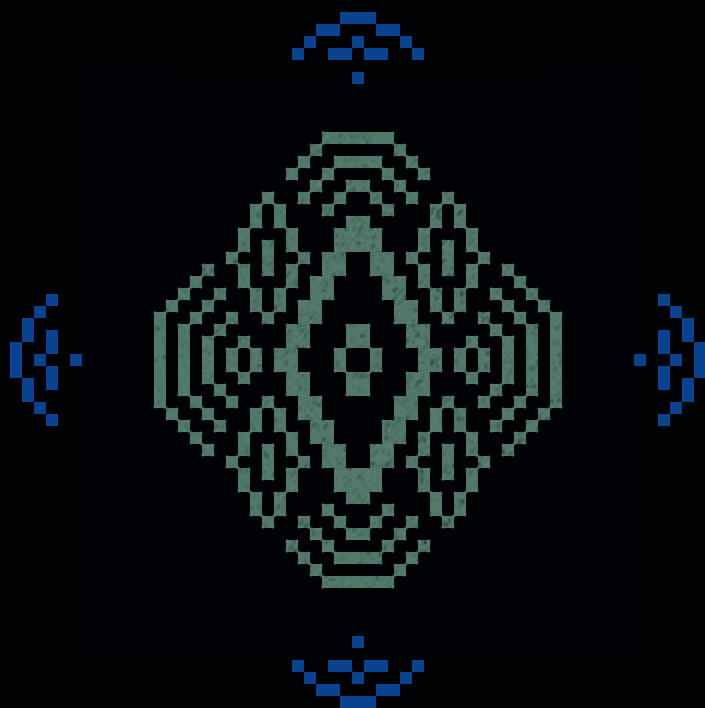


# ACOUSTIC

ACTS *of* MAPUCHE INTERFERENCE



LUIS E. CÁRCAMO-HUECHANTE

# COLONIALISM

## ACOUSTIC COLONIALISM



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To María Clara Lefno Huechante (1905–95)

To Jovita Huechante Lefno (1941–2023)

To the Mapuche People

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## AUTHOR'S NOTE

### *Alphabets for Mapudungun*

The first attempts in Chile to transcribe Mapudungun, the language of the Mapuche People, into writing occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mostly at the hands of Catholic missionaries who happened to have some training or ambitions as linguists (i.e., Félix José de Augusta, Ernesto Wilhelm de Moesbach). Subsequent attempts throughout the twentieth century also deployed non-Indigenous researchers of Mapudungun, who used Mapuche persons and communities as mere “informants.” By the early 2000s, when Mapuche scholars started to play an important role in transliterating their language, there were already more than twenty alphabets or writing grammars for Mapudungun. By the 1990s, the most widely legitimized alphabets among the Mapuche intellectual and political community were the Unified Alphabet and Raguileo Alphabet. Today the Azümcheffe Alphabet is also in wide use due to its creation by the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI, by its acronym in Spanish), the Indigenous affairs office of the State of Chile. In this book, I use the Unified Alphabet due to its accessibility for non-speakers of Mapudungun and the Raguileo Alphabet in cases such as the Mapuche radio show discussed in chapter 4, which had adopted it as their official writing grammar. In other cases where the sources differ from both I stick with the primary sources’ alphabets.

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**UNIFIED ALPHABET** · This alphabet was drafted and approved by the scholarly Sociedad Chilena de Lingüística (SOCHIL) at a congress that took place in May 1986 at the Catholic University of Chile, Temuco. The majority consensus on it held that as a writing grammar it would facilitate the process of language learning and would be more legible for Mapuche and non-Mapuche students of Mapudungun. Mapuche scholars, such as María Catrileo, participated in these deliberations and endorsed the use of this alphabet.

**RAGUILEO ALPHABET** · This writing grammar of Mapudungun was created by independent Mapuche scholar Anselmo Raguileo in 1982. Without giving up the use of the Latin letter and graphic system, his writing grammar favors the generation of graphemes that aim to differentially follow the phonetics of Mapuzugun. Many organizations of the Mapuche movement valued this writing grammar as a political effort to prioritize a practice of Mapuche autonomy in the terrain of language.

TABLE FM.1

| UNIFIED ALPHABET | RAGUILEO ALPHABET | EXAMPLES IN KEY WORDS |           |                                                                  |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A                | A                 |                       |           |                                                                  |
| CH               | C                 | Mapuche               | Mapuce    | People of the Land, or People of the Earth                       |
| D                | Z                 | Mapudungun            | Mapuzugun | Language of the Mapuche/Mapuce                                   |
| E                | E                 |                       |           |                                                                  |
| F                | F                 |                       |           |                                                                  |
| NG               | G                 | Ngulu Mapu            | Gulu Mapu | The Lands of the West (what is today central and southern Chile) |
| J                | J                 |                       |           |                                                                  |
| K                | K                 |                       |           |                                                                  |
| X                |                   |                       |           |                                                                  |



| UNIFIED<br>ALPHABET | RAGUILEO<br>ALPHABET | EXAMPLES IN KEY WORDS |         |                                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>L</b>            | <b>L</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b><u>L</u></b>     | <b>B</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>LL</b>           | <b>J</b>             | Wallmapu              | Wajmapu | The whole Mapuche<br>ancestral territory,<br>including areas<br>of central and<br>southern Argentina<br>and central and<br>southern Chile |
| <b>M</b>            | <b>M</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>N</b>            | <b>N</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b><i>N</i></b>     | <b>H</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Ñ</b>            | <b>Ñ</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>G</b>            | <b>Q</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>O</b>            | <b>O</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>P</b>            | <b>P</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>R</b>            | <b>R</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>S</b>            | <b>S</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>T</b>            | <b>T</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b><i>T</i></b>     |                      |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>TR</b>           | <b>X</b>             | Nütram                | Nvxam   | Conversation, talk                                                                                                                        |
| <b>U</b>            | <b>U</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Ü</b>            | <b>V</b>             | Ül                    | Vl      | Mapuche chant                                                                                                                             |
| <b>W</b>            | <b>W</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Y</b>            | <b>Y</b>             |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>SH</b>           |                      |                       |         |                                                                                                                                           |

Table FM.1 is a comparative table of the graphemes across these two alphabets along with examples of graphemic variations for some of the keywords in Mapudungun/Mapuzugun used throughout this book.

#### ON TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

For transcriptions and some of the translations from Mapudungun/Mapuzugun, I have had the generous collaboration of the following Mapuche fellows: Elisa Avendaño Curaqueo, Margarita Elizabeth Huenchual Millaqueo, Claudia Ingles Hueche, Pablo Andrés Millalen Lepin, and José Alfredo Paillal Huechuqueo.

All translations into English from other languages are mine, unless translation is attributed to others. Besides the assistance of my editors, Anitra Grisales, Nancy Sorkin, and Robert Weiss, for some more translations, Joseph Pierce (Cherokee) has provided important help.

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## MAÑUMTUN / ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Mañumfin ta chi Mapu ñi kimün ka ñi newen. Fentren mañum ta iñ Mapunche kuifikeche ka. Chi Mapu ñi newen kellui ta ñi lifru—küdaw meu. Kellufi ta ñi rakiduam ka ta ñi piuke ñi dewmaiafiel tüfachi wirin.

Fentren mañum ta ñi Huechante Lefno reñma, rumel ta ñi püllü ka ta ñi piuke mew. Ta ñi chuchu (“mami”) María Clara Lefno Huechante yeniefin ta ñi püllü mew. Rumel ta ñi ñuke Jovita Huechante Lefno ñi newen. Mañumün ka ta ñi Huechante pu weku, pu ñukentu, ka pu müna. Mañumün ta ñi reñma ka ta iñ küpalme ñi kúme üy: Weche Antü.

Dewmanentuam tüfachi lifru mülei ta kúme kellu Mapuche, pu peñi ka pu lamngen: Francisco Bascur, Margarita Elizabeth Huenchual Millaqueo, Claudia Ingles Hueche, Pablo Millalen Lepin ka José Paillal Huechuqueo. Ka ta ñi fentren mañum ta chi pu lamngen ka chi pu peñi Clara Antinao Varas, Elisa Avendaño Curaqueo, Ramón Curivil Pailavil, Graciela Huinao, Leonel Lienlaf, Juan Atanacio Meulen Trayanado (1945–2025), Ana Millaleo, Paul Paillafileu ka Elías Paillan Coñoepan.

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Mañumün kom pu peñi, pu lamngen ka pu wenüy. Mañumün ta mün küñiwatun meu, ta mün poyen meu, ka ta mün newen meu.

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Besides expressing gratitude to the Mapu and the Mapuche as I have expressed it in Mapudungun above, as an Indigenous guest in Turtle Island—one of the ancestral names for what is now called “North America”—it is important for me to acknowledge its lands and its peoples who have hosted me here. In central Texas, where Native life has been subject to a hegemonic history of colonial erasure and elimination, I would like to acknowledge these lands as territories of life and movement of several tribes across centuries, such as the Apache, Caddo, Cherokee, Coahuiltecan, Comanche, Karankawa, Lipan, Seminole, and Tonkawa. My knowledge has been enriched and expanded by the conversations that I have had with Native community members in the city of Austin and in central Texas. In this respect, I want to express my deep gratitude to elder Marika Alvarado (Lipan Mescalero), a Medicine Woman—or what we the Mapuche call *Lawentuchefe*—who has always been there for me, to offer guidance and medicinal care. I also want to acknowledge Dr. Mario Garza and Maria Rocha (Miakan-Garza Band), Marina Islas (Lipan Apache), Nan Blassingame (Cheyenne and Arapaho) and Robert Bass (Great Promise for American Indians, Austin), who have also been important hosts for me in the lands of what is today central Texas.

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For the actual writing of *Acoustic Colonialism*, I do not have enough words to express my immense gratitude to Morgan Blue, Anitra Grisales, Nancy Sorkin, and Robert Weis, who helped me as editors of my manuscript at several stages, for a period of almost two years. Anitra, Nancy, and Robert are omnipresent spirits in every line of this book. Thank you!

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## Introduction

*Tralcao is a word with strong resonances. It comes from tralkan, which, in Mapudungun, the language of the Mapuche People, means “thunderstorm.” Located within what is today known as “southern Chile,” Tralcao is the name of the rural community where I grew up and spent my childhood and part of my adolescence before moving to the nearby city of Valdivia in the mid-1970s to attend secondary school. At the time, Tralcao was a Mapuche-Williche community, with few non-Indigenous families. Williche—“People of the South” or “People from the South”—is a branch of the Mapuche (People of the Earth). As was the case in many Williche territories, Catholic evangelization colonized the minds of many community members over centuries. In a long conversation, elder Arturo Navarro Caurepan told me the story of Christian colonization and destruction of what used to be a Lof (Mapuche local territorial unity; interview by author, 2007). By the late nineteenth century, there was a collective fear among the Williche in our region of a potential Chilean military invasion and forced removal, similar to what had occurred to the north in the so-called Pacification Campaign of the Araucanía. Because of this threatening environment, the longko (community head)*

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*from our Huechante kinship requested protection from the Capuchin mission that had settled in Mariquina, an area located some fifteen and a half miles north of Tralcao. The Capuchin priests demanded that the Mapuche abandon “witchcraft” (Mapuche ceremonies), speak only “the language of God” (Spanish), and cede most of the community lands to build the Mission of Pelchuquin. Under these conditions, the whole Lof was dismembered and re-located to what is today Tralcao, undergoing a drastic land reduction along with spiritual, linguistic, and cultural subjugation. Our phonic and linguistic environment was severely altered. As a term rooted in Mapudungun but transmuted through the phonetics of Spanish, the very name Tralcao is simply a linguistic disfigurement of what originally could have been Tralkawe, “place of thunderstorm.” The name honored the very nature of the land where the Huechante, the Panguí, the Lefno, and other Williche kinships dwelled. The twinkling of lightning and the booming of thunder were common during the long, rainy winters of Tralcao, and they remain in my mind as markers of a natural environment sonically alive. Under the effect of the thunderstorms, everything seemed to tremble in Tralcao. Our human voices became tenuous, our portable radio got stuck in a series of screeches. Despite Chilean and Christian colonization, the sounds that prevailed in our environment were always those of the Mapu (land, earth, universe): the thunder, the rain, the wind. For us, they were the enduring sounds of the Fūta Willi Mapu—the Great Lands of the South.*

.....

