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Música Patagón: Navigating Authenticity in Puelche Music

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Abstract

Música Patagón: Navigating Authenticity in Puelche Music

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This report examines the emergent genre of “música patagón”, or Patagonian music, in the context of music production among the Puelche, or the eastern Mapuche people of southern Argentina. By analyzing several songs produced by Puelche musicians at the music recording studio Sala Patagón, I argue that the classification “patagón” challenges both Argentine and Mapuche understandings of genre. Música patagón can be defined by three major features: the use of the native Mapuche language of Mapudungun alongside the official Spanish language, the use of lyrical content related to Mapuche traditions and territory, and the use of Mapuche sonic elements such as musical instruments and rhythms. I argue that within the body of a primarily Spanish language text, Mapudungun words serve both iconic and indexical functions, allowing Puelche musicians a means through which to perform a Mapuche identity in the case of limited language fluency within the community. The performance of this identity is complicated by linguistic and cultural ideologies regarding authenticity, both from Mapuche and non-Mapuche audiences. Through the process of writing, recording, and disseminating music in this genre, Mapuche musicians strive to shift their language and culture from the

margins of Argentine society into the everyday life of both the transnational Mapuche diaspora and the non-indigenous Argentine public. In these contexts, *música patagón* functions not only to assert a historically-based Mapuche identity, but also serves to create a novel vision of a future-oriented Mapuche public that transcends national, linguistic, geographic, and even ethnic boundaries. Through the medium of music, Mapuche people in southern Argentina actively create and negotiate a shifting vision of what it means to be Mapuche, what it means to be Patagonian, what it means to be Argentine, and how these identities conflict and intersect in Argentina today.

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1 Introduction

Throughout the history of the Argentine state, the indigenous Mapuche people have fought to maintain territorial rights, cultural recognition, and self-autonomy. While the larger Mapuche population in neighboring Chile has held more visibility within that country, the Mapuche people of Argentina, the Puelche, remain largely invisible at the national level. Argentina's mainstream discourse perpetuates a national story of white European heritage alongside myths that the Mapuche are really "Chilean", and therefore not actually native to the lands that form Argentina (Delrio 2005, Marimán 2006). While historical and archaeological evidence disproves this belief, it has consistently been drawn on by government officials and landholders to deny Mapuche claims for territorial rights within the country (Delrio 2005). Audibility also poses a key issue for the Puelche. As Mapuche scholar Luis Cárcamo-Huechante has written, Mapuche people must constantly struggle not only to make themselves seen, but also to make themselves heard, in the face of "acoustic colonialism" perpetuated by the Chilean and Argentine states (Cárcamo-Huechante 2013). With increased levels of migration to urban centers and decreased levels of native language fluency, the linguistic, historical, and cultural authenticity of the Puelche person is constantly called into question.

The Puelche people have utilized a variety of strategies to cope with the inaudibility and invisibility that they face within Argentina. These strategies include staging protests in the streets of the country's major cities, developing educational curriculum in the native Mapudungun language, and organizing alongside better-known Mapuche organizations from Chile. In this paper, I focus on how the medium of music has served as a way to increase both audibility and visibility of the Mapuche language, culture, and political issues for both Mapuche and non-Mapuche publics (Warner 2002). Particularly, I focus on the recent emergence of a music classification that I refer to as

“música patagón”, a regionally-based fusion genre influenced by both Mapuche and non-Mapuche music practices. I argue that by employing resources such as the Spanish and Mapudungun languages, traditional Mapuche musical instruments, and lyrical content focused on regionally based identities, música patagón serves as a means of “authentication” for the Puelche Mapuche person. Through the platform of music, Puelche musicians authenticate their identities by making strategic choices about language use (Graham 2002) and by employing language in creative ways in a situation of widespread language endangerment. These uses of language may be referential in nature, particularly in the case of Spanish language use, but often serve iconic and indexical functions as well (Webster 2009, Ahlers 2006). By drawing on words, sounds, and imagery associated with Mapuche ceremonial practice, Puelche musicians draw on the semiotic affordances of different techniques to create a uniquely Puelche discourse space (Ahlers 2006). This space allows these artists a platform through which to connect with a Mapuche audience that is familiar with these cultural practices. At the same time, by incorporating “Mapuche” elements into “mainstream” Argentine music styles and into a primarily Spanish language text, these musicians gain the ability to reach a non-Mapuche audience that is less familiar with the specific cultural context. As musicians appeal to both sorts of audiences, they must successfully navigate a variety of language ideologies and expectations of authenticity that are not necessarily shared between the two groups and even within them.

By writing, recording, and circulating música patagón, Puelche musicians orient their work not only to the current political and social conditions of Argentina, but also to imagined future publics (Warner 2002, Webster 2017). The creators of música patagón envision a future in which the Mapuche culture is recognized, symbolically and politically, by both Mapuche and non-Mapuche Argentine audiences. By orienting to

these imagined future publics, I propose that the genre of música patagón allows Puelche musicians a way to authenticate their place within the wider Mapuche community while at the same time reaching out to a sympathetic non-Mapuche audience. Therefore, música patagón offers a way for Puelche musicians to bridge the gap between potentially oppositional Mapuche and Argentine identities and create a space for themselves within a third category, that of “patagón”. Overall, I argue that the classification of music as “patagón” forms a particularly salient category that challenges both indigenous Mapuche and hegemonic Argentine understandings of genre, music, and language.

2 The Genre of Música Patagón

In 2006, in the small Argentine southern city of Esquel, Rogelio “Lito” Calfunao, a Mapuche musician and radio technician, founded Sala Patagón. The music recording studio, which Lito originally operated out of his father in law’s garage, quickly drew the interest of Mapuche musicians throughout the region. Alongside his wife, Mara Argañarez, Lito worked to create a welcoming and accessible environment in which Mapuche people could record their music and network with other musicians doing similar things. Over time, this studio has come to serve as a central point of reference for indigenous bands and singer-songwriters, particularly Mapuche ones, from throughout the Patagonia region. In this context, a new genre of music, that of “música patagón”, is emerging.

A primary goal of Sala Patagón is to distribute and share “Patagonian” music with people across the world. The description for the business’ YouTube Channel reads the following:

“PERSEVERANDO E INTENTANDO MOSTRAR, DIFUNDIR Y HACER CONOCER MÚSICA, AUTORES E INTERPRETES, PAISAJES Y LUGARES DE LA PATAGONIA. SIENDO LAS PRODUCCIONES ALGUNAS PROFESIONALES, OTRAS A MODO TESTIMONIAL, PERO TOTALMENTE LOGRADAS EN PATAGONIA ...O SEA PODEMOS DECIR QUE ES EL PRIMER CANAL 100% PATAGÓNICO EN INTERNET”

“Preserving and intending to show, distribute and make known music, authors and interpreters, landscapes and places of Patagonia. Some of the productions are done by professionals, others by testimonial, but completely realized in Patagonia...or we can say that this is the first 100% Patagonian channel on the internet”¹

¹ All translations included in this report were done by the author, unless noted otherwise.

As we see in this description, Sala Patagón has marketed its project in terms of a “patagón”/“patagónico” identity. This patagón identity is strongly grounded in the particular regional landscape in which it originates. Interestingly, the YouTube channel’s page description does not make an explicit connection between the music studio’s project and the Mapuche people. Instead, the Mapuche presence in this description relies on the indexicality that exists between the Patagonia Region and the Mapuche. As one listens to the many songs shared by Sala Patagón’s YouTube channel, however, distinct relationships emerge between a patagón identity and a Mapuche one. Puelche musicians use multiple strategies to accomplish this relationship: the use of the native Mapuche language of Mapudungun alongside the dominant Spanish language, the use of Mapuche traditional sonic elements such as instruments and drum beats, and lyrical content focused on particular territorial identities. These strategies bring together a diverse array of styles and artists under the umbrella of “música patagón”, and a new genre begins to come into view.

Bauman defines genre as “a speech style oriented to the production and reception of a particular kind of text” (Bauman 1999). For Briggs and Bauman, any piece of discourse serves to index prior situational contexts, thereby connecting that discourse to a whole history within the community of focus (Briggs and Bauman 1992). In música patagón, the linguistic and musical practices performed by Puelche artists serve to index “Mapucheness” as well as powerful ties to land in the southern regions of South America. Elements of música patagón also index musical genres and ritual practices from both Mapuche and non-Mapuche traditions. I propose that música patagón is thereby valorized

through its performance of authenticity, an authenticity that largely depends on “overlapping referential, indexical, and poetic links to particular places” (Cavanaugh 2017, 72). In this case, the places in question are the landscapes of the Patagonia region. The success of *música patagón* also depends, however, on its ability to reach outside of a specific regional context to a more universal context. The tension between the local and the universal creates a body of work that constantly negotiates the boundaries between what it means to be Mapuche, patagón, Argentine, or all three at once.

When defining the genre of *música patagón*, therefore, we must first consider the pre-existing genre classifications present in Mapuche and other regional traditions from throughout Argentina as well as from other parts of South and North America. In the Mapuche culture, sound plays a particularly salient role. In Mapuche ritual context, sound emerges through relationships between musical instruments, song, poetry, dance, and the sounds of nature, often being brought together in particular contexts of performance (Pérez de Arce 2007). As music is typically situated within particular ritual contexts, Mapuche music traditions often carry sacred connotations (Pérez de Arce 2007). In the current political context, they also carry heightened political meanings. Scholars such as Cárcamo-Huechante have considered how Mapuche music and other sonic practices play a central role in Mapuche resistance movements. Through mediums such as the radio, Mapuche activists utilize musical instruments and linguistic practices to establish a Mapuche soundscape that stands to counteract the “acoustic colonialism” (Cárcamo-Huechante 2013) of the Argentine and Chilean states.

