carrier: I was moving ill-intentioned information, spreading confusion across households, and having foul conversations with dangerous others. Witches, as we will see.

Alejandro legally owned the land, and they showed me the papers to prove it. It was true that her sister had lived in that *campo* for a while. When Isabel and Alejandro married, their parents did not give them permission to use either of their families' lands in Coldita island: they were desperate for a place to live and work. This situation was fairly common, and it is one of the reasons why so many families crossed the canal in the first place. Isabel's sister gave them a place to build their house in that *campo* before migrating to Quellón. During the struggle with De La Taille in 1983, when an "engineer" (*ingeniero*, as Colditans refer to him) came to measure the properties, they were the ones making use of that particular piece of land. The state gave them one hectare only, and they had been living there for forty-two years.

By relying on wrong information and spilling it with such insensitivity, I had questioned their condition of *vivientes*: they crossed the narrow canal to find a place to make their own, to cultivate, to keep clean against the growth of the *renuevo*, to approach the sea, to have children, to live and belong. At the same time, it was located within a piece of territory where their ancestors had allegedly lived, way before the companies arrived. But no one knows this with clarity. Some trees, it is said, were planted by Mariano himself, but their locations are disputed.

As we will further consider, it was these *antiguos* that may have put a strange, powerful entity there, buried in the *campo*. The "thing" is unnamed, and has an ambiguous origin in the customs of mostly forgotten *vivientes*. Isabel and Alejandro's family had intensely felt the effects of its

force: madness and violence, isolation and despair, anger and doubt. According to Isabel and Alejandro, it was their neighbours, all of them witches, who made use of that “thing”, buried there before their own time, in revenge for the dispute over the *campo*. They were trying to weaken them, to make them flee. Isabel and Alejandro considered this a very foul thing to do, re-enacted through me. What was being questioned was their rightful belonging to that place by means of an indeterminate force of witchcraft. This is why, as Isabel and Alejandro told me, what really matters is the fact that they, and no one else, were there when the engineer came. It is proof of their right to inhabit that place, and of their constant, persistent presence as *vivientes*. It was them, in that very specific time, who were living in that place, not Isabel’s sister, as the witches had made me to believe:

“When the engineer came, my sister was not here. They sent him to see who was living here. If you tell me that she is the one on the paper (the title), some stupid person must have made something with it, elsewhere. But why lie so much, that my sister was in this campo? There is a huge enredo (entanglement, confusion) here”.

There are at least two elements at play: the right of the *viviente* to the land, by means of presence, work and the traces left on it, and legality. Legally, the title is important to Isabel and Alejandro both because it assures that they will not be evicted, and because it partially recognizes their presence as *vivientes* during a very crucial moment in time: they were there when the measures were conducted, when the threatening eviction lingered. But they also assert that they are *vivientes* who opened a place, who work with others beyond the limits of legality. These two discourses on “property”, namely the actual presence of the *viviente* (a belonging) and the measured, productive land (the title), contradict and complement each other. The law will not recognize that the *viviente* uses more than just cleared land, that the forest and the sea are also part of their life, that more space is needed. Indeed, the “papers” do not recognize the full belonging to a *campo*. However, they at least guarantee that they were indeed present at a particular moment in time, resembling the *viviente’s* effort of arriving, working and staying. But these “papers” are also ambiguous: they canalize a force that witches use to question their condition of *vivientes*.

5. The uncanny, anxiety and witches

It can be said that shady land transactions, the distant tampering of titles that witches seem to seize, had no place. As such, they are uncanny. They represent diffuse forces beyond control which are locally actualized, as James Siegel (2006) suggested. Witchcraft can be understood as a managing of this force, which has an unclear cause and that amounts to an excess or “sameness” of references where everything connects to everything. This excess, which cannot be fully represented, amounts to the uncanny, or that which produces a feeling of uncanniness (Introduction). What I wish to argue here is that these external events, seized by witches to affect *vivientes* such as Isabel and Alejandro, are inserted within the Colditan lived world of confusion. As such, I argue that this confusion operates within Colditan *vivientes* but also within the places where they dwell. This means that Colditans constantly engage with uncanniness, spatially (that is, the constitution of places through work), temporally, in others and within

themselves. Witches take advantage of this. This also means that what is actually at stake are the notions of mythicized loneliness and of autochthony.

According to Freud in a famous essay (1919), the uncanny (*unheimlich*) “is that class of the terrifying which leads back to something known to us, once very familiar” (15). It involves being caught by something both known and unknown which lies within the self and that is difficult to address through language. It is “nothing else than a hidden, familiar thing that has undergone repression and then emerged from it” (15). The uncanny relates to a sense of belonging, to the “native” (1), to a relation with a place. Therefore, it is the familiar or the close that produces the possibility for the emergence of the unknown. In this sense, the uncanny might also relate to an ambiguous dimension of autochthony as a “pure”, self-nurturing relation to place: the extremely familiar and close, there from which the self is born, holds something dangerous that cannot be “seen”. Freud related feelings of uncanniness to the notion of a “double”, a person that shares “knowledge, feeling and experience with the other (...) so that this self becomes confounded, or the foreign self is substituted for his own” (12). Eventually, this “primary narcissism” (9) will involve a capacity for observing the self, censoring the mind and producing consciousness. This self-observing, censoring capacity is, so to speak, the remnant of the double, separated as an externalization that produces the feeling of uncanniness: the uncanny is both within and in an “other”. At this point, “the double has become a vision of terror” (10), producing the impression of the uncanny.

It is interesting that Freud related the uncanny to confusion between selves. This is akin to the approximation between *viviente's* in their mutual evaluations, and also to blood purity (Chapter 2): closeness with the other, who resembles myself, brings confusion and thus the emergence of the uncanny. The separate becomes close, the dread of dilution within the self is actualized. By means of confusion, and from the position of a Colditan self, another Colditan might be eventually considered a double who evaluates me as I evaluate them, producing confusion in me: a witch. This is exacerbated in loneliness, where the differentiation between the double and the self becomes extremely close as if the other was now within. The purity of blood would determine this mutual effecting between persons as a doubt. Mixed blood draws the *vivientes* towards an undifferentiation that lingers in their mutual constitution, producing ever-unstable distances and, therefore, an uncanny feeling. This is the “playground”, so to speak, of Colditan witches.

Freud (1919) directly related the uncanny to witchcraft, that is, to the feeling that another person might envy me for any given reason, and might do harm to me by means of special powers (14). Here, the doubling works in the sense that the self envies that for which they are envied, and thus will consider themselves capable of doing harm to others (12, 14). Indeed, Colditans believe that witches attack out of envy (“*envidia*”) of their work, of the “things” (“*cosas*”) they possess or that they have accumulated. During our encounter, Isabel told me that those neighbours “*envy us, because of the campo that belongs to us and not to them, and they did not do any work in it*”. Envy is believed to cross social relations between Colditans, and is pinpointed when speaking about those who *no entienden* (Chapter 2). It is also related to those who do evil things. According to Belasio, when talking about an incident of some two decades ago, a healer explained to him that something had been projected towards his body, inserting it

into his leg in order to hurt him: “Two women envied me, envied my money, even though I always helped them in selling their shellfish. They talked bad things about me, and wanted to make me sick: it was the envy, because they didn’t work at all”. In this sense, envy is born from work as a fundamental social relation and, on the witches’ side, it produces a need for intimacy with those who are envied, in order to affect them. Envy involves closeness, and thus dangers within those relations of work from which witchcraft will unfold.

Envy adds to the definition of egomorphism referred in the previous chapter (Wardle 2018): the unclearness of another’s mind is also my own, and thus I measure others by that same token, reproducing the dangers of witchcraft. Any other *viviente* might envy me, and might be seeking to get too close to me. Here, we can return to Wardle’s concept of “bad mind”. Witchcraft can be thought of as bad mind “in extremis – an exercise in the reach and of effects of evil thought carried beyond everyday moral limits” (55). This means that a dangerous approach of thoughts, as I consider myself as doubling another person, can be seized by witches in order to produce ill effects beyond that which is socially or morally manageable, contaminating a *viviente*, turning them confused and gripped by a feeling of uncanniness and death. This death, in principle, is produced by an impossibility for work and for having conversations, namely loneliness, which is what witches seek.

What we called loneliness, desperation and *susto* in the previous chapter are forms of recurrent anxiety that worsen the more the *viviente* becomes confused, turned in on themselves. It was Freud (1919) who related the “secret nature” of the uncanny to this same “morbid anxiety” (13) that lingers or that is “repressed” within the self: that which is very familiar or very close to the person, but hidden. This kind of anxiety tends to return or to re-emerge, repeating the feeling of uncanniness (13). Another author who addressed anxiety in this way was Martin Heidegger. Heidegger (2019)³² defined it as an affective disposition (“*disposición afectiva*”) of the Dasein, the person in all of its structural moments in which it opens or closes to itself, allowing the fundamental existential condition of being-in-the-world (“*estar-en-el-mundo*”) unfold (208). This means that anxiety partially confronts the Dasein with something that is very close, namely its own being-there from which it is existentially escaping. Because of this escape, anxiety is not a proper openness. It is a fall (“*caída*”), a concrete way in which the Dasein relates to its own being, “turning its back” to it (209). A felt meaninglessness is at the core of this: a sense of nothing and nowhere (“*nada*”, “*en ninguna parte*”) (213). Therefore, anxiety opens the Dasein to itself in a certain way, but at the same time impedes a complete self-comprehension. It produces isolation and extreme enclosure that has the structuring of existence “at its back”. This translates into an existential mode of not-being-at-home (“*no-estar-en-casa*”) (213), a breaking of familiarity. For Heidegger, this mode is not an effect but rather the fundamental way in which the Dasein relates to itself and to the world.

What interests me here about these authors’ proposals is the enclosure and the persistent closeness produced by the uncanny as a cause, not an effect, of states of confusion. The uncanny appears as the very close or familiar but repressed, put “at the back” of a person’s existence, within the self. It produces anxiety when there is an attempt to address it or approach it. This

³² Here, I am using Jorge Eduardo Rivera’s Spanish translation of Heidegger’s “Time and Being”.

occurs in the estrangement of the familiar or given, the “being-at-home” which is both known and unknown to the self. Because of uncommon situations, the familiar goes awry, closing the *viviente* from the exterior and turning them inwards, making them “self-absorbed” and entangled in excessive thinking. The uncanny feeling is prefigured in the possibility of closeness and of familiarity, of excessive belonging, which drives the *viviente* towards their places of dwelling, the *campos*. Familiarity involves the possibility of autochthony and its realization: an unmediated relation of belonging to a nurturing land, put against environmental and social relations with the external world. The familiar, the close within or “at the back”, the self, co-determines the uncanny, and the uncanny tends to dilute the *viviente* in madness. This is what witches do.

Jeanne Favret-Saada (1980) also related the uncanny to witchcraft, a connection that I wish to further describe. She suggested that witchcraft makes use of the fear of the uncanny to “catch” the victim, starting from a possibility (a weakness of a person in a certain situation) that is activated by deploying a “force” or effect (123-24). She described the uncanny as an odd detail within the familiar that is difficult to perceive and that triggers madness, a turning of the person towards the self, therefore producing an impossibility to act and to speak, and a fear of dying (143, 187). In Colditan terms, this would be an impossibility to work and *conversar*, making the person become confused and closer to death. Also, Favret-Saada considered that the origin of witchcraft is never absolutely clear, that it exceeds the naming of the perpetrator and that it has the power to confuse, to alter the victim’s behaviour. The force is “*unknown and anonymous*”, it “*possesses*”, it is “*boundless*” (73), and it is unmeasurable (74). In this sense, “*naming the witch is primarily an attempt to enclose within a figure something which in itself escapes figuration*” (74): that is, the uncanny as such (90-1, 123-4). Similarly, and for Siegel (2006), the identification of this force’s origin helps keeping the uncanny under control, but not “*put to rest*” (25). It is only deflected within social relations and the self, exceeding them (25-26, 107). Lastly, and in Peter Geschiere’s (2013) terms, witchcraft makes use of external forces by bringing them towards intimacy, the familiar or kinship relations, historicizing witchcraft but never resolving the lingering external forces that are felt within sociality. These forces are always moving and can be never completely pinned down, only re-referred by means of other witchcraft situations in the future.

From Colditan notions, I consider witchcraft as a managing of the uncanny from both the external and the close. Through witchcraft, the uncanny is actualized in social relations and the self but never resolved. It takes the form of an uneasiness enacted by witches out of envy and intimacy, and that is repeated or reproduced through history as a force that is ingrained in the lived world of confusion. This is possible because the uncanny lingers as a foreclosed “background”, so to speak, of the mutual effecting between borders producing both confusion and the *viviente*: confusion is a form of the uncanny. The *viviente*, in their relations to the environment, to temporality, to others and to themselves, risks being assailed by feelings of anxiety as external, mostly unfathomable forces are put into play. These lingering feelings are activated by *sustos*, desperation and depression, and are felt in loneliness as an enclosement of the self. Because proper situations for the uncanny emerging are always occurring, tapped by witches as they engage with external sources (such as land property in Isabel and Alejandro’s

case), witches are ever searching for possibilities of attacking the *viviente's* sense of belonging, within a lived world of confusion where the uncanny thrives.

I believe that those relations between ingrained, unfathomable exterior forces and the *vivientes' campos*, triggered by my mistake, relates to the hidden, uncanny entity. This uneasiness was put to the front when land property was questioned, and therefore the thorny issue of belonging. This is why, after I unintentionally questioned their ownership over the land, my conversation with Isabel and Alejandro rapidly turned to witchcraft. I now return to it.

6. The uncanny thing: a mythicized world in space and time

The disputed piece of land between Isabel and Alejandro's *campo* and their neighbours' belonged to the latter's grandfather. He had died some ten years before my fieldwork and had inherited his big *campo* to his descendants, who sold the disputed land to Alejandro's cousin. However, the sale was made with no papers, "*así no más*" ("just like that", with no contract). In that land, there was an old house. After a while, Alejandro's cousin allowed Isabel and Alejandro's daughter to live there. She dismantled the house and used the remains to build a fence and also another house. That is when the problems started. The neighbours protested that it was the house that they had sold, and that she should not have dismantled it. They re-sold the property to another person.

After this, strange things happened to Isabel and Alejandro's daughter. She became confused and depressed ("*depressionada*", instead of the usual "*deprimida*"). She cried a lot, and sometimes could not get out of her house. Then, an accident occurred. Her daughter, Isabel and Alejandro's granddaughter, was severely injured, and had to be taken to the hospital. The family consulted "*someone*" from town (most likely a healer, a "*machi de pueblo*") about who had perpetuated the attacks, and they were told that there was something very ancient in that *campo*. After some months, Alejandro and her daughter decided to move the house away from the foul land, pulling it towards Isabel and Alejandro's property, only a few meters away, with two pairs of oxen. Moving houses from one place to the other, and dismantling them, is a relatively common thing to do in Chiloé (Daughters 2019, 61). Nevertheless, this house could not be budged. The oxen struggled, but the house would not move. The undetermined "thing", buried deep within the soil, would not let Isabel and Alejandro's daughter go. But when she sprinkled some holy water on them, the oxen were suddenly able to transport the house away. Alejandro described it like this:

"I think that in that campo, you cannot build anything there. Because something was clearly done there... she (her daughter) took the girl to Quellón, to Castro also, and she was told 'it was the antiguos' (the ancients). It was for this or that motive, it was the owners of that land. We did not search for anything; we just moved the house. We worked so much to move it! We used two big yuntas (pair of oxen) that my son-in-law lend us, and also some of mine. Big oxen, very big oxen! But they did not pull, they could not move it in any way. A chain was cut, a new yoke broke. We put some logs below the house because I worked like that ("lo tenía trabajado") elsewhere, but nothing happened. The oxen were left sitting on the ground, their legs waving in the air. My

daughter got some holy water, sprinkled it and made two crosses over the two yuntas. It was only then that the oxen moved the house, around ten metres. When it crossed over to our campo, we were able to move it with only one yunta. We did not go to see eso (that thing) that is there. I do not know who could have put it there. It was many years ago. They say that in past times, that campo was full of vivientes”.

Today, the property is rather empty. There are no traces of the house, only some old trees, and no cattle is kept there.

There was something haunting that land: a “thing”, a conflicted, dangerous relation between *vivientes* and places. As suggested, this relation is not novel, but constitutes the *viviente’s* sense of unknown powers and of the uncanniness of the too familiar: a sense of self, of lack of differentiation. Indeed, the “thing” condenses forces pre-existing the conflict between these neighbours, as shown by the references to very ancient, powerful *antiguos*. My mistake was to take as fact something that I did not know out of experience, moving it too quickly. I was not even alive when the engineer came. I had no place in Tweo Coldita, and thus could not know the “truth”. Similarly, the shady and unknown actions that, it is believed, other people might perpetrate with land titles are also made with disregard of presence, disengaged from the *campos* and disturbing them through external forces that are put to the service of witchcraft. They produce conflicts by means of ungraspable forces that are ingrained in the *campos* (the “thing”), and thus within relations between *vivientes* and their places of dwelling. By means of neighbouring witches, and of ungraspable *antiguos*, I was made a vessel for these same forces, which activated something “at the back” of the *viviente*.

The *antiguos* who supposedly buried that “thing” in the *campo* are a crucial element of Isabel and Alejandro’s situation. These *antiguos* have no name, and are not remembered. But they are believed to have engaged in strange practices, especially witchcraft. In this sense, they are put in an unreachable, mythicized past, in order to suppress, or relativize, their historical weight: the context of their arrival, their livelihood, their kinship with living Colditans. Peter Gow (2001) suggested that myths address historical events by suppressing them according to present experience. This allows to preserve, so to speak, a certain lived world through constant innovations of the narrative, assimilating events and making sense of them by that same token: what I call “mythification”, an enactment of the mythical schema (Chapter 1). Here, Colditans such as Isabel and Alejandro use the *antiguos* concept to give meaning to their presence in Coldita Isla Grande: they were their ancestors and thus justify their dwelling there. In this sense, *antiguos* are mythicized as part of the intimacy of place.

But there was no experience about these *antiguos*, and the reason they buried that foul thing there is unknown. In their mythification and lack of historicity, they acquire power. These *antiguos* have been put in an unfathomable past, way before the events that define Isabel and Alejandro’s presence in those lands, and resemble the ancient families described in our mythic schema (Chapter 1): they did “evil” things. Mythification brings about both the familiarity of dead kin and the dangers of the uncanniness of a time that cannot be grasped. This is a consequence of the time suppression that mythification produces: *antiguos* are put not in history, but in the confusion that the mythical cancelation of the world entails. Because of this

presence and absence in the present, *antiguos*, through their power, are still able to produce *sustos* by means of their signs in living places, reproducing the uncanny: for instance, the “thing”.

Both sources of the uncanny described here, the *antiguos* and land tenure, correspond to one another. Isabel and Alejandro’s fear stems from a past that is purposefully ingrained in their place of dwelling, by witches. In this case, it is a past of land property, laws and evictions, and also a past from before the timber companies arrived in Coldita and when other, unknown *vivientes* lived in the territory. At this point, the arrival at Coldita Isla Grande becomes relevant. It was said that, when families crossed the canal around the 1960’s, those territories were completely covered, devoid of people. This is imagined just like in the aftermath of our versions of “Treng-Treng...”: a world where sea and *monte* collide, and where *campos* must be opened. But it is also known that the companies intensively used those lands, for decades. There is a general notion that people once lived in them, including Mariano Llancahuen. This ambiguity between the absence and presence of *antiguos*, which also affects Isabel and Alejandro (witches make them present and absent at the same time, by means of the land title) adds to the indeterminate character of the “thing” buried in that land, channelling all of these external and intimate forces.

In sum, Isabel and Alejandro’s fear comes from the experience of not being able to cope with forces that, in the very present, question their condition of *vivientes*, their belonging to that *campo*. This relative incapacity is presupposed in a mythicized world where historical forces such as the tampering of land titles and past *vivientes* are emplaced by witches, rendering them devoid of historicity in direct relation to the uncanniness “at the back” of the lived world of confusion. Witches actualize this uncanniness by feeding the ambiguous familiarity of place with mythologically suppressed history (migrations, evictions, measurements), making the uncanny endlessly emerge in the relation between *vivientes* and their *campos*. To do this, they utilize the several borders between the temporal and the mythicized, the living and the dead, the past and the present, strict property laws and the actual dwelling of *vivientes* in bordered/bordering, permeable places. These are, so to speak, borders not of space but of time, of the mythical suppression of temporality as to constitute the lived world of confusion where witchcraft thrives. This space-time collision can be a proper definition of whatever that uncanny entity in-between *campos* actually is: the mutual effecting within the Colditan lived world of confusion, in space and time, seized by witchcraft.

But witches do not rely on the suppression of historical time only: they also need to lure and control people’s minds. This is done through the same closeness that defines the relation between *vivientes*, *campos* and others: the closeness of confusion, and thus madness and loneliness. For instance, Felipe taught me that his great-uncle referred to witches as “*los buenos amigos*” (the good friends) or “*los buenos conmigo*” (the good-with-me). Every time we discussed witchcraft, we would describe it like so, even if jokingly: witchcraft had to do with people close-by who were trying to hinder our work. Felipe’s great-uncle lived alone, and talked to himself a lot. He thought that almost anything that happened to him was caused by *los buenos amigos*: if a noise came from the tin roof, if he tripped with a root, if his axe stopped working properly, if he got too tired. It follows that the very thought of the *buenos amigos* being too close to you makes you consider that almost all causality has to do with witchcraft. In loneliness,

time bends towards the mythicized close, towards the effects of the lingering confusion, and everything relates to everything. By being good friends and also very good to you, witches are considered to be close, and to make your thoughts excessive and erratic, turning you mad. Their aim is to lure you, to isolate you, to render you weak by making you lose contact with others, to drive you mad and control you, or eventually kill you; that is, to confuse and enclose you within yourself, to drive the instability of the *viviente* further. Witches make the egomorphic *viviente* radicalize in the confusion of the lived world, making them think that everything relates to their own enclosure. As such, witches seize the shared materiality between all dimensions of the world, actualized by the “thing”.

This shared materiality of the world, and the presence of former *antiguos*, are part of our mythic schema, constituting a mythicized, lived world of confusion: the relation between tide, *campos* and *renuevo*, and the previous existence of isolated, anguished families in a broken geography. This is what was happening to Isabel and Alejandro, through me: I was turned into someone involved with their land and sense of belonging, with the moving, mythological elements of the world. The “thing” and the witches were repeating Isabel and Alejandro’s mythicized, unstable condition of *vivientes* (Lincoman’s wailing man) there where they say to belong, as forces of land property, gone *vivientes* and unwanted intimacy collapsed over and within them, just like in the mythological catastrophe. All of these elements are ingrained in place as a generally unstable affair, to which I now turn.

7. The uncanny and place

Like work, witchcraft reproduces a mythicized world of borders (chapters 1, 2). It is ingrained in both *campos’* and *vivientes’* emergence and dilution. This makes Colditan places of dwelling not as transparent as a more traditional concept of place might entail (Chapter 2). If the familiar, that which is very close, can be related to a sense of place and therefore to the places that the *viviente* opens through work, then it follows that, lingering within place, there is also uncanniness, an uneasy closeness concomitant to the *viviente’s* engagement with the lived world of confusion, and that witches seize.

I argue that the “thing” buried in Isabel and Alejandro’s *campo* relates to this, in the sense that it puts external events intimately *in-place*. In this case, these external events relate to land property, as witches put them into contact with the intimate, mythicized presence of other *vivientes* in the *campos*. In turn, those events become ingrained in a mythicized world, where unknown *vivientes*, with strange powers, dwelled. History of land property is suppressed through the legitimizing although ambiguous dwelling of past *antiguos*. But the destructive power of this mythical ambiguity emerges through the “thing”, placed by those same *antiguos* and as land property is put to the fore, also ambiguously: “papers” both legitimize and contradict Colditan belonging. This is what witches deploy in order to affect people, drawing them towards confusion as a form of the uncanny lying within the *viviente’s* constitution: that which is very close but is somewhat terrifying, ambivalent and dangerous. Ultimately, all of this resides in the relation between *vivientes* and their intimate places, that is, in belonging and the self. Even if

they produce *vivientes* as such (as they were produced by work), *campos* are haunted by the doubts and contradictions that the mythic schema brings to the present.

The relation between work and witchcraft entails a persistent return of the danger of sameness precluded in the mythic schema through the flooding of the world, the disappearance of *campos* and the wailing man. Sameness represents the condition of the *viviente* as absolutely autonomous, as not depending on anyone but on themselves, which is the very source of confusion: an inwardness, a loneliness, an enclosure reflected in the menacing dilution of the environment and the social. When confronted with the excessiveness of thoughts that such a state would trigger, a feeling of uneasiness, of uncanniness and thus of giving themselves to death endures in the *viviente*. Theoretically, absolute autonomy, the stabilization of the *viviente's* borders, is the only trail towards being immune to witches and to make sense of the unstable world, but this is also impossible, like the proper *viviente* as such (Chapter 2). Indeed, this cannot be achieved lest the *viviente* crumbles beneath their own instability, in anxiety and madness. Confusion, as a form or expression of the uncanny, lies within the *vivientes* in their relation to the places where they live, to others and to themselves. So in attempting to be autonomous selves, the absolute owners of their *campos* and of themselves, to be self-produced (being, again, immune to witchcraft), *vivientes* are confronted with something that has been suppressed, that cannot be represented: the very historical origin of belonging, where the *antiguos*, those who left the “thing” there, dwell.