The phonetic Hispanicization of the very name “Tralcao” is a telling example of what I conceptualize as *acoustic colonialism*. Valdivia, the name of the main settler city near Tralcao, also resonates with colonial history. The Spanish conqueror Pedro de Valdivia (1497–1553) founded the city in 1552 as one of the first urban settlements in Mapuche territories.<sup>1</sup> By the late eighteenth century, Jesuit missionaries founded the Mission of San José in the area the Mapuche knew as *Mariküga*—today, Mariquina—located north of Valdivia and not far from Tralcao.<sup>2</sup> The establishment of this mission aimed to consolidate the enterprise of Christian evangelization that had been set in motion during the previous centuries of Spanish colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> After the establishment of the Chilean nation-state in 1810, this colonial process would continue through

the expansion of Chilean modes of government at the expense of Indigenous lifeways. In 1826, the Valdivia Province was officially instituted and became a privileged place for colonizers to settle, specifically on Williche lands as well as over the coastal territories of the Lafkenche (People of the Coast). By the mid-nineteenth century, occupying Williche lands became an important goal for German settlers, whom Chilean “national” and “provincial” authorities had recruited and sponsored to strengthen their plans of colonization. This process gave settlers access to Native lands, leading to the formation of large country estates (*fundos*) in Mapuche-Williche territories. This settler private-property expansion entailed the removal and displacement of Indigenous communities, usually based on the transfer of lands under “fiscal” jurisdiction.

As this Chilean state-sponsored project of land and culture dispossession gained ground in the Mapuche-Williche and Mapuche-Lafkenche territories Catholic missionaries joined this process. In the 1840s, a new group of Catholic missionaries, the Capuchin, arrived in the region of Mariquina.<sup>4</sup> After consolidating the Mission of San José de la Mariquina in the 1860s, the Capuchins decided to launch the Mission of Pelchuquin on lands that had historically been under the care of the Huechante kinship. Our ancestral territory was dramatically affected by this colonizing process. Our Williche community ended up reduced to what is currently Tralcao.

Being part of a colonized community was an everyday experience during my childhood and early adolescence in Tralcao. It exposed me to the omnipresence of acoustic colonialism resulting from the linguistic, religious, cultural, and geopolitical absorption of our Williche rural community life into the framework of Chilean society. In places like Tralcao, Catholic evangelization by the Capuchin missions had either banned or silenced Mapuche ceremonial and religious practices from public spaces. What Jessica Bissett Perea (Dena’ina) calls “missionary colonialism” (2021) was embedded in the everyday life of our Williche aural and sonic experience.<sup>5</sup> By the 1960s, the sounds of Christian preaching, prayers, and songs dominated Tralcao. The elementary school, a state institution where my studies began, was in the community’s small Catholic chapel. Linguistically and aurally, our community experience was overdetermined by the erasure of Mapudungun and the imposition and naturalization of Spanish. At the school, the compulsory secular rite of singing and listening to the Chilean national anthem every Monday was also critical to the Chilean colonization of our ears as Williche children.



We also became accustomed to hearing the accents of German and other non-Indigenous settlers who owned and managed the country estates that made a colonizing ring around the Tralcao community. This local coexistence between state and religious institutions, along with powerful settler landowners, is illustrative of the alliance that supported Chilean colonialism in most of the Mapuche-Williche territories.

## THE WAVES OF ACOUSTIC COLONIALISM

This book emerges from this Mapuche-Williche story as a personal and communal experience entangled in a colonized setting. My writing is a critical effort to liberate my own subject position from these contradictory colonial knots and moorings. The effort has entailed my involvement in a wide range of Mapuche engagements, from studying Mapudungun to weaving forms of politico-intellectual and cultural initiatives to support the Mapuche land-back movement. This book embodies and embraces a will to be in tune with the voices and sounds that are currently resurging as part of the historical struggle of Ngulu Mapu and, more extensively, Wallmapu—the broader Mapuche territory.

Underlying this personal and collective experience is the concept of colonialism, which I understand as the occupation of an Indigenous territory by the invasive presence and actions of exogenous bodies, agents, forces, relations, structures, and infrastructures. Acoustic and sonic dimensions of colonialism are embedded and interwoven in its material, discursive, and symbolic deployment. At the intersection of colonizing and colonized societies, the realm of sound always becomes an arena of movement—of fluidity as well as of tension and clash. Neither neutral nor isolated, sound is a relational phenomenon entangled in webs of power. It shapes the identity and collective sense of life in a place, territory, and space.

Within this framework, *acoustic colonialism* can be characterized as a regime of massive, iterative, and invasive linguistic, ambient, social, and technological mechanisms that alter and disrupt the lifeways of a Native territory. My theorization of acoustic colonialism and its related concepts—the colonial ear, Indigenous/Mapuche interferences, and aural and sonic autonomy—emerges from multiple dialogues and reflections. As soon as I became interested in working on questions of sound and indigeneity, I had to figure out how to situate them in connection to the

historical issue of colonialism, since it was a cardinal aspect in my Williche experience as well as in the Mapuche critical discussions I have been involved with since the late 1990s.

Undoubtedly, Mapuche anticolonial critique of the Chilean and Argentine nation-states as oppressive settler powers has been influential in my work. The publication of the book *¡ . . . Escucha, winka . . . ! Cuatro ensayos sobre historia nacional Mapuche y un epílogo sobre el futuro* in 2006 by Mapuche authors Pablo Mariman Quemenado, Sergio Caniuqueo, José Millalen Paillal, and Rodrigo Levil Chicahual marked an important inflection in this process. In 2009, I contributed to the foundation of the Comunidad de Historia Mapuche (CHM), a collective of Mapuche researchers that aimed to rethink historically and theoretically the issue of colonialism as a nodal dimension in the relationship between the Chilean nation-state and the Mapuche People.<sup>6</sup> Engaging in these collective dialogues has enriched my critical formulations on the aural and sonic edges of colonialism.<sup>7</sup>

In a more classical venue, the writings of Frantz Fanon on the role that radio played in the Algeria of the 1940s and 1950s have nurtured my elaborations on voice, sound, and audibility as entangled in political, racial, and cultural clashes between colonizing and colonized forces. In the collection of essays *L'an cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne* (1959), published in English as *A Dying Colonialism*, Fanon discusses how the radiophonic medium was a tool of French “colonial domination,” especially in the 1940s. He also explores how radio became an influential site for the connectivity and dissemination of the voices of an anticolonial movement of “liberation” from the first transmission of *Voice of Algeria* in 1956 ([1959] 1967, 69–97). Traversed by my own historical sense of Wallmapu as a territory colonized and occupied by Creole nation-states, these dialogues, readings, and concrete experiences have led me to intertwine my inquiries on sound and indigeneity with theorizations on settler colonialism and critiques of settler-state formations (Speed 2017).<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, recent works on sound, listening, and acoustics rooted in Indigenous knowledge-based modes of analysis and radical critiques of oppressive colonial, racial, class, and gender systems have also enriched my critique of acoustic colonialism. In this vein, it is worth mentioning the works of some Native scholars from what is today known as “North America,” such as Jessica Bissett Perea (Dena’ina), Trevor Reed (Hopi), and Dylan Robinson (Stó:lo), who have made significant contributions to the emergence of a current of Indigenous anticolonial

thought in sound studies (Perea 2021; T. G. Reed 2019; Robinson 2020). Indigeneity, race, sound, and power relations have been addressed in multiple ways by several non-Indigenous scholars such as Alejandra Bronfman, Tina Campt, Licia Fiol-Matta, Ana María Ochoa Gautier, Anthony Reed, and Jennifer Lynn Stoevers, who are also relevant interlocutors throughout *Acoustic Colonialism* (Bronfman 2016; Campt 2017; Fiol-Matta 2017; Ochoa Gautier 2014; A. Reed 2021; Stoevers 2016).<sup>9</sup>

With these points of reference in mind, I position the category of colonialism as a concrete sensorial, experiential, and historical notion. Recentering the discussion of colonialism in these terms allows me to situate my reflection within the context of Wallmapu as an occupied territory, and, accordingly, weave anticolonial or decolonizing aural and sonic politics and poetics of Indigenous autonomy and resistance. Within this plot of power relations, acoustic colonialism manifests in several terrains. Undoubtedly, sonic and aural environments are defined by what we hear or listen to and by the sounds that permeate our everyday lives within a territory, a community, or at home. In this sense, acoustic colonialism occurs first through the deployment of sociolinguistic dominance, marginalization, or exclusion of native languages; or, more radically, through their erasure or elimination. The latter is what some scholars define as “linguicide.”<sup>10</sup> Linguistic colonization, undoubtedly, constitutes a critical aspect of acoustic colonial regimes. Second, media systems and related technologies of representation and communication shape the form and content of acoustic ecologies, becoming key agents in the gears and infrastructure of colonial domination. Third, the technological and infrastructural apparatuses of colonizing powers also are key to the deployment of acoustic colonialism. The noise of industrial machinery, airports, hydroelectric plants, forestry machines, and cargo trucks as well as the weaponry of state police have all become invasive agents that occupy the sonic, visual, and perceptual environment of Mapuche life.

The aural and sonic dimensions of language are thus crucial to the fabric of colonial powers. Settler nation-states have marginalized Native languages to impose, officialize, and naturalize the colonizing language as part of their *modus operandi*. This has historically affected Mapudungun, the Mapuche language that inhabited “acoustic space” (Schafer [1977] 1994, 271) long before the arrival of the noisy linguistic, cultural, social, and political machinery of settler nation-states. Its decline among

younger generations of Mapuche has worsened the marginalization of the native language. The Mapuche linguist María Catrileo notes that, even though Mapudungun has survived across time, “according to research conducted by public and private organizations, the number of speakers is decreasing” (Catrileo 2010, 40). Linguist Fernando Zúñiga affirms that “Chilean Spanish dominates private and public spaces; Mapudungun is an unknown language for most of the population. Few speak it, and English takes over more and more spaces, especially virtual spaces, even though not many people understand it and very few people speak it” (2006, 48). Due to its naturalization as the hegemonic language, Spanish, with its inherent marginalization of Mapudungun and other Indigenous Peoples’ languages, dominates the country’s sonic environment. Linguistic and discursive colonization fractures and permeates many Mapuche ears and speaking bodies, as media outlets, social institutions, and technological forces constantly deploy the sounds of Spanish throughout Native environments. In this complex web of acoustic colonialism, dominance and hegemony take shape through the spread of the settler language, along with the deployment of economic, social, cultural, technological, and media agents over Mapuche territories.

