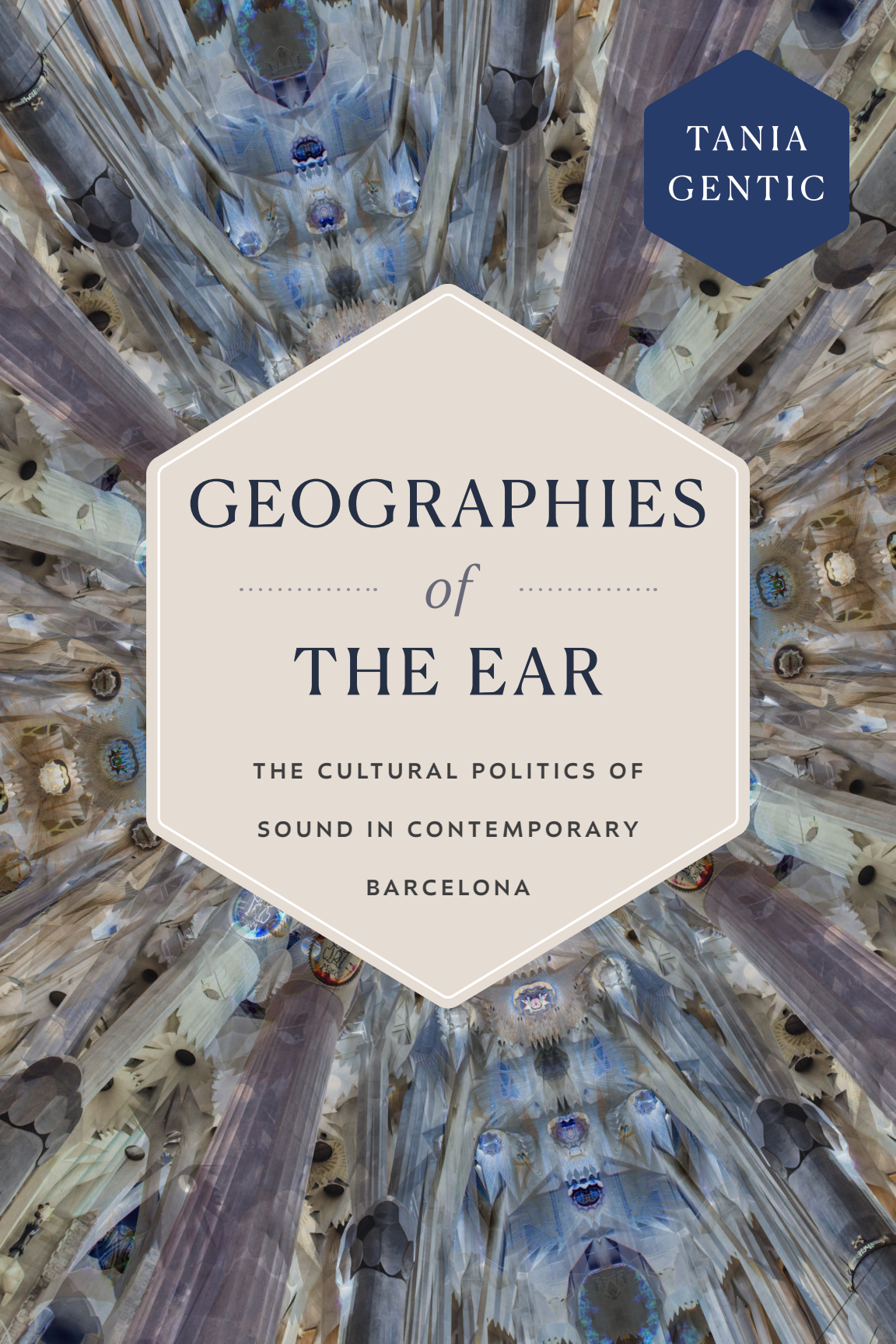

TANIA GENTIC

GEOGRAPHIES *of* THE EAR

THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF SOUND IN CONTEMPORARY BARCELONA

GEOGRAPHIES of the EAR

BUY

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THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF SOUND IN CONTEMPORARY BARCELONA

Tania Gentic

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For Dave, Miriana, and William

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Preface

In 2006 I was in Barcelona for my first extended stay when I came upon a group of men and women dancing the *sardana* in the Plaça de Sant Jaume. I was thrilled; as a graduate student in Hispanic Studies, this was an example of Catalan culture I had been waiting to see. The nineteenth-century poet Joan Maragall had called the *sardana* "la dansa més bella / de totes les danses que es fan i es desfan" (the most beautiful dance / of all that come together and apart), and the travel writer Aurora Bertrana had written that the dance was both highly local and inclusive.[1] In this era before YouTube was the norm, it had not occurred to me to Google it and see what the *sardana* was all about: my knowledge to that point was entirely textual. I was surprised by how slow the music was. Given the passionate descriptions of the dance and imagining it to be somewhat like the Mediterranean folk-dance with which I *was* familiar, the Serbian *kolo*, which I had on occasion danced as a child, I had expected something upbeat. "Yeah," said the Colombian student I was with, who lived in Barcelona at the time. "It's pretty much for old people."

The memory of that moment came to me as I was walking through the Plaça Nova on another trip to Barcelona, in July of 2019. There, another circle had formed, this one made up of tourists with cell phones and selfie sticks from around the world listening to James Brown's "I Feel Good," expertly mixed with hip-hop rhythms, as a group of break dancers and gymnasts performed stunning acrobatic feats. The group, called Street Flow, or Fusión Callejera, was made up of men from Puerto Rico, Brazil, Venezuela, and El Salvador. At the end, they addressed the crowd mainly in English, throwing in the occasional Spanish phrase, as they asked for folks to spare some change in exchange for having enjoyed the show. Afterward, Elvis Crespo's "Suavemente" blared from their speakers. A young woman asked for a picture with the group. "You guys are so good!" she exclaimed in English.

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The scene could have been anywhere in the so-called English-speaking world. After all, I realized, Barcelona, one of the most highly touristed cities on the planet, *is* the English-speaking world, at the same time as it is governed in Catalan and haunted by a history of Spanish dominance. This kind of cosmopolitan soundscape appealing to tourists was not new to the city; if I think back to my first backpacking trip in 1997 I can recall hearing the ubiquitous "El Condor Pasa" played on a pan flute, just as I did in Rome and Paris; this time around the pan flute was a couple of blocks away from Fusión Callejera, on Les Rambles, but it was playing ABBA's "The Winner Takes It All." As visitors continue to crowd the city, though, they are no longer just spectators: in the summer of 2024, the L4 metro car I was on, between Jaume I and Barceloneta, erupted in cheers as Lenny, a tourist from Liverpool who told me afterward he only rapped at home or on TikTok, begged the busker for the mic and engaged in a rap battle with him. Before walking away pretty much empty-handed, the busker, in Spanish, concluded by rhyming that, unlike "mi amigo de Liverpool" (my friend from Liverpool), he also rapped, at times, "en la línea azul" (on the blue line).

These scenes illustrate the way in which our aural imaginaries of a place are often at odds with the day-to-day soundscapes of them. As I contend in this book, these imaginaries are often reinforced by the way in which we continue to hear language as tied to territory or nation, but they are also present in how culture is packaged up and sold to audiences both local and global. When I went to Barcelona in 2006 I had studied a largely Hispanophone concept of Iberia prior to that point, and despite the fact that my doctoral studies had impressed upon me the ways in which Orientalism, colonialism, and globalization had created for Western eyes and ears what would later be called the Global South, the aural imaginary around Catalan as a repressed language still coming into its own held a different kind of appeal. Barcelona is a place shot through by aural imaginaries of national identity that are not unique in the West, though the tensions that arise from political conflicts about how the city should sound, and the varied, daily acoustic realities of the place, may have more resonance for Catalan constructs of national identity than such conflicts do elsewhere. By that I mean that, despite recent claims for Catalan independence, which are based at least in part on economic arguments that suggest the Spanish state is repressive, these are aurally played out through the politics concerning the Catalan language, and whether or not it is supported, promoted, or disseminated by cultural institutions. The linguistic soundscape in this context bleeds into musical culture, questions regarding immigrant

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voices in court systems, and how media is distributed in Spain and around the world.

Now that I have spent more time in the city, the differences between the aural imaginary I had of Barcelona on my first trips and its daily realities seem obvious, even a little banal. Few residents of Barcelona would ascribe homogeneity of any kind to the city, aural or otherwise. But that does not mean the colonizing aural imaginary that emplaces culture through language and sound does not still resonate: it hauntingly returns in encounters with accent, sounds of gentrification, music, and politics, daily specters that, like implicit bias, seem hard, if not impossible, to shake. The same Sunday evening that I was strolling through that cosmopolitan musical soundscape in 2019, protestors were confronting the *mossos d'esquadra* (Catalan police) about the eviction of a family in Sants who had lived in their home for sixteen years; the shouts of neighbors defending them were captured on cell phones and posted to Twitter under the hashtag #AbdelahNoSenVa (AbdelahIsNotLeaving). Later that week, I was meeting with Salvador Picarol, the founder of a free radio station that had never been allowed to obtain a radio license, despite being one of the first to broadcast in Catalan after Franco, but had helped circulate the early punk sound in the city. I was also set to follow an *okupa* (squatter) protest by the "poetically incorrect" group Bio-lentos, who use poetry as a tool of direct action against tourism and gentrification in places like Sants and Gràcia. What ear was I bringing to this place now that I had been thinking about the city for over a decade? Was it a Hispanophone ear, given my studies? An ear informed by my upbringing by two immigrant parents, one a heavily accented native speaker of Serbian who did not learn English until he was in his twenties, the other an English immigrant with a love of proper grammar raised in Toronto? Did it matter that I was not a native speaker of Catalan, though I could usually pass for a native speaker of Spanish (albeit an accented one, generally not from whatever place it was I was speaking)?

In his book *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity*, Joan Ramon Resina writes that foreigners who come to Barcelona often interact with it as a nonplace, in the vein of Marc Augé, obviating in their appreciation of its architecture, or their expectations formed from stories about the city, the day-to-day realities and history of the place.[2] This fascination with new places that is the definition of travel, he suggests, produces a different form of knowledge of a place that, in effect, colonizes the place because the gaze is one of self and other.[3] Certainly, most analyses of travel writing since Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* have recognized that tendency,

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evidenced over centuries in texts as varied as Mungo Park's descriptions of West Africa or Joan Didion's chronicles of El Salvador. But, as Pratt also deftly showed in her seminal text, transculturation works in multiple directions, as observations of places made from afar, or by foreign eyes, often continue to inform how local eyes see their own space. I had grown up in the United States being told, repeatedly, by my parents that we were *not* American. But my ear certainly was. Wasn't it? Or could I overcome that ear through close listening?

