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The Word Is the Flower: Reflections on the Mapudungun Translator as Political Activist

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**The Word Is the Flower:
Reflections on the Mapudungun Translator as
Political Activist**

Master's Thesis

Linguistics: Translation

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ABSTRACT

This thesis ventures into the particular climate of Mapudungun translators in Chile and scrutinizes the possibility of translation as an instrument of Mapuche activism. It investigates notions of political agency, habitus, hybridity, and fluency to establish whether these suit the postcolonial condition of Indigenous Latin America. The study's theoretical framework builds upon translation theories that consider the ties between transformative practices and political or activist engagement. The literature review explores the transformative elements of translation to deduce how activist translation can be defined. It additionally dissects Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus and agency to comprehend and analyze transformative translation practices in the postcolonial condition. This debate on postcolonial and translatorial paradigms is complemented by a consideration of the overarching crucial role of translation in Mapuche literature and the significant link between Indigenous identity and language. This thesis expands upon Bhabha's hybridity and Venuti's fluency to examine the viability of Rivera Cusicanqui's *ch'ixi* as a framework to study Mapudungun translation. The study relies on semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis to determine the political means of Mapudungun translations. The results provide insight into the different forms of sociopolitical translation undertaken by Mapudungun translators and what can be considered the task of the Mapudungun translator. Most importantly, this work provides incentive for further research into translation practices in Indigenous Latin America and demonstrates why this cultural region should not remain overlooked.

Keywords: Political agency, Mapudungun, translating and interpreting, Mapuche literature, postcolonial theory, *Ch'ixi*

PREFACE

My grandfather, Blas Soto Pereira, was born in the 1930s near the Lanalhue lake of the Arauco province in Chile. Like his mother, who had a Mapuche father, he did not speak the language of his ancestors and was only familiar with a few words. Nonetheless, he never failed to express pride when discussing his roots and told us, his descendants, to never be ashamed of this ancestry either.

The desire to retrace my roots and to learn about Mapuche culture and language, along with my passion for translation, drove me to research the power borne by language and the role of translation in amplifying the voices that articulate Indigenous demands. I strived to approach this subject with the utmost respect and I wish that others interested in these Indigenous endeavors do the same.

This lengthy work would have been impossible to create without the guidance I received from Dr. Tim Reus and Dr. Eduardo Alves Vieira who have not only provided insight into the fields of Translation Studies and Latin America Studies but also gave general advice to tackle the challenges of conducting and presenting research. Likewise, the contributions by the participants of this study—Claudia, Cecilia, Ítalo, Rosendo, Sonia, and Victor—played a crucial role in gathering the knowledge required for the formulation of the answer to this study’s research question. Lastly, I would like to thank everyone who has supported me and aided me in achieving this goal. I am extremely grateful for every contribution, whether big or small.

Küpa rüngalngefuiñ, kimüñmangelafuiñ rume taiñ fün ngefel

They tried to bury us without knowing that we were seeds

Kimeltuwe

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1. Introduction

Since the dawn of time, different modes of communication have been integral to our histories and cultures. Evidence of this specific activity, which strongly implicates our sense of language, identity, and intercultural understanding, can be discovered in ancient Near Eastern clay tablets and continues vigorously in twenty-first-century digital technology. From ancient times to the present, it has accompanied royal conquests and empire movements, trade routes, and human migration. Translation has been present wherever humans have introduced new languages and cultures, changing civilizations, literature, and customs in diverse ways. Furthermore, as psychoanalysts, poets, and theorists have pointed out, translation plays an important—if underappreciated—role in developing individual subjectivity, agency, and identity (Bermann and Porter 2014, 1).

In the Americas, the most prevalent act of translation documented in historical records is between Indigenous communities and colonizers of European descent. During these times, Indigenous translators acted as intermediaries between cultures that had flourished miles apart for thousands of years. Postcolonial debates concerning these intermediaries, such as the famous Nahuatl translator known as La Malinche, chiefly position the role of such translators and their contributions in the context of initial explorations and military incursions by alien forces instead of focusing on the purpose translation served for Indigenous peoples.

Similarly, in the 1940s, Native peoples from the Americas served as indispensable intermediaries for the same settler authorities that established policies to oppress Indigenous communities. The undertakings conducted by Indigenous individuals as code talkers from more than fifteen Native nations in the United States as transmitters of secret messages in their native tongues were crucial to Allied victory in World War II (National World War II Museum, n.d.).

Thus, unsurprisingly, numerous scholars consider the translatorial efforts of Indigenous people a symbolization of their role as invisible victims or pawns. It appears, however, that they fail to observe how Natives employed translation to advocate for their interests or on behalf of larger communities. The latter stimulated academics to approach Indigenous translation from a different perspective. To what extent did Indigenous peoples resist linguistic assimilation? What role did translation play in these endeavors? And how, if at all, can one define this form of agency?