Considering this historical context, I examine the role of sound in Chilean and Mapuche cultural production over the last two centuries, both as a site of racial, patriarchal, and colonial hegemony and as a space of Indigenous interference and agency against the invasive waves of acoustic colonialism. From the mid-nineteenth century to the late twentieth, Chilean literature, radio, and film had a historic role in disseminating distorted visual and sonic representations of the Mapuche. The enduring mediating effects of what I refer to as the *colonial ear*—the entry point for these misrepresentations—reflect the racial, political, cultural, and historic logic of Chile’s settler nation-state. In response and resistance to these aural and sonorous figurations of the Mapuche in Chilean settler literature and media, contemporary Mapuche writers, artists, and activists have produced literary texts, radio programs, and audiovisual media of their own. The voices, sounds, and discourses of this Mapuche production constitute alternative sonic registers and testimonials that embody forms of contestation to and enduring the acoustic colonialism that has long dominated the soundscape of *Ngulu Mapu*—or “Lands of the West”—a territory designated in present-day cartography as central and southern “Chile.”

From the very beginning, auditory and sonic effects have been woven into colonial violence in the southern regions of the continent that was named the “Americas.”<sup>11</sup> North of Mapuche territory, in the Andean highlands of Tawantisuyu, the Indigenous ear was first exposed to these effects when the Spaniards arrived in the sixteenth century. In *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), the Quechua writer Guaman Poma de Ayala describes the arrival of conquistador Francisco Pizarro and his men in Cajamarca, in the highlands of the Tawantisuyu, on November 16, 1532, like this:

Hernando Pizarro y Sebastián de Balcázar [Benalcázar]; de como estuvo el dicho Atagualpa Inga en los baños allá fueron estos dos dichos caballeros encima de dos caballos muy furiosos, enjaezados y armados, y llevaban muchos cascabeles y penachos, y los dichos caballeros armados empuntan [de punta en] blanco comenzaron a apretar las piernas, corrieron muy furiamemente, que fue deshaciéndose, y llevaban mucho ruido de cascabeles; dicen que aquello le espantó al Inga y a los Indios que estaban en los dichos baños de Cajamarca, y como vido nunca vista con el espanto cayó en tierra el dicho Atagualpa Inga de encima de las andas, como corrió para ellos, y toda su gente quedaron espantados, asombrados, cada uno se echaron a huir porque tan gran animal corría, y encima unos hombres nunca vista; de aquella manera andaban turbados. (Poma de Ayala [1615] 1980, 291–93)

Atahualpa Inca was at the baths close to Caxamarca when Hernando Pizarro, the general's brother, Hernando de Soto, and Sebastián Benalcázar rode out to visit him on their prancing horses. They were in full armor, magnificently mounted, with plumed helmets and jingling bells. With the pressure of their thighs, they caused their horses to curvet in front of the Indians and soon made a sudden charge toward the imperial party. The sound of bells and the hoof-beats produced utmost consternation. The Inca's bearers fled in terror at the sight of the huge animals and riders careering toward them and the Inca himself fell to the ground from the litter on which he had been sitting. (Poma de Ayala 1978, 108)

Notably, in this account, as Guaman Poma describes it, “the sound of bells [*el ruido de cascabeles*] and the hoof-beats produced utmost consternation” among the Inca and the Natives. In the Quechua language, *mancharikuy* means “to feel scared or afraid of something.” The term could well describe the feeling of Atahualpa and the Quechua people at the time. A related Quechua concept that might also describe this feeling is *ayqichiy*, meaning “to frighten off, to make run away” (Laime Ajacopa 2007, 64). The exposure of Natives’ ears to the noise (*ruido*) of the Spanish cavalry triggered the experience of *mancharikuy*. This feeling of terror (*espanto*) from the invasive noise reveals the auditory and sensorial trauma that the colonial encounter provoked in the inhabitants of Tawantisuyu. Undoubtedly, the sonic dimensions of the Spanish army’s movement had a traumatic effect. Across time, this pattern would be reiterated in many Indigenous settings.

To the south of Tawantisuyu lies another region that appears on colonial maps as the territory inhabited and controlled by the Mapuche, the region that *criollo* (Creole) settlers came to designate, delineate, and represent as “Chile” and “Argentina.”<sup>12</sup> Beginning in the late twentieth century, Mapuche organizations and movement leaders have reclaimed this territory as Wallmapu, a land that was free and borderless prior to the establishment of the settler nation-states. In his contribution to *Escucha, winka . . . !*, Mapuche historian Pablo Mariman Quemenado claims that prior to settlement in the latter half of the twentieth century, “the territories disputed by the states” of Argentina and Chile had formed part of the vast independent space of the Mapuche people. Mariman Quemenado states, “This [region] was never Chilean or Argentine. We call this the Wallmapu, the Mapuche Country” (2006, 53). Similarly, historian and activist José Millalen Paillal argues that the Mapuche inhabited a vast territory prior to the arrival of the Spaniards: “It is well known that from the early sixteenth century, the groups that make up the Mapuche culture had settled in the vast territorial space that extends from the Limarí River in the north to the large island of Chilwe (Chiloé) in the south, from the west of the Andes and the eastern slopes of the cordillera, to the northern and central areas of Newken province, and to the south of the current providence of Mendoza, Argentina” (2006, 19).

The Mapuche considered the “western slope” toward the Pacific Ocean, that is, the regions eventually claimed by the Chilean nation-state, to form part of Ngulu Mapu (Lands of the West). They referred to the lands from the eastern slopes of the Andes to the Atlantic Ocean,

the region later claimed by the Argentine nation-state, as Puel Mapu or “Lands of the East” (Millalen Paillal 2006, 36–37). Sixteenth-century Spanish colonial agents endeavored “to discover, conquer and populate” these Mapuche territories (Valdivia [1545–52] 1970, 52). Between 1535 and 1537, the conquistador Diego de Almagro began this project in earnest; however, it was only with Pedro de Valdivia’s more aggressive invasion in 1540 that the Spaniards attempted to incorporate the Mapuche territory into their newly established Viceroyalty of Chile. When Creole elites founded the “Republic of Chile” in 1810, the Mapuche people still widely controlled Ngulu Mapu, particularly between the Bío-Bío and Tolten Rivers. This posed a challenge for the geopolitical rule of the newly formed Chilean settler state, which then plotted its own colonial agenda.

In line with the history of Mapuche resistance and the stance of the Mapuche movement of the late 1980s, the authors of *j . . . Escucha, winka . . . !* understand the term Wallmapu as a political and historical vindication of the entire Mapuche territory. In Mapudungun, Wallmapu is related to the concept of the universe as a whole. By the late twentieth century, however, Mapuche leaders and organizations began using it to refer to País Mapuche (Mapuche Country), or Nación Mapuche, a semantic shift that has become part of the battle to reclaim the names and representations of territories that had been subsumed by the denominations “Chile” and “Argentina.” In *j . . . Escucha, winka . . . !* Mariman Quemenado inserts two hand-drawn maps (see figures I.1 and I.2) to graphically and figuratively represent Wallmapu (2006, 60, 77).

Mariman Quemenado’s first hand-drawn map covers a whole page.<sup>13</sup> Visually, Puel Mapu (Lands of the East) is placed above, while Gvlu Mapu (Lands of the West) appears below. This first map, titled “Wall Mapuche / Nación Mapuche,” features the traces of the Fvxa Mawida (the Great Cordillera). The northern side includes a series of *pewen* (native mountain trees); names of places; visual traces and names that mark the veins of rivers; figures of men on horses or simply standing; a large *ruka* (Native house); inscriptions of several *ñimin* (symbolic Mapuche designs). In differently sized letters, Mariman Quemenado draws the names of the different Wichan Mapu (lands-peoples) who form part of the Wallmapu. The Wichan Mapu are written in capital letters: Nagche, Lafkenche, Wenteché, Pewenche. So are neighboring peoples such as the Tewelche to the south and the Rankvlche and Cadiche to the north in Puel Mapu. In smaller letters, next to local territorial identities, other Wichan Mapu are named: Williche, on the southern ends of Gvlu Mapu





FIGURE 1.1 · Map of “Wall Mapuche Nación Mapuche.” Hand-drawn by Pablo Mariman Quemenado, early 2000s.

and Puel Mapu; and the Pikunche on the northeast, toward Puel Mapu. Then we turn a few pages to get to the second map.

The second map occupies less than half of the page, with the east visually placed on top and the west below. Under the title “Wall Mapu País Mapuche,” it visually depicts the nonhuman lives of Wallmapu, naming, tracing, and drawing mountains, rivers, lakes, different regions, urban settlements and places, some pewen trees on the cordillera, and, notably, several nonhuman animal figures. At the bottom, is the Fuxa Lafken (Pacific Ocean). If we look back at the main text, we read and see a subtitle that marks the broader sense of these cartographic inscriptions: “The Mapuche Political and Territorial Independence” (Mariman Quemenado 2006, 77).

*¡... Escucha, winka ...!* was the first book on the territorial history of “South America” to include such a representation. Previously, all Argentine and Chilean cartography superimposed the geopolitical borders of the Creole nation-states onto Native territory. Provoked by discussions on territoriality at the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas at Universidad de La Frontera in Temuco between 1999 and 2002, Mariman Quemenado drew the maps to visualize what, from a Mapuche perspective, had to look different from the geopolitical figurations of





FIGURE 1.2 · Map of “Wallmapu País Mapuche,” including Wallmapu’s ecosystem. Hand-drawn by Pablo Mariman Quemenado, early 2000s.

“Chile” and “Argentina.” Recalling discussions among Mapuche activists, Mariman Quemenado states, “Toward the end of the 1980s, we started to speak of the *País Mapuche*.” He challenged himself to draw maps that reflected an emancipatory politics of Wallmapu. Mariman Quemenado’s drawings revert to an older version of mapmaking to depict the diverse human and nonhuman land relations that constituted Mapuche life. Borrowing images from different sources and placing them within a Mapuche cartographic narrative, he aimed to represent a territory that “is a world in which all those diversities that are there with us coexist” (Mariman Quemenado, interview by author, 2023).

Mariman Quemenado thus returns to an ancient figurative cartographic representation to challenge the more abstract geometry of the “modern” mapmaking of colonizing, settler nation-states. In representing the heterogeneity of Wallmapu, Mariman Quemenado’s maps capture an ontological, cultural, political, and territorial conception of the greater “País Mapuche.” According to Mariman Quemenado, Wallmapu constituted “an alliance of Wichan Mapu more than a state or a single community” (interview by author, 2023). In my reading, his cartographic drawings also embody a desire to inscribe an important ontological,

ecological, and cultural Mapuche principle, namely, *Itro Fill Mongen*, which refers to the diverse tangible and intangible relationships and multiple lifeforms that inhabit and underlie the ecosystem of Wallmapu. Considering these dimensions, Mariman Quemenado's maps embody a politics and aesthetics of Indigenous Mapping, thus interfering with geo-colonial logics of misrepresentation on ancestral lands.