Keeping these dynamics in mind, I tried listening through different filters: was Barcelona still the *ciudad nerviosa* (nervous city) Enrique Vila-Matas had described in his *crónicas* via a discussion of his own experiences in Chicago two decades earlier?[4] Was Barcelona the *Ciutat Podrida* (rotten city) it had been called by La Banda Trapera del Río in the 1980s? Could I even pretend to listen in, authoritatively, to a city that was not my own? When I heard Les Rambles as more congested with tourists than on my first visit in 1997, was I hearing the city as it was, or was I hearing my own ear differently? These questions sound rhetorical, but they reflect an auditory self-awareness that has come from years of reading Latin American postcolonial and decolonial theory and which I carry with me even though I am neither from Latin America nor training my ear on it in this book. How could I not hear my own out-of-placeness as I, funded by Georgetown University, silently attended the antigentrification protest of poets who considered themselves *poéticamente incorrectos* (poetically incorrect), staging out of the Ateneu Llibertari de Gràcia one Saturday afternoon and occupying local plazas with music and poetry? They sprayed graffiti on statues and shop fronts saying things like "Tourist go home" and were greeted by shouts, in English, of tourists from balconies yelling at them to stop complaining. Was I the tourist? An ally? A *flâneuse*?[5]

I asked these questions even though I came to this book about Barcelona after years of studying its culture, literature, and politics, and also after many trips made over the course of twenty years. I say this not to defend my analysis, but rather to admit that how and what we hear is always a contingent experience, but it is one in which we participate every single day, often without thinking about it. During one of my travels I realized that I have listened more closely to the soundscapes of certain neighborhoods of Barcelona than I have to those of the Washington, DC region, where I live. I feel—though I am sure any resident would tell you I am wrong—that I know how Gràcia sounds. But I could not tell you a thing about the soundscape of Adams Morgan.

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This backdrop is important to keep in mind, because within the supposition that there exists a native way of listening that can be opposed to a foreign one, there is a shared imaginary of aural coloniality that supposes alterity is at the heart of all cultural encounters. Edward Said said as much in his suggestion that Orientalism was both self-defining for the West, and a definition of the East by the West.[6] As Jonathan Sterne has already explained in his decisive undoing of Walter Ong's notion of the sensorium, when it comes to sound, such modes of hearing alterity merely naturalize an understanding of sound that, by opposing it to vision, is itself ideological.[7] One of the primary determinants of the ideology of sound, I suggest here, are the conceptual geographies that produce the ear as it moves. These geographies—which change over time and through our travels and daily encounters with language, whether we hear them in person or through the media—are the subject of this book.

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Introduction

Echoic Memories of Dispossession

There is a geography to the ear. Hearing is spatial, of course.[1] For his part, Caleb Kelly has argued that, unlike light, sound turns corners, allowing us to experience distant phenomena we cannot see.[2] But the ear—which is not just hearing but a convergence of physical, affective, and ideological practices and discourses—is also imagined, ideologically produced, and carried around with us, sometimes in the cell phone in our pocket or the newspaper in our hand, other times in our memories. As a geography, sound is a function not just of one's daily movements but of the discourses and media that produce the sounds of places as history, culture, and politics.[3] The geography of the ear informs how we know place and how we emplace ourselves—and others—in it.

Barcelona is an illuminating place in which to think through these aural complexities. Culturally and linguistically, Barcelona is both an amalgamation of local identities grounded in its *barris* (neighborhoods), each with its own history and characteristics, and a thriving, modern, globalized metropolis at the crossroads of multiple diagonal geographic relationships that cannot be easily defined as fully occupying North or South.[4] The echo of the transatlantic slave trade is present, albeit overlooked, in the lauded architecture of the city, built financially on the backs of Indigenous people and trafficked Africans put to work in Spain's colonies in the Americas and Africa. Constantly present, too, is the memory of forty years of dictatorship under Francisco Franco, in which the city's native tongue, Catalan, was officially forbidden in public settings although it

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was the everyday language of speech, even on the streets, and produced an entire musical movement of resistance to Franco's dictatorship, the *nova cançó*, prior to his death.[5] For over a century, Barcelona has been theorized by Catalan intellectuals as Mediterranean, in part to resist being included in a Spain that has been considered the south of Europe; for the last two centuries, the Pyrenees have been viewed on and off as a dividing line between Europe and Africa, despite Spain's great imperial wealth. In addition to participating in the colonization of the Americas, then, when it suited their imperialist needs, intellectuals and politicians in Spain, including in Barcelona, embraced their supposed "Africanness" to justify their right to colonial domination in Equatorial Guinea and the Sahara—not to mention an incursion into Morocco—in the early to mid-twentieth century. In fact, most of the colonial enterprise in Equatorial Guinea, which only won its decolonial struggle against Spain in the 1960s, had its business and ecclesiastical center in Barcelona. At the same time, there is a geographical south to Spain, Andalusia, which comes to Barcelona in the form of migration, in ways that, for almost a century, have informed a racialized economic hierarchy between the Catalan bourgeoisie and migrants that spills into a sonic and class difference marked by accent and the bilingual sounds of speakers' non-Catalan languages. Those same migrants, many of whom lived in shantytowns around the city before these were razed to make way for the 1992 Olympic venues, have been both courted by and excluded from a Catalan sense of nationalism, grounded in linguistic identity, which spans—and at times also divides—both working-class and upper-class Catalans.[6]

Since 1975, the defining cultural project of the city has been an aural one: the promotion of the Catalan language, a movement that both responded to Franco's repression of its use in public and was tied to Barcelona's desire to be a modern, European city with its own unique identity.[7] Books and comics aimed at children and adults were printed in Catalan, and television and radio stations consolidated rules for the sound of proper Catalan in guidelines for their broadcasters in an effort to erase Castilian Spanish "barbarisms" from people's speech.[8] As the 1980s wore on, neoliberal planners for the city not only supported an incipient Catalan rock, they ensured that the opening ceremonies for the 1992 Summer Olympics included a musical performance of Catalonia's national folk dance, the *sardana*, and a new song called "Barcelona" that would bring the city's famed Liceu Theater to a global pop ear when their own soprano opera singer Montserrat Caballé performed with Freddie Mercury. Yet at the same time, working-class punks and experimental musicians disillusioned with

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the new democratic system looked to England, Germany, and the United States for musical escape from the Spanish music industry. They reveled in the experimental, nonindustry noise they could make to offend sensibilities associated both with Spain and with the Catalan drive for a European modernity, which they heard as linked to the previous silencing of voice that defined the Franco regime. Occupying FM frequencies with unlicensed free radio stations and taking to nightclubs to create new sound art, they created micro spaces of sonic agency outside the public sphere. Starting in the 1990s, immigrants from the Americas, Africa, and the Middle East (especially Pakistan, Romania, and El Salvador) began coming to the city looking for economic stability, bringing with them multiple new languages, accents, and dialects; 23.6 percent of the city's population today is foreign-born.[9] Since the 1980s, squatters have converted houses and commercial buildings into sites for concerts and demonstrations in order to highlight the city's disregard for the precariousness of its marginalized populations. Combined with all of this, the sounds of tourists in the city's center—up to 15.6 million in 2023—increasingly overwhelm the daily sounds of the 1.7 million who live in the city, especially in the areas around the Gothic quarter, Barceloneta, and the immediate environs of the Sagrada Familia. Throughout the transition to democracy and beyond, then, Barcelona went from being a quiet, somewhat sleepy place to a noisy, polyglot city, with both local music and art culture rooted in specific neighborhoods and the foreign sounds of tourists and migrants resounding in public squares, all while its institutions remained committed to producing a Catalan soundscape through music, literature, and an ever-more-perfect sound of speech.

My argument in this book is that we can hear within these sounds (and particularly the often contradictory aural imaginaries that surround them) the echoic remnants of a now-globalized colonial ear. This ear was forged in the Americas but reproduced in transatlantic dialogue with Europe and Africa, and it resounds in how these sonic practices, often centered on language, are related to what it means to be global or modern, to have a community identity, or even to be a democracy. This may sound counterintuitive at first, but in Barcelona, as elsewhere, today's globalized ears hear today's cultures by processing them through understandings of selfhood, nation, colonialism, and democracy that often hark back to earlier moments of history, including conquest, even if they do so from within local contexts that do not seem to share a direct historical link to the scenes of the past that inform them. Because all types of media have normalized

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and often universalized notions of coloniality, inequity, and human rights, they are at times applied to seemingly incongruous scenarios, which call into question the line between colonialism as a historical production of space and coloniality as a structural, epistemological understanding of subjectivity linked to voice. The ideological structures of (accented) voice that materially produce space are crucial to understanding that relationship, as well as to questioning the theoretical construct of aural coloniality as a territorialized force. By this I mean that the varied relationships between the accented or bilingual sounds of voice, the meanings of language, and the sensed perceptions of music or protest have helped construct a modern(izing) geography of the ear that also emplaces sound in a particular way, often linking contemporary sounds of voice to a monolingual aural imaginary of national identity that, in turn, has its origins in a binary colonial epistemology.[10] As I will show here, sound circulates via what I theorize as an *echoic memory* of the perception and experience of language, music, and voice whose aurality is also grounded in a colonial way of listening. I will explore the concept at length later, but briefly, echoic memories are aural feedback loops that emerge in brief moments of sensation (humor, anger, discomfort, offense) that construct local spaces and identities every day, not just through listeners' daily interactions with sound, but through mediatic portrayals of it. The idea resonates with Jennifer Stoever's concept of listening ears, through which "sounds from the past come to us already listened to; they are mediated through and by raced, gendered, and historicized 'listening ears,' [which are] an embodied cultural process that echoes and shapes one's orientation to power and one's posture toward the world."[11] Still, I am interested in geographically complicating this notion by exploring how linguistic soundings of race, gender, and history, often through how we hear accent or voice, emplace sound—that is, attribute a historical, cultural, or political place to it—even as the tensions between the present material instantiations of sound and the at times untraceable histories of how perceptions circulate through communities often reveal the cultural politics of that emplacement. Because sound is echoic, stretching across memory and history as well as across borders, it can at times carry with it colonizing assumptions about places and peoples that were sounded decades or even centuries before. At the same time, the effects of Barcelona's modernizing project, as well as the global realities of migration, have produced pockets of dispossession around the city whose sounds also reflect an echoic memory of the colonial condition, one that is not discursive but lived. These echoic memories of a colonial aurality are present