Felipe's situation described in Chapter 1, confronted with his grandfather's *campo* and with the possibility of abandoning it, has to do with this belonging, and with a feeling of uncanniness. He was looking at a place that could become devoid of *vivientes*, and was therefore confronted with that which is too close: both his own sadness and confusion, depression, and the prospect of the *campo* becoming “closed” as it was before, mythically and historically. Anxiety overcame him as he was forced to think about the *campo* as it was before he had anything to do with it, and to consider himself without the work done there along with others, his *antiguos* included. Both he and the *campo* were turned inwards, towards enclosure and dilution. That which was familiar (a place, the former *antiguos*) became excessively present, showing its uncanny side. As I see it, Felipe felt that the *viviente's* opening of the world is fleeting, and that belonging, “being-at-home” and being oneself, is fragile, even questionable: this is the problem of place and of autochthony, a distorted image of the self in fear and desperation, which is exactly what witches feed from: loneliness. Witches actualize the “vacuum”, so to speak, of mythification. I will now address this conflicted belonging, and its relation to autochthony.

8. The reverse of work: witches and autochthony

Witches “displace” the person through a destructive side of work. This is only possible because places are made through work, and can therefore be destroyed by it. The opening of a place through the clearing of a space that was densely covered, imagined as initially uninhabitable, makes *vivientes* possible, but it also renders them fragile, confronted with indeterminate forces that are created or unleashed through that same work, and that dwell within their senses of self. There is a persistent tension, a risk of excessive blurring of limits, a lingering uncanniness and

confusion that witches use in their own favour: they thrive in the destruction of other *vivientes*, especially through fear and latent anxiety, which leads the *viviente* to turn in on themselves and disappear in loneliness. Work and witchcraft share a border, they mediate each other: work keeps borders at bay by means of destruction of an un-bordered world, while witchcraft brings all of these borders together. This allows the lived world of confusion to endure, because witchcraft keeps the *viviente*, and the world, in the unstable state that is concomitant to them.

Therefore, witches are not foreign to the *vivientes*, and can be considered their “doubles”. They attract them towards a shared materiality and inwardness, even madness, which is already lingering within them. This madness takes the form of a solution to the endlessly unresolved doubt that the uncanny brings within the familiar, within any dwelling place: the possibility for autonomy and self-sameness, Heidegger’s proposed belonging to the self. This is the source of the lingering anxiety, and its concomitant fear, that I think Isabel and Alejandro were feeling. That which has no clear solution is autochthony, namely the difference between intrinsically belonging to a place, being born from it as if self-producing, or being made by social and environmental relations, making belonging complicated to address: as noted in the introduction, *born from one or born from two? Born from different or born from same?* (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 216). A *viviente* would always assert their belonging to a certain place, as Isabel and Alejandro’s sentiments show, but this place will be undefinable in its ownership and belonging, both historically (the timber companies, the migrations, the menace of eviction) and mythically (the *antiguos*, the “thing”). Indeed, the *viviente* cannot be born from “one”, from one *campo* only, lest be enclosed, undifferentiated: *campos* are connected by blood and work (Chapter 2). But neither can it be born from only “two”, as that would entail being diluted in social borders with no sense of self, not belonging to a *campo* but to every *campo*, producing, again, sameness or loneliness (that is, Lévi-Strauss proposed “flaw”, haunting the *viviente*’s constitution) (Introduction). Because of this, the stability of the *vivientes* as such is always in question, from the perspective of others and of themselves. Moreover, work makes it so that autochthony is not a given thing, because places are not stable at all: they are made from borders that approach one another, and that have the *viviente* as its (failing) axis.

Autochthony therefore appears as this blurred condition that is reflected towards the *vivientes* as something partially familiar, and that is tampered by witches who lure these *vivientes* inwards in search for it. It is in this way that witches confront the *viviente* with the uncanny, namely by means of an altering of belonging, making the close, which resembles a mythicized, cancelled world, emerge: the “thing”. Ultimately, this can only result in loneliness, madness and death. The *viviente* will be driven to seek for completeness and absolute autonomy, namely autochthony itself: a transparent relation to the production of the self, an unhistorical place where there would be no “doubles”, no borders, no externality. This makes anxiety grow, as this unmediated relation would entail the cancelation of the *viviente* condition under the weight of an ungraspable belonging, or self.

Returning to our ethnographical situation, Isabel and Alejandro feared being wiped out from the present, to be pulled back to a time when they were displaced, and thus to a limit condition of the *viviente* as not properly belonging, of not having a home. This is the kind of confusion that witches produce. Borders are blurred, time is somewhat contracted, space is diluted, the truth

approaches the false, and everything becomes too close. Witches were making the uncanniness of belonging, and of death, emerge, by questioning their historical, persistent condition of *vivientes*. In our meeting, the supressing quality of myth was actualized: both the wailing man and the flooded world appeared as a cancellation of sociality, and thus of history. Eventually, Isabel and Alejandro could have been forced to become wanderers without a *campo*, enclosed and separated from everybody else, and thus lured by the dangers of loneliness, just like in Lincoman's version. This possibility, that of being attacked by witches, is produced by the very effort of working in a *campo*, of relating to others and of persevering as a *viviente*.

Peter Geschiere (2013) has famously proposed something on these lines: that witchcraft is the "*dark side of kinship*" (loc. 197). Building from this notion, Aletta Biersack (2017) has also proposed that witchcraft is "*the dark side of exchange*" (296). I prefer to leave the term "dark" aside, but what seems is the same between these ideas is that witchcraft is an "other side" of whatever is considered essential to live; a "reverse" that lies at the core of that same life. Work, in the production of places, can only make the uncanny emerge. This is so because work is unfolded from an initial state of confusion, both mythological and historiographical; mythological because of the unnamed *antiguos* and the overall mythic schema of loneliness, and historiographical because of the initially covered (or uncovered) *campos*, the external tampering of land titles and other possible forces that must be ingrained in places.

As suggested, this has to do with a relation to temporality or with history as such: both the legality of land and the sudden appearance of an anthropologist, for example, are events that put these forces in motion. In the next chapter, I turn to the topic of Colditan history.

Chapter 4: A History of the Colditan *Viviente*

1. Overview

In the previous chapter, I added time and historicity to this thesis' concerns: witches use external and intimately emplaced events to do harm. Therefore, a Colditan model of time must be addressed in order to further conceptualize the *viviente*, the lived world of confusion and autochthony in Tweo Coldita. This is what the next three chapters attempt to do.

In this chapter, I argue that engagement with external events (especially those brought to the archipelago by neoliberal policies) cannot be addressed from a notion of "acculturation". In Coldita, this engagement, which has been occurring for a long time, is determined by local ways of understanding and enacting change. The Colditan *vivientes'* efforts to open land-sea places and to relate to others are central here. In addition to distancing the analysis from models of acculturation, I critique the scholarly use of an opposition between tradition and modernity, common in assessments of the history of Chiloé. The notion drags in its wake an idea of local passivity, a concept of change versus stability that does not comply with Colditan ways of thinking. Above all, it excludes local history and specific ways of understanding time.

Focusing on such questions, the chapter traces an historiographical trajectory of the Colditan *vivientes*, from their arrival to the territory up to the present day. This history introduces a plethora of events that Colditan *vivientes* have engaged with, especially those triggered by companies that have left traces in the territory, similar to those made by Colditan work. I start with a particular ethnographic situation before addressing this history: a picture that my friend Felipe asked me to take that connects the present with the past, the *antiguos* and the *vivientes*. These connections are the focus of this chapter.

2. Remains of extraction: a picture of Puerto Carmen

In early October of 2019, Felipe and I boarded his small motorboat and went south from Blanchard. We were heading to Puerto Carmen, a sawmill that has been inactive for some thirty years. We passed in front of four enormous concrete blocks, old and blackened, emerging from the canal. Felipe told me that they were going to be the pillars of a new pier, but never finished. After a while, we came close to the impressive and ruined pier of the compound, stretching over the waters like a scorched skeleton, its rotten planks and bent pieces of metal between the beams. Now defunct timber companies had intensely used the structure some decades ago.

After we disembarked, we stood by a small river where the remains of a small vessel lay. "*Anyone can come and fish here*", Felipe informed me: "*people come for fish or for algae, and a little to the north too, by the Linahuá island*". And then, sarcastically: "*that is her island too*". The woman Felipe was talking about was Solange De La Taille, one of Timoleon's daughters. With her sisters, she owns a large portion of the Fundo Coldita lands, including much of the territory where Blanchard's inhabitants live.

Puerto Carmen is a compound of several buildings: the dining room, the sawmill, the caretaker's house, the dormitories, the tools room, the houses and a few dark, flooded warehouses. Rusty tractors, jeeps, engines, saw-machines, ancient locomotives and other artifacts were left submerged or stranded in marshes; old "safety at work" signs from the 1980's hang here and there; most of the windows are broken; old helmets and work clothes are laying around, or hanging from dusty coat racks; the power poles, barely standing, have no power; and small towers of never sold cypress timber, each log labelled with a small plate, lay abandoned around the complex. Everything was on the verge of collapsing, but there were also newer things. There was an unfinished events centre and some recently built houses by the *renuevo*. An unstained tin chimney came out of one of the old buildings' roof, contrasting with the surrounding rust. Colditans fear these new activities in Puerto Carmen, as they do not know the De La Tailles' plans: will they reactivate Puerto Carmen for the extraction of cypress? Will they build a huge touristic centre? Will they parcel and sell the land?

One of the most impressive traits of Puerto Carmen is a wide, long and well-maintained road that goes into the *monte*. Nevertheless, and according to Felipe, it does not reach the famous Chaiguata lagoon, where much of the timber was cut until nearly four decades ago. The trail has probably been covered by trunks and branches. As we stood in the middle of the road and watched it go deep into the forest, Felipe remembered that his mother's husband used to work in the sawmills, and that huge trucks would come down with timber for the cutting machines. The timber was then transported by ship to Quellón, or elsewhere. Many Colditans worked for the sawmill in the eighties.

We decided to go back to the boat. Along the way, Felipe spotted a rusty tractor covered in weeds and surrounded by young *arrayán* trees. He looked at me with confidence, and asked me to take a picture of him. He slowly got on the tractor, grabbed the wheel and looked at the camera with a content gaze, the old machine suddenly revived as he sat on its only chair.

Puerto Carmen is the epitome of various attempts to operate a stable extractive industry in Coldita since the 1950's. In Chapter 3, I described a dangerous "thing", a catalyst for the confusion that witchcraft uses. The entity rests on a disputed *campo* where there is also an abandoned machine: a rusted steam locomotive, signalling these past extractive activities. Colditans are no strangers to those scraps of history, or to the places where they lay. Moreover, Puerto Carmen is not the only example of these events and of their traces in the territory. Around Coldita, other remains of extractive activities abound. Close to Oratorio, there is an abandoned salmon aquaculture centre of more than thirty years old. A Colditan caretaker sees for its safety, but it has been inactive ever since the company left. Because of the aquaculture activities, the Coldita canal's seabed is filled with pieces of salmon cages and other garbage.

We have considered how the *viviente* leaves traces on the land, throughout the *campos* and the forest. These traces are signs of the existence of the *viviente*, but also disappear as the *vivientes* abandon their *campos*, migrating or dying. The extractive activities implemented in Coldita during much of the 20th century have also left their traces. Both the locomotive by the strange entity, and Felipe's request that I took his picture on the tractor, show that those traces left by external people and endeavours involve the notion of *viviente*, in space and time. How does the Colditan *viviente* relate to these kinds of events? By answering this question, I wish to convey that change is embedded in the very notion of the *viviente*. Indeed, I felt that when Felipe asked

me to take his picture he was enacting how the *viviente* engages with events, with their own past and with their *antiguos*, in specific places and moments.

I will now address the tradition/modernity opposition that will serve as a framework for the following discussions. This opposition is relevant both because it is pervasive in Chiloé's historiography and ethnography and because it provides tropes from where to assess the *viviente's* experience of time.

3. Tradition and modernity

The effects of neoliberal extractive activities in Chiloé have been largely addressed by scholars as pernicious to the "traditional" ways of life of the archipelago. These are usually described as dramatic historical events that have altered both the island's environment and their inhabitants' livelihoods. Skewes et. al (2018) and Álvarez & Ther (2016) have argued that Chiloé's traditional, insular, sea-land cosmivision and customary ("*consuetudinario*") mode of production and sociability has been endangered by the logics of global capitalism; that is, by proletarianization, migration to cities, abandonment of places of origin, dietary changes and pollution. Ricardo Álvarez, in his study for the FUSUPO, has called this a "crisis" of a "traditional" Chilote dwelling that is opposed to foreign logics of production (2016; 2018, 36).

Barton & Román (2016) have argued that, since the 1980's, transnational salmon aquaculture has been the most visible force of the late-modern transformation of Chiloé, absorbing the archipelago into a globalized world. The Chilean state introduced salmon aquaculture through neoliberal policies that seldom considered "traditional" culture and economy. Since the Pinochet dictatorship until today, the state has lent portions of sea to international companies, under the assumption that private competitiveness and natural resource exploitation would eventually improve people's lives as the economy grew. According to the authors, these policies "*swiftly transformed the tradition of isolation and poverty that had defined the local identity and livelihoods*" (651). Barton & Román accept that external economic processes had influenced the archipelago before. Nevertheless, they believe that these past modernizing attempts were not as strong as the more recent ones: the latter would have forced Chilotes to choose between their "traditional" way of life and an urban, wage-driven lifestyle. "Tradition" and "modernity" coexist, but they have never quite coalesced (651-672).

Lastly, the anthropologist Anton Daughters has also suggested that modernization processes began to affect Chiloé long before the 1980's. Like Barton & Román, Daughters proposed that changes during the last few decades have been the most dramatic, disturbing Chilote identity and "traditional" livelihood. Daughters proposes that monetization and its effects on a traditional way of life that had been stable for centuries, thanks to geographical isolation and to a communal economy, produced a generational schism between older and younger Chilotes. Older Chilotes remember the past fondly. In contrast, younger Chilotes are critical of the past, declaring that Chiloé was poor and isolated. But these young people are proud of their Chilote identity, enforcing it discursively in the city (2016, 318, 323 – 328; 2019, 4-11). To approach this phenomenon, Daughters (2019) proposes the concept of "changing same"; that is, representations of the self that are "essentialist" or continuous with the past, but also

contemporarily constructed (148 - 153)³³. Even if Daughters assumes that other changes did happen in Chiloé before the 1980's, and even if he takes a stance when adhering to the concept of "changing same" (which, as I see it, makes his interpretation of the dyad the most complex and compelling so far), an unresolved dialectic between tradition and modernity is still present in his work.

My approach is that the above interpretations depend on an unresolved opposition between tradition and modernity within Chilotes' experience of change. It is undeniable that Chiloé has endured intense modernization processes for at least three-and-a-half decades. The inhabitants of the Archipelago have suffered a plethora of interventions, from the opening of roads to once isolated places to the heyday of the salmon industry, paid labour, migration to cities, pollution, the rise of public education, urban poverty, depletion of sea resources and the arrival of non-Chilote people to the islands, among many others. I do not question the effects of the extractivist neoliberal model in Chiloé: they are quite palpable. But an interpretation of neoliberalism as an external, destructive force operating with disregard for traditional ways of dwelling needs more ethnographical descriptions. Standing from the indigenous south of Chiloé, I approach the Colditan *viviente* history from within the tradition/modernity opposition. I argue that there are two assumptions at play: that the neoliberal, extractivist model is perceived by Chilotes as new, or as having engendered an unprecedented intensity in the changes experienced; and that those changes are signified as external influences upon their "traditional" way of life. But Colditans have engaged with extractivist industries, land expropriation and with Quellón for at least one and a half centuries.

An anthropologist that has addressed the issues of tradition and modernity in a specific Chilote setting is Giovanna Bacchiddu (2017). She described how inhabitants of the Apiao island have recently engaged with "modernity", as they buy and consume objects that are deemed "civilized" or "modern". These contrast with what islanders consider their "traditional" and "poor" livelihood. But, according to the author, Apiao people do not necessarily engage with these objects to improve their quality of life, or even out of necessity, but because they desire them, because they "do things". This desire would involve an attempted approach with those "others" from towns and cities who see Apiao as uncivilized. So, according to Bacchiddu, these islanders have their own "version" of modernity, a "domesticated" modernity (47, 52, 58). Rather than in modernity itself, they are interested in how modernity interests other people who see them as inferior. In Apiao, modernity helps "*resist domination and engage with powerful otherness*" (64).

Because Bacchiddu has concerned herself with local forms of modernity, I am following her. Nevertheless, my approach is slightly different. I do not describe how Colditans understand these concepts, but how the latter fall short when addressing a local way of engaging with

³³ Daughters' (2019) proposal can be linked to Sergio Mansilla's (2012). Indeed, and in Daughters' argument, it partially derives from it (144-5). Mansilla proposes that a nostalgic perspective on Chiloé past tradition might be pernicious to Chilote culture's future, as it forecloses the difficulties of poverty and isolation experienced by Chilotes in the past. For Mansilla, there is nothing "essentially" good or bad about tradition or about modernity, and thus proposes that Chilotes make use of both modern and traditional "residues" (7) in creative ways in order to survive Chiloé's historical isolation and abandonment. As in Daughter's case, Mansilla tries to go beyond the dyad in making it more dynamic, but the concepts keep their strength.

events. To do this, I deploy a crossing between a synchronic, ethnographical account of Colditan engagements with change and a diachronic, historiographic account. This approach is inspired by the work of Peter Gow (1991, 2001): that native ways of thinking and acting cannot be addressed as if they were solely the by-product of acculturation, and that an exclusively diachronic conception of history cannot properly describe different forms of giving meaning to events. The synchronic nature of ethnography makes the eliciting of local ways of memory possible, those that effectively manage change (see Introduction). Christina Toren (2018) proposed something similar: that persons are constituted microhistorically, and thus history is not external to them but embodied. It is in this way that I attempt to interpret the picture that Felipe asked me to take.

Let us first consider the history of the Colditan *viviente*, as I have traced it in the archive, secondary sources and fieldwork data.

4. A connection to Quellón

Colditans have a strong relationship with the city of Quellón, some sixteen kilometres to the northwest when sailing through the Quellón Bay. Colditans have travelled back and forth from the island to the city for more than a century, first in rowboats and, from the 1980's, in motorboats and public sea transportation. As suggested in the Introduction, Quellón is a harsh, poor, industrial port city, shaped by both small-scale fishery and the aquaculture industry. It is comprised of workers and families who migrated from nearby islands or arrived from outside of Chiloé, looking for jobs. Many Colditans have a house in Quellón, or at least close kin who have one, and many live there permanently. They employ a double residency strategy: they stay at the cities but travel back to their *campos* to conduct productive activities. Some of these urban Colditan houses were awarded through government subsidies, while others were built by Colditans themselves, generally on unstable land, with no public sewerage or proper electricity. Islanders occupy urban land they or their kin bought some decades ago, so their ownership of that land is sometimes ambiguous. By general rule, the seller was also a relative, or an acquaintance from islands nearby. Colditan houses in the city are similar to those on the island: they have a big kitchen, a stove, an orchard, sometimes even small potato plots. They are usually made out of materials taken from dismantled houses and barns in Coldita itself.

The reasons behind contemporary migrations from the island to the city are well known: jobs and public education. Rural schools do not impart high-school instruction, and thus the young are forced to move to Quellón. Because of this, and like in the whole of the archipelago, rural schools have been left with close to no children. Many Colditans, young and adult, say that the city is not for them: *“here in the island you have your own land and you can live better, with less noise and more tranquillity... but because of my son, I will eventually have to move to Quellón”*, Karen told me in her father's house. Raised and educated in the city during much of their lives, young Colditans feel that their places of origin are still there in the island, and that they could eventually go back: their own parents have been coming and going from the island to the city for decades, just like them. That generation, now in their forties and fifties, was not legally forced to attend high school, but they also migrated to Quellón when young. They were looking

for work in artisanal fishing ships, in aquaculture centres, in schools as cooks or as maids in city houses. Some of them stayed, while others went back to live in the island.

There is an unstable connection between Coldita and Quellón that has changed over the years because of modern technologies, economic cycles and public policies. This relation has been maintained since long ago: the city is part of the overall environment of the *viviente*. Indeed, the relation of the Colditan *viviente* to Quellón is not new at all: it goes back more than a hundred years. Quellón has been integrated into Colditans' livelihood, and this long-time relationship is paramount to understand the *viviente's* imagining of the past and the present.

5. First migrations

In 1823 Mariano Llancahuen, an Indigenous man, bought a piece of land called Fundo Coldita. It comprised a large territory or *fundo* in the Isla Grande de Chiloé, separated from the west coast of Coldita island by the Coldita canal. The *fundo* did not include the island itself, and it was registered in a Spaniard "*título de realengo*" ("crown title"). Even though the title has been lost, subsequent documents describe the *fundo* as having the Cocauque river to the north, Colesmó to the south, the sea to the east and the forested mountain range to the west (the *tepuales*, forest of *tepú*)³⁴. The estate has some thirty-thousand hectares, but it has been severely subdivided over the past 120 years.



Figure 3: *Fundo Coldita* (Source: "Reconstitución cartográfica de los fundos realengos demandados el Estado de Chile por el Consejo de Chafun Williche Chilwe Ka Kom Wapi", in Salas & Espoz 2018, 8).

³⁴ Registro de Propiedad 1892, fs.70 vts, Conservador de Bienes Raíces de Castro.

Other purchases of large pieces of land in the south of the Isla Grande were made by other Indigenous people (Comisión de Trabajo Autónomo Mapuche 2003, 1670 – 1730). Their capacity to buy these estates came from their emancipation from the *encomienda* system in 1782, as the Crown favoured that the “indios” paid direct tribute to the king (Saavedra 2014, 73). In Chiloé, the Indigenous population gained the status of “*república de indios*” (republic of indios), which gave them more control over their territory and their work, and their own authorities and towns (Catepillan 2019, 101-102). Not five years after the land purchases, in 1826, Chiloé was annexed to the Chilean Republic. The “*Tratado de Tantauco*” (Tantauco Treaty), an agreement for the peaceful capitulation of the province, was signed between both parties. In its sixth article, the treaty stated that local property, including land, would be protected under the new regime. Around this same time, some inhabitants of Chiloé, especially indigenous ones, began to migrate to the *fundos*. One of these territories was Coldita, most likely uninhabited until then, at least on a permanent basis.

Colditans are aware that their families came to Coldita from the mid-south portion of Chiloé, and that they arrived many decades ago by sea: some fifty kilometres to the north in the Isla Grande, they say to have *parientes* (relatives). Having conducted archival work, at the end of 2019 I asked Felipe about the connections between his great-uncle Antonio, the late *lonko*, with the northern territories beyond Quellón. He told me that “*he would say that he had parientes there, the Raínes and the Huenteos* (surnames). *The Teca were also there, they came to Quellón and Coldita, we’re parientes with them. The antiguos came from all of those territories: Weketrumao, Auchac, Chadmo*”. Following the signposts of Colditan’s knowledge about their distant past, I found information of the first migrations referred above, in archives available in the Bishopric of Ancud. They were labelled under the section of the Queilen Parish, to which the Quellón commune belonged until around 1900³⁵. I consulted documents between 1850 and 1900 compiled in books in a non-correlative way, with no numbers on the sheets. The only way to cite these documents is through the available date, and the correspondent dossier. The documents that I worked with were almost entirely marriage minutes. Because the priests registered the names, places of birth, residence and parents of bride and groom, and similar data for the parents and witnesses, it is possible to draw some connections, eliciting a web of migration, kin and cooperation between places of the territory once called Payos.

What I wish to convey is the existence of early southward movements from the middle and middle – north portions of the Isla Grande, that is, from the south of the Queilen commune, suggested by Colditans such as Felipe. The territory between Queilen and Coldita was called Payos since the Spaniards arrived in the 16th century. The Payos were inhabitants of the Archipelago, probably semi-sedentary Chono who formed kin relations with the Williche and adopted some of their ways (Núñez 2018, 47). The origin for the migrations that I am interested in were most notably the indigenous localities of Paildad, Compu, Chadmo and Huilddad. Their destinations were the localities of Quellón Viejo, Yaldad, Laitec, Cailín and Coldita. The historian Tomás Catepillan (2002) suggests that a larger migration was taking place between 1785 and 1840 in Chiloé. People from northern parts of the Archipelago, mostly of Indigenous descent, were moving towards the department of Chonchi, to which the Payos territory belonged (256).

³⁵ I am very grateful to the Bishopric of Ancud, most especially to Bishop Juan María Agurto and to sister Luz María.

Therefore, some families were already traveling and settling in southern territories. But the correspondence of surnames between places like Compu, Huidad, Paildad, Chadmo and Coldita and its surrounding localities leads me to believe that the first Colditans belonged to families long settled in the Payos territory.



Figure 4: 19th century migrations from Payos to Coldita and its surroundings (Localities of origin in pink; localities of destination in light-blue; general direction of migrations in purple - by boat and following the coast) ³⁶.