The contemporary Mapuche movement has embraced the mapping of an "independent" Wallmapu to unsettle the cartography of the Creole nation-states and reestablish the memory of the self-governing territory that occupied the same space as the settler nation-states. To the south, Wallmapu bordered the lands and waters of what today is called "Patagonia." To the north, it bordered the domains of Tawantinsuyu, which generated geopolitical tensions due to the expansive designs of the Inca Empire. In their efforts to delineate the understudied and porous northern frontier of Wallmapu, Millalen Paillal and Mariman Quemenado made use of archival records and Mapuche oral history. While Millalen Paillal locates the Wallmapu-Tawantinsuyu border at the Limarí River, in the contemporary Chilean province of Coquimbo, Mariman Quemenado offers a slightly different rendering of the northern limits of Wallmapu. He suggests that when the Europeans arrived in 1536, the borders of the Mapuche Nation extended from the island of Chiloé to the Copiapó River, which runs through the province known today as Atacama, north of Coquimbo.

These historical accounts concur that the Pikunche (Mapuche of the North) lived in the region between the Copiapó and Limarí Rivers, where they coexisted with the Diaguita people. What is less clear, however, is whether the Mapuche were in full control of the northern territories of Ngulu Mapu up to the Limarí and Copiapó rivers. Native chronicles of Tawantinsuyu claim that by the end of the fifteenth century, Inca expansionism had undermined the territorial sovereignty of the Pikunche and Diaguita, as the Inca Yupanqui's forces penetrated as far as the Maule River region, south of today's Santiago. In his *Comentarios reales* (1609), the Quechua-Spanish chronicler known as "the Inca," Garcilaso de la Vega, recounts military campaigns into the valley called *Chili*.<sup>14</sup> This account included Inca-era expansions into Ngulu Mapu, as well as incursions later carried out by the invading Spaniards (Vega 1966, 445–62). After reducing the province of Copayapú (Copiapó) to his rule, King Inca Yupanqui "sent forward another army of ten thousand men, with all necessary supplies, who were ordered to assist the first

two armies,” undertaking a new expansion that enable them to press “on a further eighty leagues” and annex “the valley of Coquimbu” to their empire (Vega 1966, 447). The Inca forces then moved south to the province they called “Purumauca,” where they met Mapuche resistance. To avoid a prolonged war, the Inca Yupanqui ordered his men to halt their expansionist endeavors. Inca Garcilaso writes, “With these instructions the Incas made an end to their conquests in Chile, strengthened their frontiers, set up boundary marks and fixed the Maule River as the furthest limit of their empire toward the south. They attended to the administration of justice, the royal estates, and the property devoted to the Sun, the special benefits of their vassals. The latter accepted the rule of the Incas, and their privileges, laws, and customs with true affection, and lived under these laws until the Spaniards entered Chile” (Vega 1966, 450).

By the sixteenth century, the once-sovereign territory of the Pikunche that Garcilaso referred to as “the kingdom of Chile,” was subjected to at least partial Inca control. When the Spaniards arrived, it was the Maule River, not the Copiapó River or the Limarí, that marked the northern border of Wallmapu. Although Inca expansionism had altered northern Mapuche territory and weakened the Pikunche community system, the colonizing invasion of the Spaniards met serious resistance. The Spanish army led by Pedro de Valdivia consisted of two hundred men, including Indigenous warriors and servants recruited in Tawantinsuyu. In a letter dated on September 4, 1545, and written in the northern city of La Serena, Valdivia recounts “not having seen between Peru and here any Indian in peace.” He met with “rebels of the *mantenimientos* everywhere” (Valdivia [1545–52] 1970, 37). This resistance was a preamble to what Spanish conquerors encountered in the heart of the Mapuche territory south of the Maule River. There, the Arauco War lasted from the mid-sixteenth century through the seventeenth. To undermine the sovereignty of Ngulu Mapu, the Spaniards established forts and small urban settlements between the Maule River and Chiloé. The Mapuche resisted the expansion of Spanish colonization until the eighteenth century, when after a series of peace summits (*parlamentos*) with Spanish officials, they were finally able to negotiate significant control over their territories.<sup>15</sup>

The formation of the independent republics of “Chile” and “Argentina” led by the Creole elite in the early nineteenth century, however, led to severe regression of Indigenous territorial sovereignty. The “Campaign of Pacification of the Araucanía” in Ngulu Mapu (from 1862 to 1883)

and the “Campaign of the Desert” in Puel Mapu (from 1878 to 1885) were the most intensive state-sponsored efforts to colonize Mapuche lands through war (Mariman Quemenado 2006, 101–13). In some areas, Christian missionization became an expedient added to this process. In Chile, the paradoxically called “Campaign of Pacification” started in 1862 through the Chilean state-sponsored military invasion of Ngulu Mapu, the Mapuche territory. Its launching was led by Colonel Cornelio Saavedra through the invasion of the plains of Angol (Province of Malleco), thus paving the way for the settlement of economic, administrative, and ecclesiastical agents on Mapuche lands; a process of land dispossession that—as a structural or systemic pattern of domination—started by then but continued throughout the past century, and keeps up to this day. At the core of the Chilean colonization enterprise has been what Australian anthropologist Patrick Wolfe has defined as a key component of “settler colonialism,” namely, “access to territory” and subsequent dispossession and occupation of native lands by settlers who, in the end, had “come to stay” (2006, 387–88). During the Pacification Campaign period, settler colonizers—a good number of Chilean Creoles and others coming mostly from Germany—arrived in Ngulu Mapu with a “justification” similar to that of their Anglo settler peers in Aboriginal Australia, namely, “we could use the land better than they [the Natives] could” (Wolfe 2006, 389). Several studies of the period confirm that settler land occupation constituted a cardinal aspect in Wallmapu, as part of the expansive geopolitics of both the Argentine and Chilean states. For the case of Ngulu Mapu, since the Pacification Campaign onward, the aggressive Chilean state occupation of the native territory ranged from forced territorial removal by direct military action to fabrication of the consent of communities under the pressure of a threatening militarized environment or through fraudulent paperwork in notarial offices or the subterfuges of the gelatinous Chilean law (Correa Cabrera, 2021).

Added to this, a recent study by Mapuche historian Pablo Mariman Quemenado highlights another strategic dimension of colonialism peculiar to the nineteenth-century Mapuche experience. He demonstrates that, besides the question of the “native land,” the livestock wealth of many Mapuche communities triggered colonial greed over the territories of Ngulu Mapu and Puel Mapu. Before, and even during, the period of the Chilean and Argentine colonial invasions, ownership of a significant amount of livestock—*kullliñ*, in Mapudungun—formed the base of Mapuche people’s wealth.<sup>16</sup> Chilean settler colonization indeed entailed

not only the settler occupation and reduction of our territories but, as an important historical trait of colonialism in the Mapuche context, the appropriation or theft of cattle and other goods from economically prosperous communities at the time (Mariman Quemenado 2023). Evidently, theft of livestock from the Mapuche was an attractive path of fast capital accumulation for the colonizers, and, from the colonized perspective, the beginning of the sad history of economic weakening and progressive impoverishment of Mapuche communities. Thus, both key correlated factors, colonial possession of Indigenous lands and appropriation of Mapuche livestock wealth were certainly at the core of the tangled power relations incubated under Chilean colonialism—an invasive colonial deployment that, besides geopolitical, economic, racial, and cultural domination, would also imply a fundamental alteration of the acoustic ecology of Ngulu Mapu.

#### ACOUSTIC COLONIALISM AS TRAUMA AND BATTLEGROUND

Historical attempts to occupy Mapuche territory have entailed the disruption of its sonic environment. The colonial invasion of Tawantinsuyu put ears and bodies into a state of fear: The noise of the Spanish army “scared the Inca and the Indians” (*espantó al Inga y a los Indios*) (Poma de Ayala [1615] 1980, 108). Then the colonial machinery of sound and terror that Ngulu Mapu had endured during the centuries of Spanish colonialism became the genocidal “Campaign of Pacification” of the nineteenth century. The Chilean military invasion entailed a collective shock, as illustrated in several passages of *Crónica de la Araucanía* by Creole army official Horacio Lara, a protagonist in the Chilean colonizing enterprise during the 1880s.<sup>17</sup> Lara writes,

El 2 de diciembre llegaba el coronel Saavedra con su division a Angol, i desde su campamento tomaba todas las medidas que estimaba prudentes para calmar la susceptibilidad de los indios alarmados con la presencia de tropas en su territorio. Era verdaderamente penoso presenciar los llantos i exclamaciones de dolor de las mujeres araucanas al ver que se instalaban nuestros soldados en sus posesiones de donde huian despavoridas a los bosques con sus hijos. (Lara 1889, 265)

Colonel Saavedra arrived in Angol with his division on December 2 and took the measures he judged prudent to calm the Indians, who were alarmed by the presence of troops in their territory. It was truly painful to witness the Araucana women's weeping and exclamations of sorrow as our soldiers seized their lands from which they fled in terror to the forests with their children.

This passage evokes the emotional, physical, and acoustic trauma that Native people faced during the Spaniards' colonial invasion. Three centuries after the 1532 events in Cajamarca, and in the context of the Chilean nation-state capitalist expansion, Lara's narrative recounts a similar deployment of colonial violence in Ngulu Mapu, with "alarmed" Indians and Mapuche women who "fled in terror." Even today we witness this type of "state terrorism" against Mapuche resistance in Ngulu Mapu, a deployment of colonial state violence that began with the Chilean military invasion of our territories in the mid- and late nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Lara's reference to the Mapuche women's "weeping and exclamations of sorrow" highlights a traumatic sonic environment, with colonized bodies once again frightened and in tears.

In Lara's chronicle, an acoustic settler logic imbues the terrain of language. His reference to Mapuche women as "Araucanas" reiterates a rhetoric of denomination and representation. Historically, the Mapuche became known as "Araucanians" through the filter of the colonial ear. The Inca Garcilaso uses the term *Araucos* to identify the inhabitants of a region south of the Maule River known to the mestizo Inca writer as "the Province of Arauco" (Vega 1966, 314–15). The Inca's use of this name seems to have coincided with the Spaniards' use of the term. By the mid-sixteenth century, foreigners commonly used the term *Araucos* for the Natives of the lands that contemporary Chilean maps designate as the provinces of Bío-Bío, Arauco, Malleco, and Cautín. Writers in the service of the Spanish Crown consolidated this exogenous labeling.

An antecedent of the use of this lexicon is *La Araucana*, the epic poem written in the 1560s by Spanish scribe Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid, 1533–94). *La Araucana* eulogizes the "Araucanians" as warriors of great "physical" attributes. The settler Chilean state reiterated this Araucanist rhetoric of colonial literature in its written and oral discourse from the early nineteenth century. *La Araucana* became a canonical text in the school system and a frequent reference for Chilean



scholars, writers, educators, and public leaders over the past two hundred years. Generations have been forced to memorize and recite verses from *La Araucana*, which has seeded our auditory imagination with the term *Araucano* to misname the Mapuche. Words such as *araucanos*, *araucanas*, *Arauco*, and *Araucanía* have had long lives in the linguistic ethnogeography of representation and naming in Chile. However, in the late twentieth century, leading Ngulu Mapu Indigenous organizations began to challenge this wording, preferring the self-identificatory term *Mapuche*.