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not only in acoustic settings but also in an intermedial cultural production of sound that, as I explore, includes fanzines and comic books, documentary films, popular music recordings, and local concerts, as well as antiglobalization protests and prodemocracy demonstrations, in which sound is spatialized and imagined in contradictory ways. In other words, at stake in this modernizing geography of the ear is what Ana María Ochoa Gautier defines as an aurality that "is not the other of the lettered city but rather a formation and a force that seeps through its crevices demanding the attention of its listeners, sometimes questioning and sometimes upholding, explicitly or implicitly, its very foundations."[12]

As anyone who has followed Spanish politics in recent years will know, the same institutions that have sought to produce a more vibrant Catalan aurality have also often claimed that Catalonia has been colonized by Spain, at least in part because of its language.[13] So strong is this sentiment that, in 2017, Catalonia held a referendum, deemed unconstitutional by the Spanish government, in which 90 percent of the 1 million people who participated (out of a population of 7.5 million) voted to secede from Spain; Catalan government officials, initially charged with sedition, were jailed or went into exile.[14] Still, as Raphael Minder has pointed out, Catalan is hardly fighting for its survival: In 2016, in a population of which 35 percent were born outside the region, 94 percent of residents understood Catalan, and 80 percent could speak it.[15] Wrapped up in this sound of language, then, are opportunities to interrogate how the voice as a democratic construct has become entwined with a colonial ear that has extended, through an aural imaginary of sound, language, and voice, back across the Atlantic today. Nationalist discourses about Catalan oppression by Madrid began to circulate in the late nineteenth century—both as Catalonia was coming into its own as a political, as well as literary, entity and as the Spanish empire was faltering. National celebrations in Catalonia invoke the historical date of September 11, 1714, which commemorates the day Barcelona fell to Bourbon Spain during the War of Spanish Succession. This ushered in the decrees of the Nueva Planta, which for the first time placed Catalonia under the control of a Captaincy General, the same kind of colonial governance structure used in the Americas for border regions; some independentists invoke this history as evidence of Catalonia's oppression by Madrid. When placed in a historical frame of *longue durée*, one which takes into account what Mary Louise Pratt has called a planetary consciousness,[16] however, complaints of Catalonia's colonization seem to ring false as compared to colonial struggles by Indigenous or Black communities in the Americas and Africa. After

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all, the money that drove Catalonia's modernization, allowing it to assert its autonomy from Spain, was derived from the slave trade and the colonial enterprise in the Caribbean, mainly Cuba. But locally, after Franco's death, assertions of colonial rule reflected a more recent lived experience of censorship and repression of identity that lasted for forty years in the confines of an isolated city space. That experience has produced a memory of dispossession that echoes, affectively and narratively, the sense of marginalization and alterity also experienced in Spain's colonial hegemonies across the sea. The government, financial, and media institutions that have pushed hardest for Catalanist modernization so that Spain—but primarily Barcelona itself—can finally be heard as part of Europe have simultaneously produced a capitalist dispossession of precarious migrant populations, which might actually be more consistent with the colonial condition understood in terms of class, race, and identity.

Although Barcelona is not usually described outside Catalonia as colonized in the historical sense, then, my attempt here to think through the disjunctures of sound and language in post-Franco Barcelona is my own way of broadening and complicating a decolonial epistemological critique by addressing the very spaces that have benefited from colonization and today feel its echoes in new ways, especially as migration and tourism radically change the living structures of language and accent, and as discourses of (colonial) oppression become a political staple in some Western societies. As Arturo Escobar has succinctly put it, the modernity/coloniality paradigm that undergirds the decolonial approach derives from "a new spatial and temporal conception of modernity" that rethinks the linearity of the historical paradigm that runs from Greece to Rome to Christianity to modern Europe. Instead, it considers "the foundational role of Spain and Portugal (the so-called first modernity initiated with the Conquest) and its continuation in Northern Europe with the industrial revolution and the Enlightenment (the second modernity, in Dussel's terms)."[17] This approach, as Dussel writes, recognizes that "modernity, colonialism, the world-system, and capitalism were all simultaneous and mutually-constitutive aspects of the same reality,"[18] and they began with the conquest of the Americas. Later scholars, furthermore, extend the concept to argue that the epistemological contours that accompany modernity as an economic structure across the Atlantic world also inform racial categorizations, the notion of rationality as in opposition to affect, and binary codings of gender.[19] As Walter Mignolo suggests, the modern world-system at stake in this understanding is not simply an issue of economic development and change, but

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"a spatial articulation of power."[20] This approach resonates with Fernand Braudel's theorization of the Mediterranean as a nonlinear space that exceeded linguistic, cultural, and national borders, at a time when linguistic identity and emplacement were not as fixed by the nation-state as they are today. In this book, then, I try to listen to Barcelona through aural geographies informed not just by local or European epistemologies but by a transatlantic form of dispossession heard in and through a longer Atlantic frame that recognizes how auralities formed in the colonial conquest echo in other places around the Atlantic world, even those that overlap territorially with the places that originated the modern world-system. Barcelona in particular is a place with a long history of both Mediterranean and Atlantic crossings, material and conceptual, that do not sit easily within any of the frames attributed to it. As José Luis Venegas has argued in his work on Andalusia (a source of migration to Barcelona for decades), for example, "before the Global South, there was the Mediterranean."[21] Although he is not writing about Catalonia per se, Venegas draws attention to the fact that geographical attempts to establish relationships transversally beyond state borders, in particular those like the Global South that seek to produce alternative geographies through a shared notion of periphery in the face of modernity/coloniality, often elide "the contradictions of capital and imperialism" that make it difficult to satisfactorily sustain these concepts once one looks at the granular frame of the local.[22] When one takes into account how aurality sounds within different frames—the Mediterranean, the city, the neighborhood, and the globe (as I do in each of the chapters in this book)—the echoic memories that produce the Atlantic allow us to hear how important geography is to framing the ear. In line with this idea, Catalonia has been embroiled in peninsular relationships, in particular with Madrid and Andalusia, that complicate what it means to be a center, the North, European, or modern. Moreover, the religious frames that often crop up in discussion of Spanish culture take some curious turns. In just one example, as Eric Calderwood has provocatively shown, al-Andalus in particular became a focus for Francoist imperial discourse that, paradoxically, produced contemporary notions of Morocco for Moroccans themselves, while also positing Catholic Spain as spiritually outside Europe and in touch with the wider Mediterranean/Arab world.[23]

Given this complex geography, I am not interested in perpetuating the tired binaries of colonized and colonizer, or their derivatives, which have too often been dehistoricized and misapplied to contemporary situations. Instead, I wish to use Barcelona to think through how the sound of voice,

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and particularly a monolingual aurality tied to notions of nation, produces a daily, spatialized, lived experience of the body in and through place in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The aural frame of the monolingual sound of language as identity informs the nineteenth-century European ideal of the nation, but as I show later, it begins to reverberate with the colonial ear produced across the Atlantic in the time of conquest by hearing language contact as conflict instead of communication. The colonial aurality that echoes into the twentieth century splits the sound of voice, transducing what Roland Barthes called the "grain of the voice" into a sensation that is contrasted to the meaning ascribed to voice as language. As I theorize below, this is a political structure of listening that, over time, normalizes a foreign ear as being unable to hear meaning, and thus treats it as out of place, in order to advocate for, or justify, authority over it. Yet, at the same time, the process takes place in an aural imaginary related to law that transduces the paralinguistic sound of voice into a spatial geography of belonging and exclusion, of borders and imagined contestatory movements, into territories-cum-geographies. This politics of listening produces an epistemological continuity between a colonial geography of the ear and a globalized Barcelona, but it also reaches further back in history than the colonial period to justify its listening practices. Although many times echoic memories harden into stereotypes about the sounds of place, ethnicity, gender, or race, the temporality of the echo as a creation of spatialized sound also disrupts these codings as it creates them. Perceptions of accent, which has its own complicated history in Barcelona and the larger Catalan region, are a key mover of these aural geographies, and one which I focus on throughout the book.[24]

The difference between territory and geography is crucial to this work: If territory refers to the land that is life, to reference scholar of settler colonialism Patrick Wolfe, geography is the imaginary about space that informs how we perceive and produce that land.[25] Moreover, this geographic spatiality is temporalized: As Joan Lafarga i Oriol puts it, geography brings memory to territory.[26] Like all national identities, Catalanism is an identity tied to a constructed geographical memory, be it of the so-called Països Catalans (the regions where Catalan is spoken), an ideal *Catalunya ciutat* (Catalonia city), or Barcelona as a cultural and political center that is at odds with Madrid.[27] And language—be it Catalan, Spanish, English, or otherwise—plays a role not just as a tool of meaning-making or a metaphoric description of experienced sounds but as a sense of geographical subjectivity captured by the ear (often through social conceptions of

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accent, but at times through tone or linguistic difference) that forces the listening subject to locate the contemporary presences or distant origins of sound in voice.[28] This makes echoic memory part of the perceptual coding of space through which we engage in what David Panagia refers to as "the aesthetic-political dimensions of democratic life."[29] Almost always, these codings become conflated with notions of *emplacement*—who belongs and who doesn't, which sounds are local or foreign, and which voices should be present in a space, and which should not.

At the same time, sound can shape knowledge differently through its material resonances. There is always a spatial production involved in the materiality of voice: Listeners are affectively moved by voices, even while, as Alex Chávez asserts, "voicing *takes place*—its material enactment constructs mattering maps that represent the ways social actors move through the world, or desire to do so."[30] The materiality of vocal movement through space thus intertwines sound with bodies, sensations, and the production of place from the local to the global, sometimes at the same time: Anarchist *okupes* (squatter activists) who squat houses or abandoned banks in the Barcelona neighborhood of Gràcia, converting them into sites of poetry readings or concerts, are materially enacting a differently sounded city than is the neoliberal gentrification or consolidation of Catalan media apparatuses for radio and television that define Barcelona's official soundscape after Franco. Yet often these enactments are not territorially separate phenomena. We might consider how the gentrification and investment in tourism has markedly changed the soundscape of Barcelona since the Transition. The Plaça Reial, for example, was once the home of José Pérez Ocaña, whose trans* occupations of the streets with vocal difference signified both migration and queerness.[31] His efforts are now reflected in the name of a restaurant in the plaça called "Ocaña," where his queerness seems mostly to be a marketing tool for selling overpriced drinks and tapas, as the square resounds with noisy laughter and polyglot languages from tourists around the world, many of whom would not know Ocaña's name. The way in which those mattering maps are produced and overlap in the cultural and political soundings that take shape—and are then reshaped—in Barcelona after Franco's death produce the competing geographies of the ear I address here.