³⁶ Google Earth screenshot, modified by the author.



Figure 5: Isla Guafo, Coldita and its surroundings³⁷.

Migrating Indigenous people of the 19th century, probably descendant from the Payo, had a land-sea culture: they relied on agriculture, garden products, cattle, molluscs gathering and fishing. They most likely hunted for sealions in the southern archipelagos, and cut timber (Núñez 2018)³⁸. Though the Queilen archive mostly describes marriage witnesses as “*agricultor*” (farmer or peasant), a document from 1897 tells of how a crew of friends and kin from Compu and Cailín sailed to the Guafo island to fish. Most of them drowned and died³⁹. In another document, it is also stated that a certain man used to sail around the Tranqui island, near Chadmo, as he searched for sealion manure⁴⁰. Migrations to southern Payos seem to centre around the “exit” from the Archipelago to the Corcovado Gulf, progressively consolidating more stable, dispersed populations around new *capillas* (Introduction). This also entailed the configuration of a large network of affinity and cooperation, covering a considerable territory as people cleared new places to live.

During colonial times and especially in the 18th century, Catholic missionaries travelled to the southern archipelagos, contacted the Chono and other people, and tried to relocate them in different missional posts at Chiloé. The last of these posts was in the Cailín island, founded in

³⁷ Google Earth screenshot, modified by the author.

³⁸ Archivo de Ancud. Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1890 – 1899. 06 August 1897; Archivo de Ancud. Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1880 – 1889, 03 May 1886.

³⁹ Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1890 – 1899. Archivo del Obispado de Ancud. 06 August 1897

⁴⁰ Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1880 – 1889. Archivo del Obispado de Ancud. 03 May 1886.

1743 (Urbina C. 2016, 111) and neighbouring Coldita. Between 1782 and 1783, José de Moraleda (1888) y Montero noted that Cailín had been abandoned (175-181). Charles Darwin (1871), in 1834, observed that people travelled from Cailín to the city of Castro to barter, and that some people were living in the island (278-279). It is thus very likely that an approach to these southern territories had been happening way before 1850 (the archive's oldest registry), and that Coldita and other islands had been occupied for centuries by Chono, at least temporarily. Nevertheless, I have found no concrete evidence of stable population in Coldita before the early 19th century.

In the Queilen marriage dossier going from 1850 to 1859, the Chiguay surname, present in Coldita today, is abundant around Cailín, and also in other places to the north, like Compu and Chadmo. Around Quellón Viejo, there are registries of the Llancahuen surname, ubiquitous in Coldita and its surroundings, and held by Mariano himself. The Llancahuen were also present around Compu, Huiladad, Paildad and Chadmo, as were the Nehue⁴¹, who would arrive at Coldita later on, and who still inhabit the island. There is also the surname Pairo. Although it cannot be found in Coldita today, the father of Antonio (Felipe's great-uncle) was called Pedro Chiguay Pairo. His parents arrived at Coldita from around Chadmo towards the end of the 19th century, to inhabit the north-western corner of the island. Pedro's father was called Pedro Purísimo Chiguay Teca (a surname referred above), widower of Asunción Pairo. In 1896, Pedro Purísimo married a woman of Millacari surname in Trincao, very close to Quellón⁴². According to the descendants of this family, Pedro Chiguay married a woman of Nehue surname, and they both lived in the northern parts of the island.

Even though Coldita is still not identified as a proper *capilla* or town in the archive, we cannot know for sure if people were living there or not around the 1850s. It could be the case that, as Mariano Llancahuen had bought the *fundo*, some families were already there, and that the Queilen parish did not account for them because they were too few. It could also be the case that Coldita was first populated from the immediate north and south, that is, from Quellón and from the Cailín and Laitec islands, which are indeed registered as *capillas* during these earlier times. What seems clearer is that these documents speak of networks between Quellón Viejo, Cailín, Coldita, Compu, Huiladad, Paildad, Chadmo and the whole territory south of Queilen. In 1862, a connection between the mid-section and the southern territories of Payos is woven through the marriage of Antonio Chiguay Llancahuen from Paildad, very close to Compu, with a woman whose surname was Alvarado (her first name is illegible), born in Cailín⁴³. Colditans do remember that the Alvarado were one of the first families to arrive at the south of Coldita, across Cailín. According to Juana *"in Mauchil (a small island by the southern mouth of the canal) there were many indigenous ceremonies, antiguos, real Indigenous people. When we, the Hueicha, arrived many years ago, there were other families before, like the Alvarados"*.

But it is in 1866 that the archive registers a Colditan resident for the first time: Nicasio Puran, a Colditan and widower of Trinidad Llancahuen, is to marry Clara Alvarado, from Cailín, widower

⁴¹ Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1850 – 1859. Archivo del Obispado de Ancud.

⁴² Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1880 – 1889. Archivo del Obispado de Ancud. 17 September 1896.

⁴³ Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1860 – 1869. Archivo del Obispado de Ancud, 05 February 1862.

of Serafín Chiguay, another Colditan but also born in Cailín. One of the witnesses, José Chiguay, was from Quellón. Coldita is recognized as a locality because people had been living there for some time, as Nicasio, of around sixty years old, is “*natural y residente en Coldita*” (born and resident in Coldita)⁴⁴. What is relevant here is that, even though Coldita was not considered a proper town or *capilla* as the other surrounding localities were, it is apparent that people had been living there for quite a few decades. It is also probable that Colditans were already creating bonds with their neighbours and kin around Quellón and in the Payos territory.

But why did people migrate to Coldita in the first place? I argue that a closer exit to the Corcovado Gulf meant an access to an abundance of natural resources. It is likely that, apart from sharing with friends and kin, the abundance of fishes caught by sailing crews was also sold or bartered in towns. People followed sealion and otters and hunted them, and cut timber. When doing fieldwork in the Payos territory, it is common to hear that, since at least the end of the 19th century up to the late 20th, people “*salía*” (went out) south of Chiloé in search for sealions and *huillines*, a kind of otter. I also argue that these migrations involved the opening of new *campos*, and thus the constitution of *vivientes* in new territories.

Catepillan’s findings (2022) point to a steady growth of mainly Indigenous population in the department of Chonchi between 1785 and 1840. In 1784, “indios” amounted to 77% percent of the Chonchi inhabitants, while in 1840 they were as much as 90% of the total (256). It can be proposed that this growth of the southern population made it necessary for new generations to look for new places to live, away from localities that were more densely inhabited. These migrations towards new places could have been a way to become a *viviente*, clearing up a place and finding means to work at land and at sea (we don’t know if these migrants used the word *viviente* or not: I am speaking about the notion, not the word). Indeed, if *viviente* refers to a constant effort of maintaining relations with the environment, the initial act of that *viviente* is opening a new place to live, keeping it that way. I argue that the purchases of big pieces of indigenous land in the early 19th century, like that of Mariano Llancahuen, had these motives behind.

These migrations and settlings also indicate an active engagement of the Indigenous people of Chiloé with a general process of economic and political opening to the southern seas: the new *vivientes* were looking for new means of work. This process was ongoing by the end of the 18th century and during much of the 19th. Sealion hunting (the *dos pelos* species, *Arctophoca australis*) must have been one of the reasons for moving south, for their meat, guano, fat and skin. This practice had already consolidated and dwindled as an intensive, extractivist and capitalist practice by the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. British and North American hunters had already engaged in long trips around Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego and the Falkland Islands searching for hunting spots. According to Marcelo Mayorga (2014), these earlier, more intensive hunting experiences were assimilated by the Chilotes, who were already acquainted with the southern geography and also with the hunting expertise of the Chono, the Kawesqar and the Yamana (38-39). I have suggested the presence of sea lion hunting through the man who searched for sealion manure in Tranqui: a more immediate access to the

⁴⁴ Libro Parroquia de Queilen Expedientes Matrimoniales 1850 – 1859. Archivo del Obispado de Ancud. 05 December 1866.

Corcovado Gulf would have made it easier to access the more austral archipelagos where the sealion abounded.

One can also speculate that migrations around the exit to the southern seas gave Indigenous people access to larch, cypress and other trees in continental Chiloé, Guaitecas and the Isla Grande. By the end of the 18th century, larch extraction, common in Colonial times through the *encomienda*, had dramatically increased, as a result of the operations of some small industrial sawmills managed by local, influential entrepreneurs (Torrejón et.al 2011, 84-85; Morales 2014). During the 19th century Chilean demand for timber grew, and there was a turn towards the cypress of the Guaitecas Archipelago. Between 1860 and 1875, travelling to the Guaitecas for timber required considerable wealth, large vessels, and plentiful food and goods to pay for a cutting crew. The crew was generally hired through *enganche* (“hooking”), a debt system in which food was granted in advance for a specific number of cut planks. The system relied on kin networks to build the teams, and produced a considerable number of *enganche* debtors within a local labour market that did not rely on wage, but on goods (Morales 2014, 54-58).

We know that Colditans settled around a territory filled with cypress, by the Isla Grande’s mountain range. They also settled close to places where vessels in search of cypress would pass: the exit to the Corcovado Gulf around Cailín, Laitec and Mauchil island. Colditans could have benefited from exchanging with the sailors. It is also possible that they engaged with the *enganche* system, boarding the passing boats and joining cutting crews whose members could have been kin. Owners of large vessels and *enganche* enablers, kin or acquaintances of Colditans, could have lived in the Payos territory: according to Diego Morales (2014), it is imaginable that proper vessels for timber transport existed in the Chonchi department (47, 57). Following Morales, I argue that Colditans could have been involved in a labour market based on indebtedment, and depended on basic goods that could not be acquired outside the system. The concept of *enganche* is still remembered in Coldita, as a name for the way in which the *antiguos* embarked southwards by boarding passing sailboats. Carmelo, a man in his sixties living in the island, told me in November of 2019 that a very old woman, Albertina, “*made enganche when she was thirteen or fourteen years old (that is, around the 1950’s): a group would pass through here in their way to cutting cypress way south, and other people from around Coldita would embark in their ships*”. Lastly, Colditans could have cut wood in the places where they lived, bartering with it themselves. They could have traded timber, even planks, with vessels that picked them up from the island shores.

6. Quellón, the companies and expropriation

The consolidation of the Coldita *capilla* (Introduction) around 1908 seems to relate to the foundation of today’s Quellón in early 20th century, and to the timber industry that began to thrive by the end of the 19th. Probably, Coldita was established as a proper *capilla* because the Quellón parish became independent from the parish of Queilen. This schism entailed the creation of new partialities under a new ecclesial jurisdiction. The chapel’s creation also entails that Coldita’s population had increased: in 1908, the island was one of the parish’s localities with

the most baptisms per annum, coming just behind Quellón⁴⁵. Around this time, the chapel of the Quellón Viejo town was moved northwards from its original location. The new Quellón town, today's Quellón, had been growing around a pier built by the Sociedad Austral de Maderas, a timber company. The reason the chapel got moved was certainly related to this. The Chilean state was allowing big firms to settle in the southern parts of Chiloé, especially timber ones. Steamboats' traffic increased around the Quellón bay, most of them owned by these same companies⁴⁶. The Sociedad Austral, in addition to the pier, had built multiple warehouses, filled with local timber. That same year, the Quellón priest declared that the dependencies of the church were too small for a town that was growing so fast and steadily⁴⁷.

In 1906 a wood distillery was built in Quellón: the "Destilatorio de Quellón S.A". The factory tapped on the native forest of the Quellón commune, including Coldita, and was owned by foreign capitals that mainly belonged to the Sociedad Austral. It produced coal, alcohol, acetate and tar, and it employed both local and foreign workforce. The distillery caused a considerable migration of people to Quellón from Chiloé and elsewhere. Maritime traffic intensified. Timber was transported from the islands in boats and steamboats to the factory and elsewhere, especially northern Chile. Around 1918, the Sociedad Austral was bought by the Braun-Blanchard and Díaz-Contardi Society, already a shareholder. They founded the Comunidad Quellón and then the Sociedad Explotadora de Chiloé, which would operate the distillery until the 1960's (Sahady et.al, 2009). According to Colditans, their *antiguos* worked to supply the factory, cutting trees in the forested mountains. Older Colditans say they their *antiguos* did not have the proper vessels to transport the wood. As *don* Santiago, a man in his sixties living in Blanchard, once told me, "*they could not transport the timber to Quellón, because they needed bigger hulls and sails. The ships of the company arrived at the shore, and the antiguos waited with the timber piled up at the beach*". If the relation to the *enganche* system described in the previous section is true, especially the commerce between Colditans and the passing ships, then the exchange of timber with the company would be a continuation of it: a seizing of the strategic location of Coldita in order to engage with overarching economic processes.

In 1956, and with French, Swedish and Chilean capital, the Sociedad Explotadora of Braun-Blanchard and Díaz-Contardi founded the Sociedad Forestal y Ganadera de Chiloé: FOGACHIL, as it is known by Colditans today. FOGACHIL was created to implement the forestry of Puerto Carmen, represented by Timoleon De La Taille. The Puerto Carmen sawmill had more than five-hundred workers from Chiloé, Chile and other parts of the world. FOGACHIL also ran agricultural activities in Blanchard, mainly livestock breeding and beetroot cultivation, on land that was very close to Isabel and Alejandro's *campo* (Chapter 3). Workers would go up the mountains and cut cypress, opening roads towards the top with their oxen. Houses and warehouses were built, and machinery was brought through the Quellón Bay. A big pier was also made, most likely the same that Felipe showed me, and timber was embarked in big ships. These extractive activities only lasted until 1957, when FOGACHIL was dissolved (Bahamonde 2012, 165).

⁴⁵ Libro Quellón 1. 1902 – 1908. Estado del Movimiento Religioso de la Parroquia de Quellón del año 1908.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ Libro Quellón 1. 1902 – 1908 (...) op.cit. 16 August 1908.

Early extractivism in southern Chiloé was allowed by the expropriation of the land that indigenous people had bought in colonial times. In 1896, the state decreed that an enormous territory of a hundred-thousand hectares be awarded to a private owner, Juan Tornero, to colonize. A general inscription of lands in the name of the Chilean state was made in 1900. Owner opposition to the inscription was permitted, but notices were published in Castro, far from Quellón and only reachable by boat. Thus, the Chilean government prevented Indigenous proprietors from informing themselves of the process. The Chilean Treasury registered 172.986 hectares to its name, some 21% of Chiloé. Justo Llancahuen, Mariano Llancahuen's grandson, opposed the inscription⁴⁸, but the *fundo* was later awarded to the Sociedad Austral anyway, and then to the Sociedad Explotadora (Pandolfi 2016, 88).

Around the 1930's, Colditans were living in Coldita island and not in Coldita Isla Grande. It is unclear why Colditans preferred the island over the territories just across the canal. They probably did live in Coldita Isla Grande when they migrated a century before, but Colditans insist that the first families arrived at the island, not the Isla Grande. As Dora told me during a conversation at her house in September of 2019, "*my grandparents, all of those born in the antigüedad (ancient times), were born and stayed in Coldita island, like me*". It could be that after 1900 Colditans were expelled from the *fundo* by the companies and thus forced to move to the island, but Dora's comment would suggest otherwise. Some people (like Alejandro; Chapter 3) claim that, before the companies arrived, a few families actually lived in the *fundo*, but their names are lost.

Another point for discussion is that Coldita island was never included in any land inscription or concession after 1900, and that it was not part of Mariano Llancahuen's estate. This has been overlooked by researchers, especially Correa & Molina in their famous "Territorios Huilliches de Chiloé" (1996). The general land inscription of 1900 was intended as a registry of land ownership all over Chile, in order to assess the legitimacy of titles and occupations and to determine which territories belonged to the Treasury. It follows that the properties that complied with domestic laws were not inscribed in the states' name. If Coldita island was not included in the inscription, it could be the case that Colditans living in the island had some kind of legal ownership over their lands. Meanwhile, the *fundo* of Mariano Llancahuen was not legalized, maybe because it could not be "read" by the legislation. It could also be speculated that Chiloé's *fundos* were so large that the state decided to keep them, transferring them to private companies and overlooking the Tantauco Treaty.

Molina & Correa (1996) argue that both the opposition against the land inscription of 1900 made by Justo Llancahuen, grandson to Mariano, and the land purchases made by him during the last few years of the 19th century, are proof that the Fundo Coldita was inhabited. I would think otherwise. It is true that Justo opposed the inscription of the *fundo*⁴⁹, but a subsequent document declares that the Fundo Coldita had "no title". There is also the selling of a piece of land by Justo Llancahuen to Melchor Gómez, described in that same document. Through this transaction, Molina & Correa suggest that Justo Llancahuen had a legal hold over the *fundo*. But what the document⁵⁰ actually says is that Justo Llancahuen was the owner of the *potrero*

⁴⁸Conservador de Bienes Raíces de Castro, v. N°113 de 1898, fs. 69.

⁴⁹ fs. 69 v. N°113 de 1898, Conservador de Bienes Raíces de Castro

⁵⁰ 66 vta. N°89 de 1890, Conservador de Bienes Raíces de Castro.

Coldita, which is not the same as Mariano's estate. The limits of the property, as specified in the document, are not the same as those of the *fundo*: they are located in Coldita island itself (indeed, the property has the sea to the east and west).

What I find interesting about this document is that it confirms the existence of people dwelling in Coldita island. It shows that they were buying and selling their lands, subdividing them and drawing limits, as the Chilean state would have required. Nevertheless, this does not help us elucidate why Colditans were living in the island and not in the *fundo*. As I have referred, Colditans usually say that no one lived in Coldita Isla Grande before they migrated through the canal between the 1950's and the 1980's. But other Colditans would suggest the contrary: that Blanchard was full of *vivientes*, that they worked there, that Mariano himself dwelled there and that they even had powerful witchcraft. This ambiguity adds to the mythification of *antiguos* and the suppression of events as external forces, pulled into places that reflect an unstable belonging (Chapter 3). This will be important when interpreting a Colditan model of time, in the following chapter.

Eventually, the Sociedad Explotadora tried to consolidate its domains towards Coldita island. The move was attempted around 1938, but only 6,7 hectares of the island were sold (Molina & Correa 1992, 20-23). Colditans remember that their *antiguos* were afraid of these operations: the Sociedad was trying to expel them. They also remember that the company brought a large ship to evict Colditans from their lands, anchored in the Quellón Bay. According to Belasio, "*my grandfather told me that a steamship stayed a medio (in the middle of the sea), and that all people living in the island would be taken to Palena (in continental Chiloé). Pedro Gil Nehue and Pedro Chiguay Pairo went to Quellón in a rowboat and then walked to Castro and Ancud for days, to claim their lands*". Around the 1950's, plots in Coldita island were measured and awarded to those who were living and working in them: the Sociedad Explotadora had failed. This situation adds to the fear of eviction described in Chapter 3: the pressures of land property and of expulsion, and the exteriority that questions Colditan's belonging to the territory, goes back quite a few decades.

In sum, when Puerto Carmen began its short-lived operations in the mid-1950's Colditans had already engaged with capitalist extractive activities. They had migrated from the north of the Isla Grande, opening new places to live in the island and engaging in new productive activities. They had consolidated a considerable population, and a proper *capilla* under the Quellón parish. They mostly lived in the island, buying, selling and bartering plots of land according to national legislation, and had been threatened with eviction. They cleared their *campos*, tended cattle, cut timber from the forests, built houses and fences and cultivated the land. They had been sailing the inland sea of Chiloé, selling and bartering resources obtained in their travels to the southern archipelagos. From here on, they would also work at Puerto Carmen and thus for FOGACHIL and the Sociedad Explotadora, owners of the distillery to which Colditans had offered their products for half a century. Moreover, they engaged with cannery companies around Quellón: the *conserveras*, to which "*we sold fresh mussels, with no shell, and also fish*", according to Santiago. Indeed, four shellfish processing plants operated close-by between 1945 and 1973 (Bahamonde 2004, 159-162). Lastly, and as it was common in Chiloé from the late 19th century until the mid-20th, some Colditans also travelled to Puerto Montt, Santiago, Magallanes, Punta Arenas, the Argentinian Patagonia and even northern Chile's *salitreras*, the saltpetre mines.

They were searching for jobs, trying to make some money. Many Chilotes would travel once a year or during a short season and then return to their households (Grenier 1983, 35-41, 121–155, 355 – 373; Daughters 2019, 47 – 50).

7. Second migration: from Coldita island to Coldita Isla Grande

Around 1960 and coinciding with the retreat of FOGACHIL (leaving animals, beetroot plots, machines and buildings behind), the measurement of Coldita island's *campos* and the Valdivia earthquake, some Colditans crossed the Coldita canal from the island to the Isla Grande, especially Blanchard. By that time, they had worked for the company in a myriad of ways (beetroot and animal tending, warehouse building, timber cut, vigilance, even in the sawmill itself), but, as suggested above, they did not live in the *fundo*. After the company left, a local caretaker was put in charge of the lands: don José Chiguay Nehue. José descended from a family that had arrived at Coldita some seventy years before: he was the son of Pedro Chiguay, grandson of Pedro Purísimo Chiguay, both already mentioned. He was also Felipe's grandfather, *lonko* Antonio Chiguay's brother, and the spokesperson for the indigenous community.

Don José was the first to cross the canal to build his house where the beetroot plots were still laid out. There was an abandoned machine there, a steam locomotive close to Alejandro and Isabel's land. It took don José's wife only one night to cross the canal after him, bringing her children with her. Other Colditans followed, choosing Blanchard and the meanders of the Tweo river as a place to live. Colditans now living in those lands say that there was "nothing" there when they arrived, only *monte*. For example, Mario Nehue and her wife Paulina, living south of José's lands and during a conversation in March of 2019, told me that "*there was nothing here, only monte, we had to clean it all*". Other Colditans such as Alejandro acknowledge that the company had been there, that huge pieces of land were already cleared, that warehouses had been left and eventually burnt and that forgotten *antiguos* had dwelled there, where they chose to live. Colditans who crossed the canal claim that the main reason was the lack of new, proper *campos* to clear, and the lack of support from their families on the island: they needed to become *vivientes*.

Maybe before, maybe after, the Valdivia earthquake destroyed the warehouses and beetroot plots of FOGACHIL, submerged the coastal *campos* and reconfigured the geography of the La Mora causeway that connects both sides of the territory when the tide is low (Introduction). The land regime had become different between these two halves. While islanders had their plots measured, Colditans living in Blanchard began to make use of land that did not belong to them legally.

8. Puerto Carmen again

In the 1960's, Timoleon De La Taille took the stage. During 1968, almost a decade after FOGACHIL was closed, the Sociedad Explotadora melded De la Taille's capital and that of French-

Swedish investors. In 1977, De la Taille founded another company, the Compañía Forestal de Chiloé or FORESCHIL (Grenier 1984, 390; Molina & Correa 1996, 8-6, 28). De La Taille operated Puerto Carmen until 1985. The road to Chaiguata, which I contemplated with Felipe while visiting the complex, was reopened and widened. Colditans were hired to clear the forest, and crawler machines were brought to cut enormous trees that were transported to the sawmill by truck. Big ships and rafts took the cypress and the *canelo* to Quellón, and then to the continent. In Puerto Carmen, workers from Coldita, Quellón and other parts of Chile would stay at the dormitories and had breakfast, lunch and dinner served at the dining room, while others would just sell timber to the company.

Because of the shallow waters of the canal, transportation of the timber was difficult. A proper pier, the one I saw in shambles, was never finished, and extractive activities began to decline. By the mid-1980's, FORESCHIL had left cypress planks abandoned all over Puerto Carmen, just as FOGACHIL had done decades before. Timoleon De La Taille knew his operations were not profitable. He created another society, Forestal Chiloé S.A, and subdivided the *fundos* into the Inío, Quilanlar, Yaldad, Coinco, Asasao and Coldita estates. He then mortgaged them to French banks and used the money to keep Puerto Carmen going, but he was unable to pay the loans⁵¹. In 1983, De La Taille started a sour dispute with the inhabitants of the lands. He tried to evict the Indigenous people from the *fundo*, but this did not happen. A renowned priest from Santiago, Cardenal Silva Henríquez, convinced the dictator Augusto Pinochet to see that those lands were measured and awarded to those who made use of them, after having been visited by Indigenous leaders from Inkopulli, around Yaldad. This was only possible after the Coldita and Inkopulli Indigenous communities became politically organized, and fought for their right to live there. At first, Tweo Coldita and Piedra Blanca to the south comprised a single Indigenous community, but they parted ways in the 1990's.

In 1985, all of Timoleon De La Taille's properties in southern Chiloé were embargoed by international banks. He died around 1991. After his death, his descendants approached the banks to lift the embargo, and distributed De La Taille's land divisions amongst several different societies: Sociedad Forestal Hawarden, Sociedad Forestal Pan Sur, Sociedad Forestal del Sur and Sociedad Forestal Puerto Carmen. As of today, Blanchard Colditans live within the lands of the latter, still in hands of the De La Tailles⁵². Colditans are still organized into an Indigenous community, but their lands have not been restituted. For more than a decade, the Indigenous communities of Piedra Blanca and Tweo Coldita have been fighting for the state to give them exclusive administration over their coastal space under the Law for Aboriginal Coastal Spaces or "Lafkenche Law". Colditans wish to manage this portion of the sea by themselves, protecting it from aquaculture companies that might ravage the canal's natural resources. "*We have to take care of our coastal border, so we can protect it from the salmon industry*", my friend Belasio told me during an evening of July of 2019. "*It is only us, the Indigenous people, who can resist the salmon and mussel farmers*".