What exactly is the origin of the colonial nomenclature of Arauco? Mapuche linguist María Catrileo has delved into the phonetic and morphological genealogy of *araucanos* and the adjacent concept of *Arauco*. She finds the likely source of the term *Arauco* in the Mapudungun words *rag* (clay) and *ko* (water), the combination of which could be translated as “water among clay” (2010, 23). The clay that colors the tributaries and streams of the Maule River in northern Ngulu Mapu no doubt explains the use of this composite term. Catrileo suggests that through phonetic association in the ears of foreigners the regional use of *Ragko* became *Araucu* among Quechua speakers and *Arauco* to Spanish colonizers. The conversion and assimilation of Indigenous names and terms into phonemes more legible to the ears and vocal repertoire of Spanish speakers was (and remains) a dominant pattern. Along with the technology of writing, the spread of denominations filtered through and formatted by the phonetics of the colonizers’ language increasingly populated the acoustic ecology of Ngulu Mapu.

Since the era of Spanish colonialism, the Mapuche have generated their own filters for naming and representing the settlers. In an October 15, 1550, letter to Charles V recounting incursions into the “Arauco” region, Pedro de Valdivia cited an example from the colonial settlement of Concepción. The Natives, he wrote, “call us *ingas*, and our horses *hueques ingas*, which means ‘sheep of the ingas’” (Valdivia [1545–52] 1970, 157). Over time, the Mapuche identified all foreigners as *wingka* (similar to the phoneme *inga*). According to Mapuche scholar María Catrileo, *wingka* is a generic term referring to the “non-Mapuche person or people” and sometimes can be used in a neutral or even friendly tone for non-Mapuche (2017, 45). The independent Mapuche researcher Martín Alonqueo, however, situates the term within a history of “hatred, rancor, and contempt that arose in the epoch of the discovery [and continues] into the present.” Alonqueo claims that *wingka*, “etymologically,

according to the Mapuche language, means thief, highwayman, invader. It derives from the verb *winkün*, which means to steal and invade by force, entering without authorization” (Alonqueo 1985, 143). Alonqueo offers no evidence of this “etymological” framework, but he does present a sociolinguistic gloss for the Mapuche’s historical association of the settler with a thief, invader, or liar.

The semantic layers of *wingka* performatively resonate in a variety of contemporary speech settings. The title of *Escucha, wingka . . . !* illustrates how the verbal and phonetic field constitutes a space of struggle for what is written, spoken, and heard: a centuries-long battle over language and enunciation. The Native subject—labeled as “araucano” or “indio”—has responded with multiple counter-denominations, including “wingka”! Likewise, that response compels the settlers to open their ears and engage in listening.

#### COLONIAL CONTINUITY, NEOLIBERAL SCENE

In writing this book, I had in mind the history of *wingka* settlements that have affected the Mapuche territory and people from the first Spanish invasion to the establishment of the Chilean and Argentine settler colonial states. This history continues to resonate as an invasive process that alters the acoustic ecology of Wallmapu and suffuses it with non-Indigenous sonic forces, systems, and lifeways. An intricate history of “colonial entanglement” (Dennison 2012) often mediates ways of living, experiencing, and exercising indigeneity in the terrain of sound. As an “acoustic territory” (LaBelle 2010), Wallmapu has been subjected to the dynamism and intricacy of sonic flows. Sound is often porous, not always allowing for well-defined or fixed acoustic boundaries between what is colonizing and what is not. Yet, within the complexities of this entangled soundscape, the Mapuche have managed to forge forms of persistence, self-determination, self-affirmation, and agency.

As part of the ongoing struggles for a “Free Wallmapu,” since the late 1980s many Mapuche leaders and communities actively embraced the principle of autonomy to shape a politics of liberation from the rule of the Chilean nation-state and settler capitalist agents. Mapuche-Lafkenche scholar Héctor Nahuelpan Moreno links autonomy to a Mapudungun-based notion, *kisugunewün*, which has a much longer history in Wallmapu. In his words, this Mapuche concept is “the ability



of an individual or collective self ‘to be in control of itself’ or ‘to govern themselves’” (Nahuelpan Moreno 2013, 10). In the context of Abiyala, Mapuche people have not been alone in embracing this Indigenous horizon of autonomy. For example, since its emergence in Chiapas, southern Mexico in the mid-1990s, the Indigenous Zapatista movement has promoted a politics of autonomy understood as a way “to do things ourselves, with our own resources and our own ideas” (Mora 2017, 6). Such movements have encouraged a transnational discussion on the possibility of restituting Indigenous territorial and communal lifeways outside the jurisdiction and dominion of settler states. In the terrain of sound, a politics of autonomy can also become a critically generative concept.

In what today is called “North America,” or Turtle Island—to use one of its main ancestral denominations—“sovereignty” has been a prevailing category to articulate politics of Native self-determination. Certainly, this notion has troublesome ties to a Western patriarchal sense of central power and authority, be it an emperor, king, or state figure. Trevor Reed (Hopi) problematizes this historical genealogy of the concept, as it “originally referred to the divine authority of European kings” and then, by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it became the recolonizing entity of the “newly formed nation-states” (2019, 511). Based on a critical examination of the concept at play and explicitly questioning what he characterizes as “the human-centered, totalizing sovereignty model of the American settler-state” (2019, 525), Reed redefines questions of authority, peoplehood, and territory to envision a more situated and relational Indigenous sense of sovereignty—or, more specifically, “sonic sovereignty.” He points out that “in Indigenous communities, sovereignty exists within ongoing generative relations, rather than being prescribed by a single, monolithic authority or text” (T. G. Reed 2019, 513). Furthermore, “When humans are de-centered and where sovereignty is not totalized around any one entity, as may be the case for many Indigenous sovereigns, it seems that the role of sonic authority may be all the more important” (T. G. Reed 2019, 525). This is the case, for example, with Indigenous songs meant to resonate in territorial and communal relations, wherein “the creation and performance of Indigenous song should be understood as an act of sovereignty” (T. G. Reed 2019, 526).

This recontextualization of sovereignty, especially in the realm of cultural life, resonates well with the political horizon of *kisugunewün*, or autonomy, as discussed in Wallmapu. Yet Mapuche struggles for

autonomy, particularly through acts of land recovery, have been detached from the shadow of statehood. They have refused colonial mediation, or what political scientist Glen Coulthard (Yellowknives Dene) critiques as the politics of “colonial recognition” (2014, 25–49). Thus, my approach is driven by a Mapuche sense of *kisugunewün* that constitutes an ongoing collective refusal of settler-state subjection or condescension. It is a standpoint critical to the politics of land restoration embraced by many communities in Wallmapu. Definitely less haunted by the specter of “sovereign” authority, autonomy works for a local, territory-based polycephalic society like the Mapuche. The Mapuche never endorsed the idea of a single, central authority, as was the case with other Indigenous societies that became empires, for example. Therefore, present-day attempts to impose state-centric “Indigenous” policies—be they “multicultural,” “intercultural,” or “plurinational”—on Mapuche collective life do not and will not work for us. In the realm of acoustic ecologies, it is strategic to envision a Mapuche politics and poetics of aural autonomy.

Aural autonomy certainly involves a sense of Indigenous emancipation in the terrain of the sonic, or “sound relations,” as conceptualized by Native Alaskan scholar Jessica Bissett Perea (2021). But it also engages the broadest sense of “aurality” (Ochoa Gautier 2014) by addressing liberatory practices of listening and corporeal and territorial reverberations that form the ancestral and present-day sonic environments of Wallmapu, including the multisensorial and polymorphous subjective and intersubjective experiences that constitute it. Aural autonomy is an ongoing dream. It is a Mapuche dream. It is therefore part of the dream of a Free Wallmapu that takes the historical shape of a political and cultural force that invigorates, challenges, and puts in tension the liberatory possibilities as well as the limits of artistic and cultural practices.

With this horizon of aural agency and liberation, and challenging our own entangled colonial histories, I analyze how the Mapuche have used literature, arts, and the media to formulate responses to acoustic colonialism. To contextualize this story, the opening chapters offer an overview of Chilean literary and settler cultural representations of the Mapuche sonic environment. They explore the role of the colonial ear and media in staging acoustic colonialism and its derivative politics of misrepresentation up through the twentieth century. Subsequent chapters analyze Mapuche literary and media interventions that developed in the context of the neoliberal and extractive capitalism of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The invasion and occupation of territory to the detriment of Indigenous people are fundamental to colonialism. This reality intensified further under the economic, political, and cultural regime of neoliberalism that dominated Chile after the “structural adjustment” of the mid-1970s.<sup>19</sup> The collusion of the military dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet and monetarist policymakers dismantled the state-based economy and paved the way for a market-oriented regime that privileged private capital. The effects on Ngulu Mapu were dramatic. According to historian Thomas Klubock, in the 1930s, “state institutions began to invest heavily in pine plantations and to funnel assistance to landowners who cultivated tree plantations” as part of mixed state-private “development” in southern Chile (2014, 122). By then, for governmental agents, Monterey pine was an “alternative to native forests, whose extraordinary heterogeneity render them difficult to log profitably” and this pine species “could be grown cheaply and quickly to supply expanding national and international markets for lumber and paper pulp” (Klubock 2014, 20). Then, in 1974, Pinochet’s military regime enacted Law 701 to promote “the forestation of rural surfaces with exotic monocultures of pine and eucalyptus trees” by subsidizing up to 75 percent of private entrepreneurial investments through tax exemptions and other provisions (Levil Chichaval 2006, 232). In the emerging neoliberal scenario of the late 1970s and subsequent decades, along with eucalyptus, it was the turn for another pine species, *Pinus radiata*. Law 701 marked a strategic turn in this economic path by providing it with the allegedly “legal framework” to solidify aggressive and invasive expansion of the forestry industry in Mapuche territory. Across time, state and corporate investments in artificial forestry have been part of the strengthening of this industry in the lands of Ngulu Mapu, thus expanding the extractive economic pattern that has shaped Chilean capitalism since the nineteenth century.

By the early 2000s, corporate monoculture exceeded two million hectares in the geographical zone that encompassed the areas known in contemporary Chilean geopolitics as the regions of Maule, Arauco, Malleco, Cautín, Los Ríos, and Los Lagos, that is, most of Ngulu Mapu, or what is today “southern Chile.” The expansion of artificial forestry benefited the “economic groups” that rose in the wake of Pinochet’s takeover: capitalist conglomerates driven by short-term profits to supply lumber to foreign markets at the expense of unbridled environmental, social, economic, and cultural degradation in Ngulu Mapu. Traveling southward

from the Maule Region (or northward from Los Lagos Region), the landscape is visually enveloped by artificial forestry along highways, freeways, and local roads: a homogeneity of tones and shapes that oppresses the very *mapu*—the land, the environment as a whole.

Mapuche scholar and artist Francisco Huichaqueo captures this ecological shock in the video *Mencer Ñi Pewma* (Mencer's Dream, 2011). As the voice-over recites,

Robles huachos, laurel solitario, pewen extinguido,  
pinos, pinos, pinos, pinos, pinos, pinos.  
¡Cómo llora el viento anacleto! / ¡Cómo cuentan sus millones!  
Pinos, pinos, pinos, pinos, eucalyptus, eucalyptus, eucalyptus.