The specificity of Barcelona's sound, produced not just by institutional decisions regarding broadcast language or education, but through the scale of the listening act, thus complicates some of the assumptions about geography and sound that have crept into sound studies over the years,

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particularly around the notion of the Global South. Steingo and Sykes, for instance, draw our ear to the binary geography implicated in the recent notion of the Global South, which they summarize thus: "Whether the relationship is dialectical, supplementary, or hybrid, sound and the South are the Others of the visual and the North. And like poles in any binary opposition, 'sound' and 'South' can easily be substituted for multiple 'Other' terms, including 'nature,' 'woman,' 'native,' 'Africa,' 'black,' 'queer,' and 'disabled.'"[32] As Susan Martin-Márquez has argued, however, Spain experiences coloniality in ways that complicate the old binarisms of East and West, colonizer and colonized, related to Edward Said's notion of Orientalism (which, arguably, is also reflected in the geography of the Global South): "Spain is a nation that is at once Orientalized and Orientalizing. . . . For Spaniards, this positioning on both 'sides' of Orientalism—as simultaneously 'self' and 'other'—may bring about a profound sense of 'disorientation.'"[33] For Calderwood, this idea allows us to recognize not only the geographical limitations of Said's project but just how contradictorily Spain's global colonial projects and national identities at home and abroad inform each other.[34] Within Catalonia, this dynamic is complicated further by the relationship between ideology and linguistic sound that emerges out of the end of the imperial period in which Spain and Catalonia both participated; the loss of empire in the Americas and the Philippines by Spain in 1898 provided Catalanists with an opportunity to bring their cause to the center of Spanish political discourse.[35] Soon entwined with the desire to "elevate" spoken Catalan to the status of a lettered language equivalent to Castilian Spanish, the Catalanist project looked both forward and backward, inward and outward, and North and South as it tried to simultaneously resuscitate the lost Caribbean colonial project in Equatorial Guinea and build Barcelona as a modern city.[36] This is the project that is recuperated after Franco's death, although in a way that forgets Catalonia's own participation in colonialism and focuses instead on producing media in Catalan and rebuilding Barcelona in order to recenter the city firmly on the European and global map.

Importantly, as the case of Barcelona illustrates, living in translation, or hearing languages or sounds we do not understand, is a common phenomenon in the Atlantic world (and beyond). As a bilingual—or even, as some scholars now argue, a socially trilingual—space, Barcelona shows us that the monolingual approach to identity and sound is in and of itself a residue of a nineteenth-century construct of nationalism imposed on lettered societies in ways that are inconsistent with the diagonal lived experiences of their communities.[37] We confront unknown, or partially

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known, languages, music, and sounds on a daily basis, whether we recognize it consciously or not; many of them are transculturated from elsewhere in ways that give them local meanings that illustrate the tensions between emplaced sound as an echoic memory and lived experiences of those sounds. As I show in the chapters ahead, the Catalanist ear, in striving to hear Catalan as a modern language, often defined that modernity through processes by which accented pronunciations or foreign languages were objects of derision or, at the very least, heard as being in need of correction. The origins of unknown languages and accents are not always clear to listeners; the geographies of the ear that echoic memories produce fill in the knowledge gaps we face when confronted with linguistic difference. Aural imaginaries of language as sound often suture these subjects and places to each other through ways of hearing accent, music, and noise as local or national, familiar or other, settled or in movement, or at times all of these things at once.

With all of this in mind, some of the motivating questions of this book are: How is sound perceived when it is heard through an ear that does not (fully) understand the language or culture in which the sound is inscribed? How does accent mean, especially when it intersects with questions of racial, national, or gendered identity? What relationship does sound have to the imaginary of place through which we "hear" nationality and identity? How does sound as sensation intersect with cultural and political notions of voice? What role do local music movements or radio transmissions play in reshaping how a place is heard, and vice versa? And if historically the colonial experience can be located in certain territories, how does a colonial aurality travel in the contemporary, globalized period, not just through music or accent but through mediatized notions of voice and dispossession as they relate to community and democracy? With what cultural and political consequences?

ECHOIC MEMORY AND THE SPATIALIZATION OF SOUND

Henri Lefebvre's 1974 *The Production of Space* is instructive for understanding the spatial shaping of sound and place, both as an epistemology and a material practice. That practice is embodied and sensed, which allows us to interrogate sound in terms of the decolonial possibility (and more often than not, impossibility) of knowing otherwise. For Lefebvre, ideology "achieves consistency by intervening in social space and its production, and by thus

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taking on body therein. Ideology per se might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse on social space."[38] But, despite this linkage of ideology to discourse, both participate in a broader production of spatial codes that are "not simply a means of reading or interpreting space; rather [they are] a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it."[39] These coded relationships between representations of space, what he calls representational spaces, and the practices that reproduce ideology through space involve both bodies and discourses. They also imply time. In a present moment of experience, a subject may perceive a space, including a representational space, such as a consecrated place like a church, which grounds social relations through the practices that emerge around it and also through the social discourses in which it is implicated. Yet within that immediate moment of perception the subject is also implicated in the discursive and spatial practices that produce the space ideologically and representationally in history. Consequently, representational space "is essentially qualitative, fluid, and dynamic" and ideology can no longer be separated from knowledge: "knowledge must replace ideology" as one of the tripartite means through which space is produced, the other two being lived practices and perception.[40] Although he does not put it in these terms, if we consider sound as a kind of relational knowledge, as Steven Feld does when he coins the term *acoustemology* (a sonic way of knowing), in a sense what Lefebvre allows us to conclude is that there is a feedback loop between language about, and even visual portrayals of, space and the aurality of a space itself.[41] Sound is never sound by itself, but a variety of echoic sensations and discourses that coexist in spatial experiences, situating the subject aurally in past, present, and future, sometimes simultaneously. The scale of the geographies of the ear we choose to engage, and how we emplace voice as sound and sensation matter here. They matter, moreover, not just for how they make language mean, but for how they construct the acoustic spaces—the "mattering maps"—in which sounds, music, media, and voice are aurally emplaced.

I will offer an example. One evening in June 2011, viewers of Catalonia's comedy sketch show, *Polònia*, were treated to one of many impressions of Spain's conservative Minister of Education, José Ignacio Wert.[42] Often portrayed on the show as a Spanish version of Austin Powers's Dr. Evil, in this episode Wert is dressed up as a conquistador, and bursts into a Catalan language class. While the teacher and the students speak fluently in Catalan, Wert speaks mainly in Castilian Spanish; the show is clearly directed toward a bilingual audience, a fact that already separates Catalonia's

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audience from much of Spain's non-Catalan-speaking population. His first word is a high-pitched, nasal "How," in English, meant to mimic a Hollywoodized North American Indigenous greeting, which he repeats with his hand held up in the air, before he asks—in Castilian (Spanish)—"Queréis hacer educación los indios, o qué?" (Do you Indians want to do education, or what?) When the class responds with an unenthusiastic "How" in return, he exclaims, "Ay, tranquilos, salvajes, ¡no me mordáis!" (Oh, calm down, you savages, don't bite me!) Speaking as if they cannot understand him or even hear him, he says loudly and patronizingly, in a faux-nasal tone: "Yo—Ministro de Educación. Vosotros, indígenas sin educación." (I: Minister of Education. You: Uneducated Indians). Wielding a scroll, he lays out the rules that from now on, in the classroom, Catalans will "only speak the language of empire," by which he means Castilian.

The show reflects the fierce political debates taking place at the time over the role Catalan should play as a language of instruction in schools in Catalonia. Although the debate about *català a l'escola* (Catalan in schools) had ebbed and flowed since the early 1970s, by the first decade of the twenty-first century, the argument about the language of education fed into a larger question of Catalonia's political and economic power within Spain, as well as Catalonia's national identity.[43] Shown on TV3, Catalonia's main television station, which is supported by the Catalan government, the Generalitat, the sketch frames the language question as an echo of colonial conquest, suggesting both that Spain hears the Catalan language as barbaric, and that Spain's attempt to control language use in the classroom represents an imperial position over a subjugated people. In this way, the program hears colonialism as aurality inscribed into national linguistic identity. It intentionally harks back to the conquest, when Spain not only violently overtook Indigenous territories in the Americas but also produced the first official Spanish grammar, Antonio de Nebrija's 1492 *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, which explicitly stated that language was a tool of empire. The scene thus reflects an imaginary of colonization in which the defining factor of conquest is not physical violence or economic exploitation, but the sound of communication: Catalonia is, the sketch suggests, linguistically colonized by Spain.

By using the English-sounding "How" to reflect Indigeneity as a Catalan identity that is undervalued by Spain, though, a gross aural stereotyping comes to play through the old binary of civilization and barbarism, one that moves the geography of Spain's imperial past into an amalgamated, Hollywoodized sound of "savagery." Visually portraying the conquest only

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through Wert's clothing and the scroll, the scene strips colonialism of its historical setting and the racialized bodies that would have been present. The show also ignores the long history of Catalan participation in imperial pursuits in the Americas and Africa, through which Barcelona made much of its modern wealth. Its critique of Spain's educational language policy thus works by extracting a certain aural imaginary of colonizer and colonized from the historical record and converting language into a sound of imposition and oppression that, because it is voiced by a parody of Dr. Evil, can be judged both true and absurd: Are Catalan students forced to learn Spanish really the victims of colonialism in a way that equates them with the violent slaughter of the Indigenous communities of the Americas five centuries ago?[44] To a wider, globalized public sphere, this scene could be a reason for rage, because it sounds an offensive misappropriation of Indigenous history. But for a strident Catalanist it confirms that, as a very localized language, Catalan can sound and feel "minor" because throughout Western history, "only a few languages [have been] deemed 'reasonable' for international communication," and Catalan is decisively not one of them.[45] Regardless, the scene suggests that colonialism and its critique take place both in the distant past and in the present, in a moving aural geography that spans continents, cultures, and the shifting sounds of multiple languages.

I present this rather uncomfortable scene as an example of what I am calling throughout this book echoic memory. In particular, I am interested in the transposition of a particular geography of the ear onto contemporary politics—specifically a democratic politics grounded in neoliberal economics and increasingly globalized media—in ways that extract the sounds of language from their specific spoken contexts in order to attribute social meaning (identity) to it. At times, as is the case in the example above, such geographies are created by opposing the sounds of local languages and voices to ideologically produced memories of other emplaced sounds.