⁵¹ Contrato de Compraventa Compañía Forestal de Chiloé Sociedad Anónima, N°86. Castro, 19 de febrero de 1981, Conservador de Bienes Raíces de Castro.

⁵² Contrato de Compraventa Compañía Forestal de Chiloé Sociedad Anónima, N°86. Castro, 19 de febrero de 1981, Conservador de Bienes Raíces de Castro.

9. Tradition/modernity and work

By the beginnings of the 1990's things began to rapidly change again. Blanchard consolidated as the most prosperous Colditan territory. Its population grew, cleared *campos* and productive activities thrived. Blanchard Colditans managed to transfer the local school from Coldita island to Coldita Isla Grande. They were also awarded a health centre. These events deepened the schism between the two sides of the community.

Around 1987, Yadrán S.A set up an aquaculture facility in Coldita, now abandoned. It was a hand-feeding cultivation centre for coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*), with small salmon cages distributed along a portion of the Coldita canal. Big ships would load the fish and then transport it to processing plants in Quellón. Many of the employees were Colditans. Once a week, Yadrán let workers travel to Quellón to buy food or do errands, and provided transportation. All of the buildings were made from timber bought from locals, and were built by local carpenters. A big dining room offered lunch, and kitchens were supplied with local products. The centre was closed around 2003⁵³. Colditans remember "*la pesquera*" (the fishery) fondly. It gave them work, a stable wage and a chance to sell their products. It also allowed them to stay on their *campos*, keeping some of their activities ongoing instead of migrating to Quellón. But as the aquaculture centre retreated from Coldita after sixteen years, Colditans were left with no stable income. They began to migrate to the city, employing themselves in processing plants for salmon gutting and warehouse cleaning, and also in scuba-diving, small scale fishery and housekeeping, among other activities. Colditans are now aware that the Yadrán operations polluted their sea, depleted its natural resources and left the shores filled with garbage.

After Yadrán, there was a dramatic increase in migration of Colditans to Quellón. Quellón had become a poor, industrialized port city. The national educational law of 1997 forced families from nearby islands and localities, including Coldita, to send their children to the cities, or to migrate altogether. Thus, recent generations have been raised in Quellón instead of the island. At the same time, Coldita's youth have grown unsure of what they will do in the future: will they find jobs in the city or will they go back to their parent's lands? Most of them hope that work opportunities will arise in the island, but they are not so eager to work directly depending on the land and the sea: "*I would like to endeavour in tourism back in the island, so tourists can see nature, our local products, sail around the canal*", a woman in her twenties told me in November 2022.

My point is that the Colditan concept of work has been permeated by past and recent engagements with economic processes dating back to the 19th century: it is not as if Colditans exclusively depended on a land-sea subsistence economy until the 1980's. The idea of having something to do beyond what the environment offers, expressed by the young today, is not new: it can be traced up to at least the 1950's, if not before. The generational gap and the recent dependence on "modernity" usually attached to Chiloé is relative to local history: Colditans have not recently engaged with "jobs" or "work", or recently juggled with subsistence of land and sea against other means of living. The coming and going from the island to the city, and the

⁵³ Matías Bagnara, Operations Manager of Yadrán S.A between 1996 and 2006. Personal communication (October 27, 2021).

engagement with a plethora of means to subsist, is concomitant to the *viviente* experience and to the concept of work as a multiplicity of tasks in space and time (Chapter 2). Things have certainly changed: local practices such as agriculture have been partially abandoned, the young have new notions on what it is to live well. But what I think is still lacking in Chiloe's scholarly literature (with the exception of Bacchiddu's work) is both an appreciation of localized ways of approaching these issues and a leap from the tradition/modernity dyad towards specific, Chilote ways of conceptualizing their own history.

It is true that the pressure of modern Quellón has produced an abandonment of land and small-scale sea activities. It is also true that Colditans resent this, when saying that "*los trabajos de antes*" or "*trabajos antiguos*", former means for work, are being forgotten; that the young are straying too far; that the city is harsh but difficult to abandon. Nevertheless, this is not completely new. Colditans have been moving between sea, land and forest activities for almost two centuries, engaging with several job schemes and capitalists activities. They have been coming and going from Coldita to Quellón and to other cities for a hundred years. *Campos* have disappeared below the forests, and have also been reopened. It cannot be denied that recent modernizing processes were unprecedentedly violent and unjust, ravaging the once abundant natural resources and transforming Chiloé's insular society in many ways. But these effects cannot be taken for granted as if almost nothing had happened before, and as if people did not engage with past economic and social processes in their own ways.

Indeed, Colditans have developed their own ways of engaging with Quellón, especially through their double residence strategy, maintaining the historical connection between the island and the city, and learning other means for work to sustain this strategy⁵⁴. Both crab fishing with traps, especially by young men, and firewood cutting for selling in town help reproduce this old coming and going. Some Colditans have left their cattle back home and must travel once in a while to tend them. This allows hiring kin or acquaintances to take care of the family *campo* during the year. And, on the same canal they have been using for around two centuries, Colditans have implemented small-scale aquaculture, setting lines to catch mussel seeds or grow molluscs, and selling them to seashell cultivation centres nearby.

Nevertheless, Coldita has become rather empty in recent years. Some potato plots are scattered here and there, but Colditans say that these are not nearly as large as when Coldita was full of *vivientes*. As told to me by Remigio "*it was cleaner before over there (in Coldita), but nowadays no one does any roce, everything is dirtier, and no one sows anymore*". The emptiness is staggering. One can almost picture the green and white *campos* with potato plots, people coming down to the shores during the stronger tides, big *mingas* during the sowing seasons and for building houses, the nets filled with fish, the baskets filled with seashells, the children running around the *pampas*. When I first arrived at Coldita, many *campos* had no houses or just crumbling ones, and even though the clearing and unrooting of trees had made the *campos* clear for a longer time, the *monte* had advanced. More cattle than people could be spotted at the shores and hills, most of them left there by their owners, and only three children were attending school. No men, no women, no kids, no houses: just silence and loneliness, the green hills turning yellow, the dense forest tangling in slow motion.

⁵⁴ This has been described for other parts of Chiloé. See FUSUPO 2016, 2019.

But there is something else. Blanchard's period of abundance, in work and people, is evidently gone, and it certainly represents a loss of something. Nevertheless, this abundance had to do with the salmon aquaculture centre, a "modern" eventuality, something that happened, went away and left its marks on the territory. The relationship to Quellón has been ongoing for many years. There has been timber cutting, the distillatory, fishing, canning, small-scale fishery, crabs, salmon and shellfish aquaculture, algae collecting and algae smoking, factory guarding, fish gutting, and complex machine operations. I believe that a human community must not be considered dead until it is. That is, until whatever issue that has to do with it turns out to be dead, according to whichever concept of death that community had. Otherwise, we would be making apriori judgments of what it is and what is not that essentially characterizes a particular human group, plainly assuming the opposition between what belongs and what is alien. The *tremenda soledad*, the enormous loneliness plaguing the Colditan territory and that turns people depressed (Chapter 1), does not entail that everything is lost. It could be a part of another cycle, an element of the persistent migrations and transformations that Colditans have reproduced since the 19th century.

This is why, at least in the form that scholars deploy it in Chiloé, the tradition/modernity opposition does not make much sense here: Colditans consider "modern" practices, adopted throughout the last two centuries, as belonging to different, past ways of working and of life. They might be characteristic of other people who are now dead, that is, the *antiguos*. As noted, the *antiguos* had *trabajos antiguos*. They were *cipreceros*, cypress cutters; *guaitequeros*, travellers to Guaitecas in search for fish; *loberos*, sea lion hunters; *mariscadores*, seashell gatherers who sold their product to canning factories; *pescadores*, fishers that travelled southwards; *hacheros*, axe-wielders; *tejueleros*, shingle makers; *estancieros*, workers at the Patagonia estancias; *campesinos*, owners of animals and of potato, wheat and barley plots; and others. All of these practices meld with one another in time.

Colditan work is a constant choosing between multiple activities. It is also a perpetual process of adaptation within the sea, the land, the forest, the city, social relations and the powers of witchcraft (Chapter 2). Time must be included in this sense of multiplicity, especially past events, be them "modernizing" or not. The *antiguos*, like present *vivientes*, considered work as a bundle of activities that guides the *viviente's* ways of life. It does not exclude timber cutting for a company, selling molluscs to a factory, feeding salmon in a cage or gutting them inside a facility. Throughout Colditan history, livelihoods have been one and manifold at the same time. These manifold means for work do not disappear but can be (re)embodied by any *viviente*. Therefore, the *antiguos* ways of living are not "traditional" and have not been lost to modernity, because they are not identified with any particular activity or event, but with many. Even though Colditans would frame their relation to their *antiguos* in terms of disappearing ways of life, this framing depends on a contingent relation between past and present, and no clear opposition (tradition/modernity, *viviente/antiguo*, past/present, living/dead) can be clearly drawn. This allows us to approach Felipe's picture, and a possible interpretation of it.

10. The picture again

When Felipe sat at the rusted and weeded tractor, waiting for his picture being taken, and surrounded by old, flooded warehouses and machines, I do not believe he was actualizing a distance with the scene, neither in image nor in time. Some might argue that he asked me to take his picture only out of touristic interest, as if he had thought Puerto Carmen was something extraordinary. Nevertheless, he and other Colditans travel to Puerto Carmen from time to time, fishing in the river next to it. It was not the first time, nor the last, that Felipe would visit the compound. Moreover, he did not ask me to take pictures of warehouses raising behind of him, or of the insides of the buildings as he walked about them. He asked me for a single picture of an action that was being embodied in him, and that his *antiguos* most likely practiced while working there. So at least from a *viviente* perspective, there is no radical distance between the picture and the sawmill's past. As I interpret it now, and even if we might have been not aware of it at the time, there was a proximity between Felipe's request and what had happened there, that is, the *antiguos*.

Let's go back to what Felipe said to me by the end of my fieldwork (Chapter 1). After telling me that I was completely confused, he proceeded to end our working relationship. I had failed to learn what he wanted me to learn. I believe that the trip to Puerto Carmen had to do with this general context. When walking about the compound, Felipe was not showing me a curiosity but rather something meaningful for Coldita's past and present. Today, I interpret the picture from that framework: a proximity with the *antiguos*, enacted by Felipe through our relationship. In it, a plethora of events fall into place in which former *vivientes* were involved: the timber cutting, the machine operations, the land expropriation; the first migrations and the migrations through the canal, Mariano Llancahuen, the distillery, the earthquake. Felipe was not unrelated to these events at all. Most of these *antiguos*, if not all, were his kin. As we walked around the complex, he described how is that they worked there, how they brought the trunks from the mountains to the sawmill and cut them. He also analysed the machines, the roads and the houses, but especially the engines scattered throughout. He assessed how they compared to the engines of his boat, or to the motors that he himself employs for fixing vessels or sailing. He thus traced a connection between his activities and those of the past. I believe this feeling might have been, in part, behind his desire of sitting on the tractor and having his picture taken. He was actualizing his relation to all of that work, events and *antiguos*, both close and distant in time and space.

Puerto Carmen does not represent a modernization process that acculturated Colditans' traditions: Colditans themselves have been constituted by modernizing processes, in different moments of their history. *Trabajos antiguos* have changed over the decades, and thus the traditional and the modern get mixed up within the relation between *vivientes* and *antiguos*. The sawmill and its extractive activities, along the salmon centre, cannot be thought of as completely external nor completely internal to the *vivientes*. They are embedded there where both *vivientes* and *antiguos* have dwelled. They are brought towards the intimacy of place by means of their traces in space, and to the relations with time that they allow. That is, they are constitutive of the *viviente's* instability, actualizing the Colditan lived world of confusion. There is a process of "emplacement" within a specific model of time that goes beyond the

tradition/modernity dyad. Alejandro and Isabel's disputed *campo*, the powerful "thing" and an old locomotive lying next to it, represent an example of how this process of emplacing *antiguos* and historicity operates. I address this in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: A Colditan Model of Time

1. Overview

This chapter looks at the relation between *vivientes* and *antiguos*, and how it constitutes a model of time: indeed, Colditans understand their past, present and future through their *antiguos*. My argument is that *antiguos* are subject to mythification in a bordered/bordering relation with the *viviente*. In terms of Colditan places' dealing with external and internal forces that, in turn, are brought towards intimacy (Chapter 3), I suggest that "mythification" entails a suppression of temporal phenomena, including the *antiguos*' time. Mythification, in sum, is a deployment of the mythic schema's elements, constituting the lived world of confusion and thus the *viviente* in a mythicized way. As already considered with Gow (2001), myth is a symbolical means by which time, or history as a series of events, is suppressed by radically opening a symbolic structure to historicity. With this in mind, I argue that mythification occurs in narration as the *viviente* relates to past and present events and gives them meaning. I propose that the *viviente* exists in a space/time axis, an unstable present besieged by confusion where emplacement and mythification takes place.

I consider the relation between *vivientes* and *antiguos* a conceptualization of a border between past, present and future, adding to the *vivientes*' instability and to the lived world of confusion. I also propose that the *antiguos* relate to the *vivientes* through a process of mutual invention, a concept that I take from Wagner's theory (1981). This means that, within the model, *vivientes* can be considered as *antiguos* in the making: they co-constitute one another. This Colditan model of time also entails that *vivientes* relate to the *antiguos* by means of emplacement, putting their unavoidable force in their places of dwelling. These forces are expressed through different marks and signals such as cleared *campos*, hidden caves and machines: the locomotive by the powerful, strange "thing". First, let me address the concept of emplacement.

2. Emplacement

I have already employed the concept of emplacement in previous chapters. I now offer a more nuanced description of it, as the way in which external forces of time are referred to Colditan places.

The history of the *viviente* addressed in the previous chapter is also the history of the *antiguos*. The *viviente* thinks about the past through them. Just as it has been clearing a manifold of places to live, the *vivientes* have also worked in a manifold of things, not necessarily resisting them but actively engaging with them. All around Coldita, traces of past extractive activities abound. These traces coexist with those that Colditans make as *vivientes*. When I say "coexist", I assert that it is not as if modernizing events would pierce through the "resilient" places where Colditans would "traditionally" live. It is not as if overall remains of the companies were just left behind,

becoming ingrained in the environment but with no more relation to it than that of unilateral effects. On the contrary, I argue that events and their effects are “emplaced” by Colditans.

Austin-Broos’ (2009) notion of “emplacement” amounts to symbolic and cognitive operations enacted to engage with history. Even though she does not define the concept, using the word “emplaced” instead, I build a definition that will serve the purpose at hand. According to the author, imagination and social imaginaries are often made to engage with events. Therefore, these events and the transformations they entail must be relocated in the places to which people intimately relate, and from where they draw meaning. Through place, transformed sociality can be referred to past ways of dwelling, reinventing established symbolic referents and reconfiguring them. These are both anchored in space (a church, a road, a valley) and in time (an imagining of the past and the future). Emplacement allows producing a ductile response to temporality, shaping new practices and creating a symbolic reflection on the new circumstances (locs.126-166, 502-700, 1598-1601, 1753-1789, 2103-2106, 3005-3520)

Emplacement can be understood as the both autonomous and collective act of bringing forces of change and change itself, modelled by those influenced or disturbed by it, to places where specific ways of dwelling are reproduced, making sense of those forces. But, through emplacement, these places and ways are also transformed. Considering Austin Broos’ concept of emplacement in this way, I argue that place both changes as it preserves itself, and preserves itself as it changes. Change can only occur if emplaced, as new referents are created or former referents are transformed, producing the possibility of memory and of experience. This is similar to one of the two processes defining schemas, proposed by Toren (2018; Introduction): the “accommodation” of the given. I suggest that an emplacement process, understood in this way, was occurring in Isabel and Alejandro’s situation, to which I now return.

3. The locomotive

Isabel and Alejandro were living by a strange entity left there by *antiguos*. Having the power to render people mad when witches tap on it, the entity is buried close to a steam locomotive, abandoned for an undetermined period of time. The machine was completely rusted, resembling the tractor that Felipe sat on to get his picture taken back in Puerto Carmen (Chapter 4). It lay surrounded by brambles and by an *arrayán*. A young *radal* (*Lomastia hirsuta*) came out of the chimney, new sprouts and branches flourishing from its trunk, while the roots stretched below the machine. The tree had grown suddenly, just like the *renuevo* crawls over the *campos*. In the past, four wheels enabled the locomotive move with steam power, while a bigger wheel at the front worked as the pulley to set other machines in motion, most likely sawmills. Following the historical descriptions from the previous chapter, a probable origin for the machine arises. In 1957, FOGACHIL built Puerto Carmen, operating it for around two years. In Blanchard, beetroot plots were opened and warehouses were built, but they were wiped out in 1960 by the earthquake’s tidal wave. Eventually, the only thing left was the steam locomotive. Around a decade after the earthquake, Isabel and Alejandro migrated across the canal. They became *vivientes* there where FOGACHIL had operated (chapters 3, 4).

Alejandro's father worked for FOGACHIL between 1956 and 1957, operating the lonely locomotive; a boiler, as Alejandro calls the machines:

"My father worked for FOGACHIL with those boilers, here and on that sawmill at Puerto Carmen. The company house that was here (around his campo) was destroyed. Here, in Blanchard, they brought cypress from the Meteoro lake with forty pairs of oxen. My father brought flour from Puerto Carmen's grocery store to our house in Quemay, or meat when one of FOGACHIL's oxen broke a leg, or died. They also had houses in the Meteoro lake, but they burned them all. We worked up there in the mountains, and there were lots of timber lying around, left behind".

Though the strange entity in Isabel and Alejandro's *campo* has an unknown origin, the locomotive resting close to it has a clearer past: it belonged to FOGACHIL, and it was operated by Colditan workers. There were also the company's warehouses and beetroot plots in Blanchard. Isabel's mother and sister worked in those plots: *"my mother and my sister would cross and come here to work at the beetroot plots, but I was very little"*, she said to me. According to Alejandro, the locomotive was already there when they arrived: his own father had used it when working for FOGACHIL. When they migrated across the canal, the machine became a sign of a time that was passing by, an expression of past activities and of *vivientes* who worked for a company now gone.

Considering Alejandro's account (Chapter 3), all of these moments in time, both succeeding and overlapping each another, are emplaced: they cannot be addressed if not from Isabel and Alejandro's constitution as *vivientes*. Through the contested *campo*, Alejandro asserts his family threatened *viviente* condition by means of the phantasmagorical presences looming in it: forgotten *vivientes*, the locomotive and the strange entity, the migration through the canal, the fear of eviction. All of these meaningful signs and events are "put into place", brought to intimacy there where the *viviente* is constituted through work and speech. But these places also threaten Colditans with different forces, past and present, that witches and *antiguos* channel. The entity, the locomotive and the *antiguos* refer to one another, and seem interchangeable in their effects: they all describe a way in which the past is expressed in Colditan places. In this particular case, the locomotive serves as a border between the time of the present and a close *antiguos* time, that of land property, extractivism and expropriation. Meanwhile, the "thing" goes further back, to an unfathomable time of now absent *antiguos* (Chapter 3). In Isabel and Alejandro's *campo*, through the mythification of the *antiguos*, time is emplaced as layered rather than causal. Thus, a deeper description of the *antiguos* is needed, to which I now turn.

4. The antiguos

It is very common in Coldita, and in Indigenous Chiloé in general⁵⁵, to name both the very old and ancestors as *los antiguos*. Other concepts employed are *mis mayores* or *viejitos antiguos* (my seniors or "little elders"⁵⁶) if they are dead, or *ancianos*, old people, if alive. By general rule,

⁵⁵ The concept is also present amongst continental Mapuche, especially when referring to the dead and what they said as a limit for experience and truth. See González 2015, 144.

⁵⁶ In Spanish, the diminutive form "ito/ita" describes the small size of something but also care, tenderness and love.

the *antiguos* are dead people who lived in a different manner from that of the present day, or old people who lived in another way when they were younger, and who are nearing death. They did different kinds of work, and had a different livelihood and other beliefs.

Turning into an *antiguo* is a continuing process starting in life. An *anciano* is slowly left alone as those who lived with them and knew them die, especially their kin. As time goes by, Colditans believe that *ancianos* turn erratic. They could roam the territory, going from house to house and walking the low sea alone, or live enclosed within their homes. The *antiguos'* houses are considered somewhat uncivilized. For example, while staying at the La Mora sector in November of 2019, I was told that the oldest woman in Coldita, who lived alone, *“lives in an uncivilized, non-hygienic way, because she has her hen inside the house”*. *Ancianos* struggle to keep on working until their bodies and minds are too weary to do so. During my fieldwork, Dora, an elderly woman referred in previous chapters, still had a pig, still minded the timber for her stove, still had poultry, still rowed a boat and still had some potato plots. She lived alone in a small house made out of zinc planks, and I usually met her when walking about the beaches. She talked to herself a lot, and felt a deep sadness.

Even though they respect them and see for their wellbeing, Colditans consider *ancianos* increasingly mad and lonely, that is, confused. They are too close to the dead, as they remember them too much and talk to themselves when doing so. When recently visiting her house at Quellón, Nancy talked to me about Felipe's grandfather: *“We had to bring him to our house, because he was suffering. He was alone, and old. We was completely confused; he did not know anything about the time or dates. He was already talking about his antiguos, so we knew that he was dying”*. Therefore, old people are considered progressively straying from proper sociality. Dora confessed to me that she resented her family because *“if I go to their houses they only have conversations between them, and I just eat”*. She complained that they gave her mate but did not listen to her, or gave her any space in the conversation. It was not uncommon for Dora to arrive while I was visiting any home, so I know that at least some of the things that she said were true, especially the deprivation of conversation opportunities. Although Colditans cared for her deeply, the exclusion from conversations is a serious issue: drinking mate with others and having a chat is paramount for the *viviente's* reproduction (Chapter 2). So it is understandable that she felt left out and angry. Dora felt that answers given to her were not sincere, and that other Colditans were underestimating her capacity to chat. This brings the possibility of being rendered confused, turned in on one own's mind and thus increasingly anxious and alone. This is the same effect that witchcraft has: a lack of shared words to describe what one feels (Siegel 2006). Thus, an *antiguo* is produced when their way of life is not relevant anymore, when that which someone does or did in the past turns incommunicable.

I witnessed Dora mournfully talking to herself while she walked around her garden, tending her hens and collecting timber for the stove. When talking to her, she lamented the death of her brothers, Antonio and José, two and ten years before respectively. *“I asked God to let me die here at my house, here in the island. I went to the cemetery to see my brother, and a sentiment came to me (me vino el sentimiento). Both he and my father died around the same date, and I remembered all of that”*, she told me in September of 2019. Dora felt a profound sadness and loneliness, and a connection to death. She herself told me that sometimes she would not have the strength to get up from bed and work, because she remembered her gone kin with intensity,

and felt alone. Belasio and Felipe were considering dismantling the house where Antonio had died, best suited for her, and rebuild it at her place. But she refused. According to Felipe, “*she was afraid of Antonio’s ánima (soul), that he could take her away*”. I believe that Dora thought that the house’s presences would kill her before her time. By the end of my fieldwork, she told me that she wanted to give up on her pig and poultry, and be done with life.

My argument is that Dora resembles the wailing man from Lincomán’s myth: a lonely person struggling to live, unable to work, talking to themselves, haunted by dead kin, deprived of language, forgotten. Dora was becoming an *antiguo* in a definitive way. Anyone who shared experiences with her would also die, and only those who knew her from acquaintances would be left. This is true for every *viviente*, as they are continually being thrown into confusion, loneliness and oblivion, both in space (the borders between land, sea and forest, and the powers of witchcraft) and in time (the deterioration of the body, the inability to work, the weariness of the mind). People are ever consumed within the lived world of confusion, as they are influenced by the *antiguos*’ haunting on houses and lands.

It follows that the *antiguos* are very close to the present. They exert their influence on the living, especially on the eldest, attracting them to death and rendering them alone. The *antiguos* also influence the present by means of the signs left in the *campos* through work (the locomotive, the roads, the trees) and beliefs (witchcraft, the buried entity). But the *antiguos* are also pushed far into the past, as they become forgotten and turned into a generic compound, with no names or referents to identify them. Here, a concept of memory comes into play. Colditans believe that one should not talk with much authoritativeness about things not experienced by themselves. In his ethnography among the Mapuche of Elicura, Marcelo González (2016) proposed that the Mapuche believe that the non-Mapuche, the *winkas*, do not share the same sense of truth with them. For the Mapuche, truth amounts to personal and shared experience (52-62). The author calls this phenomenon “*the singularity of personal experience*” (2015, 144). Similarly, Colditans believe that they cannot grasp a past that was not experienced by them, or by anybody that they knew or know. When asked about something from long ago, they usually refrain from talking about it, arguing that they did not know the person who experienced the events (see also Gow 1991, 168). “*Those people are all dead*”, Felipe said to me once, when I asked him about the distant past of the island.