Indigenous sound elements, both from the Mapuche and other groups, have long influenced Argentina's "mainstream" musical landscape. One of Argentina's best known singers of the 20th century, Mercedes Sosa, drew on her roots as an indigenous woman in the writing, performance, and marketing of her music in the nueva canción genre (Karush 2017). Non-indigenous Argentines have also drawn on indigenous music influences to perform an "authentic" Argentine identity. While Argentine elite audiences have largely imagined themselves as white nation, and emphasized their European heritage, the influx of new waves of immigrants during the 20th century also led them to place nostalgic value in the country's indigenous roots (Karush 2017). Genres such as nuevo cancionero incorporated various indigenous influences, particularly those of groups in the north of Argentina, in an attempt to create a unique product for a European audience in places such as Paris (Karush 2017). By drawing on indigenous names, styles, and themes, non-indigenous artists presented romanticized stereotypes of indigenous suffering for a non-indigenous public.

The emergence of Mapuche music in the modern music fusion context has been traced to the early 1980s, although the movement really began to gain traction in the 1990s in the wake of cultural and political reform following the end of Argentina's military dictatorship (Sepulveda 2011). During this time period, new Mapuche political and social movements arose within the country, and young Mapuche people in urban areas began actively attempting to connect with their Mapuche roots now that they were able to do so more freely. Mapuche youth utilized music as a resource to create solidarity among themselves and to connect to pro-democracy and revolutionary movements,

circulating music via CDs and small underground performances (Sepulveda 2011). In recent years, the creation of internet pages has helped to circulate the work of these groups to an even larger audience.

Several scholars have attempted to name and classify Mapuche fusion musics that exist within Argentina and Chile. Ernesto Sepulveda Montiel defines Mapuche fusion music as “música mapuche actual” and assigns it with two principal themes: historical conflict between the Mapuche and the Chilean state, and cultural recuperation (Sepulveda 2011). He also defines various characteristics of this genre, including a relationship with the landscape, use of traditional and Western instruments within the same text, political message, and symbolic extra-musical elements (Sepulveda 2011). Sepulveda notes that these practices mark a distinctly new musical tradition, asserting the need to look at música mapuche actual in a separate category than the standard genre labels that are assigned to them (Sepulveda 2011).

Jacob Rekedal, another scholar focusing on Mapuche fusion music in Chile, describes a category of music that he refers to as “música combatiente” (Rekedal 2015). Rekedal defines música combatiente as a broad category encompassing multiple genres, including hip hop and heavy metal, but does not include more “traditional” interpretations of Mapuche music, such as folklore music, in this classification. Instead, música combatiente marks a new tradition founded in notions of indigeneity and rebelliousness against the Chilean state (Rekedal 2015). Rekedal also addresses additional classifications that Mapuche fusion artists in Chile have applied to their own music. Several Chilean Mapuche hip hop artists, for example, refer to their music as

“electro acoustic artesanía” or “electro-acoustic craftwork”, applying a word that is usually associated with Mapuche weaving practices to music practices (Rekedal 2015). In his most recent 2019 paper, Rekedal discusses the music style that the Mapuche metal band Pewmayen defines as “canto de la tierra”, or “song of the earth”. Rekedal argues for the emergence of what he calls a new “subculture” in Araucania, one that includes various “genres” such as hip hop and rock and is closely related to the region’s climate and “frontier” nature. According to Rekedal, “Canto de la tierra...indicates a paradigm shift in which the earth itself now manifests through a powerful musical activism that is rooted in indigenous sounds but extends to audiences and artists from many other sectors of society” (Rekedal 2019, 83).

In many ways, música patagón appears to reflect the music tradition that Rekedal describes (Rekedal 2019). However, rather than classify Mapuche fusion musics as a “subculture”, I choose to define música patagón² as a genre, as well as a unique “discourse space” (Ahlers 2006) in which linguistic and other sonic practices may be explored. In addition, it is important to note that Mapuche musicians in Argentina produce their music in a different context than their counterparts in Chile. In Argentina, where the Mapuche people experience lower levels of audibility and visibility, Puelche musicians must use additional creative means to connect the gap between Mapuche and non-Mapuche audiences. The Puelche have been underrepresented in studies of Mapuche

² The term “patagón” also sonically recalls another popular genre in Argentina and wider Latin America, that of “reggaetón”. The similarity between these two words suggests a playful connection being made between the two.

linguistic and musical practices, and therefore it is important to address the unique elements of Mapuche life on the Eastern side of the Andes.

3 Language Ideologies of Música Patagón

*Ha llegado el nuevo día
Asomando está el antü
Y la mano de la machi
temblequeando en el kultrun*

*El rewe está preparado
Los piwüchenes también
Ya están los cinco purufes
Que harán el choyke purun*

*Longkomeo, longkomeo
La tribu alentando va
Longkomeo, Longkomeo
La tribu alentando va*

*A new day has arrived
Antü is appearing
And the hand of the machi
Trembling on the kultrun*

*The rewe is ready
The piwüchenes as well
Already the five purufes are here
That will do the choyke purun*

*Longkomeo, longkomeo
The tribe is slowly healing
Longkomeo, longkomeo
The tribe is slowly healing*

-Neyen Mapu, “Puel Purum”³

³ Song transcriptions and translations in this report were done by the author unless otherwise noted. The Mapudungun language has no standard orthography; I have used Catrileo 1995 as a reference for spelling any Mapudungun words that appear. In the case of band names or song titles, I have maintained the original spellings. I have elected to not translate Mapudungun words in the main text of song transcriptions, but explain the meaning of each word in the text. For full transcriptions of each song with detailed footnotes on each Mapudungun word, see the Appendix. Translations of Mapudungun words can also be found in the Glossary.

The following lines open the song “Puel Purrum” by the band Neyen Mapu⁴, one group that has been marketing their music as being both “patagón” and Mapuche. In this song, we see the defining characteristics of música patagón: the use of the Mapudungun language within a primarily Spanish language text, lyrical content related to both land and Mapuche ritual tradition, and the use of Mapuche sonic practices. In this section, I will focus on the role of language, particularly the relationship between Spanish and Mapudungun in the song lyrics. I will begin by providing a short background on the Mapudungun language and an overview of several central language ideologies relating to both Mapudungun and Spanish.

Mapudungun, the native language of the Mapuche people, is spoken by a small percentage of Mapuche people today. Estimates regarding the number of Mapudungun speakers vary widely, and studies estimating speakers in Argentina have been virtually non-existent (Zúñiga 2006). Drawing on work by linguist Fernando Zúñiga in Chile and the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (National Institute of Statistics and Census) in Argentina, linguist Scott Sadowsky estimates a number of 144,000 Mapudungun speakers in Chile and 8,400 speakers in Argentina (Sadowsky et al 2013). On the high end of the spectrum, Mapuche linguist Catrileo estimates 300,000 to 350,000 speakers between Chile and Argentina (Catrileo 2010). As these widely varying numbers show, we must be careful when attempting to quantify an exact number of Mapudungun speakers. As many scholars discuss, the methodologies utilized to determine a number of

⁴ Song was accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EpkIK70gII>

language speakers make ideologically-based assumptions regarding who counts as a speaker and in which contexts (Davis 2017, Moore et al 2010, Muehlman 2012). These ideologies result in the exclusion of particular types of speakers. Catrileo finds a much higher number of Mapudungun speakers than other scholars such as Sadowsky because she includes in her estimate people who speak even small amounts of the Mapudungun language (Catrileo 2010). Following Catrileo, this paper aims to approach uses of the Mapudungun language by non-fluent speakers as valuable members of the speech community. Puelche musicians, regardless of their level of Mapudungun fluency, strategically employ this language in their songs, allowing them to perform particular sorts of identities for their audiences. Mapudungun use, then, must be accounted for in order to accurately analyze the *música patagón* genre.

The Mapudungun language has historically been the target of Argentine state programs aimed at the creation of a unitary national identity. Following the end of the *Conquista del Desierto* (Desert Conquest) in 1884, in which the Argentine military established military control over the Patagonia region, the language was prohibited under *Ley Nacional 1420* (Díaz-Fernández 2009). This law, which created a national Argentine education system and required that all children attend school, attempted to bring the various groups of immigrants and native peoples in the country under a common Argentine identity. Laws and policies such as these, which led to Mapudungun being banned in schools and public ceremonies, resulted in a decline in the use of the Mapudungun language. Today in Argentina, the Mapuche population primarily speaks Spanish as a first language and increasingly cannot speak the native language fluently or

at all (Szulc 2009). Díaz-Fernández finds that in the Chubut Province, the bulk of Mapudungun language use today takes place in traditional ceremonies such as the *camaruco* and *nguillatun*, and during public acts such as celebrations of Indigenous Peoples' Week (Díaz-Fernández 2009). Outside of these ceremonial uses, he writes that Mapudungun is used to refer to particular cultural concepts, as well as in a limited number of everyday lexemes, but otherwise is not used frequently in daily life by the vast majority of Puelche people (Díaz-Fernández 2009). While findings such as these have caused many researchers to approach the Mapudungun language as dead or dying, on closer look it becomes clear that the picture is more complicated.