Echoic memory, then, is a multipronged feedback loop that moves among the local, national, and global ideologies and cultural practices that circulate in a mediatized, transatlantic milieu (at times simultaneously), in which the sound of elsewhere can be produced in any number of ways. Filtered through daily experiences as sensations, as well as mediatic representations of the spaces one occupies, these memories (re)produce how we hear sound in the present and how we expect it to sound in the future.[46] In that sense, echoic memories are transductions, which,

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as Stefan Helmreich has argued, are not about adopting a point of view, but about sounds "tuning in to surroundings and to circumstances that allow resonance, reverberation, echo—senses in brief, of presence and distance, at scales ranging from individual to collective."[47] In my reading, the echo especially foregrounds both rupture and simultaneity in the acoustemological knowledge of space that obtains in contemporary democratic societies; often that rupture is evident in how discourse informs and interrupts our perceptions of sound. Steven Feld argues that the conjunction of acoustics and epistemology through the relationality of bodies to networks and spaces occurs over time: "Knowing through relations insists that one does not simply 'acquire' knowledge but, rather, that one knows through an ongoing cumulative and interactive process of participation and reflection."[48] Yet these accumulations of knowledge often settle into ideology, becoming the regimes of truth that sustain our thinking. Echoic memory, however, need not be cumulative, working toward a final goal of completion: Rather, it may be *restless* or continually moving, like musical experimentation or improvisation that has not yet solidified into a recording or final version. It is iterative, yes, but as Amit Pinchevski has argued, echo is distinguished from reverberation and resonance: Rather than a simultaneous fullness and dying away of sound determined by the size of the space in which it moves (reverberation), or a vibration that begins in one object and causes another contiguous one to vibrate in turn (resonance), echo is a dislocation of sound. It "resounds in contradistinction to the origin. It returns belatedly enough to be noticed independently, hence heard as both replica and response."[49] This doubleness as replica and response destabilizes a binary model (even a mutually transductive one), because even as echo is a repetition, it is one that implies difference: It is always "potentially divergent."[50] Echoic memories are marked by temporal delay, returning to the past and projecting into a future. They are also separated from perceived origins by both space and time, and by the differentiation through which each sounding becomes its own. Because they are always being reheard through a present moment of sound, moreover, echoic memories have an elasticity that allows them to be recuperated discursively at the service of seemingly opposing political and ideological projects, but without settling into either. Far from mere instances of misrepresentation, echoic memories are the means by which the (accented) sound of voice, or an unfamiliar musical genre, returns to dislocated origins (which need not, in fact, be the actual starting point for the sound's production). They are also how

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the contemporary ear responds to those perceived origins, iteratively reproducing geographies of distance and proximity in contemporary spaces geared toward the future as well.

In this echo, as Don Ihde has argued, there is also a relationship between our perception of the shape of sound, and its visual and tactile contours: "With the experience of echo, auditory space is opened up. With echo, the sense of distance as well as surface is present."[51] Thus, we can hear echoic memory as what Nina Sun Eidsheim calls a thick event, in that it is simultaneously tactile, spatial, material, and vibrational.[52] Yet because these repeats are echoic, moving back and forth from imagined origins into contemporary reiterations that re-create the geographies they define in the process, these scenarios are anything but static, engaging instead in a constant remaking of the soundscapes, and lived distances from them, in which a subject hears itself and others. For example, in the early '80s, when the alegal, free radio station Radio PICA began broadcasting the Ramones and the Sex Pistols, bands whose music was otherwise unattainable in Barcelona and rejected by the Spanish music industry, from the neighborhood of Gràcia, the station created an aural origin point for punk rooted in both the new tones and chords of electric guitar that had never been heard in the city before, and also in the sound of the English language as a free, antisystem aurality that was experienced in Barcelona as a kind of underground knowledge. The punk music culture that developed in the city at the same time was not an imitation of English music but a way of hearing, through both local and foreign bands, a longer echoic memory of Barcelona sound as resistance against Spain.

In a broader geographical example from a few short metro stops away, we may consider a moment from August 2017, when a Moroccan-born ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) member drove through Les Rambles, killing thirteen people and injuring 130 more. He fled on foot directly past the Palau de la Virreina, which is situated next door to the city's famed Boqueria Market, at the touristic center of Les Rambles, and only a block away from the Catalan National Library. The building, which is now a free museum of sorts, the Centre de la Imatge, was acquired by the Ajuntament (Barcelona City Council) in the 1940s. It was built, however, in 1772, by one of Spain's most ruthless viceroys—a Catalan named Manuel de Amat y Junyent, with wealth acquired while he was in Peru representing the Spanish crown. If we take Achille Mbembe's coloniality of necropolitics into account, we may imagine the screams and police presence caused by the 2017 attack as part of an echoic memory of *longue durée*, in which the colonial

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relationship between Europe and Africa, and the United States and the Middle East, echoes in intertwined yet at times politically opposing ways, through and along the Barcelona city spaces that were built through violent encounters in the Americas that were, in turn, justified by a (Spanish) linguistic and legalized geography of the ear.

My work is also different from Feld's argument that this sort of relational epistemology of acoustemology is a "cornerstone of decolonized Indigenous methodologies."[53] As I interrogate in my chapters, an echoic acoustemological approach is not always decolonizing in and of itself, because sonic knowledge is also formed through discourse and its ideological valences. In this sense, too, I differentiate my work from any decolonial presumption of being able to represent "worlds and knowledges otherwise" as forms of thought that, in the contemporary period, are completely outside Western epistemologies.[54] After all, the *Polònia* sketch that presents bilingualism as colonizing relies on a sensation of oppression that harks back to an aural imaginary of coloniality as universalizable, notwithstanding the historical realities of its production. Language, both as a sound that means and as the way through which we mediate our "listening to listening" through meaning, produces the ear that hears geography in conjunction with the sonic aspect of voice—the tones, affects, and sensations—which Mladen Dolar calls the "material element recalcitrant to meaning."[55] Yet the seeming alignment between voice and body, as Michel Chion has shown (and which I discuss in Chapter 2), is often false. Although I draw on decolonial theory to frame my understanding of sound, then, I do not presume my work to have the same subject-subject relationship as that of Dylan Robinson, for example, through which his own Indigenous subjectivity allows him to practice a "resurgent" listening that hears that which has been erased. Aware of my outsider's position, I do, however, attempt a critical listening positionality, which "engages how perception is acquired over time through ideological state apparatuses at the heart of subjectivation," all the while reading those positionalities (my own included) alongside the materialities of sound that emerge in practice.[56] I therefore dialogue with a decolonial/transmodern approach that originated in Latin America in order to recognize its echoic geography within Europe, and how the abstraction of the colonial *as* an imaginary often delinks from the material experiences of daily sound. Historically, as Etienne Balibar has pointed out, as a subject-making and un-making phenomenon that is "cognizable," language, the most immediately obvious sound of national subjectivity, has been framed over the last century as an affective sense of origins in

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which subjects can feel themselves as individuals and part of a community.[57] However, the sensed notion of language is also present in how affect, tone, and corporeal sensation derive from the sound of language as a modern construct of democratic voice, and it is here where the contemporary aurality of dispossession, echoing the colonial, is produced.

SLEIGHT OF EAR AND COLONIAL AURALITIES OF VOICE

If, for decolonial theorists, modernity and coloniality are two sides of the same coin, joining the Atlantic space as a single unit of epistemological production, it behooves us to interrogate how current conceptions of voice as sound have been perpetuated throughout that space and over time. Veit Erlmann has productively read into the Western philosophical canon to unearth notions of sound that have been subsumed by vision; in just one example, he contrasts René Descartes's modes of thinking understanding as a reflection grounded in the visual perception of the mirror, to Denis Diderot's notion of resonance as both the intimacy of an idea and the acoustic quivering strings that form the core of the enlightened self.[58] To be sure, this contrast draws our ear to the role of sound and its conjunction with vision in the West. But in the interest of rethinking this production of sound as transatlantic, and using a decolonial frame to do so, I want to go back to a founding document, the *Requerimiento*, which is echoed in the aurality of the *Polònia* sketch I discussed a few pages ago. Doing so demonstrates how the mediatized and sensed sounds of language as voice that influence daily a contemporary Catalan(ist) geography of the ear—and its tensions with other aural geographies—play out across an echoic transmodernity that situates the sound of language and accent within a construct of the ear that is both a listening to sensation and an aural production of law.

The *Requerimiento* is a one-thousand-word text, drafted in 1513, that proclaimed Spain's right to seize Indigenous lands and goods, legally justifying any violence that would occur were the Indigenous people not to comply immediately with what the conquistadors demanded. When those acting on behalf of the Spanish crown encountered new communities, a member of the conquistadors' party would read the text in Spanish to the Indigenous populations prior to overtaking them. A seemingly participatory text, it "ask[s] and require[s]" its audience to accept the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy as their rightful rulers. But within the appeal to participation is coercion in the form of a threat:

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> Y si así no lo hicieseis o en ello maliciosamente pusieseis dilación, os certifico que con la ayuda de Dios, nosotros entraremos poderosamente contra vosotros, y os haremos guerra por todas las partes y maneras que pudiéramos, y os sujetaremos al yugo y obediencia de la Iglesia y de sus Majestades, y tomaremos vuestras personas y de vuestras mujeres e hijos y los haremos esclavos, y como tales los venderemos y dispondremos de ellos como sus Majestades mandaren, y os tomaremos vuestros bienes, y os haremos todos los males y daños que pudiéramos . . . ; y protestamos que las muertes y daños que de ello se siguiesen sea a vuestra culpa y no de sus Majestades, ni nuestra, ni de estos caballeros que con nosotros vienen.
>
> (But, if you do not [submit], and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall powerfully enter into your country, and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do to you all the mischief and damage that we can; . . . and we declare that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these gentlemen who come with us.)[59]

This legal document is, historically, perhaps one of the most important instances of what J. L. Austin would consider a performative speech act. As Paja Faudree succinctly puts it, "the very act of uttering the text was intended to fundamentally alter the social relations between Spanish and natives."[60] Still, the actual effectiveness of the document was questionable. Various historical texts make clear that, when it was read at all, it was read aloud to Indigenous peoples who did not understand the Spanish language.

What most interests me about this founding document of imperial conquest is the specific *imaginary* of a legalized construct of voice as a sound that it employs. The fact that the Indigenous listeners will not understand the meaning of the text underlies the entire premise of the *Requerimiento* as a founding document of Ibero-American Atlantic relationships. On the one hand, the document is a classic example of the kind of imperial authority that multiple scholars have linked to the lettered-orality divide.[61] It helps build what Ana María Ochoa Gautier calls a Western "power-knowledge

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nexus" that validates certain perceptions of sound by inscribing them, in writing, in "an acoustic regime of truth . . . in which some modes of perception, description, and inscription of sound are more valid than others in the context of unequal power relations."[62] However, as José Rabasa has pointed out, "contrary to the commonplace that presumes that the opposition between orality and writing is transhistorical, I would not only argue that it assumes different values in different historical moments and cultures but also insist that this [oral-lettered] binary was hardly central to sixteenth-century relations."[63] After all, most of those on the ships were likely also illiterate. In other words, as Ochoa Gautier has further argued, the letters-orality dyad is, in many ways, an a posteriori echoic memory of a situation imagined from well within an established colonial frame, allowing lettered elites to construct the notion of literacy as constitutive of the modern.[64] As she writes, the field of orality thus "functions as a mechanism through which the subaltern is simultaneously named as having a voice, yet such a voice is subordinated by the very same principles through which it is epistemically identified as other."[65] The opposition between orality and literacy is a reflection of a modern(izing) Western aurality that denies the lived experience of those participating in the production of the events later inscribed in written memory.