One time, I asked Belasio about the trunks scattered along the shore, their roots upside down and most likely old. He was perplexed by the question. First, he told me that an earthquake had left them there, but he was unsure if it had been the one from 1960 or the more recent one from 2010. Then, he told me that the trunks had been uprooted by the constant growth of the tide that is submerging Coldita. Lastly, he told me about a tour operator that brings tourists to Coldita on his boat. According to Belasio, he usually tells his clients that those trunks are several thousand years old, from when the glaciation receded. I laughed. I expected him to laugh too, as the idea seemed implausible to me. But the reasons why Belasio thought the tour operator was wrong were different than mine: “*How could he know something like that, if he did not live a millennia ago to see it?*”, he said.

One of the privileged ways of remembering *antiguos* is by their clearings in the forest and by the marks left in the *campos*. But these disappear as time goes by, and *campos* might be used by someone else. It follows that there is no Colditan accumulation of historical knowledge in an

event after event fashion. They are not quite sure where they come from, apart from a few notions (Chapter 4): indeed, shared memory in Coldita does not reach beyond the older great grandparents remembered. Collective remembrance amounts to the sum of all experiences available in a certain moment in time, that is, the available knowledge people have about the *antiguos*. Paraphrasing González (2016), one could talk about “the singularity of collective experience”: a collective relation to the *antiguos*, and their relative temporal relation with each *viviente*. A threshold of the present is then reached, and some *antiguos* become inaccessible. This is the case of the *antiguos* who planted that strange entity by the locomotive: they are almost completely outside of the available experience, and very little can be said about them. *Antiguos* from an unreachable past have no acquaintances that could remotely remember them, and they are thus diluted in the generic *antiguos*, in loneliness. They can only be talked about as an “*unspecific source of experience*” (171).

From the Colditan present, the past looks as an ever-fading experience of dead others becoming definitive *antiguos*; layers, as already noted with the locomotive. But this is felt differently by different people as time goes by, in terms of their relative position respecting the past. Dora experienced the *antiguos* that she knew as very close. Her brothers were luring her to enter a non-place where she would disappear into loneliness. Her kin and acquaintances could not understand what she saw and felt, but they knew that all *vivientes* will go through the process of approaching the dead: *vivientes* are those who strive not to die (Introduction). In time, the experience of becoming *antiguos* will turn increasingly irreproducible to others. All *antiguos* feed a generic force that affects the present from an unfathomable, mythicized past.

An example of how *antiguos* influence the present are their past beliefs in witchcraft. I understand Colditan belief as enforcing the *vivientes*’ practices and ways of life, reflecting the lived world of confusion and its meanings. As suggested in the Introduction, Colditan Neopentecostals claim that one should not believe in witches, because belief gives power both to them and to the Devil. Meanwhile, Colditan Catholics would say that not believing in witches is wrong, given that they are necessarily ingrained in any social relation: it is through belief that the struggle with witches unfolds. It is in this shared sense that belief, for Colditans, represents a power that makes meanings emerge and dilute, which the *antiguos* also have. I now turn to the issue of *antiguos*, belief and witchcraft in defining a Colditan model of time.

5. The witches’ cave and belief

An example of the relation between witchcraft and the *antiguos* comes from the old man who talked about the *buenos amigos*, the witches (Chapter 3). As we already mentioned, this man lived by himself and talked to himself a lot. He thought that everything that happened to him had to do with witchcraft. He was being besieged by his old *antiguos*: he did not know how to relate to other *vivientes* anymore, and thus could only remember the dead, including those who are too close to the deceased or that tap into their power - that is, witches. Loneliness, witchcraft and the *antiguos* co-produce one another. Witchcraft is the art of turning work into loneliness, as witches have retracted from social bonds. It is in this sense that *antiguos* can be described as

pure, dangerous loneliness stemming from the past, similar to the loneliness produced by witches.

The *antiguos* become more dangerous the more diffusely present they become in the experiences of the *viviente*. This is the case with the strange entity by the locomotive, or the invisible *buenos amigos*. Through this diffuseness, the *antiguos* exert a powerful influence on current *vivientes*. As I have said, Colditan memory has its limit in those experiences “available” in the present. The danger of the entity resting by the remains of the FOGACHIL activities relates to this limit: there is not much experience available on those *antiguos* that left the presence there. Memories about these long forgotten *antiguos* are scarce, and thus their emplacement becomes increasingly difficult: their speech is gone, and so are most of their signals on the land. They don’t have any identifiable people to stand for them today, people that knew them or that shared the same social imaginaries, symbolic referents and beliefs. Only their effects, that of these *antiguos’* forgotten ways of life, can be felt. Thus, they are a source of confusion and loneliness (Chapter 3).

Because every *viviente* is moving towards the condition of *antiguo*, and thus towards loneliness; and because every *viviente* is potentially alone, confused and close to death, it follows that *vivientes* and *antiguos* constitute each other. This co-constitution is similar to the way that witches and *vivientes* are the reverse of one another, or the way that witchcraft and work correspond to each other (Chapter 3). Moreover, the unspecified *antiguos*, their lack of relatable signs, memories and social bonds in the present, resemble the bewitched *viviente*: witches isolate a *viviente*, lure them and drive them mad, unable to speak and work. They turn them lonely, hindering their capacity to relate to others and to the environment in a proper way, just like the *antiguos*, being devoid of body and blood, are separate from sociality as disembodied thoughts (Chapter 2). At the same time, every *viviente* is moving towards the madness and loneliness that characterizes old people when getting closer to death, endlessly approaching the *antiguos* and turning into one. In sum, *vivientes* relate to the *antiguos* because the *antiguos* are close to the uncanny, to a radical lack of differentiation, just like witches, and the *vivientes’* selves, also are. *Antiguos* are a precondition for the *viviente’s* existence, both because they perfectly trace what the *viviente* should be not (just like witches) and because every *viviente* is a *viviente* in dissolution, an *antiguo*: they share a border that, as all borders within the Colditan lived world of confusion, menaces to meld, to turn into dangerous sameness and enclosurement.

According to Colditans, the *antiguos* had “former beliefs” (“*creencias de antes*”). For example, they believed in a different form of witchcraft than that of today, very well known in Chiloé: “La Mayoría” (The Majority). La Mayoría was a witches’ coven of uncertain historical origin, brought to trial by the end of the 19th century for alleged cases of murder and poisonings that were never proven. The coven sought to organize relations amongst people by identifying, registering and monitoring the activities of sorcerers, medics and other witchcraft-related agents in all of Chiloé. It administered justice: the right to bewitch, to poison and to avenge, and the punishment for those who acted outside its jurisdiction. La Mayoría had a complex system of payments and authorities, which met at specific caves named “*casas grandes*” (big houses) (Rojas 2002, 119 – 142).

According to Colditans, the *antiguos* believed that many of their neighbours were witches of La Mayoría and that much more witchcraft existed in Coldita back then, especially in the form of

covens meeting in caves. Though I heard of some recent cases of witches kidnaping people and taking them to their caves in a state of confusion, it is more common to hear about empty caves that *antiguos* believed were witchcraft related. But even though these caves are empty, they still exert a powerful effect that comes from the *antiguos* and the dangerous past. I now present an example.

Around the year two-thousand, Belasio's grandfather gave him permission to clear a portion of land very close to the La Mora islet, where he lives today (Chapter 2). When Belasio and his family arrived at the place, the land was covered by thick *renuevo* and there was no place to put a house. As it is customary when clearing a new *campo*, the family built a small *rancha* as a provisory home (Chapter 1). But the place had another, more prominent trait in it. Belasio's family told me that, according to the *antiguos*, there was a cave of witches buried and hidden beneath the weeds and branches. An old woman offered food to the cave from time to time, as if feeding a creature. According to Belasio, she was not happy with their intentions of living there.

This feeding of a creature living inside of a cave might have to do with two things, both of them related to classical Chiloé mythology. The first is the *invunche* (in Mapuzugun, deformed and/or small person), the guardian of the witches' cave, and also their councillor and head of their ceremonies. It is a deformed creature, most especially the leg, which is broken by witches and bent towards its back. The coven feeds the *invunche* with human flesh, and might turn people mad with its screaming (Tangol 1972, 30-35). The second thing is the feeding of the people from the sea, half-human and half-sea lion (Chapter 2).

According to Belasio's family, there were obvious signs that the witches' cave was actually there: birds roamed about the land, namely *baudas* (*Nycticorax nycticorax*) and *coos* (white owls, *Tytonidae tyto*). Both species are said to be messengers of witches and bringers of bad omens and death. Even while the family cleared the brambles and trees, the birds would not go away. They just stared at them as they worked, from the rocks and branches. A clearing was finally open after some weeks, and the whole family began to live in their new *campo*. Then, all of the birds flew away. According to Belasio, his wife and his children, there were no signs of the cave. Here, I argue that the cave corresponded to an *antiguos'* belief that had lingered there for many decades, a belief in La Mayoría. As the land was cleared, the power of the belief vanished. It must be stressed that the cave was beneath an entanglement, of a *renuevo* where no *campo* was: the dangers of confusion haunted the place. As the thickness and the doomsayer birds receded, the possibility of the belief's effects, those of witchcraft, also went away. It was work, and the production of *vivientes*, that made the foul belief fade: confusion of both the *monte*, witches and *antiguos'* ways of life was forced to ebb, along the uncanniness of the lack of difference, loneliness and of the unfathomable forces from the past.

Belasio and his family still considered the possibility that an empty cave was there, or whatever power the *antiguos* left behind. For instance, Belasio's sons and daughter, in their twenties and thirties, have no apprehensions or fears about their surroundings, even though they were afraid when helping their parents clear the *campo*: "*Quellón is much more scary, with all the stealing, the cars, the violence*" they said to me once. Nevertheless, they do think that there is still a lingering danger. A woman whose *campo* their parents tender before they moved to La Mora, and fairly close to it, saw a "*deformed, strange creature*" close by, roaming about the *monte*.

She had also seen the ghost of a child, playing under the trees. They believe her because they have known her for a long time. She gave their parents work and a place to stay, and was a good person. Also, “we saw the fear in her eyes when she told us this”. In sum, they felt that there was something hidden in the *campo*, something amiss: maybe the cave was still there, even though they could not see it. Moreover, their own experience fed this belief. According to Karen:

“Here in this campo there were many birds, stones, mud and even sea lions. When I was a child, I saw a huge bird pass through an opening in the ceiling, as it gave a horrible scream. It could have been a bauta or la voladora (“the flying woman”, messenger of the witches). Also, during a night from years ago, we were inside the house and heard a very loud noise, like a hoarse weep or the howl of a sea lion. Then, we heard a creature passing in full speed outside the door as if a human was running, a speed that sea lions cannot reach. To this day we do not know what it was”.

Alongside the *voladora*, the monstrous creature that roamed Belasio’s *campo* brings about the *antiguos*’ beliefs, the dangers of fear, of the unknown. First, the monstrosity of the half-human, half-sea lion creature resembles that of the *invunche*, the guardian of the witches’ cave where food was being offered. Second, sea lions are creatures of witchcraft: the *antiguos* fed them to keep their powers at bay. In the “Tren-g-Tren-g” myth, sea lions are people transformed by the rising waters, turning into kings and mermaids that fostered children with people on land. In our analysis of Lincoman’s version, the will of the sea resembles the powers of witchcraft, as it seeks to confuse people (Chapter 1). My argument is that the mythic schema, through *antiguos*’ beliefs in witches, is actualized in Belasio’s *campo*. This is reproduced by the effects of work, that is, a clearance that makes old beliefs and practices disappear but also linger, just as fear, the sea and the *monte* linger in the *campo*’s borders. These beliefs are still spread throughout Coldita by means of the emplacement of the past (the locomotive, the cave, the “thing”).

Because of the “singularity of personal experience” described by González, and because none of Belasio’s family had seen the alleged cave but only the woman that fed the creature within, they could not plainly deny its existence. The *antiguos* way of life depended on these powerful beliefs, but this experience cannot be completely accessed anymore. These beliefs cannot be proven wrong, only redirected or forgotten. Because the *antiguos* are outside the present moment where social relations are reproduced through work and speech, they are sources of confusion. Thus, the only way of expelling these beliefs is by tackling confusion as such. In the case of the entity by the locomotive, confusion is still rampant. The conflict of land is ongoing, external and excessive forces of history are still at play, and therefore confusion from the *antiguos* finds a path through witches as these forces are actualized. In the case of Belasio’s *campo*, the old woman’s belief and her contract with the monstrous creature were dissipated by means of work: the opening of a *campo* sends the entangled vegetation and the doomsayer birds away, thus putting the border of the *renuevo* forest at a proper distance. The La Mayoría no longer holds much power: the coven’s caves are not inhabited. But the cleared *campo* is still besieged by the power that supposedly disappeared, and, for a moment, the *antiguos*’ belief is believable again, actualized when strange noises are heard and strange presences are felt outside the house. This is made possible by means of work, and because *vivientes*, witches and *antiguos* are both different and virtually the same.

Just as the borders of the forest and the sea move, the past also moves towards the *viviente* and vice-versa. It is a perpetual relation of proximity between former beliefs and ways of life and current ones, mediated by a shared capacity for memory. Thus, a Colditan model of time is first defined by the effect of the past over the *viviente's* present, a past that becomes increasingly undetermined as the *antiguos* become ungraspable, undifferentiated, turned in on themselves just as a lonely and mad *viviente*. The *antiguos* progressively attract the *viviente* towards fear, madness, oblivion and dissolution. It is only by reproducing the *viviente* condition through the opening of places and social relations, that is, emplacement, that the *antiguos* can act towards the present from an unfathomable past. As we have suggested, witchcraft acts in the same way: it resorts to extreme closeness and distance to blur the limits between different dimensions, acting from the very notions of work and speech.

I now turn to another way in which *antiguos* influence *vivientes*: past climate and morals, which tend to repeat in the present and to define the future. This is an essential characteristic of the Colditan model of time.

6. The *antiguos*, climate and morals

Especially among Colditans between their mid-thirties and their seventies, it is very common to say that the *antiguos* predicted what is happening today. They are also said to have experienced a different climate. The *antiguos* had to endure spiking heat, lightning, unpredictable storms, intermittent rains, intense winds and even tremors. As we will see, some Colditans would say that these ancestors asserted, when alive, that their climate would return in the future⁵⁷. My argument is that, like beliefs, these *antiguos'* predictions exert an influence or force over the present and the future in both climatological and moral ways. The hold of the *antiguos* over the future also relates to the misbehaviour and catastrophic elements from the mythic schema, and to the model of time. This adds to the bordered/bordering relation between *vivientes* and *antiguos*, and to a present understood as unstable.

My friend Nancy recently told me, when visiting her home at Quellón, that she was impressed by the news of rains and snow in different parts of the world, where these phenomena were not common. She immediately recalled what José, her husband's late grandfather, spoke about when alive. He said that the Earth rotates, and so does climate. Nancy called this "*la vuelta de la Tierra*", the turn of the Earth, entailing a climate repetition: "*Now is going to be hot, like before, and the cold and the rain will move elsewhere. That is what the *antiguos* said. It seems that they were right because you can see it*", Nancy asserted. She considered that the weather had been rainy "*hasta ahora*" (so far), but that another climate was coming, similar to that of the past: "*In those years the soil would crack because of the heat, and lightning struck the sea*", she asserted; "*it was a bad weather, with sudden winds. Another climate came after, with more rains*". In March of 2019, in the Piedra Blanca community south of Tweo Coldita, don Sergio, an

⁵⁷ It is not my intention here to assess the "real" climate variations in Chiloé during the last century, as if Colditans were commenting on global warming or climate change. I am not denying that Colditans speak about specific changes in weather, but my focus is on the particular interest that Colditans put in evaluating these changes.

Indigenous leader and devote Catholic, described to me a “*confusión climática*”, a recent “climate confusion”. Rains were followed by heat much too quickly during a single month, he said: in the past, weather stability made potato sowing a more convenient endeavour, but this had been shifting “*again*”.

The *antiguos*’ prediction of the Colditan future also involves moral overtones. The *antiguos* said that technology would separate people, that the young would not have any respect for the old and that they would believe in different things. My friend Juana, when I asked her about the “Trengr-Trengr...” myth, told me that the *antiguos* did not tell it. But they spoke of something else, she said: “*My mother would tell me of a woman she knew, muy antigua and very Catholic. She said how things would be today: technology would make the young misbehave with their antiguos, and they would not listen to what they tell them*”. Felipe told me something similar. According to him, “*they (the antiguos) said that we would see this: quarrels with the eldest, violence amongst brothers, rape, suicides*”.

So it is not only weather that interests Colditans, but also behaviour. I traced the relation between the two in Chapter 1, when describing Nancy’s version of “Trengr-Trengr...”. Nancy narrated how the *antiguos* said that, in a remote time, everything in Coldita was *monte*. There was abundance in the seas. The very old *antiguos* misbehaved and environmental catastrophes endured, especially a scorching sun and tremors. This is akin to the *antiguos*’ climate described above, particularly the heat and the thunderstorms. There is also a cyclicity at play: the notion of *antiguos* determines that both climate and misbehaviour repeat over time. Similarities between descriptions of the *antiguos*’ influence expressed through belief, climate and morals and the different versions of the myth are a sign of this. La “*vuelta de la Tierra*” also seems to indicate this cyclicity.

In Chapter 2, I argued that one of the *viviente*’s characteristics is its self-assurance and self-praising, harshly criticising others for their lack of work capacities and muddled minds. From a *viviente* perspective, other *vivientes* almost always misbehave, and thus social relations are always fragile and tense. In February of 2019, while walking towards his house through the La Mora causeway, I had an interesting conversation with Belasio about this. We discussed the earthquake that hit the south of Chile in 2016. “*People had to reflect on this after it happened*”, he told me. “*We were mistreating each other, and earthquakes hit when that happens*”. I asked Belasio if earthquakes could be prevented in any way, given that they are connected to people’s behaviour. Having been a Neopentecostal for some time, he replied that having faith would be the only way to do it. I interrogated him again, asking if someone could have faith but still mistreat his neighbour. Belasio replied that, when someone does something ill to his neighbour the impression of the bad deed stays at the heart in the form of *susto* (Chapter 2). The mind will never manage to forget it, even if trying to do so. In response, I commented that, if so, earthquakes would never cease to happen, given that any relation to any neighbour will always be marked by the wrong deeds done before. “*Exactly*”, said Belasio vehemently: “*That’s why I don’t bother anyone, and just mind my own work*”.

My argument is that, in Coldita, misbehaviour is always mythicized as a characteristic of other *vivientes*, both in social relations and in the engagement with the environment. This produces cyclic climates that transition from stability to instability, including tremors and earthquakes. What Colditans choose as materials for thinking about these events are the lives and beliefs of

the *antiguos*, that is, past and present ways of behaving and of relating to others; contrasting weather attributes (rain, heat, winds); and catastrophes (earthquakes, pollution). All of these can be traced within the mythic schema: the “debauched living” in all versions, the heat in Rosales’ and Nancy’s, and the tumultuous relation between land and sea in Lincoman’s (Chapter 1). Here, the Colditan model of time appears as an influence, attraction or effect (a force) of the *antiguos* over the present and the future, in a relation of co-constitution with the *viviente*. This influence entails mythification, given that elements chosen from *antiguos*’ beliefs and ways of life entail a suppression of other elements and events according to whatever can be remembered about the *antiguos* themselves.

The Colditan model of time synthetizes the influence of the *antiguos* over the *viviente*, as the latter is drawn to dissolution in the present, towards an unfathomable past and from an uncontrollable future. Colditan time is constituted as a layered repetition of beliefs, climates and behaviour affecting the *viviente*’s dwelling: *vivientes* exist in the present as they emplace *antiguos*’ beliefs, ways of life (means for work), morality and perceived climate. This is felt as a luring influence and/or force from the unreachable, mythicized past that filters through the interstices of the *campos*. The model is actualized through the singularity of experience, emplacement and, overall, the borders between *vivientes* and *antiguos*. In sum, time is an essential element of the lived world of confusion. The *viviente* exists in a mythicized, emplaced space/time axis, which amounts to an unstable present. But, if everything tends to repeat, how is that this present is made relatively discrete? How do *antiguos* and *vivientes* actually differentiate? I address this problem in the following paragraphs.

Antiguos are described as having worked the land properly, extensively and collectively through *mingas* (Chapter 2), and to have been very wise. But, at the same time, they lived in a time where closeness of blood, and uncivility, was rampant (Chapter 2). One of the most important characteristics of the *antiguos* time, not usually asserted by Colditans, is that many of them could not work in their own *campos*. During the first half of the 20th century, non-Indigenous people arrived at Coldita. Some of them settled illegally or bought large pieces of land to their neighbours, often outside the law, and turned them into large private estates. Most times, these purchases were made with no money and through barter: animals, potatoes and other products were traded in these transactions. Some Colditans began to leave their own lands unattended and tending to other people’s estates. They did not work for themselves but for others, which is a problematic thing to do: leaving a *campo* behind is seen as unintelligent at the least. According to Nancy, during a conversation we had in January of 2019:

“Grandfather José would say that those times from before would return, and those were bad. There are people who would like to see those times come back, because they worked all together, they did mingas, but in those days people lived with hunger. They were slaves to those who had the money. They would work from dawn to dusk in the potato fields, and had only one meal a day. Those who hired them were people like us, but had more money”.

I argue that, when the *antiguos* are referred in their capacity to exert influence over the present, standing from their convoluted past, this is not immediately connected with the idea that harsh weather and natural catastrophes are caused by the *vivientes*’ behaviour. This notion is often deployed when talking about other, current *vivientes* and of the current state of affairs but not when describing *antiguos*, even though they were also *vivientes*. Nevertheless, *antiguos*’

unproper ways of behaving can be elicited when talking with Colditans about certain traits of the past, despite communal ways of relating to others being the usual idiom (Daughters 2019).

According to our mythic schema, it is only through past ways of misbehaving that these will ever be repeated, along their social and climatological consequences. So *antiguos* must have behaved improperly if hunger and catastrophes happened to them. Current *vivientes* would be repeating that same pattern, inherited by the *antiguos*. This relates to the idea that *vivientes* act by deviating from the ideal of never having negative effects on others, but mythification of the *antiguos* seems to leave this unresolved. The *antiguos* predicted that the future would be confusing and full of conflict, just like their time was; however, Colditans do not tell if these *antiguos* received a similar warning. They would not suggest that the *antiguos*' behaviour resembles that of today, even though they do contend that climate is repeating because of their own acts. I argue that the selection of mythological elements through mythification allows avoiding absolute sameness between *vivientes* and *antiguos*, creating a discrete present. The influence of long forgotten *antiguos* over those that can actually be remembered is shielded by the Colditan singularity of experience: one would not talk about those *antiguos* of whom nothing is known. Otherwise, a continuity of persons and livelihoods through time would deem the past an indistinguishable current, a confusion that would not let proper *vivientes* live in their own present. A sameness between all *antiguos* and all *vivientes* would emerge through an unbearable resemblance, making the uncanny take hold.

Through a model of time defined as "influence" or "force" (including that of "attraction"), and as relativized repetition, mythification makes *antiguos* and *vivientes* be both the same and different. It connects and separates the *antiguos* and the *viviente's* times, creating distinctions between different beliefs and ways of working, and also providing a sense of reiteration that is nonetheless underscored by a notion of unpredictability and danger. By partially suppressing their morality, the *antiguos* are given the faculty of being one step ahead, affecting the present from a somewhat vertical relation with living *vivientes*. It also puts the axis of influence or force in determinate, deceased peoples in a process of being forgotten: because it avoids a horizontal continuity, stretching both to the past and to the future, this is not the effect of an unleashed uncanniness, but of an (ideally) unstable one. A radical continuity of infinite *antiguos* would consume any chance for human emplacement in a "doubling" (Freud 1919), a sameness of everyone with everyone in space and time.

Having described how the Colditan model of time is one of effecting between *antiguos* and *vivientes* by means of emplacement and mythification, in the following section I analyse how is that *vivientes* and *antiguos* constitute one another through invention.

7. The invention of *antiguos*

I argue that the relation of emplacement and mythification between *vivientes* and *antiguos*, that is, their co-constitution, entails "invention". For Wagner (1981), culture is staged in the dialectical, paradoxical and overall analogic relation between invention and convention. They are mutually implicated, and are dimensions of one another. As such, they both support, contradict and reproduce each other (2019, xiii, 16). Invention is differentiating, individuating

and factual, while convention is generalizing, referential and moral. Being factual, invention relates to moments where symbols are deployed from their extension, negating the representational distance between subject and object that structures conventionalized contexts, that is, culture (1981, 7-10, 39). Invention causes “obviation”, namely a temporal suppression of the collective pressure for the production of symbols, making them appear as if “self-differentiating”, invented as such. The symbol appears as it did not relate to others, and as if its meaning were autonomous, a “symbol that stands for itself” (1981, 39-43; 2019, xvi-xvii, 8).

Mythification is inventive because it depends on specific narrational contexts where certain events and characteristics are selected for symbolical coherence and effect, according to a place and a time. These narrations are felt as stemming from conventions (that which was told by the eldest), but depend on the capacity of the narrator to adapt them to present times. Through mythification, the *antiguos* are turned into a powerful symbolic force that has effects on the meanings of the present, being partially deprived of historic specificity. Here, obviation is deployed as a suppression of temporality from within the Colditan singularity of experience, making *antiguos* an independent force that appears as not have been created by the *vivientes* themselves, but actually the other way round. The *antiguos* “create” the present with disregard to conventions: they have their own beliefs, their own means for work and are not disturbed by the tendency to misbehaviour affecting the *vivientes*. At the same time, the *antiguos* appear as if self-produced, not caused by other *antiguos* (or *vivientes*) before them, or by any given world.