Orphan oaks, solitary laurel, pewen extinguished,  
pines, pines, pines, pines, pines, pines.  
How the wind cries anacleto! / How they count their millions!  
Pines, pines, eucalyptus, eucalyptus.<sup>20</sup>

As a companion to the visualization of pine plantations, the elegiac tone of these verses highlights the agony, solitude, and extinction of the native forest's ancestral trees (oak, laurel, and pewen). The first verse constitutes a necrological inscription, an obituary of environmental destruction. It denounces what Mapuche-Tehuelche leader, writer, and intellectual Moira Millán calls *terricidio* (terracing), the “form of destroying life in all its ways” constituting a “continuous aggression against the cosmic order” (2024, 163–64). In Wallmapu, terracing has been historically deployed as the systemic attack against Earth (Mapu) by predatory colonial, capitalist, masculinist, and militaristic state forces and private agents. This ecologically devastating process is made evident by the image of native trees—“Orphan oaks, solitary laurel, pewen extinguished”—that seem to agonize in the face of “the vastness of monocultural forest plantation” (Gómez-Barris 2017, 72). Forest monoculture takes the form of an iteration of “pines” and “eucalyptus,” engendering a landscape characterized by a “sameness of tones.” The green of radiata pine and eucalyptus creates a monochromatic atmosphere that, in the gaze of Huichaqueo's speaker, turns nightmarish and gray, cinematically black-and-white. The exclamation marks in the third verse contrast the tears of the wind with the profits of the forestry industry. While the “wind” figure is a synecdoche for the suffering natural environment, “anacleto” refers to

the Italian Chilean entrepreneur Anacleto Angelini, whose logging company (Celulosa Arauco y Constitución, known as CELCO or ARAUCO) dominates forestry, wood pulp, and engineered lumber industries in the region. Not only is Anacleto Angelini addressed as if he were present, but also, through the sign of interjection, he is called on to listen to and be accountable for the weeping of “the wind.” By using the poetic form of an apostrophe with its exclamation, these verses are directly aimed at “anacleto” as the persona who most symbolizes corporate enrichment at the expense of local communities and the environment in Chile.<sup>21</sup>

Besides benefiting an entrepreneurial elite and exacerbating socioeconomic disparities and precarity in the region (Hofflinger et al. 2021), artificial forestation in the age of neoliberal and extractive capitalism has created the conditions for environmental catastrophe and the destruction of Indigenous lifeways. Studies reveal that the desiccation of soil, deterioration of aquifers, and seasonal water crises now common in Mapuche territory are directly linked to pine radiata and eucalyptus monoculture. Summer droughts are recurrent now in many communities of the Malleco and Araucanía regions. Corporate terracide in Ngulu Mapu has attacked the *mawida* (native forest) and *ko* (water) that are critical to Mapuche subsistence economies, spiritual life, ceremonial practices, and health system. For us, many spiritual protectors and ancestors dwell in the native forest. The native forest’s streams nurture the growth of medicinal plants. And its springs (*menoko*) play a central role in the labor and lives of the Machi, the main Mapuche spiritual and medicinal authorities in communities.

The ecology of Mapuche life is in shock. Huichaqueo’s video poem makes us hear the weeping of one of its vital forces: “¿Cómo llora el viento . . . !” (How the wind cries . . . !). In contemporary Ngulu Mapu, the wind explodes in tears as the melodic murmurs of streams become less and less audible and the subtle sound of burbling springs ceases to exist. With the disappearance of ancestral forests, native birdsong has become harder to hear as well. In addition to the impact of the necro-economics of the forestry industry and its monoculture, as Huichaqueo denounces, Ngulu Mapu has suffered from several hydroelectric dams, built since the 1990s in response to the voracious energy demands of contemporary urban capitalism. National and transnational private capital dominate Chile’s energy-extraction business, which is highly concentrated in mega-corporations such as ENDESA, Colbun, and Aes Gener, corporations that “besides controlling the production of electricity, own

90 percent of water rights” (Colectivo Editorial Mapuexpress 2016, 51). Sponsored by Chilean state policies and agencies, the spread of hydroelectric dams across Ngulu Mapu has led to the corporate seizure of huge tracts of land and led to the forcible removal of large numbers of people and large amounts of water and nonhuman habitats.

Like many other such settler projects on Indigenous lands, the installation of the hydroelectric dams in Ngulu Mapu has been an exercise of colonial violence against what the Mapuche call *Itro Fill Mongen*. This term constitutes a key Mapuche life concept and principle to describe and define the Mapu as an ecosystem of diverse human and nonhuman lives, including its soundscapes. The deployment of hydroelectric dams, the forestry industry, and similar corporate capitalist invasions of Mapuche lands have imposed and fostered monotony over polyphony, paving the way for what I would call an *acousticide*.

## ALLKÜTUN

In Mapudungun, *allkütun* means “to listen attentively, to pay attention to,” according to Mapuche pedagogue Clorinda Antinao Varas (2014, 105). The concept invites an engaged mode of listening. It suggests an attentiveness that places one in a conversation (*nütram*). This relational mode of listening nurtures my approach to literature, media, and their contexts. While the making of sounds and the act of listening are figuratively staged in a literary text, they become much more literal in radio, audiovisual works, performances, and songs. The methodological principle of *allkütun* enables me to actively dialogue with these varied forms of expression. I rely on this aural principle to guide and shape my interpretative analysis, and to help me uncover and interweave the natural, technological, and urban environments that reverberate through the wide range of sonic media I read, watch, and listen to.

Considering the multiplicity of texts, genres, and media discussed in this book, the concept of *allkütun* also helps tune my ears to engage in conversation with a wide range of practices that run from the figurative “listening” of literary texts to the more direct and literal sonic language of a radio show. “Listening attentively” to texts leads not to a literal auditory practice but, rather, to a figurative sense of listening mediated by the graphic and visual omnipresence of writing. Reading takes primarily the shape of an intensively visual act, a concentrated mode of seeing.

However, literary analysis also requires interpreting traces of sound in written texts. In her discussion of listening, aural registers, and voice, music scholar Ana María Ochoa Gautier has highlighted the role that the “spectrality of sound” plays across different modalities of writing and inscription (2014, 7–8). Whether they appear spectrally or more literally through the phonetics of a text, auditory and acoustic dimensions constantly intermingle and reverberate in language and representation. These dimensions of literary language led semiotics-based scholars of the 1970s to coin the term *phonotext*, a notion still strongly attached to textualism.<sup>22</sup> Contemporary literary critics have elaborated important approaches to questions of voice and sound, particularly in written poetry (Masiello 2013; Perloff and Dworkin 2009; Stewart 2002). Other scholars have theorized the public delivery and recitation of poetry, as embodied in the American critic Charles Bernstein’s call for “close listening” (1998). Challenging the boundaries of writing and stressing considerations of listening in literary studies, these contemporary approaches attempt to delve into the sound sphere of poetry and language.

Listening attentively also entails engaging in conversation, collaboration, cross-fertilization, and the principle of reciprocity. Research for this book involved extensive fieldwork, including numerous trips to Ngulu Mapu to conduct archival investigation, dialogues, and oral interviews with writers, audiovisual artists, scholars, radio broadcasters, and other cultural and media activists in the region. Although traditionally associated with the social sciences, the idea of “fieldwork” has become more relevant in the humanities in recent years, amplifying the possibilities of engagement in local and community settings.<sup>23</sup> In my case, as a Mapuche-Williche scholar born and raised in Ngulu Mapu, fieldwork implied a dimension of reconnection; each “research trip” involved the sense of return, renewal, and recommitment to Mapuche cultural and political life. In this process, the practice of allkütun has been essential. It has encouraged me to sharpen my ears and get involved in multiple forms of dialogue with people and with the environment. Within an Indigenous sociocultural framework, “attentive listening” relates to another central notion for the Mapuche: *nütram*, or conversation. My research, then, takes root in these conversations. The methodological practices of allkütun and *nütram* entailed open interview formats but also myriad recorded and unrecorded conversations, planned and unplanned engagements, and collaborations over almost two decades.



At the same time, the practice of “attentive listening” can also lead to troublesome processes that end up serving colonial and oppressive practices and interests. Who exercises *allkütun*? To what end? Discussing the nexus between listening and espionage, French essayist Peter Szendy argues that the deployment of “auditory surveillance” is a key “matter for spies” (2007, 24–25). “Attentive listening” can benefit colonizing agendas when governmental agents, states, empires, or otherwise powerful individuals or interest groups undertake espionage on Indigenous territories to exercise surveillance and counterinsurgency.

A similar critique informs the concept of “hungry listening,” coined by music scholar Dylan Robinson. Robinson came up with this notion in relation to the history of settler arrival in what is today called Canada and how the settlers’ “states of starvation” for food transmuted into “hunger” for gold and, ultimately, for Indigenous lands, knowledges, and cultures. He thus juxtaposes the logics of appropriation, extraction, consumption, assimilationism, and standardization. For Robinson, hungry listening “privileges a recognition of palatable narratives of difference,” while at same time disciplining the ear within Western “standardized features and types.” What interests me is the extractive dimension of Robinson’s “hungry listening,” the settlers’ borderless eagerness “to learn and dig into” Indigenous territories, both materially and symbolically (2020, 48–51). In the Mapuche historical experience, there is a long tradition of avid listeners driven by extraction, domination, and colonization. This tradition includes Christian missionaries who sharpened their ears by learning Native languages, legions of Western scholars who immerse themselves in Indigenous conversations to extract knowledge on behalf of preestablished agendas, and state intelligence agents who similarly sharpen their ears to obtain strategic information from Native linguistic and social codes. As Mapuche scholar Héctor Nahuelpan points out, by the second half of the nineteenth century, an army of Capuchin clergymen arrived in Ngulu Mapu to immerse themselves linguistically and culturally in the Native environment, much as the Jesuits and other Franciscans had done in previous centuries to advance their enterprise of religious and spiritual colonization. Evangelization operated as a sort of *de facto* cultural espionage. Indeed, for Capuchin missionaries a key step in materializing a Christianization process that could touch “the ‘heart’ of Mapuche families and children” was to attain “a diligent understanding of Indigenous social life and knowledge of their language” (Nahuelpan 2016, 76). Undoubtedly, for the success of their colonizing



endeavor, they had to practice devoted forms of attentive listening to effectively learn the Native language and, through it, to capture the nuances of Mapuche lifeways.

When exercised from within a critical and self-reflexive Indigenous framework, however, *allkütun* can and does interfere with the auditory and sonic scripts of colonialism. It also acknowledges the voices, sounds, and conversations that underlie the acoustics of the larger Mapuche and Indigenous movements of resistance and liberation. In this sense, *allkütun* echoes what Robinson calls “critical listening positionalities,” that is, a critical “filter” in the auditory field that leads to “self-reflexive questioning” against oppressive power relations and opens space for “counter normative” and “resurgent listening practices based in forms of Indigenous sensory engagement and ontologies” (2020, 10–11).<sup>24</sup> *Allkütun* underlies and traverses this book as a Mapuche auditory positioning and methodological principle that invites us, constantly and critically, to sharpen our ears and modes of listening as part of an anti-colonial liberation movement in the sensory, perceptual, and historical realms.