But I am interested in the sound of language itself. That being the case, I would like to suggest here that the performative circumstances imagined by the document, despite its likely material ineffectiveness, position the sound of language as a sensation tied into its legal structure in a way that is still deeply enmeshed in how we hear voice and language today.[66] Legally, the document participates in a European sense of textuality in which the written word transmits authority. As a performative act in the Americas, however, this expression of legal voice is addressed to an ear that will not hear its meaning: Neither the text nor the conquistador reading it aloud hears the voice of the law as meaningful. Rather, the law is a double enunciation in which the paralinguistic sound of voice *as* a sensation of sound prevails over its meaning and does so in the interest of war, not communication. The transduction of law into a sensation that cannot linguistically mean serves as a founding principle of its rule. As Barry Truax has argued, in any context in which a language is not understood, the ear aurally processes the paralanguage of the other; that is, the tone, pitch, volume, or timbre of its interlocutors' voices, and ascribes some kind of interpretive meaning to the sound.[67] The sound of voice as both an acoustic and a discursive event is present in what is imagined by the *Requerimiento*'s creators

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to be the performative aspect of the document itself. The phrase "y si así no lo hicieseis o en ello maliciosamente pusieseis dilación, os certifico . . ." (But, if you do not [submit], and maliciously make delay in it, I certify to you) linguistically presumes understanding, but in the aural imaginary present in its articulation, it reveals a desire by the speaker (and the apparatus he represents) for the listener to *not* understand what is said, since that could leave room for discussion or resistance. Moreover, the sound of the language perceived to be dominant in this model acquires an affective weight on both listener and speaker that does not necessarily map to linguistic meaning. The document and its readers *desire* the act of communication to be primarily about noise, not comprehension, even as its reading aurally imposes a monolingual geography of the ear (a Castilian Spanish one) onto a territory to which it does not belong. The delay in comprehension by Indigenous listeners can therefore be interpreted as a delay in compliance and justification for pillaging whole communities, changing the very places in which conquering voices are heard and creating a new, transatlantic geography of the ear grounded in the epistemological tensions between the sound and the meaning of legal language.[68] The acoustic occupation of the territory by the voice of the Spanish conquest reallocates that space as a property owned by the sound of Spanish, whether it is understood or not; this dynamic will reverberate, with English and Catalan as well, in the acoustics that obtain in the gentrification of Barcelona as a newly globalized space centuries later.

In this case, the notion that the law's voice is *not* heard in any meaningful way by the public to whom it is read, that the ear of the "foreign" person being addressed *cannot* make it mean, is what makes the law all-powerful. For here, "foreignness" is heard not in relation to territorial ownership but as a reflection of an ear that either does or does not understand Spanish. As the sound of language is imagined in the text, the natives' inability to hear a different language as meaning and behave accordingly justifies the legality of the colonial project. We might say that, in this model, the work that has gone into trying to decide whether or not the subaltern can speak does not really matter, since it is whether or not the subject hears properly, according to the rules of those with voice (grounded in the particular sound of their language), that is of concern. Thus, while it may be commonplace to assert, following Gayatri Spivak, that the subaltern subject has no voice, we may reply that, according to the colonial aurality that already supposes the other will be unable to understand language as law, here she is perceived also as having no ear.

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I am not arguing that this is a founding document for Barcelona or Catalonia's self-image. The first obvious point is that it is written in Castilian, not Catalan. Moreover, whether or not Catalans participated in the conquest has been a contentious point among some historians.[69] Rather, I am arguing that this is an early instance of an aurality of voice, territory, linguistic identity, and law that ties monolingualism to an assumption of voice as split between sound and meaning. Moreover, it signals the complications of a geography of the ear that hears language as emplaced by a territorial origin: Clearly, languages that originated in the Americas are silenced by the sound of Spanish, which converts territory into geography. I am suggesting that the idea that the Amerindians were legally responsible for the loss of territories and violence that was to be wrought upon them because they had heard, and not understood, the *Requierimiento* creates a deceptive aurality of noncommunication, rooted in a sensation of voice, in which the "unintelligible" *sound* of voice supersedes any meaning of language it could communicate, even as the Spanish language seemingly justifies itself as the only sound worth listening to. And it is this deceptive aurality of noncommunication, which takes place in the bidirectional transduction between legal (or otherwise socially authorized) discourse and the sound of voice as an affective sensation, or tone, for ideological or other purposes, that I am calling *sleight of ear*. That is to say, voice is not simply a corporeal relationality that can somehow overturn the metaphysics of logocentrism by drawing our ear to our interlocutors' humanity, as feminist philosopher of voice Adriana Cavarero has argued. Nor is it simply the aural counterpart to what Diana Taylor has called a scenario—the repeated acoustic staging of a colonial encounter that "numbs us with familiarity," the aural equivalent to images of Indigeneity and conquest becoming a "paradigmatic system of visibility [that] also assures invisibility" because we do not even see the historical violence it represents anymore.[70] Rather, I am suggesting that voice, as sound, itself becomes inscribed in a Western ear that associates sensation with nonmeaning and uses that sensation as a force that validates the semantic sound of (usually a single) language as reason and modernity. This sound of voice (what Barthes famously called the "grain of the voice") is not limited to sound as rhythm or resonance but extends to timbres and affects that create spaces—including the negative affects Sianne Ngai has theorized as emerging through tone: "Tone *is* the dialectic of objective and subjective feeling that our aesthetic encounters inevitably produce."[71] She is referring to the tone of literary texts, but the

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idea of an affective dialectic in the subject-object (voice/ear) relationship that has produced a transatlantic colonial aurality also obtains here.

Within this context, the *Requerimiento* is a productive tool for understanding how coloniality became embedded in an aurality of voice tied to law. In the scenario of the *Requerimiento*, the tension between the legalistic/discursive voice that can be understood and the affective sensation embedded in both the sound of the conquistadors' speech and the listener's ear (conceived as faulty) produces a whole new imperial Atlantic acoustic geography. It is a geography that hears the ear of the colonized as deaf to the acoustic reason wielded by the colonizer but still attuned to tone, timbre, and the paralinguistic sounds that make up its regime. At the same time, the Spanish can use their own deceptive hearing of enunciation as sound as a new form of spatial appropriation under the guise of what they would begin to call, in 1573, "pacification," rather than conquest.[72] This colonial aurality, as an epistemology of voice, has continued to reverberate not just around the West but in Orientalist approaches to other parts of the world, like Africa and the Middle East, as well.

The geography of the ear that echoes into sensations of dispossession today, in fact, depends on this aurality of deception, the *sleight of ear* I have referred to. In the *Requerimiento*'s foundational dialogue, language as system is subsumed by language as sensation—as embodied feeling—which in turn constructs the deaf ear that can be heard as inferior and in need of training. This exemplifies sleight of ear, an operation that produces the ear as split between voice as sound and voice as meaning *for political purposes*. This is a politics that travels echoically across the sea; it creates a geography of the ear tied to reason and sensation where both are necessary for constructing a shared aurality but that also requires the tension between them to be repeatedly produced. Theories that seek to keep the discursive out of sound, proposing daily aurality as some sort of universalizable experience, repeat this gesture when they extract language from sound.

Moreover, echoic memories heard into this aurality of voice have real effects on the spaces in which they circulate, cycling into political actions with material consequences. In the *Requerimiento*, the ear of the other is already heard as deaf to meaning by those who control the political sleight of ear. When those in control address someone who does not understand their language as capable only of a sensation of the ear, incapable of hearing meaning, or reason, the listener's inability to understand seems to justify any action taken to make the rest of their body the site of subjective

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construction, since neither letters nor voice can suffice to produce a subject who can hear properly. And with this comes all of the uses and abuses of punishment by the state that Foucault theorized, and which, as Achille Mbembe has shown, colonialism has wrought on the minds and bodies of those it conquered and enslaved, producing a geographical, if not always territorial, distinction between subjects with rights, theorized from Europe, and the "living dead" who worked the plantations, whose bodies, tied to voices heard as meaningless and ears heard as incapable of hearing meaning, were expendable.[73]

As such, the sleight of ear that often defines contemporary political aurality has consequences for studies of democratic voice in Spain and elsewhere. The voices of immigrants, political opponents, women and LGBTQI+ people, and other voices of alterity are all subject at varying times to the sleight of ear which excludes them from the production and sharing of meaning. This is especially true when, in the most extreme cases, these voices or other thick sounds are dismissed as gibberish.[74] Rita Segato has interrogated the same epistemic principles in order to argue that, in the Americas, the production of minority subjects as other through the colonial episteme reshaped a reciprocal, dual Indigenous social structure into a hierarchical, binary one through which the masculine public sphere became the domain of the universal One, which has the strongest impact on gender: "Thus understood, the history of the public sphere is nothing less than the history of gender. The public sphere, that state agora, thus becomes the locus of enunciation of all politically valued speech."[75] Segato has in mind multiple forms of alterity—"feminine, nonwhite, colonial, marginal, underdeveloped, deficient"—when she defines the patriarchal public sphere as an epistemic structure. But within this frame, we may then consider the multiple gendered repercussions the sleight of ear produces when it splits the sound of voice as sensation from its linguistic meaning: the raped woman whose "no" sounds like "yes" to her rapist or a judge; the trans person whose sense of gender does not sound "correct" when voiced and who thus may be dismissed as not hearing even themselves correctly. The voices of those who are heard as incapable of speaking "properly" due to their accents or the visual interference of skin tone become even more vulnerable because these traits make it easier for the material sound of the tongue's difference to be identified and narrated as out of place.[76] Sleight of ear is not simply present in the vocalization of letters as representation and authority; it normalizes the notion that it is the inability of the listener's ear to process meaning correctly, or of their voice to perform the law or

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the norm as it is "meant" to be heard, that is the unspoken justification for a dominant voice's authority over a space, whether domestic, local, national, or global. Queerness, racial difference, and class are all susceptible to the sleight of ear when not just politicians but everyday people hear accented or "foreign" languages as outside the realm of "intelligible" voice, often while also hearing the idea of democratic voice as tied to a particular monolingual structure of the law.