The use of Mapudungun in *música patagón* connects to various language ideologies that exist in Argentina regarding both Mapudungun and Spanish. Following Irvine, I define language ideologies as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989, 255). Mapuche language ideologies are influenced both by the Mapuche themselves as well as by non-Mapuche scholars, government officials, and educators in the country that have held and circulated particular ideas about the language. As Kroskrity and Field note, language ideologies are an important part of understanding an indigenous community and language revitalization movements taking place within these communities (Kroskrity and Field 2009).

One way to approach the relationship of these two languages is by using Irvine and Gal's framework of linguistic differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000). These scholars define three semiotic processes through which linguistic differentiation is ideologically

created. First, Irvine and Gal define iconization as “a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 37). In the case of the Mapuche, the Mapudungun language is often considered iconic of Mapuche identity. The assumption that the Mapudungun language is equal to Mapuche identity, and that Spanish is not, becomes problematic in a context where many Mapuche people speak Spanish as their primary language. The iconicity of Mapudungun, however, can also be drawn on as a strategic tool to establish intra-community solidarity. In the context of *música patagón*, Mapudungun words come to be seen as iconic of being an authentic, proper Mapuche person. The “feelingful iconicity” of these words (Webster 2009) allows Puelche musicians to connect with audiences that experience particular attachments to Mapuche linguistic and cultural practices. In the same way, additional factors such as the sounds of particular musical instruments, styles of clothing, and imagery used in band logos can also be interpreted as iconic of the Mapuche people and culture.

Gal and Irvine define fractal recursivity as “the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 38). This process can be seen in the significant differences in language ideologies that exist within the Mapuche community. Language ideologies regarding Mapudungun and Spanish are not uniform among the Puelche; they vary based on factors such as generation and whether the person comes from a rural or urban community, and these generational and rural/urban divides often overlap (Antileo 2012, Briones 2007). When different expectations regarding language use conflict, tensions can be created within the

community. Argentina's intercultural bilingual education (IBE) program provides one example of different ideologies that exist regarding the Mapudungun language. The IBE program was first instituted in 1999 (later updated in 2004) and was an effort by the government to incorporate native languages into school curriculum (Szulc 2009). This program created Mapuche language classes in primary schools located on Mapuche "reducciones" or reservations. Ironically, many Mapuche opposed these programs that had supposedly been created for their own benefit. Particularly in the older generations, Mapuche people see Spanish, not Mapudungun, as the language of economic opportunity. By learning Mapudungun in school, many people worry that their children are receiving less instruction in subjects that will be more likely to result in them finding employment and obtaining economic stability. On the other hand, elder Mapuche people also lament language loss in their communities. Therefore, conflicting attitudes exist about the best way to preserve a language that is now used regularly by only a small percentage of the population.

The final process that Irvine and Gal describe, erasure, is the "process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible" (Irvine and Gal 2000, 38). As discussed previously, the Puelche have been erased in a more general sense by a national narrative that aims to assimilate all indigenous peoples into a unified, hegemonic Argentine culture. As shown in the previous examples, the Mapudungun language has also been erased through specific government programs, as well as through the exclusion of non-fluent language speakers in official speaker counts. The producers of *música patagón*

challenge this erasure by bringing Mapuche culture into the view of both the Mapuche diaspora and non-Mapuche audiences. However, due to the previous processes of erasure that have occurred, these musicians must walk the line between communicating effectively to their audiences while at the same time being read as authentic, which is complicated by the processes of iconicity and fractal recursivity. Through iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity, Puelche people employing the Mapudungun language must carefully navigate a complex social and political environment.

Another widely held language ideology of Mapudungun involves the connection between the Mapudungun language and the geographic area forming “Wallmapu”, or the territory considered by the Mapuche to be their original homeland. The word “Mapudungun” itself connects directly to the land, with “mapu” meaning “land/region/nation” and “dungun” meaning “to speak” (Catrileo 1995), literally, the “language of the earth”. Therefore, the name of the language itself situates Mapudungun within the Mapuche territory, and the use of the language automatically implicates the land. Many central words in Mapudungun involve references to the “mapu”, including the term “Mapuche” itself, which can be translated as “people of the land” (Catrileo 1995). This connection to the land leads anthropologist Magnus Course to argue that rather than viewing Spanish and Mapudungun as things that fit within the same category of language, Spanish and Mapudungun represent two entirely different things that cannot necessarily be classified together. Course discusses Mapuche ideologies that emphasize the importance of “newen” or “force” behind the Mapuche language, an energy that for his consultants is seen as not existing in the Spanish or English languages but rather only

in Mapudungun (Course 2018). Course also considers Mapudungun's connection to the land to be fundamental, writing that his rural Chilean Mapuche correspondents view the uses of Spanish and Mapudungun in very different ways. While Spanish language is viewed as an abstract "symbol" of what is being discussed, Mapudungun has a concrete, indexical connection to the land. Therefore, using Mapudungun relates the speaker to the physical territory of Wallmapu in a way that using Spanish does not.

In the case of *música patagón*, on the other hand, Spanish language lyrics can also be strongly embedded in territorial identities. The Spanish language here serves a strategic function that is more than just symbolic or referential. As will be explained in the coming examples, Spanish does enable the communication of information, but it also aids in the creation of a specifically Mapuche acoustic space. Despite its associations with the hegemonic Argentine culture to which the Mapuche people have often placed themselves in opposition, Spanish in *música patagón* exists within a specifically Mapuche text, established through means such as the use of Mapuche musical instruments. When integrated into a "Mapuche" context, the Spanish language takes on new meanings that destabilize its connections to non-indigenous Argentines and the Argentine state.

A final language ideology that I would like to address involves the oral and written distinction that is commonly made between Mapudungun and Spanish. While Spanish language ideologies match with wider Western ideologies emphasizing the importance of writing, Mapudungun is traditionally an oral language. In recent years, various orthographies have been created for the Mapudungun language, but there is no general consensus about which is the preferred one (Lagos and Espinoza 2013). Lagos

and Espinoza speculate that the inability to establish one consistent Mapudungun orthography results from Mapuche language ideologies that resist both the idea of language “specialists” and the Western ideology that language can be removed from its original territorial and cultural context. In fact, they suggest that the very act of translating Mapudungun to a written format may be problematic (Lagos and Espinoza 2013). As Irvine and Gal (2000) and others have shown, language ideologies such as those underlying Mapudungun have political and social consequences that can be understood through semiotic relationships. Certainly, the conversion of the Mapudungun language to a written system, in addition to its translation to Spanish, creates new semiotic possibilities through which the language can circulate among both Mapuche and non-Mapuche audiences. However, other authors caution against overemphasizing the division of oral and written discourse. Joanna Crow, writing about the role of Mapudungun in Mapuche poetry, suggests that the sharp division between oral Mapudungun and written Spanish has been propagated by the Chilean state as well as elite literary critics to create a romanticized stereotype of Mapudungun and the Mapuche culture more generally that does not conflict with dominant state ideologies (Crow 2008). In the case of *música patagón*, texts are largely written in Spanish, thereby emphasizing the connection of Spanish to written text. However, the context of music performance complicates relationships between the oral and the written as well as between the Spanish and Mapudungun languages.

The song that opened this section, “Puel Purrum” by Neyen Mapu, illustrates how the Mapudungun language functions in the context of *música patagón*. Neyen Mapu is a

self-defined Mapuche and Patagonian metal band from Paso de Indios, Chubut, that produces a variety of songs related to Mapuche identity, language, and cultural concepts. In the title of their first and only full-length album, *Metalero y Patagon* (*Metalhead and Patagonian*), the band establishes themselves under the “patagón” label. Frequently, Neyen Mapu blends traditional Mapuche music genres with the modern genres of metal and rock, particularly looking to the thrash metal genre of the United States and the rock andino genre of South America. The band uses a variety of strategies in their music to index a Mapuche identity as well as a Patagonian identity, with one of the principal strategies being the use of the Mapudungun language as well as lyrical themes closely associated with Mapuche culture. The primary language employed in this song, as well as in the rest of Neyen Mapu’s work, is Spanish. However, Mapudungun words appear as well, and I will argue that these words play an essential role in establishing identity and indexing connections to Mapuche cultural practices.

One way through which the band indexes a Mapuche identity is through the use of a Mapudungun band name. The band’s name is composed of two Mapudungun words: “mapu”, which signifies “land/region/earth”, and “neyen” (alt. spelling “newen”), which can be translated as “strength” or “power” (Catrileo 1995). The concept of “neyen” is associated with the potential energy of the Mapuche people and their language. The strategy of using Mapudungun in the band name is not limited to this band; other examples include the bands Zunguncura (zungun=speak, cura=stone), Awkan (rebellion/war), and Choike Llama (ostrich llama). For a singer-songwriter, having a Mapuche last name can also serve to index a Mapuche identity, as is the case with the

folk singers Beatriz Pichi Malen or Eduardo Paillacán. Unlike in the case of other many other indigenous groups in South and Central America, Mapuche people have largely maintained their traditional last names. These names often reference specific natural features associated with different regional groups within the Mapuche community. By using Mapudungun band names, Mapuche musicians therefore continue this practice of self-identification through Mapudungun words. These words emphasize identities and connections within the Mapuche community itself, and for the most part would not be recognized by the non-Mapuche Argentine person. By using Mapudungun names, these bands and artists draw not only on an important cultural concept but also intimately connect their music to the Mapudungun language, although as we will see, the actual use of this language in the music is limited.