Through the invention/convention dyad, the Colditan model of time produces the present as a process of endless crackling. Emplacement allows the unfathomable past, the uncanny, filter into the intimacy of places of dwelling in an inventive way (Toren’s “accommodation” of what the schema takes as a “given”), while mythification suppresses this invention in order to conventionalize the present, although never completely (Toren’s “assimilation” of what the schema takes as “given”) (Chapter 1). Nevertheless, this can work the other way round: emplacement can only emplace events inventively in relatively conventionalized spaces, while mythification invents the *antiguos* as if “in-themselves”, suppressing temporality.

I will now attempt to connect more clearly the Colditan notions of space and time, as presented in this thesis so far.

8. Two models: space and time

Colditan places (the *campos* between tide and *renuevo*, distanced from one another, connected through blood) are the scenario for the relational production of the *viviente*. They are the meanders of work and speech (the “proper *viviente*”) but also the source of confusion, and thus the focus of witchcraft and of the *antiguos*’ haunting power. This “model of space” is reproduced through emplacement: the bringing of the forces of time towards place, inventing them through the available, mythological meanings. The main form of emplacement is work, as it opens *campos*, a space/time axis, from an original lack of differentiation, making the present, and confusion, exist. The relation between the “thing” and the locomotive by Alejandro and Isabel’s *campo*, and the witches’ cave in Belasio’s, enacts processes of emplacement: they connect the

vivientes with the environing world, with powers from the past and with current events. Within the model of time (a relation to the past through the singularity of experience), mythification both frames and depends on these emplacements: whatever occurs to/in place is signified from the mythical schema, but the schema cannot exist without the *campos* where its elements are enacted. Also, mythification gives *antiguos* their power as they are brought to the intimacy of place, and as they are pushed towards an unknown, dangerous past. The *antiguos* are invented by selecting certain elements according to the mythic schema: loneliness, the confusing climate, the catastrophes and the behavioural aspects of the myth. Nevertheless, mythification entails that something remains suppressed at the limits of collective memory, allowing a mythicized, unstable, haunted present emerge. This suppression corresponds to the origin of places around which emplacement operates. Indeed, both emplacement and mythification are deployed around a “vacuum” or excess, in an attempt to produce meaning.

I consider these processes of world making both inventive and conventionalizing, accommodating and assimilating, and overall constant as the space/time lived world of confusion is made to persist. They allow the *viviente* emerge as a diluting person within overlapping, confusing borders. These include those of temporality, the environment, sociality and, especially, that which constitutes the *viviente's* mind/body “I”, the self. It is there that confusion as uncanniness, the endlessly suppressed, is intensely felt. It is thus the unfathomable self that lingers between all of the borders described (including our theoretical ones), and that reflects this overall instability of the world within the diluting *viviente*.

In the next chapter, I return to the tide between Tweo Coldita's two sides, and also to the most ancient and powerful *antiguos* Colditans can refer: the Chono. I will argue that the Chono, as a concealed origin, dwell within Colditans as unstable persons. This will help us better understand the Colditan space/time, constituted as a confusing, mythicized present.

Chapter 6: The Chono, *Vivientes* and Belonging

1. Overview

In this chapter, I analyse the Colditan invention of the Chono. They are the most ancient and unspecified *antiguos* rememberable, as they were alive long before the first Colditans arrived at the island. Nevertheless, their signs and traces are still there in the territory, driving Colditans to emplace and mythicize them. The Chono are the more condensed expression of the Colditan model of time, reproducing the *viviente's* instability in a co-constitutive, bordered/bordering relation. The Chono show with particular clarity how confusion defines the Colditan lived world. They stand from a radical mythicized position located at a radical distant past, therefore comprising a very dangerous power that filters into the present: the power of the *antiguos*, and of witchcraft, which brings about the issue of loneliness and of the uncanny. Indeed, Lincoman's version refers the Chono as the tellers of the myth. Because of this, they define the mythic schema, its elements and Colditans' overall disposition towards their own world.

In section 5, I describe how the Chono relate to a specific process of mythification of an event at the root of the Colditan concept of *viviente*: the more recent migration through the Coldita canal, from the island to the Isla Grande. This is because migration is also a characteristic trait of the Chono, and thus traces a problematic belonging to places. This adds to the notions of Colditan autochthony. Overall, my argument is that the Chono, as represented by Colditans, are a most definite example of how the *viviente* and the lived world of confusion are played out in a mythicized, ever-unstable present. The co-constitution between *vivientes* and Chono depends on the tendency of the latter to not stay anywhere, while the *vivientes* make efforts of being present in their *campos* and to build memory, even if they have been migrants themselves. This is essential to understand the uncanniness of belonging. To address this, the Coldita canal's tide will be important; namely its mythological, horizontal mediation of the world (Chapter 1), and its overall mythification in the present as both a separation and a connection between the two sides of the community.

I start this chapter by describing another picture I was asked to take by a family that was opening a *campo* like their *antiguos* did, arriving at the place as if they were Chono.

2. The *rancha*

In January of 2019, I was invited by a married couple in their forties, David and Rosa (Felipe's sister), to see their efforts in opening a piece of land in Coldita island. The *campo*, of more than sixty hectares, was located by the Coldita canal at the northern part of the island, and was covered by dense *renuevo* and *monte*. I was told that it had some very old *pampas* at the top, now covered, and that it had been used by the *antiguos* until some decades ago. The original owner of the land, both legally and through work, had been Pedro Purísimo Chiguay, who arrived at Coldita around the end of the 19th century. It was eventually subdivided amongst Pedro Purísimo's descendants, including Pedro Chiguay. The latter was Rosa's and Felipe's great-

grandfather, and therefore *don* José's father. José was the first to cross the canal towards FOGACHIL's lands in Blanchard (Chapter 4), abandoning the Chiguay's *campo*. Four decades later, it had been reclaimed by the forest.

As a child, Rosa never lived in the island but in Coldita Isla Grande: she was born after the migration through the canal took place (Chapter 4). Nevertheless, she and David inhabited it for a brief time as newlyweds, in a small clearing close to the beach. More than a decade ago, and concerned about their daughters' education, they moved to the city, but eventually felt the need of having a place to return to. The couple wished to live in Pedro Purísimo's *campo* in a more definitive way when their daughters were independent enough. In the meantime, they could keep some small potato plots there, cut timber to sell and light their stoves, stay during weekends and holidays, keep some cattle and be eligible for government programmes. They were going to try and keep two houses running, coming back and forth between them as they saw fit.

I arrived at the *campo's* shore and took a small trail from the beach. It started from a pile of polystyrene floaters, and then went through the *renuevo*. I came out to a small, clean space under *arrayán* and *canelo* branches that partially covered the clean, blue sky. The clearing had been opened very recently. There, Felipe was helping his sister and his brother-in-law in the building of a *rancha* (Chapter 1). David, Rosa and their daughters had passed the night in their motorboat, heated by a small stove inside the cabin. They explained to me that the *rancha* would serve as a sort of base from where to start cleaning the *campo* uphill, following an old trail that had almost disappeared. That night, they would sleep inside this *rancha*. When, by the end of the day, the *rancha* was done, I observed that it comprised a single room made of long stakes cut from the forest around, and that it was covered by a thick, black nylon for the roof and walls. The floor was the dark-brown, fresh soil under our feet. That same day, they installed a stove inside to keep warm, cook and drink mate.

David told me a few times that, if I wanted to, I could stay in the *rancha* if I found myself stuck by the tide during my errands. In the old days, he said, fishers who went "out" towards the Guaitecas Archipelago made *quelcún*, probably an indigenous word. It describes the act of finding shore, building a quick *rancha* and sheltering through the nights. In those shores, fishers would smoke fish, mussels or sealion meat. The *ranchas* were usually left there, so other fishers could use them later. Building a *rancha* to prepare a piece of land amounts to something similar. Others can use it if they need to. The first Colditan families that arrived at these parts from the Payos territory made the same thing, he said: they built their *ranchas* on the shores and, from there, opened a path through the hills. They opened a clearing, a *campo*, and began their lives as *vivientes* by staying there.

Hidden between the branches and the bushes, Felipe and David showed me some traces where both of José Chiguay's houses had been. Before the earthquake of 1960 and the second migration (Chapter 4), José had his house closer to the shore. What remains is an old apple tree. They explained to me that all of that terrain had been cultivated land, maybe even the *chena* itself (Chapter 1). After the earthquake, José moved to higher grounds, where other traces were: flowers and *manila* plants, a kind of rush used to knit baskets. Another apple tree was also within the *quila*. "*We must clean the quila if we want to use that tree again*", David said. As considered in previous chapters, these are the kinds of marks that Colditans leave in their dwelling places.

They are the signs of the existence of *vivientes* as such, the possibility for the endurance of their memory. By opening the Chiguay's *campo* again, this memory was being uncovered.

David went down to the shore to pick up some polystyrene floaters and plastic sheets that he needed to reinforce the *rancha's* walls. I was standing on the *chena* and taking pictures of the limpid landscape of clear skies and soft, chalk-white clouds, perfectly reflected in the calm canal. Looking at me, David grinned and stood still on the beach. His boat, rocked by the rising tide, was behind him. His two daughters were walking around very close, playing together. "Take a picture of us, as if we were the true Chono!", he asked enthusiastically. And I did.

Sitting inside the *rancha* on polystyrene buoys, Felipe told me that the *antiguos* did this same thing: they built their *rancha* as to "reclaim their little campo". Lighting a fire in the stove was essential: the smoke needs being seen by those living close so they know that someone is there, he explained. The next morning, travelling back to Quellón through the canal, I gazed at where the *rancha* was. A smoke was rising towards the sky from the Chiguay's *campo*, after two decades of abandonment.

That David would ask me to take their picture as "true Chono" is not trivial. He and Rosa were clearing a *campo* just like their *antiguos* did more than a century before. To do this, they had to make a *rancha* to shelter in until the *campo* was cleared, and a house built. They arrived at the shores in a boat and slept in it, lighting a fire during the night. The process ended with the making of signs: a clearance, another fire, and a smoke. This is what most of these *vivientes' antiguos* did in their own time. Indeed, older traces are still there beneath the *renuevo*: the flowers, the trees, the trails, the invisible *pampas*.

The *rancha* connects the arrival from the sea to the possibility of turning into a *viviente*, a family group that has cleared a *campo*, a dwelling place. The space is opened from the sea as the family disembarks on the shores. I argue that, when David said that they were as if true Chono and that a picture should be taken, he was talking about this middle point between the sea, a place of transition, and land, a place to stay. The Chono traversed the archipelagos in their vessels and built portable huts at certain shores, revisiting them from time to time. What David and Rosa were doing, and what his own *antiguos* did, was exactly this, just before achieving a more permanent means to stay. In contrast, the Chono did not remain at places as a *viviente* does. There seems to be something properly Chono lingering in the very first moments of opening a *campo* and becoming a *viviente*; a haunting, uncanny possibility of migrating somewhere else.

Therefore, *antiguos* are intimately connected to the Chono. Their signs are there within the *monte*, but their work is long gone, just like the Chono are. They abandoned these same places just as the Chono allegedly did, migrating through the canal. The first *antiguos* came from other parts, and so they had to abandon a place of dwelling. The relation between the Chono and the *viviente* is thus similar to that of the *viviente* and the *antiguo*: a bordered/bordering co-constitution, an invention. So when David and Rosa decided to clear a *campo* reclaimed by the Chiguay more than a hundred years ago, they were confronted with the history of the *viviente*, and thus of the *antiguos*.

The question Colditans would ask is this: do David and Rosa actually belong there, given that their ancestors left, that the entanglement has reclaimed the lands, and that they have been living in Quellón for more than a decade? This question directs us towards others: what is the

building of a *rancha* if not an effort to belong? Is it not the same effort that the first Colditans made more than a century ago? And, in light of the Colditan mythification of the Chono: did the *antiguos* belong somewhere else than to a non-place, a perpetual state of migration that just settles for a while before being actualized again? I argue that this is what emerges from the picture of the fleeting “true Chono”: the topic of the *viviente*’s autochthony. Therefore, I contend that the *antiguos*’ influence or force described in Chapter 5 relates to the dilution of the *viviente* towards a radical state of non-belonging, the most recognizable state of confusion. Those who do not belong anywhere cannot relate to the environment, to others and to time, and thus are anxious, lonely and confused in an absolute sense, confronted with uncanniness; that is, just like the lonely man from Lincomán’s version of the myth. This has to do with the Chono, or with how Colditans invent them.

In the following section, I describe Chono characteristics that are relevant for this invention, especially their history, migration and witchcraft.

3. The Chono

The Chono were a sea-faring people that, in Pre-Hispanic times, made use of the territories from the Penas Gulf to the south (and most likely beyond) and the Seno del Reloncaví to the north. They moved around in their vessels, called *dalcas*, which could be dismantled and rebuilt elsewhere. To take refuge at the shores, they built transportable huts, similar to *ranchas* (Cooper 1917, 30; 1946, 47-51; Lira 2016; Núñez 2018, 7). Munita et.al (2016) argue that the Chono most likely descended from hunter-gatherers coming from east Patagonia around the time that the glaciation began to recede (between 14.500 and 10.000 BP), thus adapting to a sea-faring life. The remains left by the Chono are shell mounds, fish skeletons, stone axes, harpoons, burials, remains of *curanto*⁵⁸ stones and others (65-92).

Around the 860 BP, sedentary groups, with different means of life to that of the Chono, arrived at the archipelago from the north, probably Mapuche or pre-Mapuche (Cooper 1946; Munita et.al 2016, 67; Lira 2016; Núñez 2018). When the Spaniards reached the archipelagos, the Chono had been in close relations with them for around a millennia, adopting some of their practices and customs. Probably, these customs entailed that the Chono and the pre-Mapuche engaged in kin relations (Cooper 1917, 45; Urbina C. 2016, 111; Trivero 2019, 101). This influence also went the other way round. For some writers, the pre-Mapuche of the archipelago adopted the latter’s seabound diet and overall approach to the sea as a traversable space, becoming the Williche of Chiloé (Núñez 2018, 9)

There was a third Indigenous group when the Spaniards arrived at Chiloé, a result of the above relations between the Mapuche and the Chono. These were the Payos, from which Colditans probably descend and who occupied the middle-south of the archipelago (Chapter 4). They had adopted a more sedentary life, but also had seafaring practices such as sealion hunting, fishing

⁵⁸ A steam-cooking method from Pre-Hispanic times. A hole is dug with a fire on the bottom, where stones are heated. Then, different foods (mussels, meat, potato patties) are placed inside, in layers, and the hole is covered with *nalca* leaves (*Gunera tinctoria*). This method is still practiced in Chiloé.

corrals⁵⁹ and incursions to the Archipiélago de los Chonos (Cooper 1917, 33; Álvarez 2002, 83; Núñez 2018, 14). They probably spoke “veliche”, the local form of mapuzugun in the Archipelago (Cooper 1917, 33; Núñez 2018). The Spaniards considered them similar to those groups from the north of Chiloé, probably because of this shared language.

Chono extended families, most likely independent from one another and who met on special occasions such as whale strandings, spent a considerable time of their lives together on their vessels. These served as one of their main spaces for reproducing social relations, raising their children in them (Byron 1832 [1768], 48; Trivero 2019, 44-45, 69). The Chono practiced a rather flexible way of grouping and of disbanding, occupying the southern archipelago in an ample manner while they moved in the search of food and of shelter, safe passes through the Penas Gulf or other Chono groups to socialize and barter with (Álvarez 2002).

Chronists, missionaries and travellers described them as hybrid creatures, a people “*with a kind of amphibious nature*” (Byron 1832 [1768], 112). One of the reasons behind this is that they had a remarkable resistance to the cold and a notable capacity to dive into the southern chilling waters, especially women (Goizueta 1880 [1558]⁶⁰, 509; Byron 1832 [1768], 105, 111-113). Padre José García (1871 [1767]) even wrote that sealions were not frightened by the Chono when they approached them, as sealions believed that they were “*of their same species*” (353). Also, the Chono covered their skin with sealion fat to keep their bodies warm: when the Spaniards arrived, they went about mostly naked (Goizueta 1879 [1558], 484).

It has been argued that the Chono began to lose some social and cultural specificity as they their contact with the Spaniards and the Williche of Chiloé intensified. Even though they could not be subject to the encomienda regime, during the 18th century they were settled into missionary posts. During the Conquest, they had been already forced to retreat to the southern archipelagos, probably melding with other groups. By the 1770’s, the Chono population south of Chiloé had dramatically dwindled (Urbina C. et.al 2020, 338). Thus, the Chono would have been “assimilated” by the Chilote culture since the last decades of the 18th century and especially during the 19th, staying in Williche and Chilote settlements and adopting their customs. Because of this, the Chono would have stopped moving from one shore to the other looking for a place to stay (Urbina C. et. al 2020, 344).

One key aspect of the Chono culture which allows approaching a Colditan invention of them is witchcraft. In the 18th century, Padre José García described this practice amongst the “nations” he met during his expedition between 1766 and 1767 towards the southern archipelagos. The priest attributes witchcraft beliefs to Calen and Taijataf Chono groups⁶¹ living close to the Guayaneco islands, south of the Penas Gulf. The 17 of December of 1766, García arrived at a meeting that the Caucahues accompanying him had arranged six months before. Some Calenes and Taijatafes were still at the place, but many had fled after quarrelling before García arrived. According to the priest, they had remembered “*ancient wars and deaths*” that had transpired

⁵⁹ A customary practice in Chiloé until the dawn of the second half of the 20th century. Stones were placed at the intertidal zone, usually in a circle. When the tide receded, fishes were left inside and then extracted. Other corrals, made of branches, were placed at the mouths of rivers, and had a door or trap.

⁶⁰ Although once considered of Juan Ladrillero, it is now known that it was Miguel de Goizueta who wrote this early account (Daughters 2019, 155-6).

⁶¹ Chono “identity groups”, according to Álvarez (2002).

between them. One of the Chono that had stayed behind (García does not say if a Taijataf or a Calen) had a box made from whale barbs, “full of hair that he had cut during the past war and that he kept as to make evil to his enemies” (1871, 371).

Antonio Chaya, a Taijataf, told García that his son had been killed by witchcraft, which the priest calls “*maleficio*” (spell, curse). Chaya explained that witchcraft was triggered by enmity or war, that the target’s hair was needed, and that the latter had to be tied with whale barbs before conducting the attack. A family who wished to strike a specific victim would beat the hair between a pair of stones and dance for a whole night. If they wished their victim to die soon, they would tie it to a *cochayuyo* so that the sea bashed it against the rocks. Going about the forested mountains, the family would also throw the piece of hair from the top of the trees. Antonio Chaya explained that the victim feels all of these “*pains and fatigues*” in his body even from a great distance, suddenly “*bursting in blood*” and dying afterwards (1871, 370). In terms of how this kind of witchcraft relates to Coldita, one of the things that strikes the most is the use of hair, which requires a specific level of intimacy. In Chapter 3, we described how Colditan witchcraft relates to this same notion: witches use extreme closeness in order to convince and lure their victims.

To finish this section on the Chono, I propose two more arguments connecting them to Colditan invention. As noted, the Chono moved their houses from one shore to the other. They also dismantled their vessels to transport them. In previous chapters, I suggested that Colditans would disassemble their own houses and barns, transporting them in their boats and reconstructing them in other *campos* or even at Quellón. There is also the case of Isabel and Santiago’s daughter, who had to move her own house with the help of her father to escape from the “thing”. And, just like the Chono did, the *quelcún* practice involves staying at a place while the fishing, diving, algae or shellfish collection lasts.

Lastly, there is the *antiguos*. According to García, Caucahues did what they did because their “*mayores*”, their eldest, told them, such as painting their faces to appease the climate or refraining from throwing seashells into the fire (1871, 359-64). Colditans also feel the pressure of their *mayores* over them. Nevertheless, the Chono seemed more inclined to repeat what their *antiguos* did and said, acting accordingly. In contrast, Colditans believe that the *antiguos* ways of life and beliefs are gone, and that they are allowed to live in their own time, according to their own ways. But *antiguos* influence the present, as their force filters through Colditan places.

In the next section, I show how the Chono can be considered a radical version of the *antiguos* notion, and thus how the Chono and the *viviente* constitute each other through invention by means of similar characteristics to those described above. A first approach to this is the position of the Chono within the mythic schema.

4. The Colditan mythification of the Chono

Lincoman's version of "Treng-Treng..." begins with a voice resonating from a very distant past: that of the *antiguos*, the suppressed time of the myth. Lincoman introduces the myth as follows:

"Contaba mi ñuque⁶² y contaban mis abuelos, mis abuelos contaban que mis bis abuelos y más abuelos. Contaban mis tatarabuelos y mis tatarabuelas, contaban mis chonos abuelos" (Lincoman 1990, 84).

A rough translation of this would be: "My *ñuque* told and my grandparents told, my grandparents told that my great-grandparents and other grandparents⁶³. My great-great-grandfathers and great-great-grandmothers told, my Chono grandparents told".

Here, the mythic voice appears as stemming from a series of *antiguos* that progressively go back in time until a limit is reached, an origin: the Chono. Lincoman's version tells of a family, or of several families, besieged by a catastrophe that floods their world. The catastrophe finishes with a mad and lonely man, left to roam the beaches in a world of canals that must be sailed. The lonely man, forced to traverse the new canals in order to survive, is, in a sense, a person transformed into a Chono from a previous state: he is surrounded by the seas, has no stable house or *campo*, has marine resources for immediate consumption and, at least before he was left alone, lived in strong relation to his own kin, as if enclosed in it. This enclosure produced witchcraft (Chapter 1), just like witchcraft in Coldita is produced by extreme closeness (Chapter 3). He now dwells in a Chono world. Lincoman's version speaks of an absence and a presence of the Chono within the *viviente*. This voice, weaving the myth from the *antiguos* time, describes not only the border between land and sea, but also how, in order to become a *viviente*, a person must leave the seabound life behind, traversing the canals towards another place and staying there with others. I argue that this voice was also resonating when David asked me to take his picture as if he were a Chono: he was connecting himself to the threshold between migrating and staying that the myth describes, thus connecting the unstable present with a mythicized origin.

Indeed, the co-dependence between the *viviente* and the Chono, which echoes that between the *viviente* and the *antiguo*, is never fully resolved. This is what the unstable existence of the lonely man seems to be referring to: mad and isolated but potentially relating to other people, he might, or might not, become a *viviente* (and I add: "again"). Within him, both the Chono and the *vivientes* dwell. He could be left roaming the beaches and sailing through the canals, living off the abundance that the sea offers to him, alone. But the sea also offers madness and death, having already consumed and lured his family, as witches do: it is as if the abundance that produced the catastrophe (Nancy's version: witchcraft was unleashed in a time of abundance) was being transposed into the aftermath's *mermado* sea (Chapter 1). Therefore, he could also sail in search for other people, marrying and settling on a cleared place between the *monte* and the tide. Nevertheless, this potential settling will also risk the emergence of those same conflicts that triggered the catastrophe in the first place: ill behaviour amongst *vivientes* is unavoidable,

⁶² Mapuzugun for "mother".

⁶³ It could be the case that a word is missing, or that a comma was meant to be here instead of a period.

as witchcraft is (chapters 2, 3). And thus the *viviente* is brought back towards the original voice, the *antiguos* voice, the Chono voice that threatens with loneliness and confusion.

In sum, and looked at from the Colditan model of time, the most powerful influence over the places where the *viviente* dwells comes from a relation with the Chono as the most radical *antiguos* imaginable. They dwell at a mythicized and hence suppressed origin, and thus subsist within the *viviente*.

The Chono also relate to Coldita in a historical sense. Shell mounds abound by the shores of southern Chiloé localities (Trivero 2019, 46, 57), and some houses are built on top of them. From their own seashell consumption, Chilote families have been feeding these mounds for generations, enacting a historical continuity with the Chono (Munita et.al 2016, 73). Coldita is no different. Their inhabitants are aware that their houses are surrounded by shell mounds and caves were, according to them, the Chono stayed centuries ago. This has been corroborated by on-site explorations, locating them in Blanchard, in La Mora islet or close to Puerto Carmen. Ricardo Álvarez & Pablo Aránguiz (2009) noted that, according to Colditans, there are caves with seashells and human remains southwards, just where Mariano Llancahuen's *fundo* ends (5-7).

Even though continuities between Colditans and Chono seem evident at first, Colditans are not quite so sure. Their relationship to the Chono is unresolved. They do not know if they descend from them or if their *antiguos* arrived at the island after the Chono had already left. Colditans are quite aware that they came from elsewhere, specifically from the north, but their knowledge of this migration is blurry (Chapter 5). It is likely that the first Colditans descended from the Payo (Chapter 4), and Colditans seem to sense this. Therefore, they would not just plainly say that they are not Chono at all. Migration is a trait of their history, of their distant and immediate past and of their present, and the Chono are well known for having constantly moved around. David's picture shows these ambiguities.