In this critical endeavor, *allkütun* has enriched my scholarly journey as an engaged way of listening to literary texts, radio shows, audiovisual works, and musical registers from Ngulu Mapu. Of course, the term *allkütun* has formal semantic equivalencies in other languages and contexts. Indeed, in Spanish, the first meaning assigned to the verb *escuchar* (to listen) is defined as “prestar atención a lo que se oye,” to pay attention to what is heard (Real Academia de la Lengua Española 2001, 964). In Portuguese, *escutar* is similarly characterized as “tornar-se ou estar atento para ouvir; dar ouvidos a”—a definition amplified through a second meaning: “Aplicar o ouvido com atenção para perceber ou ouvir” (Buarque de Holanda Ferreira 1980, 705). In English, the verb *to listen* is also defined in similar terms. To listen is “to hear attentively; pay attention to (a person speaking or some utterance)” (Oxford University Press 2007, 1616). Likewise, in French, the verb *écouter* is defined as “to hear with attention,” thus forming part of the conceptual field associating the human ear with the mind.<sup>25</sup> In his analysis of the terms *écouter*, *ouïr*, and *entendre* within this same semantic field, philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy attributes a higher level of complexity to the last of these verbs, since with *entendre* the act of listening is interwoven with a deeper level of understanding. *Entendre* invokes both the sensorial and the cognitive (Nancy [2002] 2007, 5–6). Each language has its richness and fosters

multiple relationships and conversations. Given Mapudungun's self-definition as language, sound, voice, and territorial expression, allkütun entails a sense of aural attention that directs us uniquely to the environment and, in a deeper ontological and epistemological sense, to the Mapu. Allkütun enlivens the critical, imaginative, and interpretive "ears" of this study, as I engage written, visual, oral, and musical texts, treating them as surfaces and membranes of language permeated by resonant sounds and histories.

Driven by this methodological impulse, this book also historicizes the voices, sounds, and modes of listening that reverberate in language and media. Sound is where the Mapuche linguistic, cultural, racial, gendered, material, and symbolic experiences that exist under, against, and beyond colonialism take shape through form, language, and semantics. The literary, artistic, and cultural productions discussed in this book emerge from the historical formation of Chilean colonial capitalism and the life experiences of Ngulu Mapu as a colonized Indigenous territory. Therefore, history plays a critical role in my analysis of the narratives of both disfigurement and acoustic colonialism in Creole settler literature and media, and of Mapuche interferences. As aptly noted in *j . . . Escucha, winka . . . !*, "the use of history" is a "first step in the process of decolonization, in which what is our own and what is foreign are established as part of a positioning" (Mariman Quemenado et al. 2006, 261). Given the mobility and porousness of what is "our own" and what is "foreign" (wingka) in the sound sphere, historical contextualization helps situate colonial articulations and expressions of indigeneity within the complex web of relationships that undergird Mapuche life. Historicization, therefore, involves methodological as well as political commitment.

## FORMS OF MAPUCHE INTERFERENCE

For the Mapuche, this soundscape is a battleground where they struggle to undermine, disrupt, and rechannel the continuous waves of colonialism. In their long history of creative agency, Mapuche writers, artists, and media producers in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have used sound strategically. They have oscillated between genres and codes rooted in ancestral traditions, on the one hand, and the imaginative use of technologies and forms of representation from non-Indigenous hegemonic cultures, on the other. These Mapuche

creative practices in the sound sphere are hardly the expression of ahistorical “difference” or “otherness,” as settler scholars tend to posit in accordance with their own fictional ideations of indigeneity. Rather, these Mapuche artistic and media practices tend to be situated within contemporary struggles for self-representation and agency that challenge existing power relations in Chilean settler society.

In taking a historically situated, relational approach, my study offers a critical route to the audible appreciation of the multiple strategies that Mapuche writers, artists, and media activists utilize to warp voices and sounds in the performative terrains of literary writing, radio, and music. I approach these strategies as intentional *interference* that disrupts the regime of acoustic colonialism. This interference underscores the possibilities for Mapuche agency in their aesthetic, cultural, political, and media endeavors. In its sonic sense, interference denotes the “disturbance of the transmission or reception of radio waves by extraneous signals or phenomena” (Oxford University Press 2007, 1409). In the domains of language, representation, voices, and sound, the agency of the Mapuche disrupts colonial normalcy. The notion of interference captures the aesthetic, political, and historically rebellious impulse of Indigenous creative works and initiatives.

That said, the very concept of interference suggests its limitations. Although literary, artistic, and media interventions may tease out, annoy, interrogate, and disturb acoustic colonialism, they do not dismantle colonial domination. They do not replace other social and political actions that aim to decolonize and liberate. By considering the creative labor of writers, artists, and media producers within a broader set of oppressive structures and systems, this book seeks to avoid the overinflation of the field of “culture.” Hence, the chapters first examine hegemonic mediations over the sounds of Ngulu Mapu before analyzing Mapuche interference.

Chapter 1 demonstrates how listening, sound, and colonialism became interwoven in Chilean writings around the time of the “Campaign of the Pacification of Araucanía.” It focuses on the brief novel *Mariluán* (1862), by the canonical Chilean author Alberto Blest Gana. My reading of this literary text documents how Blest Gana crafted his portrayal of the Mapuche through the distorting filter of the omnipresent narrator’s colonial ear. I demonstrate how the settler body becomes the perceptual and representational border between Chilean society and Mapuche territory as it exercises a misrepresentation of Native voices and sounds.

Through the mediation of his colonial ear, Blest Gana's narrative prose projects a politics of acoustic disfigurement that will prevail as a way to (mis)represent the Mapuche and Ngulu Mapu in the hegemonic Chilean mediascape.

One hundred years later, acoustic colonialism continues and persists. Nevertheless, between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, mediascapes have changed dramatically. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, writing-based media (literature, newspapers) coexisted with another sonically powerful communication technology, namely, radio. Chapter 2 discusses the radiophonic and musical impersonation of a "Mapuche" by a popular character called *Indio Pije* (Indian Snob). The Chilean comedian and actor Ernesto Ruiz originally staged and voiced the *Indio Pije* on *Residencial La Pichanga*, a *radioteatro de humor* (comic radio show, or comedy radio theater) that started around the mid-1950s and it reached the height of its success on radio in the 1960s and 1970s. *Indio Pije* also appeared as a character in a *revista de historietas* (comic magazine) launched in 1965, edited and written by César Enrique Rossel, the creator and director of *Residencial La Pichanga*. In 1975, Ruiz issued a musical album titled *Qué pasa en la ruca: Show de cumbias* (What's Happening in the Ruca: Cumbia Show), with six cumbia songs performed by the *Indio Pije*. I argue that the supplanting of Indigenous voice and body by these radiophonic, musical, and graphic impersonations of the Mapuche is a continuation of the Chilean colonial politics of mediation and distortion. Together, chapters 1 and 2 offer a critique of the practices of listening and acoustic disfigurement of the Mapuche that underlie acoustic colonialism. Thus, in these opening chapters, my own exercise of *alkütun* as a "critical listening positionality" (Robinson 2020, 2) already constitutes an act of Mapuche interference.

I then turn to examining Mapuche interferences that have made use of different media, writing, radio, and music, to disrupt the prevalence of acoustic colonialism during the era of neoliberal expansion. Language was the starting point of this sonic activism. Ever since the establishment of the Chilean nation-state and the colonization of Ngulu Mapu, the sounds of Mapudungun have produced dissonance in the imposed prevalence of the Spanish language. Mapuche poets of the 1980s used Mapudungun in their creative works to redraw the linguistic ecology of Chilean literature. By making the native language audible in their writing and poetry recitals, authors like Leonel Lienlaf, Elicura Chihuailaf, María Teresa Panchillo, and Lorenzo Aillapan Cayuleo interfered in the

Spanish monolingualism that had long dominated the country's literature. These interventions were not simple exercises in linguistic alterity; the literary and aesthetic use of the Mapuche language signaled an ontological and epistemological turn. The meaning of *Mapudungun*, after all, results from the coupling of the terms *Mapu* (land, territory, earth, and universe) and *dungun* (language, sense, sound, and voice). Mapudungun is the interweaving of language, sound, and voice with the land and the environment. By positioning human and nonhuman voices and spaces as a code of communication and representation, Mapudungun challenges anthropocentric definitions of language. It becomes the language of the land, the earth, and the universe. The use of Mapudungun in literary registers, along with Mapuche political and cultural activism, thus provides a multilayered engagement with the sounds and lives of Ngulu Mapu, a distinctive push against acoustic colonialism.

In this vein, chapter 3 delves into the imaginaries of voice, sound, and listening in the poetry of native speakers who work in both Mapudungun and Spanish. In 1989, Leonel Lienlaf published his first collection of poems, *Se ha despertado el ave de mi corazón*, and in 2003, he followed with a second collection, *Pewma dungu / Palabras soñadas*. The Mapuche nexus of language and territory offers a poetic discourse marked by Spanish and Chilean colonial histories, the vital and symbolic force of dreams (*pu pewma*), and the poetic persona's desire for the emancipatory restitution of the Mapuche chant (*ül*). Also in 2003, Lorenzo Aillapan Cayuleo published *Uñumche*, a poetic portrayal of the native birds. Through the bird-person figure of the *uñumche* and avian onomatopoeias, Aillapan Cayuleo highlights the nonhuman sonorities that constitute the language and music of his territory of origin. Chapter 3 consists of close readings of, and listening to, the poetry of Lienlaf and Aillapan Cayuleo as verbal, vocal, and corporeal arts that map, affirm, and vindicate the tears and dreams of Ngulu Mapu, embodying forms of poetic interference within a violated linguistic and acoustic ecology.

Chapter 4 further explores the role of Mapuche linguistic, musical, and political vocalicity in rebuilding the public audibility of Ngulu Mapu. It examines radio as a platform for an Indigenous interference with the hegemonic waves of acoustic colonialism. I specifically discuss the experience of *Wixage Anai*, a radio program that began broadcasting in June 1993 in Santiago. The program reached audiences throughout Ngulu Mapu and even across the Chile-Argentina colonial border that divides Wallmapu. Produced and directed by Mapuche activists, *Wixage Anai*

alternated between Mapudungun and Spanish. It was a collective, volunteer initiative determined to put the Mapuche people's language, culture, and political struggles on the airwaves. In the postdictatorship setting of the 1990s, *Wixage Anai* engaged with the resurgent movement to recover Mapuche lands. Based on a Mapuche poetics and politics of communication centered on *nütram* and *allkütun*, this use of radio brought linguistic, musical, and cultural endeavors together with political activism and enabled the Mapuche to build public audibility and agency.

Finally, chapter 5 focuses on the music of contemporary Mapuche life. First, I examine the influence of *los Mexicanos*, a type of radio show broadcast prolifically by radio stations of Ngulu Mapu that, with the broad mass impact it sustained from the 1960s onward, connected Mapuche listeners across the rural/urban divide. The chapter also discusses the work of the Mapuche group Wechekeche Ñi Trawün and their creative practice of rap music, a genre that has gained popularity among a sizable cohort of the late twentieth- and early twentieth-century new generation of Mapuche for whom music constitutes, among other things, a political tool. I end this final section of the book with a discussion of the continuity of *ül*, Mapuche chant, focusing on the work of Elisa Avendaño Curaqueo, an *ülkantuchefe* (chanter) who has cultivated the genre and has conducted important research on it. In short, chapter 5 is an exercise in attentive listening to the heterogeneous musicality that shapes the sonic environment of contemporary Mapuche life, in which multiples musical registers overlap as part of an aural and temporal continuum in Ngulu Mapu.

Guided by the Mapuche concept of *allkütun* and a sense of historical engagement, in this book I exercise literal and figurative modes of listening. As a comprehensive approach, "listening attentively" enriches the possibilities of analysis and interpretation of what I define as Mapuche (or Indigenous) *interference*. It is a form of listening that strengthens and interweaves close reading, aural attention, and historical contextualization. My critical journey thus engages with the poetics and the sonorities of texts to delve into their multiple historical and imaginary relationships and resonances.