The Mapudungun language also appears in Neyen Mapu's song lyrics. The song "Puel Purrum", or "Dance of the East" (introduced at the beginning of this section), offers an example of how Mapudungun typically functions in this type of music. In this song, the band describes the ritual of the "choyke purun", a dance that is performed during the central Mapuche ritual ceremony, the ngillatun (Pérez de Arce 2007). During the ngillatun, the community asks for blessings from the gods or requests them to perform certain actions, with the aim of maintaining the equilibrium of the mapu (Bacigalupo 2001). The choyke purun dance involves mimicking the movements of the choyke, or a large flightless bird native to the Patagonia region. Dressed as the choyke, groups of five men at a time take turns circling the altar and performing the dance. While the dancers perform, the machi (shaman) plays the kultrun drum to call on the spirits and

create a connection between the wenu mapu and the people on the earth. Among Puelche groups, the rhythm of the kultrun is also often accompanied by the playing of the trutruka, a type of trumpet, and the pifilka, a type of flute, as well as by a vocal performance by Mapuche women called the tayil that functions to invoke the ancestors and call them to participate in the ceremony (Robertson 2004). The choyke purun is particularly associated with the Puelche, an association that I will expand on later in this section.

In this song, Neyen Mapu describes the choyke purun and the ngillatun more generally, drawing on linguistic and other acoustic elements that form a part of this ceremony. While the song lyrics are primarily in Spanish, multiple Mapudungun words appear that are related to the inner workings of the dance performance and musical accompaniment. All of the Mapudungun words used in this song are nouns or variations of nouns, and they are placed within Spanish phrases and modified with Spanish determiners. Each Mapudungun word refers to a key element of the ngillatun, and therefore has strong religious connotations. For example, the words “machi” (shaman), “purufe” (dancer), and “piwüchen” (young boys who serve as mediators in the ceremony) refer to important figures within the context of the ceremony. There are also references to important ceremonial objects such as the “kultrun”, the sacred drum used by the machi, and the “rewe”, or the altar used by the machi. Finally, there are references to nature (“antü”=sun), gods (Futachao), and the movements of the dancers (“longkomeo”=head movement performed by the dancers). Together, these words describe many of the most important elements of the choyke purun.

The work of Jocelyn Ahlers provides one way of thinking about the work that these Mapudungun words are doing in the song. In her paper “Framing Discourse: Creating Community through Native Language Use” (2006), Ahlers describes how native language use is performed by non-native speakers in the context of Native language revitalization workshops for Northern Californian languages. She develops the concept of the “Native Language as Identity Marker”, or NLIM, which serves to index Native identity even when the primary language being spoken is not the Native one. Ahlers attributes this tendency to the desire of speakers to reach a pan-Indian audience, in settings where there are a large number of different tribal and linguistic groups represented. By indexing a Native identity, a Native person creates solidarity between different Native groups while performing an identity associated with their particular group (Ahlers 2006). While the context of Puelche music is clearly different than the context that Ahlers is writing about, I believe that the concept of the NLIM is useful for thinking about how Mapudungun words function in a song like the one described above. I argue that in songs such as “Puel Purrum”, the handful of Mapudungun words that appear serve as anchoring points that locate the song within a specifically Mapuche context. To give one example, the description of the “character” of the machi (shaman) is an especially important one in this song and in Mapuche tradition more generally. Historically, the machi served as the principal religious figure in each Mapuche community, conducting healing practices as well as community ceremonies such as the ngillatun (Bacigalupo 2001). However, as opposed to Mapuche communities in Chile, Puelche communities often no longer have a machi figure and instead draw on other

community members to perform these duties. By including the figure of the machi in this song, the musicians connect to a nostalgic past, but also to an imagined future in which the machi returns to have a key role in the community.

Like in Ahlers' work, anchoring words in the indigenous language can serve to bridge the gap between intra and inter group relationships; however, in the Mapuche case, the inter group relationship is not between multiple indigenous groups but instead between the Mapuche and a non-Mapuche, non-indigenous audience. On the one hand, the Mapudungun words included in a song like "Puel Purrum" will be immediately obvious to a large number of Mapuche people, even those who do not speak a large amount of the language. These words are associated with particular ceremonial practices and experiences within Mapuche communities. On the other hand, these connections will likely not be obvious to a non-Mapuche person. However, because the majority of the lyrics are in Spanish, that person will still be able to understand the majority of the referential meaning of the song. Therefore, the Mapudungun words and the cultural ideas they imply index a sort of insider belonging for Mapuche listeners, while still allowing outsiders to understand the majority of the song lyrics. In this way, reaching a non-Mapuche audience, one that is required for commercial success, is made possible while keeping the music located within a largely Mapuche framework.

Several authors writing on Mapuche fusion music have also noted that Mapudungun words appear to play an essential role. Sepulveda, analyzing several songs by the Chilean Mapuche metal band Pewmayen, claims that when Mapudungun words appear in Pewmayen's songs, these tend to be the words that are the most closely

intertwined with key Mapuche values and ideologies (Sepulveda 2011). These terms include natural and sacred terms like “foye” (a tree native to the Patagonian region), “peñi” (brother), and “Ngünechen” (Mapuche creator god). Drawing on Sepulveda, in his work on Mapuche hip hop and metal in Chile, Jacob Rekedal argues that Mapudungun words can serve to locate songs that have primarily Spanish lyrics within a Mapuche framework. He also examines a song by the band Pewmayen, “Weichafe Alex Lemún”, and argues that the Mapudungun word “wewaiñ” locates the song in a specific Mapuche context despite the vast majority of lyrics being in Spanish (Rekedal 2019). Both Sepulveda and Rekedal are examining songs produced by heavy metal bands, but this strategy of employing Mapudungun words appears to be applicable to other fusion styles as well.

Mapudungun words in música patagón also function as icons of a Mapuche identity. These words within the song create a sort of “feelingful iconicity”, what Webster defines as “felt attachments that accrue to expressive forms” (Webster 2009). In the case of audiences who do not understand Mapudungun or do not have a strong understanding of Mapuche cultural practices, these words do not necessarily index all of the culturally salient features that have been discussed. Even when no particular meaning is understood from a Mapudungun word, however, the word carries an iconic association with Mapuche identity and the Mapudungun language. In this sense, Mapudungun words are one way that Puelche musicians may become “icons of tradition” (Warren 2009) for a non-Mapuche audience, allowing their identities to be authenticated according to that audience’s expectations.

One question that arises when examining a song such as “Puel Purrum” is why the Mapudungun language only appears sporadically in *música patagón*. One interpretation we could make is that limited proficiency of the musicians in the Mapudungun language is resulting in its minimal usage. However, in other contexts, this has not proven a barrier to indigenous artists. Indigenous musicians with limited native language proficiency from other groups have found ways to write and perform their music primarily or even entirely in the native language. Another potential explanation for the use of majority Spanish language lyrics could be a desire to disseminate the music beyond a Mapuche audience, or to a Mapuche urban audience that does not have regular contact with cultural traditions such as the *ngillatun* (Sepulveda 2011). Online interactions with this music on platforms such as YouTube and Facebook suggest that while much of the uptake of these songs is occurring in the region where it was produced, an international audience is also being reached. People commenting on these songs online are from as far away as Mexico, England, and the United States. Musicians and music producers of Mapuche fusion music also express the desire to circulate the music beyond the local linguistic and regional context. Lito, a musician and the director of the venue where Neyen Mapu recorded their music, attributes the use of Spanish language lyrics as well as the use of genres such as rock and metal, to a desire to challenge the position of Buenos Aires as the central reference point for music in Argentina. “Everything has to come from Buenos Aires and the north for us to consume,” Lito says. “And this isn’t always bad. But ‘why not the other way around?’” (personal communication).

While choosing to write and perform music primarily in the dominant Spanish language opens up a wider audience for Mapuche musicians, it also creates the risk of these musicians being viewed as inauthentic. Laura Graham (2002) discusses the challenges of authenticity in her work with the Yanomami people in Brazil. Graham writes that when selecting a language to use in public settings, Native spokespeople must navigate a tradeoff between expectations of how a Native person should speak and communicative ability. By performing in the indigenous language, they run the risk of being inaccessible to the larger public. However, by performing in the dominant non-Native language, they run the risk of coming across as inauthentic or of being denied authorship of their own words (Graham 2002). Indeed, the Puelche have historically struggled with accusations of inauthenticity. Within Argentina today the “cuestión indígena” (indigenous problem) of the Mapuche and other indigenous groups remains largely invisible, leading many non-Mapuche citizens to picture the Mapuche as a people of the past, which fails to take into account not only the significant number of Mapuche in the modern day but also how the culture has changed and adapted over time (Delrio 2005). When the Mapuche do appear in the public eye, they are commonly represented as a tourist attraction, adding to the cultural authenticity of the country without addressing issues faced in the modern day political climate. The dominant national discourse suggests that the Mapuche “came from Chile” and therefore are not truly a part of the Argentine state. The Mapuche are thereby framed as invaders, who displaced smaller indigenous groups such as the Tehuelche and pose a threat to the interests of land-owning Argentine and international companies in the region (Delrio 2005, Marimán 2006). These

ideologies serve to both disenfranchise the Mapuche from making claims to territory and to assimilate them into a country that largely sees itself as the “Europe” of Latin America. In this context, Mapuche musicians must make strategic choices regarding when to employ or not employ their native language. In the *música patagón* tradition, the choice has been made to utilize primarily the Spanish language, while maintaining particular culturally salient terms in the native Mapudungun.