A Colditan around his thirties, living close to the La Mora causeway, told me that his grandfather claimed to have seen the Chono several times, when traveling to the southern archipelagos:

"My grandfather died at around eighty years old, some twenty or twenty - five years ago, I think. Él conversaba (he talked about) that he met the Chono around the Guaitecas when he was very little. He said that they were as if animal people. They had the body of a person, but they behaved as if they were animals, like chungungos or sea lions. They looked at them as they came out of the water and then plunged again, staying underwater for such a long time, he said to me. They were the last Chono, because I think that it was in 1600 that they left Chiloé, that they migrated south because of the Spaniards. The Kawesqar are still there though, they have not been lost, they still live in Aysén. But they are civilized now, just like us, the Williche. There were Chonos here in Coldita, also. They only thing they left are the shell mounds. But I remember that a certain girl told a friend of mine that he was actually the last Chono, because of his features: they had little, slanted eyes, and they were short, just like him. If you think about it, it has been passed from one generation to the other... and yes, maybe some Chonos remained, and there are people who look like them. I know of an old family who lives by the beach, here at the island. I thought it was funny, because I saw those pictures at school in the history books, real photographs of the Chono in black and white from a bunch of years ago. And I would say 'here they are, they are them', because that family is very similar to the Chono. So some of the Chono must have stayed

here, but because of all the blood mixing it must be something from the past. I think that my grandmother's father, one of the Coldita island's founders, and all of those people also, must have gotten mixed with the Chono".

We cannot be sure about what this *antiguo*, referred by this young Colditan, actually saw, namely if these people were Chono, Kawesqar or other. What we know is that he thought they were Chono, and described them as such. Also, the young Colditan did not specify any clear notion of time, because he was probably not interested (Chapter 5): what drove his tale was a managing of distances and closeness with the Chono. In his story, which is a mythification of his grandfather's story, the Chono belong to a very distant past, to the times of the *antiguos*. The threshold of the singularity of experience is reached (Chapter 5): Chono migrations towards the south are melded with the arrival of the first Colditans, and with colonial times. Many questions arise, their answers suppressed: had all the Chono migrated south when the Spaniards forced them, or did some of them stay for centuries? Did the first Colditans arrive at an empty place, or were the Chono still here? Did they themselves force the Chono to flee? Did they mix with them? Here, I argue that different layers of time become melded when speaking about the Chono: mythification is at play. David's petition of having his picture taken while in a threshold between migrating and managing to stay does this same thing: his time, the time of the *antiguos* who first dwelled in the now covered *campo* and the time of the Chono are mythically melded to one another, as if layered through his emplacement. Felipe's picture from Chapter 4 also does this: a deployment of emplacement and mythification, allowing to both relate to the past in an inventive way and to assimilate an event, such as Puerto Carmen's machines, by means of the mythical schema, suppressing time's specificity.

Another ambiguity is the presence of the Chono within Colditan themselves. At first, the teller says that the Chono were like sea animals: uncivilized, similar to sea lions and otters. But sea creatures, especially sea lions, possess human-like characteristics, and are also related to mythology and witchcraft, as considered in previous chapters. Sealions were once human, according to Rosales' versions of "Treng-Treng..." (Chapter 1), and also according to my friend Juana (Chapter 2). So, at the same time, the Chono are being expelled towards an uncivilized time, a time of radical *antiguos*, but they are also within the civilized Colditan *viviente*, even if as a doubt: the Chono are both sea animals and people. Indeed, the teller also identifies Chono features in those around him, but he is not sure where do they come from. The doubt goes back to the origins of the arrival of the first Colditans: if they got mixed with Chono population or not cannot be known, as the migration happened too many years ago, and no living person could speak about it out of experience. The very limit of the *antiguos* time, from where the force managed by the Colditan model of time derives, is concomitant to the unresolved presence of the Chono within Colditans. That is, the Chono are not only present in their traces in caves and shell mounds, but also within Colditan themselves, as a persistent doubt about absence and presence. Again, David was also enacting this issue: the Chono were both within him, in the very moment of building a *rancha*, but also far away in the past, as he was striving to settle there permanently.

In terms of how Colditans imagine the Chono's incivility, there is also the sense that they were "purer" than Colditans, in terms of their "indigenesness". According to a young Colditan in her twenties, the Chono "*were the only ones who were purely Indigenous*". As noted in Chapter 2,

blood purity is similar to “confusion”. And, in Chapter 3, I considered how some families might be turned in on themselves, stop relating to others and be drawn towards the effects of witchcraft: they become enclosed and alone, just like blood purity, just like the uncivil Chono who lived close to one another. They were nomads, and did not stay on any one place to make a clearing; they traversed the seas while enclosed within their own families, perpetually traveling the canals in their boats; in sum, they were pure, and thus did not mix with other people like the Williche of Chiloé did. Colditan blood is also considered unfathomably pure, and dangerous: something Chono lingers in this blood. Indeed, they consider that, like the Chono, they are “all the same”: one single substance from which they attempt to constantly differentiate. In this sense, and even though they would say that they have been “civilized” by settling in places and establishing kinship bonds, they also believe that the uncanniness that the Chono mythification brings close, in the form of an unbearable, lingering pureness, is within them. Their difference with the Chono is one of will: an endless attempt to stay, to produce difference in the world. Indeed, and as suggested in Chapter 2, traces of memory cannot be left in the seas, only on land and just partially in the intertidal zone. The Chono have no past and thus no discrete presence. They are imagined as pure continuity while the *viviente* struggles to constitute the present, the *campos*, by mythizing the Chono.

Apart from migration and the Chono as “within”, another important trait for inventing them is witchcraft. To show this, I return to Belasio’s *campo*, where a witches’ cave was supposed to be (Chapter 5). According to Belasio’s family, both of their houses are built over a Chono shell mound. As if replacing the disappeared cave, they began to find Chono remains under and around them. They claim that they have found Chono bones and even full skeletons, but that they disintegrate on touch. I contend that the cave and the Chono shell mound cannot be considered separately: the cave is both a witches’ and a Chono’s cave, sharing the same power of disturbing *vivientes* through fear, anxiety, madness, loneliness and confusion. In the distance and closeness between these *antiguos* and the *viviente*, there is the uncanniness of that which cannot be completely remembered, and that lingers in the world. The Chono seem a most radical expression of this uncanny limit, the suppressed time within the mythic schema that witches use. They have no names. They are both present and absent. They cannot be pinned down in any place: even though they left their marks and traces by the beaches, close to the *campos*, they are known to have been migrants, to have fled. They left dangerous caves and entities behind. But wasn’t this the same thing that Colditan *antiguos* did? Leaving a place and arriving at another? Believing in different, powerful witchcraft? Disappearing from memory and leaving only strange signs behind?

Juana told me that there are still families in Coldita that are very ancient, “*indígenos originales*” (“original Indigenous people”). They are very powerful, especially in witchcraft, because of their pure blood. The Chono from which they descend, she said, “*lived very close together in their caves*”, a claim that resembles the uncivility of “*casas de crianza*” (Chapter 2). The power that comes from pureness, and thus from complete confusion, stayed in Coldita in specific families and in their ancient places of dwelling. “*The Chono had their own witches*”, Juana told me. “*There was a struggle between God and the Devil within them, but the Devil won*”. Juana puts the struggle between God and the Devil in the distant past, that is, in the original Indigenous people, those who were pure. The struggle happened “within them”, as if the Chono were turned inwards, so much that the Devil, and witchcraft, ended up winning. This is the power of

confusion that both the *antiguos* and witchcraft represent, filtering through the Colditan lived world of confusion from a distant, Chono past.

Given that the relation between Colditans and Chono is the same as the relation between Colditans and their *antiguos* but in a radical sense, Colditan mythification of the Chono is also one of invention (Chapter 5). The Chono are portrayed as inventing the *viviente*, in the sense that the *viviente* cannot be thought of if not from straying away from the Chono, as “objects” of the Chono. This unfolds in terms of the latter’s disappearance and preterit uncivility, of their tendency to not belong anywhere and being enclosed, producing powerful witchcraft: they are the source of the *viviente*’s instability in time and space. The Chono invent the *viviente* as they “stand” from this instability of not belonging, placed at an unfathomable origin that is mythically suppressed (David’s as if). At the same time, the *vivientes* invent the Chono: they need to bring them near, to emplace them, in order to enact a past that justifies their presence in Coldita (David’s true). Through mythification, they select some traits and historical notions to give the Chono a position of absence and presence within the *viviente*’s lived world of confusion. And, because invention supposes obviation, the mythification of the Chono suppresses past *viviente*’s migrations as an unbearable similarity: indeed, migration as a shared characteristic entails a non-place, the ambiguities of belonging. The *vivientes* stayed and the Chono did not, but, at the same time, migration is an essential part of Two Coldita’s past.

Here, we can turn to another of Wagner’s notions (2019), namely the “double proposition”: the form that self-differentiating relations take in language, namely metaphors. These propositions juxtapose two expressions and their terms, inverting the relation of proximity/distance between them. So, one term is to the other but not in the same way. As an example, Wagner proposes that “*invention is the difference between itself and reality; reality is the similarity between itself and invention*”, meaning that any of the terms constituting the proposition can be seen as subject and object of the other at the same time (5, 16). Wagner also proposed that double-propositions are “chiasmatic”, as symbols within them appear to paradoxically happen to themselves (xiii-xvi, 2-16). That is, double-propositions describe borders between elements put in a co-constitutive relation, while the chiasma is a non-place from where this is made possible. As an unstable axis between time and space constituting a mythicized present, the lived world of confusion is chiasmatic. Its environmental, social and temporal borders, and those regarding the *vivientes*’ self, co-constitute one another.

I propose that the Chono and the *viviente* relate in this same way: the Chono are the difference between themselves and the *viviente*; the *viviente* is the similarity between them. In principle, the Chono are external to anything that the *viviente* is, as they did not make places nor sought to establish enduring relations. The Chono are also separate because they lived enclosed and produced witchcraft, which is the reverse of work, and thus of making places and relating to others. Meanwhile, the *viviente* clings to place, in the form of the *campos* that they themselves create but that are besieged by the powers of confusion. But the *viviente* needs of certain notions of time to constitute their places as definable moments, as a bounded present different from that of the Chono: an origin, a closeness, which cannot be if not that with the Chono. The Chono are just as close as they are separate, present as they are absent. It is Heidegger’s (2019) notion of being all over again: that which is very close is also the most difficult thing to grasp, and is thus felt as something uncanny.

The relation between the *vivientes* and the Chono relates to autochthony. As considered in the Introduction, autochthony amounts to a question of origin: are we born from one or from two? (Lévi-Strauss 1963). Being born from one is to emerge from the earth without relations to others (kinship), thus involving a flaw through discarded sociability: anxiety, madness and loneliness, in the Colditan case. But, in Coldita, being born from two also brings confusion, namely the dangers of the approach between environmental and social borders, and between those of the self: being a “double” to others, being “all the same”. So, in escaping extreme belonging, and by means of similarity, extreme autochthony also lingers, resembling the loneliness where “being born from one”, and thus the uncanny, is played out.

The border between the *viviente* and the Chono operates in this way. It is external to any place, mediated by a suppressed meaning similar to a non-place, to excessive belonging: migration. As noted, migration is imagined as an encloement, as a relation to oneself. But, because the Chono were there in Coldita before, the border is also ingrained in the territory: Colditans might be Chono too, they have this excessiveness within them. The relation is also chiasmatic: it produces itself from itself, between being born from two (a difference between the Chono and the *viviente*) or from one (the Chono as a double, identical to the *viviente*). The cave in Belasio’s *campo* is an example of this. The Chono were there before, and left their powers hidden in plain sight. The cave relates to the entanglement of the *monte* and to witchcraft, that is, to fear and confusion. What emerges is a force from a suppressed past, produced by an ambiguous relation between this migrant family and the Chono, suddenly actualized: it is a question of belonging both to the *campo* and to the Chono, and how to manage it. What emerges is a doubt about migration, related to the voice of the myth, of the mythic schema: how is that the Chono are connected to Colditans? Looked at from David’s picture: will he stay or migrate to the city again? Is he very similar or very different to the “true” Chono?

In the following section, I will deploy these notions in order to describe a current process of mythification, deepening our understanding of Colditan autochthony: that of the La Mora causeway, and of the more recent migration in Tweo Coldita.

5. Mythification of the La Mora causeway

The first thing that struck me about Coldita was the La Mora causeway. I was marvelled by what I thought was a connection between the island and the Isla Grande sections of Coldita, mediated by the tide. The image of the tide as a meeting space, making an Indigenous community whole, was fascinating to me. But I eventually learned that the path is not open during the whole of the tide’s decrease, but only at its peak. The timing for crossing can be tricky for someone not acquainted with the territory: if the timing is not right, streams will block the way. So I questioned my initial impression: does the Coldita canal connect or separate these two sections? This question works for Lincoman’s version of the myth too, as the tide repeats the mediation of an island world (Chapter 1): do the canals left by the catastrophe connect or separate the wailing man from other islands, and from other people? This was also a question among Colditans. There was a conflict between the two sides of the community, and so a collective

reflection about the canal's meaning was at play: a mythification. As suggested, this has migration, and autochthony, as its drive.

The conflict between the two sides of the community had most likely to do with the migration from the island towards Blanchard. This happened around the 1960's, after FOGACHIL left. The migration had the effect of separating two land tenure regimes in the same territory. Another issue is how Blanchard became more prosperous than the island around the 1990's (Chapter 4). In time, criticisms between both sides arose. For instance, they bashed each other for their improper means for work: those from the other side are usually considered *flojos*, lazy. Specifically for those living in Coldita island, Blanchard's inhabitants are only occupants ("*ocupantes*"), and not owners of lands. Meanwhile, for those living in Blanchard the island's *campos* are too little, and thus insufficient to reproduce a proper life. They would also claim that, because the island has little forest left, those still staying on Coldita island do not know how to cut trees ("*no saben cortar un palo*"), or how to make *roces*. Lastly, islanders criticize those in Blanchard for abandoning their *campos en masse*.

Another cause behind the struggle were the benefits enjoyed by each side over the years. Around 1990, the Blanchard locality was given a school (transferred from the island) and a healthcare centre. But some twenty years later, in 2019, Coldita island was awarded electricity. "*Over there, in Blanchard (Coldita Isla Grande), they were given everything, a community centre, a healthcare centre*", Belasio told me. "*And that school, I helped building it with my grandfather. Those people from the other side did not do a thing, because no entienden how to do something like that: we worked for our electricity*". Blanchard Colditans would say the contrary: that in reality it was those from the island who were unfairly benefited, by means of access to electricity (although people in Blanchard did receive domestic solar panels, through a governmental fund). Blanchard Colditans also blame those across the Coldita canal for dividing the Indigenous community organization and for threatening them with making one of their own. In part, this schism was caused by the differing property regimes: along the years, the main struggle in Tweo Coldita has been the recovering of Mariano Llancahuen's lands, that is, in Coldita Isla Grande, where the De La Taille's still have their lands I. Therefore, Colditans from Coldita island have been left aside from the most relevant community issue: their properties were measured and awarded to their *antiguos* in the 1950's (Chapter 4), and the problem of the *fundo* is not theirs specifically.

But even though criticism is harsh, Colditans are aware that they are "all the same" (Chapter 2). They know that they share kin bonds and that they belong to the same family groups, or at least to families that are intrinsically related. Criticism usually stays at the community organization level, but it can become nastier between certain families. In terms of this common sameness, Belasio shared a very deep reflection with me:

"It is difficult to understand, the issue of the land between both sides. Because when the tide is low, and you walk through it, the territory is only one, it is united, right? But when the sea is full, it is cut off. And that is how the people are right now, just like the causeway. Sometimes they are united, sometimes they are not. But they all came from the island, originally".

And, as a Blanchard inhabitant told to me: "*some are trying to divide the community, and that is not good, because we lose strength. And we are all from the same place, the same family, even*

though we are only connected by the causeway". Hence, the causeway connects Colditans but it is also fragile, both dry and submerged at the same time. Colditans from both sides conceptualize it by selecting, as a powerful element, its capacity for distancing and for producing closeness. There is a border at play, a fundamental one for the mythic schema: in Lincoman's version, "estuaries" are left between every island of the archipelago, connecting and disconnecting people through lingering migration, just like in Coldita today. Also, as noted throughout this thesis, the tide itself emerges as a mythological, horizontal mediation creating a world. This makes both sides co-constitute one another mythically, to mythologically self-differentiate, in Wagner's terms: the current *viviente* and lived world of confusion emerge from the causeway. Indeed, cross-criticisms based on means of work and of *entender* comply with the *viviente's* production in self-assertion and instability (Chapter 2). Meanwhile, the 1950's migration relates to the *viviente's* historical constitution. It is in this sense that I propose that the causeway is being subject to mythification, and that it is a privileged feature to do so. The tide, at the centre of the myth, is posited as a crucial element for defining the current *viviente*, while another fundamental element is foreclosed: migration, and, concomitantly, autochthony.

Colditans claim that the causeway has changed over the last half-century, especially after the 1960 earthquake. It is said to have been drier before the event, and more easily traversable. They often told me that the tide does not recede that much today, as tremors (including an earthquake from 2010) have made the intertidal zone lower and filled with streams ("rivers", they say). For example, Nancy told me that *"in those times, with the earthquake (of 1960) you could not cross, because the tide did not recede. My grandpa said that, in times past, you could cross easily because one side was connected to the other, it was united. The tide did grow, but only a little"*. Another Colditan told me that *"before the earthquake, the canal was only a river, back then. You could cross through the La Mora causeway all the time, and the La Mora islet was not an island"*. The earthquake also erased the low-tide trails and submerged lands once fertile. *"There is soil under the sand"*, a Colditan told me. *"The canal was no more than a river. At least that is what the antiguos say"*. Younger Colditans are even more radical than this, and would say that there was no separation between the island and the Isla Grande. For example, and as told to me by Karen:

"Before the earthquake, Coldita was part of Chiloé. There was land here and over there, the causeway was also land, it had trees, and that is why there are still trunks on the beaches. When the sea came up it made all of those rivers that grew over time, and they are still growing. That is how the canal was formed, in the year of 1960. My grandmother says that everything was pampa, or a wetland. The island was part of the fundo. That earthquake caused a lot of havoc here in Coldita, in its geography. Before the earthquake, this was a single territory".

Most of Colditans who would claim this were born after the 1960 earthquake, or were too young when it happened. In contrast, older Colditans dedramatize its effect on the causeway. As a woman in her eighties, living in Oratorio, told me, *"the causeway did not change that much"*: it certainly became more difficult to cross, but she does not consider it something too notable. So, a majority of those who reflect on the relation between the causeway and the community's division after the migration did not experience the earthquake directly, or at least consciously: they know about it by means of their *antiguos*. In this sense, I argue that migrations starting in the 1950's are symbolically related to the earthquake, by means of the mythic schema

(catastrophes and the rising of the sea): the causeway became more difficult to traverse, in Colditan's interpretation, around the time Colditans crossed the canal. The mythification of the causeway is deployed by those who relate to these events as if they belonged to a partially inaccessible past, and this becomes more intense in newer generations as this past is mythologically suppressed.

Looked at from the outside, the argument seems odd: it is not as if the causeway is not traversable. I myself crossed it a dozen times. Certainly, some days I would misread the whole thing by dismissing my Colditan friends' instructions, and found myself by a low tide stream I could not cross. But this is relative. If I just plunged into the water, I would have crossed anyway. Cows and oxen that traverse the territory searching for pasture can make the trip with less effort than a human: they do not mind the streams too much. Some people cross where the sea is fuller, by boat. Even if the opening can be too early or too late for any given person's schedule, this does not mean that the causeway has become uncrossable, but only trickier to cross. Like blood, that which makes the estuary interesting to think about as a separation or as a connection, I argue, depends on the selection of specific characteristics that elicit meaning (Carsten, 2011). These mythological elements involve earthquakes and migrations that allow the invention of the causeway, according to the mythic schema.

An interesting approach to this invention is horses, as a means of imagining low tide streams and their depth. One time, Belasio and I went to salvage his boat, stranded at the intertidal zone. In that particular space, lots of streams emerged when the tide receded. As we approached the spot, he told me that, until some decades ago, one could cross towards Blanchard from that same shore, with the low tide and by horse. "*We had a lot more horses back in the day*", he told me. In my experience, horses can still cross the causeway and its streams in certain moments of the day, but this is not considered by Colditans straightforwardly. For instance, Belasio and I were once sailing around the La Mora islet, with a very low sea. I asked him about the depth of that particular spot we were in, and he replied that it was of around a metre. I told him that a man on horseback could probably cross from one side to the other with this tide, but he explained that it was already too deep, although the tide would have been lower in times past, letting him cross. Thus, in the present, a horse with its rider would not be able to cross in that particular moment, but they could probably manage during a better tide. Nevertheless, this was a dramatic change for my friend. He was considering how that same causeway must have been decades ago, according to what his *antiguos* told him: one could cross, on horseback, during most of the tide. With this, Belasio selected those moments and places of today where the causeway could not be traversed, and used horses to imagine the relation between both sides of the community, along the relation between the present and the past.

Therefore, and as noted, there is a selection of what makes the causeway a connection or a separation. What interests me here are the nuances: it is not that a complete distancing has been produced between both sides by means of the transformed causeway. It has rather to do with the relevance of the causeway itself, the walk and the horses; that is, with the relation between the low tide and the high tide affecting the causeway in different moments, turning the causeway itself a privileged element for thinking about relations between current *vivientes*. What is obviated is the fact that the causeway is still traversable, even by foot, although in different ways to those that the *antiguos* supposedly employed. Another evident process of

obviation, and of mythological suppression, is that the tide only became a symbol for separation and proximity after the migrations through the canal took place around the 1960 earthquake: there were no *vivientes* living in Blanchard before the issue of belonging to the other side, against land property and eviction, became an element for constituting *vivientes*.

The invention of the causeway seems to relate to Lincoman's version of the myth of "Trengr-Trengr...": a once whole territory is ravaged by a catastrophe that is progressively lost in time, and that separates it into two, or more, sections or islands. In Coldita, these sections become both separated and linked by the tide. The wailing man from Lincoman's version is a metaphor of this doubt on distance and closeness: the canal appears both as a traversable space and as an irreconcilable separation. It is the migrating *antiguos* who are the voice that produces this doubt: the "*chonos abuelos*", in Lincoman's account.

It is, thus, a mythification process, operated by means of Colditan memory through the singularity of experience. The causeway emerges as a powerful symbol in itself that is put against the conventions of today, the current state of Coldita as it is chiasmatically produced. What is being obviated, or mythically suppressed, is, again, migration as an essential characteristic of the *viviente*: Colditans from both sides relativize migration within themselves, which is concomitant to the Chono. While those from Coldita island, when criticising the effects of recent migrations, would not say that their *antiguos* also migrated from the north (Chapter 4), Blanchard inhabitants try to consolidate their presence in those "new *campos*" by criticizing those across the canal, and by relativizing the migration they made decades ago. When migration is put to the front of this mythical schema's deployment, the La Mora causeway appears as a border, a chiasma from where *vivientes*' from both sides produce one another in all of their instability. They are thematizing their mutual belonging after the 1950's migration, ambiguously connecting it to the Chono, those people that cannot be remembered anymore. As the essential migrants by definition, the Chono appear as the central but absent element of this mythification, which makes the issue of autochthony emerge as the heart of the *viviente* concept. The causeway is being progressively put in an unreachable, ambiguous past, just as the first migrations and the Chono are. Colditans from both sides are put in the position of Lincoman's wailing man: migration lingers within them.

If it is migration that is being suppressed and overall obviated when inventing the La Mora causeway today, then we can come back to the powerful "thing" by Isabel and Alejandro's *campo* (Chapter 3). As noted, witches were making use of this migrant family's belonging to place. The presence of former *antiguos* and the forces of land ownership were being channelled by the entity, and by witches, to make these *vivientes* anxious, mad and lonely, that is, confronted with uncanny forces. Because what witches were attempting was taking advantage of Isabel's and Alejandro's migrant position after having crossed the canal (the Chono within them, exerting their influence from a distant past), we can now add the La Mora causeway to this situation. Indeed, the mythification of the causeway, of the earthquake and of migration by means of the tide brings together most of the elements described in this thesis: the lived world of confusion as one of mutually effecting borders, the *viviente*'s constitution in proximities and distances to one another (blood's lack of differentiation, minds and bodies), proper and improper behaviour (criticism between both sides, questioning the *viviente* condition), the powers of witchcraft, the emplacement of time phenomena (the earthquake, migration, the

“thing”), *antiguos* as a luring force that must be coped with, the chiasmatic relation with the Chono and of the lived world itself, and the relation of all of these elements with the mythic schema. Indeed, and as it moves, the causeway’s tide mediates all of these dimensions making the current world emerge. It does so by means of a fragile repetition, resembling the mythological mediating recursiveness of the tide and of the *viviente*’s ill behaviour that makes catastrophes endure, the present endlessly unstable.

In sum, and in the emplaced, mythicized present of today’s Tweo Colditans, the distance and proximity between both sides of the community unstably emerges from the Colditan canal, from its mediating, horizontal movements. Through this, the fundamentals of the Colditan *viviente* are put into play: autochthony, the uncanny and confusion. This is done by means of a suppressed origin, the Chono migration lingering within the *vivientes* selves: indeed, the Chono are the uncanny self that makes *viviente*’s constitution unstable, unachievable. I will now summarize how is that the Chono and autochthony relate to each other, and to the lived world of confusion in general.