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## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

- 1 Around 1544, in the name of Spanish conquistador Pedro de Valdivia, his envoy Gerónimo de Alderete “took possession” of what today is this urban center. Pedro de Valdivia named it Santa María la Blanca de Valdivia in 1552. Later, the city became known simply as Valdivia. Before the Spanish colonial settlement, it was an important epicenter of Mapuche-Williche and Mapuche-Lafkenche life around the main river of the area. According to the Spanish chronicler Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, the native name of this place was *Ainil*. This term seems to be Góngora Marmolejo’s Castilianization of the Mapudungun term *añil*, which refers to the black mud formed in the wetlands so common around the rivers of the Fūta Willi Mapu. On Alderete’s expedition in the region and the Spanish arrival in what would become Valdivia, see Góngora Marmolejo [circa 1576] 1862, 224.
- 2 In Mapudungun, *mariküga* means “ten lineages.”
- 3 During the period of Spanish colonialism, as well as prior to the 1840s—that is, during the foundational decades of the Chilean nation-state—Jesuit missionaries played a major role in the religious colonization of Mapuche territories.
- 4 The Capuchin Order is a Catholic order of Franciscan friars. The first Capuchin missionaries arrived in Ngulu Mapu, or what is today known as southern Chile, around 1848. Capuchins were instrumental in establishing Catholic missions in several areas of what is today mapped as the Provinces of Cautín, Valdivia, and Osorno, particularly in Mapuche territories belonging to the Nagche (People of the



Lowlands), Wenteché (People of the Highlands), Lafkenché (People of the Coast), and Williche (People of the South). During the Capuchin missionary era, Tralcao, my Mapuche-Williche community of origin, became part of the radius of influence and control of the Mission of Pelchuquin, symbolically founded in 1860—that is, the same year the Pacification Campaign, the Chilean state-sponsored military invasion of Ngulu Mapu, was launched. On the Capuchin missions in Mapuche territory, see the firsthand account by the Capuchin priest Antonio de Reschio, originally published in Italian in 1890 (Reschio 2018). Mapuche-Lafkenché scholar Héctor Nahuelpan Moreno's doctoral dissertation also offers an insightful account on the role of the Capuchin missions in the colonization of Ngulu Mapu (see Nahuelpan Moreno 2013, 192–216).

- 5 Referring to the Alaska Native Peoples's experience of "missionary colonialism," Jessica Bissett Perea recounts how Quaker missionaries settled in Inuit territory in the early twentieth century. In the case of the Nuurvik community, as soon as the Quaker missionaries arrived there in 1914, they silenced the Inuits' native drumsongs practices. Stigmatizing them as expressions of "primitive idolatry," the missionaries banned Inuit music and dancing in the community (2021, 86). It is interesting to note how colonial logics of missionization operate in a similar way at both ends of the hemisphere.
- 6 Between 2009 and 2015, the Comunidad de Historia Mapuche published two multiauthored books, namely, *Ta ñ fijke xipa rakizua-meluwün: Historia, colonialismo y resistencia desde el país Mapuche* (2012b), and *Awükan ka kuxankan zugu Wajmapu mew: Violencias coloniales en Wajmapu* (2015). These Mapuche authorial interventions reflected our collective aspiration to contribute to what Mapuche researcher Herson Huinca Piutrin, one of the CHM cofounders, conceives of as a critical dimension of "a process of decolonization" in the realm of written intellectual production. According to him, this process necessarily entails that "the Mapuche stop being [mere] objects" of study and exercise "sovereignty over the knowledge and reflection on our diverse society, from within" (Huinca Piutrin 2012, 117).
- 7 In the book *... Escucha, winka ...*!, Pablo Mariman Queménado's chapter on the colonization of Mapuche territories by the Chilean and Argentine states has been extremely relevant in this historical discussion (Mariman Queménado 2006). Also, the multiauthored introduction from our first book as Comunidad de Historia Mapuche was a significant impulse for the contemporary emergence of an anticolonial Mapuche thought (Comunidad de Historia Mapuche 2012a, 11–21).
- 8 In my view, Wolfe's theory of "settler colonialism" cannot be "applied" as the sole analytical angle to account for the heterogeneity of histories, experiences, and forms of colonialism in what is today known



- as “Latin America.” For an excellent discussion on Wolfe’s theory, see Kauanui 2016; Shoemaker 2015.
- 9 Regarding the development of sound studies in Latin America vis-à-vis questions of colonial relations, it is worth mentioning here the work of researcher and artist Mayra Estévez Trujillo. In Quito, Ecuador, in 1996 she became a member of Centro Experimental Oído Salvaje, a sonic art and radio collective. She has published the bilingual book *Estudios sonoros: Desde la región andina / Sonic Studies: From the Andean Region* (2008). See Estévez Trujillo 2008.
  - 10 According to scholar Mark Turin, Ukrainian Canadian linguist Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnyckyj coined the concept of “linguicide” in the 1960s “while exploring the fate of his native Ukrainian under Russian linguistic and political pressure” (1994, 849). Another author, Israel Charny, defines linguicide as “forbidding the use of or other intentional destruction of the language of another people,” constituting “a specific dimension of ethnocide” (1994, 77). More recently, in an article on the status of the Kurdish language in Turkey, scholar Mehmet Şerif Derince relates linguicide to a state politics of “linguistic homogenization,” which would “seek to aggrandize Turkish as the national language at the expense of killing other languages and squeezing the diverse body of its citizenry in a monolingual and mono-cultural straitjacket” (2013, 146). None of these authors links the term to the articulation of colonialism. As discussed in my study, the erasure or elimination of a native language—like the case of Mapudungun in the Mapuche-Williche context—plays a strategic role in the warping of acoustic colonialism and, more broadly speaking, in the establishment of settler powers on an Indigenous territory.
  - 11 In its phonetics and meaning, the very denomination *América*, or the *Americas*, is a telling example of the acoustic and semantic colonization of this continent. In response, Indigenous leaders and scholars have proposed ways to avoid the colonial lexicon and restore Native modes of naming. To replace *América*, the *Americas*, or *Latin America*, one name that has been used is *Abiyala*, a term from the language of the Guna People. See Keme 2018.
  - 12 *Criollo* is the ethnic and racial denomination of people of Hispanic or other European descent who were born in Latin America and became the dominant socio-racial sector under the rule of the post-1800 settler nation-states or republics. In this book, Creole(s) will be used as a translation for *criollo* or *criolla*, and for its plural forms. Criollo, in the context of power relations in Chile and other Latin American societies, is also equivalent to the term *settler*, as understood in settler colonial analytics (Wolfe 2006; 1999).
  - 13 Regarding the names of places and peoples in Mapudungun on Mariman Quemenado’s maps, I refer to them as written by the author. It

seems that Mariman Quemenado's writing alternates between the two most influential grammars for Mapudungun: the Raguileo Alphabet and the Unified Alphabet.

- 14 *Chile*, as written in the Spanish original of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales*.
- 15 According to scholar José Manuel Zabala, the parlamento was a high-level meeting of representatives from the societies in conflict and the "main institution of Spanish-Mapuche negotiation on the frontier." It "emerges towards the end of the XVI century, developing and consolidating during the XVII century and becoming quite complex and formal throughout the XVIII century." He also adds that this type of negotiating summit "was used most broadly during the last quarter of the XVIII century and beginning of the XIX century" (18).
- 16 Mapuche economics of livestock mostly included cattle, equine, and ovine. In Mapudungun, the term *küllliñ* originally referred to the livestock; but over time, because of the new colonial economic exchange system, it became a word for "money."
- 17 Horacio Lara was a Chilean military officer and writer born in the city of Concepción in 1860. In 1887, he became an official in the Chilean army. Lara participated in the last phase of the military invasion of Ngulu Mapu. He published his *Crónica de la Araucanía* in two volumes, in 1888 and 1889. Jorge Pinto Rodríguez argues that Lara—along with Leandro Navarro, another army officer from the same period, and the scholar Tomás Guevara—belongs to the trend of "regional historians" who, unlike other nineteenth-century Chilean historians, do not erase the Mapuche experience from their writings (2003, 246–51).
- 18 For a critical overview of state terrorism in "intercultural" or "multicultural" neoliberal Chile, see Richards 2013, especially her chapter titled "Constructing Neoliberal Multiculturalism in Chile" (101–33).
- 19 On the mid-1970s monetarist policies and market reform of Chile's so-called structural adjustment, see Klein 2007; Moulián 1997; and Valdés 1995. On the cultural and symbolic effects of this process in Chilean society, see Cárcamo-Huechante 2007, 2006.
- 20 Voiced at minute 1:40 of this video. This is my translation of these verses. For a more extensive scholarly analysis of Huichaqueo's short film, see Gómez-Barris 2017, 66–90.
- 21 Here I use the notion of apostrophe in its classical sense, as "a figure of speech in which a thing, a place, an abstract quality, an idea, a dead or absent person, is addressed as if present and capable of understanding" (Cuddon 1998, 51).
- 22 On literary scholarship that brings together "phonemic analysis" and close reading, see Stewart 2002.

- 23 On the status and relevance of “fieldwork” in the humanities, see Castillo and Puri 2016, 1–26.
- 24 In addition to Dylan Robinson’s conceptualization of “critical listening positionalities” (2020, 9–11), we can find similar theorizations on listening as a method in other sound studies works. For example, French critic and filmmaker Michel Chion has coined the concept of “reduced listening” to describe a “listening mode that focuses on the traits of the sound itself” in audiovisual media ([1990] 1994, 29). In musicology and cultural studies, Colombian scholar Ana María Ochoa Gautier has delved into the domain of the aural in the archive and “listening” as “simultaneously a physiological, a sensorial, and interpretive cultural practice” (2014, 25). In a similar vein, Cuban American scholar Alexandra Vazquez has worked on the suggestive methodological notion of “listening in detail” (2013, 17–20). Equally important for my own approach are the elaborations of American studies scholar Jennifer Lynn Stoeber on “the aurality of race and the unspoken power of racialized listening” (2016, 7). Other authors who have elaborated on critical modes of listening are Camp (2017); Eidsheim (2015); Furlong (2018); Kheshti (2015); Marsilli-Vargas (2022); Nancy (2002); Vazquez (2013); and Voegelin (2010).
- 25 Essayist Peter Szendy returns to a classical source, the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* of 1694, where the verb *écouter* is defined as “ouïr avec attention, prester l’oreille pour ouïr” (2007, 24).

## CHAPTER ONE. DISFIGURING AND SILENCING OF THE MAPUCHE IN THE 1860S

- 1 In 1861, Colonel Cornelio Saavedra presented to the Chilean government a plan for the “pacification” of those territories still under Mapuche control, mostly in the Bío-Bío and Araucanía regions. This plan called for erecting a line of fortification around the Malleco River to expand the Chilean state’s geopolitical control from its boundary at the Bío-Bío River. As a result, by 1882 the Chilean state had gained military and administrative control of the Araucanía region.
- 2 Manuel José Olascoaga (1835–1911) was a military man, explorer, writer, painter, and engineer originally from Mendoza, Argentina. Between 1869 and 1871, he joined Colonel Cornelio Saavedra during the campaign of Chilean settler occupation of Ngulu Mapu. In Argentina, Olascoaga joined General Julio Roca in the conception and implementation of the so-called Conquest of the Desert, the military invasion of Puel Mapu.
- 3 As mentioned at the start of this chapter, Olascoaga’s painting is a visual image that has become familiar for Indigenous and non-Indigenous