4 Embodying a Patagón Identity

*Vengo del sur
Viento y piedra
Traigo en mi voz
Son un pura
Grito que está
En mi mirada*

*Sureño soy
Truco de mi chai
Sureño soy
Duran de amankai
Sureño soy
Choyke purun*

*Vengo del sur
Longkomeo
Suena el kultrun
Tayil mapu
Ruegos que son
Milenario*

*I come from the south
Wind and stone
I bring in my voice
Sound a pure
Scream that is
In my gaze*

*I am a southerner
Trick of my chai
I am a southerner
Duran of amankai
I am a southerner
Choyke purun
I come from the south
Longkomeo
The kultrun sounds
Tayil mapu
Prayers that are
Millennial*

- “*Sureño Soy*”, *El Choique Llama*⁵

While I have argued that the Mapudungun language functions in música patagón in a largely iconic and indexical way, the referential and symbolic meanings of the lyrics also affect interpretations of the song. Especially in the use of Spanish language lyrics, key themes emerge, one of the primary ones being the connection to a regionally based Patagonian identity. This connection to the land is highly significant in the context of historical and current political conflict between the Puelche people and the Argentine nation state. While the Mapuche maintained control of large swaths of territory during the colonization of the Spanish in the seventeenth century and the early years of Argentine independence, in the nineteenth century the Argentine government began a series of state building projects aimed at incorporating the Patagonia region into the rest of the country. During the military campaign known as the Conquista del desierto (Desert Conquest), Argentine forces violently established control over Mapuche sovereign lands and forcibly relocated the Puelche to reservaciones (reservations) throughout the new southern provinces (Delrio 2005). While the desire to regain lost territory has always formed a part of Mapuche mobilization, these attempts became more prominent following the end of Argentina’s military dictatorship in 1983, under the new programs of neoliberalism and multiculturalism that were introduced in the country. The Instituto Nacional de Asuntos Indígenas (National Institute of Indigenous Issues) was established in 1985 with the aim to address Mapuche land claims in the region. However, the Puelche have been largely

⁵ Song was accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uK51IE6QFtA>

unsuccessful in reclaiming land due to conflicts between local and national government and the refusal of large landholders to relinquish their land (Vitar 2010). Despite this, territory continues to form a central part of Mapuche political and social movements in Argentina today.

When examining lyrics relating to land and territory in genres such as *música patagón*, then, we must consider the relationship between these lyrics and the political and social context of current Mapuche social movements. By positioning themselves as intimately connected to the southern lands of Argentina, Mapuche artists assert their territorial belonging, whether they intend to make a direct political claim or not. In *música patagón*, these claims are often implied indexically rather than directly stated. For example, in the song “Sureño Soy”, or “I am a Southerner”, the artist El Choike Llama draws on images of the Patagonia region to perform a “southern” identity that the song equates with being Mapuche. Like the label of “patagón”, “sureño” does not generally have to signify a Puelche identity. In the context of Argentina, “sureño” may simply refer to someone of any race or background who lives in the provinces south of Buenos Aires. In *música patagón*, however, a southern identity is explicitly connected to a Puelche one. In song lyrics, these connections appear through the juxtaposition of the Mapudungun and Spanish languages and through lyrical references to Mapuche cultural practices that locate the musician within a specific regional identity.

The song “Sureño Soy” (“I Am a Southerner”) by El Choike Llama opens with the singer stating that he “comes from the south” (“vengo del sur”). In the refrain of the song, the title phrase “I am a southerner” (“sureño soy”), repeats three times. Each

recitation of “sureño soy” is followed with a reference, in Mapudungun, to an element of Mapuche culture. The amankai, for example, is a type of flower native to the Patagonia region that plays an important role in Mapuche narratives. The choyke purun described in the previous section is referenced here as well, further suggesting that this ritual practice is a particularly salient Mapudungun concept. By placing a southern identity side-by-side with references to Puelche practices such as that of the choyke purun, this song lyrically embeds the Mapuche culture and Mapudungun language into the landscape of southern Argentina.

A connection between the Mapuche culture and the southern territories of Argentina is also established through references to landscape and climatic characteristics of this region. In the song “Nueva Fuerza” (“New Strength”) by Zuguncura, for example, the trope of the wind serves to both literally and metaphorically ground the Mapuche performer in the landscape. The wind first appears in the second line of the song (se agrieta la piel por tanto viento/the skin cracks from all the wind). On a literal level, the Patagonian region is known for its windy and constantly shifting climate. Therefore, the wind is a physical experience that someone living in the region would encounter frequently. Metaphorically, the wind connects to the song’s central theme of “nueva fuerza”, or “new strength”. This new strength refers to the revival of the Mapuche culture and language, as shown in the song through descriptions of people “wanting to learn the ancient language” (quieren aprender la lengua antigua) and “searching for their place again” (buscan de nuevo su lugar). This revival also specifically involves a relationship with the land. This relationship is emphasized through references to elements of the

landscape such as the mountains, the wind, and the flowers. The implication, then, is that this cultural revival would not be possible without the land itself.

The references to natural elements in this song, particularly that of the wind, also allow the Puelche musician who writes and performs the song to embody the Patagonian landscape and authenticate their identity as a legitimate representative of Mapuche cultural revival. References to specific embodied experiences allow an artist such as El Choike Llama to position himself as not only a “southerner” through his words, but also through the concrete, embodied relationship to the land that he and his music represent. By describing how the Patagonian winds “cause his skin to crack” (*se agrieta la piel por tanto viento*), the musician describes an embodied experience tied to the landscape. As someone whose body has been directly affected by the southern wind, the singer presents himself as an authentic southern person. An authentic southern person is also an authentic Puelche or Mapuche person. This situation offers an interesting comparison to Jillian Cavanaugh’s work with Bergamasco poets in Southern Italy. Like in the case of the vernacular poetry that Cavanaugh describes, in *música patagón* “the best poets are those whose own bodies are most harmoniously entextualized, that is, when the bodies represented in the poems and the bodies producing the poems align with this common stereotype” (Cavanaugh 2017, 73). In the case of *música patagón*, this entextualization occurs through a connection between the musician and the territories of Patagonia. While Cavanaugh finds that Bergamasco poets who are somewhat removed from these embodied processes may still produce “authentic” poetry within the genre, the embodiment of the musician in the land is required for someone to be a legitimate creator

and performer of *música patagón*. As far as I am aware, there are no bands that define their music as “*música patagón*” that live outside of the Patagonia region.

While *música patagón* requires musicians to validate their identities through connections to land, it does not require that association be with particular places, but rather with a more general regional identity. The indexicality that occurs through the referencing of place-based identities in *música patagón* is therefore different than the sort that Basso discusses in his work with the Western Apache (Basso 1988). Rather than utilizing specific place names to create meaning, musicians of *música patagón* draw on broader regional identities. Using a broader regional identity may serve several useful functions for Puelche musicians when addressing both Mapuche and non-Mapuche publics. First, in a situation when the majority of Puelche people no longer live in their original local context, or may not even be aware of exactly where this is, a “*patagón*” identity allows them a way to connect to physical space associated with being Mapuche. For non-Mapuche audiences, the focus on a southern or *patagón* identity plays into imaginations of the Patagonia region as a remote, mythical place far removed from the urban bustle of cities such as Buenos Aires. While a non-Mapuche person may not be able to relate to the specific cultural practices referenced in a song, they can relate to the atmosphere of Patagonia or imagine how that atmosphere might be. Through the signing about and indexing of a *patagón* or *sureño* identity, *música patagón* attracts both Mapuche and non-Mapuche people to connect to their imaginings of the southern Patagonian landscape.

Finally, the importance in *música patagón* of a land-based Patagonian identity offers an interesting comparison to other imaginings and interpretations of the Mapuche homeland of Wallmapu that have emerged in recent years. Through the use of the Mapudungun language, as well as the use of Mapuche musical instruments and visual imagery, Wallmapu has come to extend beyond geographic territory, while still maintaining that connections to the original Mapuche lands are important. In recent years, several scholars have directly linked recent technologies to a changing Mapuche perception of Wallmapu. Vitar and Andrews both argue that a new conception of Wallmapu is emerging via the internet, with Mapuche people utilizing increased access to the web to build community across borders (Vitar 2010, Andrews 2012). Mapuche scholar Luis Cárcamo-Huechante argues that Mapuche-produced radio programs have come to symbolize “an auditory struggle to reconstruct Wallmapu” (Cárcamo-Huechante 2013). In addition, literary scholar Mabel García Barrera writes that new conceptions of Wallmapu are emerging through the creation of a Mapuche national literature (García Barrera 2015). Therefore, *música patagón* appears in the context of a larger Mapuche movement aimed at gaining territorial, cultural, and linguistic autonomy from the Argentine and Chilean states. Like books, radio programs, and film, music serves as an access point for a geographically dispersed Mapuche community to access a shared cultural and linguistic identity.