6. Autochthony

The wailing man from Lincoman’s version of “Trengr-Trengr...” is both a Chono and a *viviente*. He stands at the beach and by the tide, at a place that will become submerged and then dried. This place is a border where migration both starts and arrives, and where it might turn into something else: an opening of a place to live, just like in David’s case, pictured as if he were a Chono. The canal in front of the man is both a distance and a closeness between two islands. The La Mora causeway replicates this border, as the tide dries and covers the world. Standing by it, the *viviente* emerges as an unstable entity whose main issue is that of autochthony: to belong to this place called Coldita, or to depart elsewhere. But this relation of belonging to Colditan places becomes unstable as the limit of Colditan memory, namely the *antiguos*’ origin, too close and too distant, is produced. It becomes a luring force, a forgotten, unpinned meaning utilized by witches from within those same places. In a radical sense, these *antiguos* are the Chono. They are imagined as migrants, as outsiders to any sense of place, as “pure”. A shared migrating condition entails that *vivientes* are those who have decided to dwell in a bordered/bordering lived world, opening *campos* and creating a present. They have made a decision to belong, to dwell with others, to work, to keep confusion at bay. They separate themselves from the Chono, but their relation to them does not disappear: it lingers within them, constituting an unstable self and thus a problematic belonging.

The relation to an ever-repeating migrating past is thus suppressed. In suppressing this memory, the *viviente*’s belonging to their places of dwelling, an “owning” of them, becomes unstable, unclear, as an imagined origin is forgotten. The effect of this is that belonging itself becomes blurry: do I belong to this place, or elsewhere? This is a question of autochthony, of an origin that emerges as a dreadful feeling of displacement. It comprises a concealed doubt that is bound to re-emerge as an uncanny feeling, as an excess of meaning, as the dangerous powers of loneliness and confusion that migration brings when pushed to the past. This is what the La Mora causeway seems to be emplacing, a repetition of migration that must be somehow

suppressed. This is a central characteristic of the Colditan model of time: to avoid an unbearable repetition of ways of life between the present and the unfathomable past (Chapter 5).

By obviating migration, the Colditan *viviente* internalizes the mythological Chono voice resonating from an unfathomable time. It is a persistent attraction towards having no place at all, no “difference” in the world: a turning towards oneself. The obviation of Chono migration forecloses this non-place in the form of the uncanny, of the confusion that every dwelling place reflects, and that lingers in every *viviente’s* work, blood and overall mind/body constitution. Autochthony emerges as this non-place, an ungraspable origin or sameness within a place that pulsates from “before” sociality produced the *viviente*, if that is even possible (which is, indeed, the Chono problem). This is because the *viviente*, as a concept, are made who they are by choosing to dwell in a place after having migrated and by operating a self-transformation by staying, instead of moving. This decision will obviate the past, and thus an attraction towards dissolution, towards returning to the unrememberable, is created.

An enplaced *viviente*, a belonging, is thus never complete. Not having a place is an essential characteristic of the *viviente’s* instability (and this is what witches use). There is also the possibility, similar to that of the wailing man, to migrate again, reproducing the ambiguity of belonging, and of origin. An excessive relation to a place (that is, without relying on others, without “being born from two”) brings closer to its unrememberable origin: another state of the self from way before, but still present, when places weren’t there, when the Chono thrived, when no one needed to “belong” to a place, or to others, in order to “be” (the “being born from one”). That is, the uncanny, confusion. Indeed, an excessive effort to belong to a place, to seize it for one’s own, would be a denial of the fact that a proper *viviente* lives with other people, and that they die: others might use the *campo* in the future, and others used it before. In excessive belonging, that is, an autochthony of one, a person becomes enclosed, similar to the lonely, to the old, to witches, to the Chono and to the dead. Anxious, mad and lonely, pure in blood, with no place in the present, that which lies within places operates its luring: the Colditan ungraspable origin, the “self”.

In synthesis, the *vivientes* constitute a world by opening *campos*, which are bordered/bordering places where to stay. There, they are allowed to relate to each other by managing distances and by practicing their autochthony (what Colditans call “civility”). They become a people belonging there in Coldita, working in it, leaving marks in it, producing memory about it and being produced by one another. But the previous, mythicized Chono world of unbelonging (that from Lincoman’s version of the myth: flooded, full of *monte*, crossed by isolation) lingers as all environmental borders overlap and as a suppressed tendency to migrate, anxiety and loneliness emerges in-between land and sea, producing what I have called confusion, the Colditan form of the uncanny. The *vivientes* cannot produce anything more than the confusion that defines them, a “debauched living”, a mythicized, unstable world, as they attempt not being diluted by the “vacuum” or “excessiveness” haunting the world. This is the same when relating to others: everybody has the same uncanny origin within, bringing sociality towards dangerous closeness. Uncanniness lures by means of the possibility of a *viviente* that is perfectly doubled by the Chono and the wailing man, a “being born from one”, an autochthonous, stabilized *viviente* with no borders: a *viviente* that is equal to the self, and thus a non-*viviente* at the same time, dwelling in a non-world, like the Chono. I will address this in the Conclusions.

Conclusions

1. The self and the *viviente* as failed personhood

Let us return to a question posited in the Introduction, inspired by Marilyn Strathern (2018). Is the *viviente* relationality enacted between logically pre-existent individuals? Is the *viviente* a relational person, or, rather, have I described it in this way?

As suggested throughout this thesis, what permeates Colditan relatedness is confusion: *campos* connected to one another within a moving, bordered/bordering environment that threatens to become enclosed, crossed by a kinship notion of “being all the same”. This is mediated by models of space and time that have recurrent processes of emplacement and mythicization at their cores. These models entail a powerful influence or force exerted by the *antiguos* over the present and the future, constituting the unstable present of the lived world of confusion. This relatedness of confusion has the proper *viviente* as an egomorphic, space/time axis, constituted as an effort to “stay”. The proper *viviente* emerges as a stabilization of the relation between time and space, body and mind and of sociality, through work and speech: living in a *campo*, knowing how to work with others, *entender*, *conversar*, having a clear mind, being good, avoiding ill effects on neighbours and so forth.

Nevertheless, the proper *viviente* is only stable as an ideal, given the unclear origin of Colditans and of the mythicized, lived world of confusion. This origin entails a mythicized sameness or a “one”; an experience of autochthony stemming from a space/time suppression that is ever-actualized in emplacement (i.e. the Chono *antiguos*, the companies, migration). This turns staying and belonging into a constant, but questioned, endeavour. By opening and engaging with *campos* between the ever-approaching tide and the *renuevo*, the *viviente* both produces and is born-out from the borders between overlapping space/time dimensions. This includes the border that persists within the person: entangled thoughts, *susto* (Chapter 2), anxiety, madness, loneliness, ageing and death, which reflect the borders of the world as lived subjectively. These afflictions lie in the ungraspable inwardness of the mind, that which witches utilize for their own ends as a “reverse” of work and personhood. The *viviente* is thus chiasmatic (it is born out of borders, along the world) and unstable, in permanent dilution towards a liminal origin or “self” (the dangerous “one” of autochthony, the “earth”), against the necessary relations making the enviroing world exist by means of distances (the “two”, the “blood”). It follows that this inwards border corresponds to that between the self and the proper *viviente*.

Colditans have a strong sense of self or of the “I”, of selfhood, defining it as the source of the confusion threatening to consume them. It is expressed in one own’s mind as entangled thoughts, in *susto*, in depression, in body illnesses, in the form of other, ambiguous Colditans, in luring witches and *antiguos*, in anxiety, despair and loneliness, in shared blood, in the enviroing elements and even in work. It is also a dangerous attraction that lies everywhere. It stems from the silence of the myth, from a suppressed origin that returns as a “double” in social relations, that is, the Chono as dwelling within Colditans bodies and customs (Introduction, chapters 3, 6). It emerges as strange presences in the *campos*, and it is thus shared by all Tweo Colditans in their ungraspable, migrating origin, in their shared materiality, in their being “all the same”. It

traces the multiplicity of borders of the world, of persons and *campos*, haunting Colditan's belonging and making autochthony a dangerous, uncanny affair. The self is thus confusion lingering "at the back" of *vivientes*: a dangerous, unstable, suppressed force (Chapter 5).

Therefore, and as a concept of personhood materialized through an ideal relatedness with others and with the enviroing world, the *viviente* is an ever-emergent failure: they fail at stabilizing this sense of self contaminating the Tweo Colditan borders. In attempting to stabilize their relation to themselves, to the *campos*, to the environment and to people comprising the lived world of confusion; and even if asserting that they are a good person with a clear mind, the *viviente* cannot escape the paradox of autochthony. They persistently make the uncanny emerge, the mythical suppression endure, the lived world of confusion catastrophically recur. Everything affects everything, and this would not be possible if the *viviente* wasn't there as a singular entity, reproducing an ever-straying behaviour pattern (chapters 2, 5). By staying, opening *campos* and producing emplaced memory, the *viviente* reproduces the multiplicity of borders, including their own instability, and the limits of memory that brings about the mythical issues of loneliness and belonging. Loneliness, such as that of the man from Lincoman's version of "Treng-Treng...", is a way of conceptualizing the limit between personhood and self: it dangerously approaches whatever is too close, too excessive and that cannot be addressed without consuming the historical attempts to stay in the *campos*, creating *vivientes* and a liveable world.

If Tweo Colditans hold a notion of an inwards, mind/body selfhood concomitant to confusion, is then the *viviente*, as failed personhood, a relational person? Is this self tied to the autonomous individual posited by individualism? As noted in Chapter 2, an author that was confronted with a similar topic amongst Indigenous people from Chile is Magnus Course (2011). He considers that the Mapuche person is "centrifugal", "diffuse" and "incomplete", starting from consanguine bonds but creating "*an expanding network of social relations*" to autonomously self-produce (2, 8-9, 11, 20, 25-6). The Mapuche person would be constituted as unique, both prior and after the relations in which the person engages (109). Indeed, Course has no problem with including autonomy within the Mapuche model of the person, even similar to a Western one (190). Course's proposed "diffuse" person does not carry the difference between society and individual, warned by Strathern. The self as an open entity has certainly a self-reproduced autonomy, an inner life, but this does not stand at odds with an equally intense relationality. In this iteration, the singular person is put at play as if in a border with the social, with personhood as such.

Cecilia McCallum makes a similar point (2023). She considers that the relational and the autonomous, the dividual (see Introduction) and the individual, the plural and the singular, are not opposed to each other. Concepts of personhood emerge historically and from agency, and thus different models or values of personhood might coexist with others as "potentials". It follows that strong senses of self and relational productions of people might relate in complex ways, in different manners or levels, when constituting different iterations of personhood. To embrace an autonomous selfhood, as Colditans do, would not necessarily mean that Strathern's "relational person", the pre-social individual, is put into play. So I would not say that Colditan's strong sense of self entails that different, pre-social selves relate to each other from their inwardness. Rather, I argue that the *viviente* is a specific iteration of personhood, along the

partible person, the cumulative person (Introduction), the diffuse person or the modern, individualistic person. But we should also consider that every iteration of personhood questions our own notions of personhood. In the Tweo Colditan case, the question is whether the *viviente* personhood depends on a marked notion of an isolated being, and what this could mean.

As implied, my argument is that the Colditan “I” amounts to an irreducible sameness or lack of differentiation, the “one” filtering into the “two” of autochthony, and that it thus amounts to confusion and to the uncanny, both producing and diluting Colditan personhood and relationality. Thrown into the enviroing world, the *viviente* is put in a bordered/bordering relation to an unstable, dangerous self, namely the inwards of the mind/body person that exceeds the latter and permeates the world. This world is relational, but its relations amount to colliding borders that perpetually move and affect one another, sharing a materiality (Chapter 2). Relationality thus amounts to relations of relations (Lévi-Strauss, 1990), and to persistent mythicized mediations, such as that of the tide (chapters 1, 6). In this sense, everything might potentially relate to everything as it constitutes “one self only” (Chapter 1), including those borders within the person as such. This is especially so because the *viviente* reproduces this bordered/bordering world, its distances and closeness, in attempting to comply with the ideal construct through speech and work, that is, by striving to belong to a *campo*. But being bordered, and producing the effecting between borders, the *viviente*’s distinction from the overall encloement of the world never completely consolidates, and their attempted egomorphism (Chapter 2) is diluted in sameness, lack of differentiation and confusion before emerging again, or diluted altogether. The *vivientes* make these paradoxes recur by means of emplacement, through the mythical suppression of the self, making the uncanny emerge. What is constituted is an unstable present bordered/bordering with a mythicized past and future, a lingering “I”.

The *viviente* as an ideal must fail in order to subsist, which means that their efforts to belong to this haunted territory, and to properly work, will be paradoxical: both in relating to the “one” and to the “two” of autochthony, the *viviente* relates to a mythicized origin that lies within the very self that its being suppressed, and which chiasmatically reproduces the borders that (de)structure Colditan experience. So, in attempting to belong, to really “own” their *campos* and thus themselves through sociality and thus to escape loneliness (Chapter 3), the *viviente* reproduces a world with a concealed, mythicized origin that makes full belonging unattainable: there is a sense that something is amiss, and this sense lies within the *viviente* as an “I”. When the *viviente* is confronted with this origin through *susto*, anxiety, depression, madness, loneliness, witchcraft and so forth, it emerges as pure destruction, as a self that is experienced as sameness, as an excess or completeness that resembles death. But the proper *viviente*, a singular entity that complies with the personhood construct and thus with belonging, and that does not have effects on others because it behaves properly, is too similar to inwardness, to loneliness, to the Chono: the notion of proper *viviente* conceals a person that would not reproduce confusion but be confusion, and that would therefore not relate to anything, only to themselves. At the same time, and regarding relationally as the constitution of persons, autochthony also emerges from it: every border filters the dangers of the self, of the “one”, into the world. In Coldita, relationality, personhood as a matrix of relations, amounts to the dangers of everything meaning everything in unison.

I argue that this Colditan iteration of the human experience entails a theory: that personhood cannot be thought of as if separated from whatever this ungraspable, suppressed self is, as it extends through every possible relation available in the present. Here, the person conceals something uncanny, a recurrence or repetition of sameness and of the impossibility of autochthony, as it both dilutes and emerges from the relational world. This recurrence is reproduced as the person is brought into being in-between, containing and reproducing a self that feeds the impossible mediations of the mythicized, emplaced borders where confusion is reproduced. Certainly, this self cannot be imagined or felt if not from a *viviente* perspective: the “I” does not pre-exist the lived world of confusion. For Colditans, selfhood would not be a fixed thing, but rather an excess that filters through the interstices of the lived world. This excess lingers in the invention of the *antiguos* and the Chono (they are completed, un-relational selves, as they have no bodies), in emplacement and mythification (all of the temporal, such as land property or migration, is symbolically brought into mythical mediations), in shared blood, in fear and anxiety, in the borders of the *campos*, in the tide, and overall within every *viviente*. The *vivientes* actualize this self, a sense of excessive autonomy (isolation), as they engage with the interstices between borders and as they are turned in on their own minds and their ungraspable past. The self is co-constitutive of loneliness, and loneliness is the privileged gate for confronting the dangers of self-belonging, of sameness or lack of differentiation and thus of autochthony. Indeed, the Colditan self can also be considered as a theory of loneliness and belonging.

Being assailed within a co-constitutive, bordered/bordering world, the *viviente* is both unstable and close to being self-completed as it dwells in-between environmental, temporal and social approaching borders. Coming back to Mark Harris’ (2005) formula (Chapter 2), the *viviente* engages in a “*struggle to constitute oneself in time*”, but this constitution conceals the dangers of its resolution. Indeed, if the *viviente* was to be completed then their personhood would merge with the self, as in Marcel Mauss’s famous essay on the Western *personne*: a self both as a discrete “category” for describing individuals and as a moral, indivisible person (1999, 22). This would mean that the Colditan person has succumbed to pure individuality, going from being in a process of dilution to being diluted as such. A new world without borders would emerge: another myth, or maybe history, would make memory and belonging something different. Another kind of person would prevail, relating to this excessive self in another way.

2. Myth, autochthony and death

Lastly, I turn to another question, also presented in the Introduction. In light of Chiloé’s recent history, and of the current state of Tweo Coldita (Introduction, Chapter 4): have Tweo Colditans been modernized against their traditional background, or might notions of *viviente*, confusion and autochthony help us considering this differently? And do Tweo Colditans have a notion of their own, possible death as a community, as a human group?

During the last two centuries, Colditans have experienced many changes: ancient migrations and access to new resources; a long-time engagement with Quellón, with its factories and the companies that owned them; land property, land expropriation and political organization; the sawmills at Blanchard and Puerto Carmen; the progressive dependence on money and

technology; novel productive activities, like timber cutting, machine operation, scuba diving, crab fishing, salmon cage tending and mussel cultivation; the creation of a new settlement, Blanchard, relatively new; and, as neoliberal policies and the aquaculture industry hit the Archipelago, the more recent migrations to Quellón in search for jobs, sometimes keeping a home at Coldita, sometimes abandoning it altogether.

Indeed, Coldita is being abandoned. Close to no young people live there anymore. According to Colditans, the encroachment of the *monte* moves over the lands towards the sea, and the tide is becoming more unpredictable, stagnated and dislocated from the phases of the moon (Chapter 1). Also, the climate is returning to that of a mythicized past, the blurry time of the *antiguos*: as people misbehave in the present, tremors are being felt again, along with extreme heat and unpredictability (Chapter 5). A spirit of loneliness and depression haunts the *campos*, the shores, the *monte*, contaminating the bodies and the minds of lonely *vivientes* (Chapter 1). As *vivientes* disappear from their *campos*, it is as if the world was being consumed by its own unmanaged confusion. My argument has been that Colditans are emplacing and mythicizing current events, instead of considering them external. Indeed, change, migrations and abandonment are not strange to them: they are contained in their transformational models of space and time, and also in the inventive elements of the mythical schema. Therefore, I also argue that contemporary events are not experienced as radically different from what came before, when Colditans were already emplaced in their *campos*. They are not signified through an opposition between tradition and modernity, or at least not mainly, but from the overall instability of the *viviente*. Today, this is achieved through work (a persistent adaptation to the environing world, reproducing it both in Coldita and in the city), through history and the singularity of experience (the recurrence of the *antiguos* climate and behaviour), through autochthony (migrations, the disappearing *campos*, current loneliness and abandonment) and through notions of confusion and of the uncanny (the unleashed spirit of loneliness, the “thing” close to the locomotive).

This takes us back to the notions of change adopted throughout this thesis, especially that of Peter Gow (2001): that native engagement with temporality involves mythological constructs, as myth is deployed from the present to thematize history. I have also resourced to Christina Toren’s notions on personhood and relatedness, namely that persons are not produced from external social impositions but rather microhistorically: persons both create meaning and internalize it at the same time (2018). This is what Colditans are doing, even in the face of extreme change. Both Gow (1991) and Toren (2018) rely on concepts of life. For the former, Piro communities create history through meaningful kinship, reproducing what they consider relations of caring and an overall good life (189, 193-5, 271). For Toren, the production of persons entails autopoiesis, namely the developing of life as a historical process (39). But how does a group of people, relationally constituted according to specific, meaningful constructs of what is being a person, die? It is certainly obvious that a community can be eliminated by murder or other actions, but it is imaginable that it can also be destroyed *through* unbearable changes.

Diane Austin-Broos (2009), in her ethnography among the Arrernte, considered this. For centuries, the Arrernte had been subject to violent transformations, and managed to emplace them. But changes coming from their forced engagement with market society were more difficult to emplace. Here, Austin-Broos introduces the concept of “ontological shift”: a passage

between “two worlds” that occurs when the relational order structuring practices and values is disrupted, making it lose sense: whatever that order had as a “given” is now difficult to recognize. The disruption brings new, unexpected “phenomena” into presence, which must be imbued with novel meaning. In certain cases, this will involve a redefinition of “what it is to be” (Loc. 135-159). Paraphrasing Toren, this would mean that both the continual and transformational meanings, through which persons come to be, are not being confirmed by the shared, relational world anymore, and thus radical inventions must be put at play. These inventions may entail a shift that makes a specific human group unrecognizable for those new “members” who will, eventually, be born while it is happening.

My argument is that the very possibility for an ontological shift lies within the *viviente* as an unstable person that borders with themselves, and thus exists within the lived world of confusion where the uncanny is both kept at bay and left to filter through. In the persistent cancelling out of the environment, in witches, in the mythification of the *antiguos*, in the Chono and in belonging as dangerous autochthony, radical change, and the death of the *viviente*, is always emerging and diluting. Let us return to the first ethnographical image offered by this thesis: that of Felipe Llancahuen standing on the pier, the canal at his back, gazing at his grandfather’s *campo*. As he reflected on leaving or staying, he felt that a spirit of depression, contaminating Coldita and thus his *campo*, was entering his mind and confusing him. He felt anxious and alone. But on another occasion, and having already shared those feelings with me, Felipe told me that he would never depart:

“I will stay here until I die, even if I am left alone. And those who sold their lands will want to return but they will have to stay at the beach with a ranca, and I’m not joking”.

Both in Felipe’s representation of Coldita’s end and in Lincoman’s version of “Tren-Tren...” a lonely man is left to himself. The possibility of deciding to stay, lingering within every *viviente* by means of the invention of the Chono, is also evinced in both images. But while Felipe decides to stay at his *campo* like his *antiguos*, even if alone, the lonely man from the myth is facing a world without *campos*, and could traverse it to find others like him. Felipe excludes the Chono from his own effort: all of those other, irresponsible Colditans who denied their belonging would be left in *ranchas* at the shores, Chono, people without *campos*. Meanwhile, the lonely man might assume his Chono condition and sail away, and later decide where to stay. The images reverse one another: to stay on a *campo* and be consumed, denying relations with others; to migrate and find other places where to dwell, weaving relations with others to live. Nevertheless, both seem to speak about belonging, and being assailed by loneliness.

Within Lincoman’s lonely, wailing man, there is the possibility of being consumed by loneliness, or of sailing across the fractured archipelago and resume a *viviente* life, even if there is always the danger of repeating whatever caused the catastrophe in the first place. Within Felipe, there is the decision of staying in a *campo*, even if alone, to die, while the world consumes itself in utter abandonment: his lonely, imagined presence in a besieged *campo* makes the mythicized world endure in mythical dilution, both mediated and annihilated, just like the tide repeats the mythological catastrophe every day. The mythological man is a Chono, but also a *viviente* in potency; Felipe is a *viviente* but a Chono in potency, as he would be surrounded by *ranchas*, and alone. He would not belong anywhere, because he excludes relations with others, and thus would only be a “self”. Both life and death of the *viviente* coexist in the schema: the possibility

of creating a world from confusion, and the awareness that this unstable world could be diluted in confusion itself. As life is emplaced and mythicized, so is death. Therefore, both in Coldita's version of "Trengr-Trengr" and in Felipe's emplacement and mythification of abandonment, continuity of the lived world of confusion, of the Tweo Coldita community, is never guaranteed: there is a consistent instability impeding to fully trace the unstable present, to ensure that dwelling will go on. Such instability is represented in the possibility of migrating or of staying, of reaching out to opaque others or in being left alone (the Chono within the other, as in Felipe's imagined *ranchas*). That is, in loneliness as a limit where the world is both possible and non-existent, and where confusion, the self, is made: the "*un solo ser*" and the "*tremenda soledad*" emerge (Chapter 1).

Because of this instability, the mythicized and emplaced Colditan world never returns a clear-cut meaning, a fully embraceable sense of its existence: the excess of confusion is always lingering, and the *vivientes* and the world are both alive and death, belonging and not belonging anywhere at the same time. Indeed, emplacing and mythicizing temporal phenomena, as in Felipe's example, both creates a world and dilutes it. As an inventive act, placing phenomena into relational meanings that are mythically informed, and thus connected to whatever is out of view within the lived world, makes everything both visible and precluded, clear and suppressed, controlled and excessive, ontologically unstable and radically shifted. Felipe recurred to the elements of the schema and ensured that Coldita will go on through him, but the loneliness and the Chono at the core of the myth made the paradox of life and death emerge by means of lingering confusion. In this sense, Felipe's imagined world resembles the forgotten one from Lincoman's and Nancy's version: it is in the brink of collapsing, of being flooded by the uncanniness of loneliness, of turning catastrophic, of critically turning to its suppressed origin in unbearable sameness. The mythically forgotten, previous world and the abandoned, mythicized world unstably correspond to one another at a border. At this border, the possibility of "shifts", and the doubt of where this shift will lead the *vivientes*, haunts: it could be life and relationality or death and eternal loneliness. So a notion of death of a mythicized world is not external to Colditans: it lingers in the very possibility of life, of belonging to a *campo* and in autochthony, and it cannot be escaped. The road that this death will take is always unknown, just as the Chono *antiguos* are: it is beyond the imaginable within the confusing borders of the world. It could be that another chance, a new decision to stay, emerges; or rather that everything is consumed, and that whatever Tweo Colditans are ceases to be. This possibility is the very essence of the *viviente*, as they manage to reinvent themselves from the borders within.

Appendixes

1. The Coldita canal and Coldita island from a Blanchard *campo*⁶⁴



2. The dried causeway and the La Mora islet



⁶⁴ All pictures taken by the author of this thesis.

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