In today's media age especially, these geographies can migrate echoically from one territory to another, creating imagined aural relationships that cross borders, both spatial and temporal, often creating new political or musical connections in the process. For some scholars, such as Luis Cárcamo-Huechante, broad invocations of "coloniality" are problematic because, unlike embodied Indigenous approaches, which may be situated in specific histories and lands, they perpetuate "a state-tied view [that] reflects the Althusserian tendency to 'theorize' the colonial question as a matter of 'relations of power' within the horizon of a disembodied and ahistorical superstructural sphere."[77] I agree with Cárcamo-Huechante, especially within a Latin American context in which, as he has pointed out, the colonial period has never ended for Indigenous communities.[78] But in a situation like Barcelona's, in which the argument for Catalanism is directly linked to the notion of a native tongue and is at times made by media companies, politicians, and businesspeople who wield incredible political and cultural power over the mattering maps of the city, it seems important to interrogate the theoretical and the material together to understand how this extraction of the materiality of sound from language as voice has taken place over time. Doing so allows us to recognize the daily disjuncture between, first, the epistemological and economic projects of modernity qua coloniality that might inform perceptions of belonging and exclusion in contemporary democratic spaces, and, second, the material sensations of sound as noise or alterity that are evident within the aurality of accent, voice, music, and noise that obtain in polyphonic situations.

As a political discursive tool, I might even venture to say that the geography of the colonial ear encapsulated by the *Requerimiento* has so saturated contemporary media in the Atlantic world that echoic memories of coloniality can be harnessed to produce political performances of colonial oppression even by those who have historically and economically been empowered (as the *Polònia* representation of upper-middle-class Catalan students as oppressed suggests). This occurs when a Catalan ear can hear itself as colonized by Spanish, or when a Spanish ear refuses to hear

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a Catalan complaint of repression. It also takes place when the Catalanist project of defining voice by the proper sounding of the Catalan language in turn dispossesses immigrants who are unable to speak with the sound of a native or who cannot speak the language at all. These constructs of voice presume a monolingual context that has never been adequate to the mattering maps that circulate daily in almost any modern space, but especially in Barcelona. So listening in through a paralinguistic context, as I do in the chapters ahead, allows us to hear how sensations of varied linguistic or musical sounds complicate nationalist, ethnic, or even territorial origin stories of sound and identity. In geographically triangulating my theoretical approach to sound in Barcelona by linking Spain to Africa and the Americas, though, I do not in any way wish to suggest that we can hear Catalan in the same way that we hear Indigenous languages in the Americas, like Quechua, Gitxsan, or Mapudungun, or that their political struggles are the same in historical, socioeconomic, or geopolitical terms. Quite the contrary: What I am concerned with is how the sound of language as voice comes to play a role in producing not just a geography of the ear, but a political sleight of ear. In this case, it is one in which some Catalans can affirm Catalan's minority status with respect to Castilian Spanish in order to gain political power, while in the process perpetuating a modernity/coloniality framework with respect to populations in the city who are economically and culturally dispossessed. And by dispossessed I mean not just immigrants who do not speak the language but even the Catalan working classes whose voice is the materiality of their expression as Catalans, but whose accents may be heard as different with respect to linguistic norms; thus even their ears may be perceived as faulty. In Barcelona, where the felt experience of oppression vis-à-vis Spain at times coincides, paradoxically, with economic and territorial power, the political sleight of ear that adopts colonialism as a rhetoric of political exclusion also at times dispossesses the very marginalized populations who are already heard within economic and legal frameworks as incapable of voice, whether they speak Catalan or not.

THE THICK SOUNDS OF BARCELONA

In the chapters ahead, I interrogate just some of the geographies of the ear that have obtained in and around Barcelona after Franco's death, and how their echoic relationships emplace and move sounds to produce mattering

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maps of the city that are present simultaneously, at times overlapping, at times producing quite different acoustic spaces from one another. I do not concentrate on the tried and true analyses offered by institutionally backed Catalan culture, which frequently extol the city's modernity, celebrate the literary and political forefathers of Catalanism, or denounce the linguistic repression suffered under Franco.

Instead, while respecting those perspectives, I listen in to the smaller soundscapes of the city's *barris* and communities that coexist daily with the grander narratives of Catalan identity since the Transition, and about which much has yet to be written. The accented immigrant communities. The sonic occupations of the city performed by anarchist protestors. Queer presentations of traditional *coplas* performed publicly in drag. The working-class musicians and sound artists who were punk before punk was mainstream, and whose free radio experiments have participated in the Barcelona underground for over four decades. The hidden-in-plain-sight colonial imaginaries of race that continue to be part of the Catalan mainstream media even as African migrants are now an everyday part of the Barcelona soundscape. The construct of the "global war on terror" that reverberates in the geopolitical ear and often taints how immigrant voices are heard throughout the West today.

I want to make clear from the outset that although I am centering my work on Barcelona, I recognize the city is just part of a wider swath of the voices and accents throughout the autonomous community of Catalonia, the broader construct of the Països Catalans—including the Balearic Islands and Valencia—and the polyglot space of Spain more generally, which includes not just Castilian and Catalan as native languages, but Basque and Galician, as well as Asturian, Valencian, and Aranese.[79] I do not want to repeat the gesture of presuming Barcelona is somehow a superior or more Catalan space than those I do not directly address. However, because it is such a polyphonic place, it is attractive to me as a way of thinking through the geographies of the ear that produce urban spaces.

As with Barcelona itself, the progression of the chapters reflects a gradually changing city that went from being a very local place at the time Franco died to one that today is highly globalized. At times the colonial ear is my focus (Chapter 1), but at other times it is subsumed in the flow of other ways of hearing dispossession, such as through gender and migration (Chapter 2), disputes over access to the airwaves (Chapter 3), or protest (Chapter 4).

Chapter 1, "Travel, Race, and the Colonial Sleight of Ear," uses the vast media production around a classic of Catalan children's literature, Josep

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Maria Folch i Torres's 1910 character Massagran, to interrogate how a colonial sleight of ear originally figured through aural depictions of African voices echoes into comics, television cartoons, records, and stage plays that return in the production of a Catalan aurality in the 1980s and 1990s. While these newer media extend an imperial geography of the ear grounded in the transatlantic context of European colonization in the Americas and Africa into a globalized setting, they also produce a racialized notion of what I call a *toothless voice* to sustain a Western logic of monolingual intelligibility.

In Chapter 2, "Of Immigrants and Accents," I turn my ear to the intersection of gender and (im)migration in Barcelona, both during the early days of the Transition and in the decades since. Speaking to the role that linguistic, rather than state, borders play in producing geographies of belonging and exclusion in Barcelona and Spain, this chapter shows how José Pérez Ocaña's public, trans* subversions of Catalan spaces with the sound of Andalusianness and other representations of accented immigrant language in several contemporary novels entwine with sounds of gender and queerness. Together, they *redress* extant theories of voice and vococentrism, as, I argue, the migrant accent produces *vocal chords* that constitute a critique of voice as representation.

Chapter 3, "Radiophonic Restlessness," turns to music and radio, examining the underground punk and experimental sound movements that emerged in the early 1980s, around the same time as the Catalanist project for Linguistic Normalization was coming into its own. Exploring the radial microrevolutions that echo into and out of the neighborhood of Gràcia via the free radio station Radio PICA, I show how punk bands and sound art grounded in a libertarian or anarchist ideology tap into a local echoic space with a long history of aural resistance, through which the scale of national sound as a dominant aurality is called into question.

Last, in Chapter 4, "Protest and the Acoustic Limits of Democracy," I focus on a constellation of so-called *algarabías* (noisy rackets) that took place in Barcelona before and around 2017, including pro-independence demonstrations, a terrorist attack, and antigentrification protests. Exploring how democracy is sensed as well as practiced through sound, I demonstrate how a long temporal geography of the ear fuses with the tangle of sensations and affects, including joy and rage, that circulate through the sound of protest to repudiate an aurality that figures legitimate democratic voice as silent. Through the etymological reach of *algarabía*, we hear how the contemporary democratic soundscape is shot through with fractal echoic memories that bring the past into the sound of the present.

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Finally, in the Coda, I narrate my own experiences listening to Barcelona as someone who is not from there, who listens with an imperfect ear, and who is herself a first-generation immigrant, raised in a bilingual family with two very differently accented parents, and who is now raising her children in the United States in Spanish, a language that is not natively her own, but is now theirs, despite their non-Hispanic heritage. I consider how my mattering maps of Barcelona have been forged over years of travel, mediatic consumption, and archival study in order to examine how, in that very act of listening to identities other than my own—as we all do daily—I am thrust into, and continuously navigate, multiple geographies of the ear at once.

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Notes

PREFACE

1 Maragall, *Antologia Joan Maragall*, n.p.; Bertrana, "La meva espurna," n.p.
2 Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation*, 94.
3 Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation*, 95.
4 *Crónicas* are a form of literary journalism unique to Latin America and Spain, combining social commentary with literary narrative style. They are often compared to New Journalism in the United States, although they predate it by almost a century. It is common for *crónicas* to be collected and published in book form, as in this case. See Gentic, *Everyday Atlantic*.
5 *Flâneuse* is the feminine form of *flâneur*, a nineteenth-century term used to describe cultural observers who walk the city but remain detached from it.
6 Said, *Orientalism*.
7 Sterne, *Audible Past*.

INTRODUCTION. ECHOIC MEMORIES OF DISPOSSESSION

1 R. Murray Schafer's soundscape, Don Ihde's phenomenology of sound, Emily Thompson's discussion of the acoustics of modernity, Dylon Robbins's *Audible Geographies*, and Steven Feld's acoustemology have all illustrated this point in different ways.
2 Kelly, *Sound*, 12.
3 In *Audible Geographies*, Dylon Robbins argues that place is both "a historical, specific location [and] a figurative, or discursive one, albeit with very concrete conditions and consequences" and that it is not just geographical or political, but sensorial (20). For me, thinking through Henri Lefebvre's concept of space, the geography of the ear is the epistemological frame that produces the place as a historical, sensorial, and political location; these cannot be separated out as such.

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4 Even saying the city is "modern" is complicated. Brad Epps writes of four overlapping modernities at play in the city:

> One, marked by the triumph of bourgeois liberalism, that runs from the rise of industrialism, the demolition of the city walls, and Cerdà's planned expansion to the Universal Exposition of 1888 and beyond; another, marked by the growing contestation of bourgeois hegemony, that runs from the first bouts of Anarchist direct action or terrorism (depending on one's perspective) in the 1890s through the popular uprising against the mobilization of troops to Morocco in 1909 known as the "Setmana Tràgica" or "Setmana Gloriosa" (again, depending on one's perspective) and the revolutionary movements of the Civil War to the triumph of Franco; a third, under Franco, marked by a technocratic capitalism hostile to civil liberties and democratic process and largely oblivious or indifferent to historical and environmental preservation; and a fourth, generally called postmodern, in which neoliberal global capitalism grapples with environmentalism, historical memory, and the rights of citizens and neighbours. ("Barcelona and Modernity," 152)

5 In 1978, the new constitution declared that Castilian Spanish was the official language of the State and that all Spaniards had the responsibility to learn it and the right to use it. But it also established each autonomous community as having the right to declare other official languages, and declared the plurilingual culture of Spain "patrimonio cultural."