5 Patagón Soundscapes

*Llegan nuevos hombres a la historia
Se agrieta la piel por tanto viento
Son de Patagonia bien al centro
Y de los pedreros en silencio*

*Son la gente nueva de la tierra
Como el choyke bailando en el tiempo
Gira el corazón y el pensamiento
Polverada que llega hasta el cielo*

*Buscando armonía natural
Oyes la memoria del kultrun
Los llamó la sangre a reafirmar
El viejo choyke purun
Viejo choyke purun
Nueva fuerza en el choyke purun*

*New men come forward in history
The skin cracks from so much wind
They are from all over Patagonia
And of the silent stoneworkers*

*They are the new people of the earth
Like the choyke dancing in time
The heart and mind revolve
A cloud of dust that reaches to the sky*

*Searching for natural harmony
You hear the memory of the kultrun
It called the blood to reaffirm
The old choyke purun
Old choyke purun
New strength in the choyke purun*

-Zunguncura, "Nueva Fuerza"⁶

⁶ Song was accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hgi92MddKgA>

In addition to linguistic resources, Puelche musicians draw on a wider Mapuche “soundscape” (Schafer 1977) to index a Mapuche and Patagonian identity. The use of Mapuche musical instruments serves as one way to create this Mapuche sonic environment. First, Puelche musicians draw on musical instruments that historically form a part of their culture. In 2007, musicologist José Pérez de Arce conducted an extensive overview of various Mapuche instruments that have been used throughout history. Among the Puelche people in Argentina, two particularly important musical instruments are the *trutruka* and the *pifilka*, which both have a strong relationship to ritual practice, being commonly used in ceremonies such as the *nguillatun* (Pérez de Arce 2007). Therefore, for someone who was accustomed to Mapuche ceremonial practices, the use of these instruments would recall these ritual settings. In *música patagón*, Mapuche instruments are commonly used to frame the song in a Mapuche soundscape. In the song “Puel Purrum” by Neyen Mapu, for example, the sound of a *trutruka*, accompanied by a drum beat recalling Mapuche drumming practices, echoes for over 30 seconds before it is joined by the electric guitars. By establishing the sound of the *trutruka* before introducing other “modern” instruments, Neyen Mapu positions their song as being explicitly Mapuche from the outset. Alongside the lyrical content, this instrument indexes the *ngillatun* ceremony and the *choique purrun* dance. Other instruments with fewer religious connotations, such as the *trompe*, or mouth harp, also appear frequently in *música patagón*. While the *trompe* was more recently introduced to Mapuche music practices, in Argentina it is strongly associated with the Mapuche people (Pérez de Arce 2007). The *trompe* opens the song “Nueva Fuerza” by Zuguncura, alongside flutes and guitars. While

the flutes and guitars recall criollo Argentine and Andean folk music traditions, the trompe connects more closely Mapuche musical practices. Again, by having this instrument featured from the very beginning of the song, a Mapuche soundscape is established as a framework through which the rest of the song can be approached.

The use of Mapuche traditional drum beats is another key sonic element of Neyen Mapu's music. In the song "Puel Purrum", the choyke purun is described not only linguistically, but also incorporated into the song via the principal rhythm; the drum beat used in this song recalls the rhythm that is used in the choyke purun dance. This drum beat, therefore, is transferred directly into the song, although rather than being played on the traditional kultrun, it is played on a modern drum set. When the kultrun is used in ritual contexts, its sound performs two essential functions. First, the kultrun rhythm allows the machi (shaman) to fall into a trance in order to achieve the states of consciousness required to perform the ritual. In addition, the kultrun serves a communicative function, allowing the machi to guide or give orders to her assistants during a ceremony (Pérez de Arce 2007). This communicative function also connects to the role of a drummer or percussionist in a rock or metal band, who is often responsible for leading the band through the song by establishing a consistent tempo and rhythm. The transfer of kultrun rhythms into música patagón is particularly interesting considering that the kultrun itself is never used in this sort of music, and in fact it is considered taboo to be used by non-approved people and outside of the ritual setting (personal communication). This instrument is considered to be appropriate only in the context of sacred settings, and only when used by Mapuche religious figures, primarily the machi or

shaman, that are trained to use it. However, by transferring the kultrun's sound and rhythm to the modern drum set, Mapuche artists are able to draw on rhythms associated with Mapuche traditional ceremonies without violating cultural taboos. In this way, "Puel Purrum" recreates the ritual aspects of the choique purrun in a new linguistic and acoustic context.

Since the sound of the kultrun is associated strongly with religious rituals, that connotation is also transferred to music featuring these sounds. Therefore, although this song is performed outside of traditional Mapuche ritual contexts, and takes place within a different style of music with a different intended audience, the choyke purun rhythm locates the song within a Mapuche ritual framework. The role of the choyke purun and ngillatun therefore take on new meanings and affordances as they are moved into this new genre. Historically, the ngillatun and its elements such as the choyke purun serve as a way for Mapuche communities to communicate with gods and ancestors and to make certain requests of them. In current political contexts, the process of Mapuche communities coming together to conduct such ceremonies is often connected to political resistance. By incorporating ngillatun elements into new contexts, Puelche people maintain traditional practices and connect them with revitalization movements in the community.

In the same way that regionally based lyrics may reach multiple audiences, the juxtaposition of Mapuche "sacred" instruments and sounds being played alongside "recreational" instruments and sounds such as the electric guitar again allows a larger potential audience to be reached. The themes of cultural and musical revival echoed

through the music are likely to resonate with Mapuche audiences, whereas other influences likely resonate with outside audiences as well. Comments on band videos on YouTube suggest that these musical instruments are one of the features that most capture the attention of viewers who are unfamiliar with them. Several commenters on Neyen Mapu's video for the song "Paso de Indios" remark on the use of the trutruka, expressing interest in this instrument and its unique sound. "Como se llama ese instrumento de viento .. ?? queda zarpado.!" ("What do you call this wind instrument..?? It's wild.!") one viewer comments. Many people also comment on how they enjoy the introduction to this video, where the trutruka is featured as the primary instrument. For listeners of these videos, the Mapuche sonic elements seem to be the most salient ones.

Mapuche musicians performing in the styles of metal or hard rock such as Neyen Mapu have found sounds and themes related to traditional Mapuche "music" as fitting especially well with this genre. The director of Sala Patagón argues that heavy metal lyrics, specifically in the subcategory of thrash metal, fit especially well with the desire of Mapuche artists to express rebellion about the Argentine and Chilean states (personal communication). The Chilean Mapuche musicians that Rekedal studies view the "dissonance" of heavy metal as providing a useful platform through which to express the "dissonances of revolutionary resistance" (Rekedal 2019). In Rekedal's research, musicians also claimed that the "dissonance" of heavy metal music connects well with the dissonant sounds common in traditional Mapuche soundscapes. One of these central dissonances is the polyphony and heterophony that form an essential part of Mapuche music. In ceremonies such as the ngillatun, multiple voices will perform variations of the

same melody in a continuous, overlapping production of sound (Pérez de Arce 2007). These overlapping layers of sound can offer appear chaotic to a non-Mapuche listener who is accustomed to more individually defined melodies. In addition, Mapuche music is known for slowly lowering in pitch throughout, leading to another sort of “dissonance”. This lowering in pitch occurs due to how changes in temperature affect the kultrun drum. The kultrun is heated before ceremonies such as the ngillatun, giving it a higher pitch initially. As the ceremony goes on, the kultrun cools off and the pitch drops. This change of pitch throughout the song goes against most Western European music traditions, in which changes in pitch of this sort are considered a technical error rather than an intentional part of the performance. Finally, the climate and landscape of Patagonia are considered especially important to the sound of this genre. For example, Rekedal makes a connection between the dissonant sounds of Mapuche metal and the idea of the “frontera” or frontier (Rekedal 2015). The rural Patagonian regions of Argentina and Chile are often conceptualized as isolated, wide open space, with a constantly shifting and sometimes hostile climate defined by wind and cold winters. This idea of the “frontier” leads to the use of dissonant and “darker” sounds to match the environment the music describes and is being created within.

Finally, it is important to note that the choyke purun and puel purun traditions are particularly associated with the Puelche who live in what is today Argentina. The choyke purun is considered to have originated with communities on the Eastern side of the Andes and later was brought to Mapuche groups in the West (Pérez de Arce 2007). Therefore, choosing the choyke purun as a central lyrical theme and musical style may allow

Puelche musicians another resource to perform their identity as authentic Mapuche people, with traditions particularly associated with their eastern section of the Mapuche territory. Historically, the many unique regional groups that formed the Mapuche community were known for their unique associated sounds (Pérez de Arce 2007). Therefore, Mapuche musicians continue this practice into the current day by drawing on sounds and traditions specifically related to the regions of their own Mapuche communities. By drawing on themes such as the choyke purun both lyrically and sonically, Puelche musicians assert a unique identity in relationship with their counterparts on the other side of the Andes.

6 Visual Elements of Música Patagón

While I have focused primarily on the use of language and other sonic elements to define the classification of música patagón, this paper would be incomplete without discussing a final factor that forms an essential part of this category: that of the visual imagery used to categorize and define it. The bands and artists that fall into this category utilize visual semiotics that draw heavily from Mapuche cultural traditions. In addition to the strategies discussed in other sections, this “culture of display” (Glass 2008) allows the performers of música patagón a means through which to express their authenticity as Puelche Mapuche, both for Mapuche and non-Mapuche listeners.

Band logos provide one area where Mapuche imagery is commonly used. Figure 1 shows the logo for the band Neyen Mapu. This logo pictures a kultrun, the Mapuche shamanic drum and perhaps the most iconic symbol of the Mapuche people that has come to represent all things Mapuche. The kultrun is seen as representing the Mapuche universe, particularly the relationship between the different horizontal and vertical planes that compose this universe (Grebe 1973). As mentioned previously, the kultrun is strongly connected with Mapuche ritual religious settings, and particularly with the machi, or Mapuche shaman, who plays this instrument during various ceremonies. By using this image for a logo, Neyen Mapu performs a strongly marked Mapuche identity. As mentioned previously, it is typically considered taboo to play the kultrun outside of ritual contexts. However, just as rhythms traditionally played on the kultrun have been transferred to the rock drum set in Mapuche fusion music, using the image of the kultrun

provides a sanctioned way to incorporate that important cultural object. In this way, the kultrun is frequently put into circulation both sonically and visually, even minus the presence of the material object. The band Zuguncura also employs the depiction of a Mapuche musical instrument in their band logo (Figure 2). In the logo, the band's name is split into its two Mapudungun words, "zungun" ("language/speech") and "cura" ("stone"); in between these two words appears a drawing of a piwilkalwe, a type of stone flute traditional to the Mapuche. As in the case of the kultrun, the depiction of the piwilkalwe visually presents a Mapuche-associated identity, one that is based in a sonic tradition composed of particular musical practices.



Figure 1: Neyen Mapu Band Logo (source: <https://www.metal-archives.com>)



Figure 2: Zuguncura Band Logo (source: <http://zunguncura.com>)

Utilizing images of musical instruments in band logos may also serve to “materialize both the remembrance of local events and the re-membering of socialites” (Glass 2008, 1) within the Mapuche community. A kultrun, for example, recalls for Mapuche audiences ritual ceremonies such as the ngillatun, which were historically carried out by communities connected by kinship relations. Non-Mapuche audiences will likely not have the same memories of ceremonial events to draw on, and therefore do not share in this process of remembrance. For these audiences, a kultrun band logo likely serves more of an iconic function, with the kultrun standing in as a direct representation of the Mapuche people. Through band logos, sonic and visual elements of Mapuche culture are used to brand Mapuche musicians and market them to potential audiences both within and outside of the Mapuche community.

Music videos allow another means through which Mapuche musicians may visually index particular identities and relationships. For example, in the music video for the song “Paso de Indios” by Neyen Mapu⁷, the camera first focuses on the highway sign marking the town of Paso de Indios. This road sign appears throughout the video, overlapping with various shots of the local landscape. The band members begin to enter the shot at the 45 second mark, and proceed to perform the song, with the scene alternating between the outside natural environment and the inside of Sala Patagón, where the song was recorded. In the shots of the band performing on the local landscape, the connection to the land that is verbally described through the song lyrics is physically

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bjc1z8uov2Y>

enacted through the production of the music video. The band members physically locate themselves in the territory that they originate from, establishing themselves as legitimate “patagónes”. The camera also offers several interesting shots that highlight the juxtaposition of the “Mapuche” and the “non-Mapuche”. For example, at moment 0:34, the camera focuses on a flag, painted with Neyen Mapu’s logo, spread out on the ground. Two electric guitars lie on top of the flag (Figure 3). The contrast this image creates between the traditional kultrun that appears in the band logo and the “modern” electric guitars offers a heightened example of the side-by-side juxtaposition that occurs throughout the whole video, with electric guitars and drums being played side by side with the Mapuche trutruka. In a similar way, this video contrasts the traditional outdoor landscape with the “modern” setting of the recording studio. These contrasts allow the musicians to draw on a wide set of imagery and resources to establish themselves as both Mapuche and as musicians in Argentina’s modern music scene.



Figure 3: “Paso de Indios” Music Video (source: <http://youtube.com>)

In videos such as this one, the significant camera time dedicated to showing the Patagonian landscape may also index particular political issues. Battles for territorial

rights have been at the forefront of Mapuche political concerns in both Chile and Argentina. In Argentina, many Mapuche communities have battled petroleum and mining companies for control over lands in the provinces of Neuquén, Rio Negro, and Chubut (Gutiérrez and Millaman 2016). By singing about these territories in their lyrics, and physically positioning themselves on these territories to film a music video, Mapuche artists naturalize the connection between the Mapuche and the land and assert their claims to these pieces of territory.

7 Audiences of Música Patagón

As the examples given in this paper reveal, *música patagón* depends on linguistic, sonic, and visual practices to index a Puelche Mapuche and Patagonian identity. These practices hold together a diverse group of artists and styles that otherwise would likely be classified as belonging to different genres. The fact that genres such as heavy metal and folklore are being classified together suggests that the most important classificatory elements are not those based on Western music divisions, but those based on the influences of Mapuche elements. Through the connection to the land and the importance of a “Patagonian” and “southern” identity, these songs are placed in a common category that is strongly associated with the Mapuche people. *Música patagón*, therefore, challenges both Mapuche and other Argentine genre classifications.

In the last section of this paper, I would like to consider in more detail the intended audiences of this type of music, as well as the audiences that are actually being reached. As mentioned previously, one of the primary goals of projects such as Sala Patagón is the wide circulation of regionally-focused musics. The music produced at Sala Patagón circulates in a variety of different ways, including through physical CDs, social media, and music performances. Word of mouth also appears to be important, with musicians around the region networking at music performances and in other Mapuche spaces. Social media serves as another essential means through which *música patagón* circulates. Sala Patagón runs a YouTube Account, a Facebook page, and an Instagram account, allowing the studio to circulate the music that is recorded there with a

potentially worldwide audience. As of April 30, 2019 there were 5,702 subscribers to the YouTube Channel, 2,479 friends on FB, and 479 followers on Instagram. While many smaller artists around the world now upload their music to streaming platforms such as Apple Music, Spotify, or Soundcloud, artists of música patagón are currently absent from these platforms.

Online social media platforms such as YouTube provide one way to analyze the sorts of audiences that are interacting with the work of música patagón artists. Comments on Neyen Mapu's music videos that are posted on YouTube, for example, come from a wide range of listeners. First, there are a significant number of comments in which people reference their Mapuche identities:

“acabó de conocer esta banda, tremendo trabajo peñis desde las lejanas tierras de talcahuano (cielo tronador) un mapuche de chile saludos y aguante el metal y la sangre MARRICHIWEU!!!!”

“i just learned about this band, tremendous work peñis from the far away lands of talcahuano (cileo tronador) a chilean mapuche greetings and metal and blood endure MARRICHIWEU!!!!”

Here, the commenter uses the Mapudungun word “peñi”, or brother, to establish a Mapuche kinship with the musicians. He refers to his specific Mapuche territorial identity, and ends his comment with the Mapuche expression “marrichiweu”. This expression, which may be translated as “we will win a thousand times”, is a common refrain within Mapuche activist movements and appears frequently in comments on this sort of video. There are also comments from viewers who identify with other indigenous groups who specifically reference their indigenous identities and place themselves in

solidarity with the Mapuche people. The top comment on the video for the song “Paso de Indios” reads the following:

“tengo catorce años soy mexicana pertenezco a la nación ñha ñhu y quiero decirles que me gusta su música sigan adelante hermanos mapuches ñha ñhu el mismo origen racial dueños legítimos del continente”

“i am fourteen years old i am mexican and from the ñha ñhu nation and i want to tell you all that i like your music keep moving forward mapuche brothers ñha ñhu the same racial origin the legitimate owners of the continent”

In this comment, the viewer specifically connects his enjoyment of this song to the shared kinship between his indigenous community and the Mapuche one. Despite likely not having a direct relationship to the Mapuche culture specifically, he is able to relate through a shared, pan-indigenous identity. Finally, multiple comments specifically refer to the Patagonian element of the music:

“Que lindo que suena el metal patagónico, tiene una esencia única como toda la región!”

“Metal patagónico sounds so beautiful, it has a one-of-a-kind essence like the whole region!”

“mágico, me recordó el tiempo que viví en la Patagonia. Gracias cabros.”

“magic, reminds me of the time that I lived in Patagonia. Thanks guys.”

Comments like these suggest that the Patagonian element of the music is particularly salient for listeners. These comments also lack the identification aspect that exists in the previous comments, suggesting that these viewers likely do not identify with the Mapuche or other indigenous cultures. Despite the lack of a shared ethnic or regional identity, the internet has widened potential audiences for música patagón by giving it the opportunity to circulate worldwide.

Música patagón also circulates through the platform of the radio. The owner of Sala Patagón also works as a sound technician at the local branch of LRA Radio Nacional, Argentina's national radio station, and has used his platform here to connect Mapuche musicians to a larger audience. The musicians who are featured on Radio Nacional programs, however, are from a much more limited category than those that record at Sala Patagón. The artists invited to perform at Radio Nacional Esquel, such as Valeriano Aviles, Eduardo Paillacán, and Beatriz Pichi Malen, are singer-songwriters whose music tends to fall into a folk or folklore style. This may partially be due to how some of the styles included under the umbrella of música patagón, such as heavy metal, are not considered palatable for general radio audiences. However, I believe that expectations regarding Mapuche authenticity that are held by non-indigenous Argentine audiences also likely influence this choice. Singer-songwriters who perform in a folklore style are more likely to be viewed as authentic representations of the Mapuche people, whereas musicians utilizing fewer "traditional" Mapuche elements in their music may be read as inauthentic and not providing the cultural experience that non-Mapuche audiences expect. While Sala Patagón is tailored specifically to address the needs of Patagonian musicians and audiences, then, Radio Nacional Esquel allows certain types of Mapuche music to be disseminated to a largely non-indigenous audience in Argentina.

8 Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that the recent genre of *música patagón* has become an important classification of music in Southern Argentina. This genre challenges the traditional classifications applied to both indigenous Mapuche music and many other music genres within Argentina. While *música patagón* is produced by musicians from a wide range of musical styles, these songs are held together by shared characteristics such as a mix of Mapudungun and Spanish lyrics, lyrical themes involving land and territory, and the use of Mapuche instrumental and acoustic traditions to create a Mapuche specific soundscape. Recently, Sala Patagón in Argentina's Chubut Province has been at the forefront of producing this type of music, and has elaborated a mission of disseminating Patagonian culture and language to Mapuche and non Mapuche publics. Looking forward, Sala Patagón aims to continue to expand the scope of its work to include even wider audiences. Already, these Mapuche fusion musics have expanded outside of Argentina and Chile through the internet as well as through other platforms such as radio and word of mouth. As new audiences continue to be reached, Puelche musicians must walk the line between presenting themselves as authentic representations of the Mapuche community while also being able to connect to a non-Mapuche audience. As discussed in this report, multiple authenticities are established through the deployment of particular linguistic, sonic, and visual performances. New audiences may result in additional authenticities appearing that Puelche musicians must confront in their work.