6 See Chris Ealham's works *Anarchism and the City* (2010) and *Class, Culture, and Conflict* (2005) on class, politics, and neighborhood differences, especially in Gràcia and El Raval, from the nineteenth century on.

7 This project of linguistic preservation was intimately tied to Catalans' own process of language formation and ideological positioning a century earlier, as I discuss in Chapter 1.

8 See Antoni Bassas in Casals i Martorell, *El català en antena*, 15, quoted in Chapter 1 of this book.

9 See current data from the Ajuntament at www.barcelona.cat.

10 Increasingly, polyglot societies navigate similar issues to those first confronted in the contact zones of the earliest European colonies around the globe, not because the polyglot sound is new but because, as a lived experience, it has continued to exist alongside attempts to produce monolingual national identities, which are increasingly fragile. See Gueneli, "Young, Diverse, and Polyglot"; Ruiz, *Slow Disturbance*; Robinson, *Hungry Listening*; and Dalov, *Sounds of Aurora Australis*. The Iberian Peninsula has itself been polyglot for over two millennia.

11 Stoever, "Splicing the Sonic Color Line," 64.

12 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 5.

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13 There are many economic reasons for the independentist argument as well, but here I am interested in the cultural politics around language and national identity. See Crameri, *"Goodbye, Spain?"*

14 Catalanism and independentism are not, nor have they ever been, synonymous. They also play out differently in Barcelona and other regions of Catalonia. See Resina, *Barcelona's Vocation*; Minder, *Struggle for Catalonia*; and Crameri, *Catalonia*.

15 Minder, *Struggle for Catalonia*, n.p. In the same year, 170 prominent writers wrote a public letter demanding that Catalonia's bilingualism be revoked in favor of Catalan being the national language of the community.

16 Pratt, *Planetary Longings*.

17 Escobar, "Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise," 184.

18 Dussel, "Transmodernidad e interculturalidad," 14.

19 See Aníbal Quijano's "Colonality and Modernity/Rationality," on the construction of racial and geopolitical subjectivities based on the coloniality of reason, and María Lugones, "Decolonial Feminism," on gender.

20 Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge," 228.

21 Venegas, "Uneven Souths," 532.

22 Venegas, "Uneven Souths," 536.

23 Calderwood, *Colonial Al-Andalus*, 167, 178.

24 As the edited volume by Dolors Poch Olivé demonstrates, accent in Barcelona is not just a question of regionalism, but of bilingualism, through which Castilian and Catalan linguistically interfere with one another. *El español en contacto*, 317.

25 Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387.

26 Lafarga i Oriol, *Gràcia*, 12.

27 As I discuss in Chapter 1, *Catalunya ciutat* is a concept developed in the early twentieth century by the *noucentista* intellectual Eugeni d'Ors.

28 In addition to the wide variety of pronunciations that obtain throughout the Països Catalans, differentiating (among other places) the Balearic Islands from Valencia, El Pont de Suert from Benicarló, and Barcelona from all of them, there are also local linguistic tendencies, socially marked, including the *xava* and *bleda* pronunciations that mark Barcelona's linguistic soundscape. See Ballart Macabich.

29 Panagia, *Political Life of Sensation*, 3. This includes the "noise of utterance" (61).

30 Chávez, *Sounds of Crossing*, 8.

31 Halberstam argues that the asterisk in this term "refus[es] to situate transition in relation to a destination." *Trans**, 4–5.

32 Steingo and Sykes, *Remapping Sound Studies*, 5. Ironically, as the editors themselves acknowledge, approaches like this one often come from the North.

33 Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations*, 8–9.

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34 Calderwood, *Colonial Al-Andalus*, 9.

35 See Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Cataluña y el colonialismo español (1868–1899)."

36 As Josep Maria de Sagarra would put it in *Vida privada* (1932), the Catalan language was embarrassing because it was the language of cooks, coachmen, and poets (n.p.).

37 According to F. Xavier Vila, Barcelona is socially trilingual (Spanish, Catalan, and English) but officially bilingual (Spanish and Catalan). Only around 19 percent of the population claims to speak 100 percent in Spanish, and only 7 percent say they speak no Castilian at all, only Catalan. "¿Quién habla hoy en día el castellano en Cataluña?," 147.

38 Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 44.

39 Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 47–48.

40 Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 42, 44.

41 Feld writes against soundscapes because of their association with landscape as a "physical distance from agency and perception." "Acoustemology," 15. He stresses, instead, relationality as an ontological assumption that "life is shared with others-in-relation" (15). Nevertheless, I argue here that part of that relationality is necessarily linguistic, and it is in how we listen to that linguistic sounding within spaces that acoustemology as a sonic knowledge is produced and circulated to create spaces.

42 The show's title, *Poland*, is a reappropriation of the derogatory term used by some Spaniards to refer to Catalans as the "Polacks" of Spain.

43 On these debates, see Minder, *Struggle for Catalonia*, chap. 5. On these early debates in Aragon, see Bada Panillo, *El debate del catalán en Aragón*.

44 Despite actors paying close attention to the linguistic tics of the politicians they portray, Ugarte Ballester argues that accents or other differences from normative Catalan produce a *català deformat* (deformed Catalan) that can be used to represent all "foreign people," no matter their provenance. "El *Polònia* de TV3," 21.

45 Epps, "Barcelona and Modernity," 158.

46 According to Bob Snyder, echoic memory refers to the sensory memory of the brain through which sounds that hit the inner ear in a continuous stream are received as raw data and later coded and categorized to be retained as short- or long-term memories. Perceptions categorized as long-term memories provide an unconscious context for a listener's perceptions of a sound in the moment: "What we already know literally determines what we see and hear, which means that we see and hear what we look *for* more than what we look *at*." Snyder, *Music and Memory*, 11; emphasis in original.

47 Helmreich, "An Anthropologist Underwater," 622.

48 Feld, "Acoustemology," 13–14.

49 Pinchevski, *Echo*, 36.

50 Pinchevski, *Echo*, 36.

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51 Ihde, *Listening and Voice*, 69.

52 Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound*, 7.

53 Feld, "Acoustemology," 14, sic.

54 See Rivera Cusicanqui, "*Ch'ixinakax utxiwa*."

55 Dolar, *Voice*, 541.

56 Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 51.

57 "All linguistic practices feed into a single 'love of the language' which is addressed not to the textbook norm nor to particular usage, but to the 'mother tongue'—that is, to the ideal of a common origin projected back beyond learning processes and specialist forms of usage and which, by that very fact, becomes the metaphor for the love fellow nationals feel for one another." Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," 98.

58 Erlmann, *Reason and Resonance*, 9–11.

59 Parry and Keith, *New Iberian World*, 290.

60 Faudree, "How to Say Things with Wars," 186.

61 Antonio Cornejo-Polar in *Escribir en el aire*, Ángel Rama in *La ciudad letrada*, and Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins in *Beyond the Lettered City* have illustrated that everything from grammars to maps to paintings and city planning documents produced *over time* the perpetuation of a lettered city that largely silenced oral cultures.

62 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 33.

63 Rabasa, "Thinking Europe," 51.

64 Ochoa Gautier notes, "The epistemological emergence of orality, as well as that of embodied musical others, arises at the same historical moment as the idea of autonomy in Western art music." *Aurality*, 102.

65 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 14.

66 As Roshanak Kheshti has argued, in listening, "we respond to the sounds with our feelings, and it is this affective investment that takes us out of our selves, into the aural imaginary where we engage in incorporeal material exchanges with the other," doubling aurality as the ear's capacity to mean into the ear's capacity to produce relationality among and within communities. "Touching Listening," 727.

67 Truax, "Acoustic Space," 254.

68 As Patricia Seed has pointed out, the reading of the text is a ritual derived from Islamic practices of submission in Spain; the word *requerimiento* is a translation of the Arabic term *da' ā*, meaning "to summon," "to implore," and to seek submission from another population all while "fighting according to proper legal principles." *Ceremonies of Possession*, 76, 72. What changes in the Americas is that in the Islamic use of the *da' ā*, those who took over lands in Spain hoped their new subjects would not convert quickly, because until they did they could be taxed; whereas here conversion is expected to be immediate and justifies violence in a way the Islamic text did not. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 79.

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69 See Minder, *Struggle for Catalonia*, on that debate. Rodrigo y Alharilla, "Cataluña y el colonialismo"; Tsuchiya, "Monuments and Public Memory"; Piqueras, *Negreros*; and Fradera and Schmidt-Nowara, *Slavery and Anti-slavery* have clearly illustrated the large role Catalans played not only in the plantations of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Equatorial Guinea, but in the illegal slave trade that supported them after abolition.

70 Diana Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire*, 54.

71 Ngai, *Ugly Feelings*, 30.

72 In the process, the new rhetoric "sever[ed] the linguistic association between *requirement* and *da' ā* . . . [and] by relabeling the practices, potential linguistic reminders of its Andalusi Islamic origins were erased." Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 95.

73 Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 172.

74 Ochoa Gautier calls these sounds "untamed vocality." *Aurality*, 167.

75 Segato, *La nación y sus otros*, 617.

76 See Eidsheim's *Race of Sound* on how the visual and sonic aspects of voice intertwine for the listener.

77 Cárcamo-Huechante, "Colonial Obliteration?," 246.

78 Ronaldo Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan have also written that one problem with invoking terms like "empire" is that, if overused, they descend into the realm of abstraction. *Audible Empire*, 2.

79 From the 1960s on, *Països Catalans* was meant to reflect a "sense of community identity, across administrative boundaries, based upon an historical and socio-linguistic reality." Costa Carreras and Yates, "Catalan Language," 6.

CHAPTER 1. TRAVEL, RACE, AND THE COLONIAL SLEIGHT OF EAR

1 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

2 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 3.

3 I use *he* specifically in this case, since overwhelmingly the readers Pratt describes are men who identify as such.

4 Mowitt, *Sounds*, 5.

5 Giles, *Virtual Americas*, 6.

6 Giles, *Virtual Americas*, 2.

7 Feld, "Acoustemology," 185.

8 Balibar, "Nation Form," 103–4.

9 See Lippi-Green, *English with an Accent*, on the many ideological aspects of accent and dialect, written from a linguistics perspective.

10 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 15.

11 See Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, chap. 2.

12 Fuster, "Per a una cultura catalana majoritària," 65.

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