Ultimately, the central theme of *música patagón* is the connection to the land. By drawing on a regional “patagón” identity, Puelche musicians locate their identities outside of the framework of the Argentine nation state. This land-based patagón identity reflects Mapuche territorial reclamation movements founded in conceptualizations of the Mapuche nation of Wallmapu. By connecting themselves to land through song, Puelche musicians assert not only ideological but also physical identities located in the landscape. By drawing on a wide range of strategies and mediums, including that of music production, the Mapuche draw on an always-shifting variety of cultural and linguistic resources to contextualize and strengthen community bonds in modern Argentina.

Appendix: Song Transcripts

Note on Transcripts:

Spanish text appears in the first column, English in the second. Words in Mapudungun are bolded and left untranslated, with footnotes explaining the significance of each term.

#1 ⁸	Puel Purrum ⁹ por Neyen Mapu ¹⁰	Puel Purrum by Neyen Mapu
1	Ha llegado el nuevo día	A new day has arrived
2	asomando está el antü ¹¹	Antü is appearing
3	y la mano de la machi ¹²	And the hand of the machi
4	temblequeando en el kultrun ¹³	Trembling on the kultrun
5	El rewe ¹⁴ está preparado	The rewe is ready
6	los piwüchenes ¹⁵ también	The piwüchenes as well
7	ya están los cinco purufes ¹⁶	Already the five purufes are here
8	que harán el choyke purun ¹⁷	That will do the choyke purun
9	Longkomeo, longkomeo ¹⁸	Longkomeo, longkomeo
10	la tribu alentando va	The tribe is slowly healing

⁸ Song can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EpkiK70gII>

⁹ *Puel Purrum*= dance of the east.

¹⁰ *Neyen*=force/energy, *mapu*=earth/territory/land.

¹¹ *Antü*=sun.

¹² *Machi*=Mapuche shaman/medicine person.

¹³ *Kultrun*= Ceremonial Mapuche drum, traditionally used by a Mapuche *machi* in a variety of ritual activities. The kultrun is also viewed as representing the Mapuche universe, and is perhaps the most recognizable symbol associated with the Mapuche.

¹⁴ *Rewe*= Altar used to conduct Mapuche religious ceremonies, traditionally made from the *foye* (canelo) tree.

¹⁵ *Piwüchen*= In this context, piwüchen refers to two young boys who play a central role in the nguillatun ceremony, acting as embodiments of the original ancestors. The plural form used in this song, “piwüchenes”, is a castillization, with the “-es” plural form coming from Spanish.

¹⁶ *Purufe*=dancer; one who does the purrún. Again, the form used in this song, “purufe-s”, contains the plural marker “-s” from the Spanish language.

¹⁷ *Choyke purun*= a ritual Mapuche dance (*purun*=dance) in which dancers imitate the movement of the *choyke*, a large flightless bird native to the Patagonian region (known in Spanish as the ñandú).

¹⁸ *Longkomeo*=A Mapuche dance and music genre that falls under the category of *choyke purun*.

Longko=head (often used to describe the leader of a Mapuche community); *Meo*=with.

11	Longkomeo, longkomeo	Longkomeo, longkomeo
12	la tribu alentando va	The tribe is slowly healing
13	Comenzó la rogativa	The prayer began
14	que tres días durará	That will last for three days
15	ya la machi kultrunera	Already the machi kultrunera
16	el kultrun golpeando está	Is beating the kultrun
17	Longkoteando los purufes	Longkoteando the purufes
18	alrededor del altar	Around the altar
19	grito sagrado del indio	Sacred cry of the Indian
20	en el azul pedirá	In the blue will cry out
21	Que la hacienda sea buena	That the farm will do well
22	que el año les sea igual	That the year will as well
23	se reproduzca la hacienda	That the farm will reproduce
24	para tener bienestar	To have well being
25	Han atado las ovejas	They've tied the sheep
26	que han de sacrificar	That will be sacrificed
27	y el corazón palpitando	And the beating heart
28	a Futachao ¹⁹ ofrendará	Will be offered to Futachao

¹⁹ *Futachao*= Mapuche deity; "Great Father".

#2 ²⁰	“Sureño Soy” por El Choike Llama ²¹	“Sureño Soy” by El Choike Llama
1	Vengo del sur	I come from the south
2	Viento y piedra	Wind and stone
3	Traigo en mi voz	I bring in my voice
4	Son un pura	Sound a pure
5	Grito que está	Scream that is
6	En mi mirada	In my gaze
7	Sureño soy	I am a southerner
8	Truco de mi chai	Trick of my chai
9	Sureño soy	I am a southerner
10	Duran de amankai ²²	Duran of amankai
11	Sureño soy	I am a southerner
12	Choyke purun ²³	Choyke purun
13	Vengo del sur	I come from the south
14	Longkomeo ²⁴	Longkomeo
15	Suena el kultrun ²⁵	The kultrun sounds
16	Tayil mapu ²⁶	Tayil mapu
17	Ruegos que son	Prayers that are
18	Milenario	Millennial

²⁰ Song can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uK51IE6QFtA>

²¹ *Choique Llama*= This band name refers to two Patagonian animals, the choyke (see footnote 12) and the llama.

²² *Amankai*=native flower of the Patagonian region that forms an essential part of Mapuche narratives.

²³ See footnote 12.

²⁴ See footnote 13.

²⁵ See footnote 8.

²⁶ *Tayil*=Female vocal performance, often performed in the context of the *ngillatun*, in which Mapuche women establish communication with gods through invocation of kinship or lineage ties.

#3 ²⁷	“Nueva Fuerza” por Zunguncura ²⁸	“New Strength” by Zunguncura
1	Llegan nuevos hombres a la historia	New men come forward in history
2	se agrieta la piel por tanto viento	The skin cracks from so much wind
3	son de Patagonia bien al centro	They are from all over Patagonia
4	y de los pedreros en silencio	And of the silent stoneworkers
5	Son la gente nueva de la tierra	They are the new people of the earth
6	como el choyke ²⁹ bailando en el tiempo	Like the choyke dancing in time
7	gira el corazón y el pensamiento	The heart and mind revolve
8	polvareda que llega hasta el cielo	A cloud of dust that reaches to the sky
9	Buscando armonía natural	Searching for natural harmony
10	oyes la memoria del kultrun ³⁰	You hear the memory of the kultrun
11	los llamó la sangre a reafirmar	It called the blood to reaffirm
12	el viejo choyke purrun ³¹	The old choyke purun
13	viejo choyke purun	Old choyke purun
14	nueva fuerza en el choyke purun	New strength in the choyke purun
15	Vén a conocer las nuevas flores	Come to know the new flowers
16	que al amanecer lo cuida el fuego	That at dawn are sustained by the fire
17	regalo del monte y sus colores	Gift of the mountain and its colors
18	sonrisa del sol de un día nuevo	Smile of the sun of a new day
19	viven nuevos hombres en mi tierra	New men live in my land
20	que buscan de nuevo sus lugar	That search for their place again

²⁷ Song can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hgi92MddKgA>

²⁸ The band name *Zunguncura* draws on both Spanish and Mapudungun: “zungun”=language/speech in Mapudungun; “cura”=stone/rock in Mapuzugun; cure/healing in Spanish.

²⁹ See footnote 12.

³⁰ See footnote 8.

³¹ See footnote 12.

21	quieren aprender la lengua antigua	They want to learn the ancient language
22	quieren desterrar la soledad	They want to banish loneliness

Glossary: Mapudungun Words

Antü = Sun

Choyke = A large flightless bird native to the Patagonian region

Choyke Purun = A ritual Mapuche dance (purun=dance) in which dancers imitate the movement of the *choyke*

Futachao = Mapuche deity; “Great Father”

Kultrun = A ceremonial drum, traditionally used by the *machi* in a variety of ritual activities; represents the Mapuche universe

Kura = Stone; rock

Longkomeo = A Mapuche dance and music genre that falls under the category of *choyke purun*. Longko=head (often used to describe the leader of a Mapuche community); Meo=with

Machi = Shaman; medicine person

Mapu = Earth; territory; land

Mapuche = People of the earth

Mapudungun = Language of the earth

Newen = Force; energy; strength

Ngillatun = Rogation ceremony in which the community asks for blessings from the gods or requests them to perform certain actions, with the aim of maintaining equilibrium between the spirit and human planes

Peñi = Brother

Piwüchen = In the context of this report, piwüchen refers to two young boys who play a central role in the nguillatun ceremony, acting as embodiments of the original ancestors

Puelche = People of the east; used to refer to the Mapuche people on the eastern side of the Andes

Puelmapu = Land of the east

Purufe = Dancer; one who dances

Purun = Dance

Rewe = Altar used to conduct Mapuche religious ceremonies, traditionally made from the *foye* (canelo) tree

Tayil = Female vocal performance, often performed in the context of the *ngillatun*, in which Mapuche women establish communication with gods through invocation of kinship or lineage ties

Wallmapu = Mapuche homeland, territory, or nation

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