With these questions in mind, this thesis shifts its focus from the aforementioned North and Central American settings to the far end of South America whilst looking at its subject through the same lens through which colonial and postcolonial scholars have studied Indigenous translatorial efforts. It seeks to investigate these undertakings by formulating an answer to the following research question: How do literary translators of Mapudungun-Spanish in Chile employ translation to raise sociopolitical awareness of the preservation and revitalization of Mapudungun? Two additional sub-questions are proposed to properly comprehend the sociolinguistic aspects that may impact the answer to this question. (1) What role does the Mapuche identity play in the considerations of translators who work with this language? (2) How can the task of the Mapudungun translator be defined in a socio-political context?

This qualitative study collected its data through semi-structured interviews. The interviews gathered qualitative information on the participants' cultural backgrounds, experiences as translators, ideas on the political function of a translator, translation methodologies, and experiences with language death. The study employs Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's concept of *ch'ixi*, the antagonizing and complimentary coexistence of two distinct cultures, to reflect on Mapuche identity and its link to language. Next, a combination of the

sociological concept of habitus and activist translation paradigms are adopted to understand the social conditioning that marks discussions of Mapuche identity and translatorial activism.

In addition to answering the research questions, this thesis proposes that the *ch'ixi* paradigm is one of the more viable and appropriate conceptual models to adopt in discourses on translation in Indigenous Latin America. Most importantly, this research aims to shed light on the demands of the Mapuche Nation and to provoke scholars in the field of Translation Studies to consider this cultural region, as studying its translatorial context also answers questions regarding language and identity formation.

The following chapter first explores the present-day political climate of Mapudungun translators in Chile by correlating Mapuche culture, history, and language with translatorial and postcolonial theories and concepts. Chapter 3 delineates the methodological approach and data analysis strategies employed in this research. Chapter 4 debates the profound link between Mapuche identity and perspectives on language and translation and how Mapuche understandings of identity shape this definition. Chapter 5 focuses on the sociopolitical definition of the Mapudungun translator's task and attributes the participants' approaches to a different paradigm of translatorial activism to answer the main research question. Lastly, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings in the previous chapters and concludes the thesis by underlining its limitations and recommendations for further research.

2. Literature Review

This chapter provides the theoretical framework of the thesis. It discusses the most prominent strengths and shortcomings in the academic literature on the central theme of this work. First, section 2.1 treats the historical and cultural background of the Mapuche in Chile, focusing on their origins; colonization; conflicts with the modern nation-state; and Mapuche identity in present-day Chile. Next, section 2.2 introduces the linguistic perspective of the thesis, debating the revitalization of Mapudungun and the emergence of bilingual Mapuche literature. Section 2.3 investigates the discourses on postcolonial translation and the political agency of the translator, and concludes this chapter with a formulation of the theoretical framework deployed in this study.

2.1 Retracing the Roots – Mapuche in Chile

Today, the Mapuche people are the majority Indigenous group in Chile (Albó et al. 2009, 128; Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 14). Mapuche means people of the land, or *gente de la tierra* in Spanish (Waldman 2012, 57). This Indigenous group is mainly concentrated in the country's south, the region known as La Araucanía (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 14). However, the *Araucanos*¹—as the Spanish conquistadors denominated them—originally inhabited far greater territory, including central and southern regions of Chile and southern mainland parts of Argentina (14).

Despite playing a significant role in Mapuche history and forming a turning point in the flourishing of Mapuche culture, this territorial and colonial conflict between the Spanish conquistadors and later the Chilean state will be set aside for now as this section first shifts its

¹ This denomination demonstrates a constancy in upholding the disparaging vision the Spanish colonizers had of the Mapuche (Sáez-Arance 2015, 13).

focus toward the exploration of the origins of Mapuche people. As implied, the subsections following 2.1.1 are dedicated to the careful but critical scrutiny of the existing academic literature on the colonization of pre-Hispanic Chile, the continuing friction between the Mapuche and the Chilean state, and finally, the complex understanding of Mapuche identity.

2.1.1 The Origins of the People of the Land

This subsection traces the roots of Mapuche history, drawing on my assumption that a discussion of the origins of Mapuche culture and its traditions may allow one to grasp a fundamental understanding of Mapuche identity, one of the central themes of this thesis. It first focuses on a particular attribute of Mapuche history, the absence of knowledge on the genesis of earth and man, as historian and anthropologist Bengoa (1996) denotes. He explains that the first legend of the Mapuche peoples does not clarify how they came to be or where they came from. Instead, it focuses on a people that had already settled in the southern regions of Chile (Bengoa 1996, 9).

“The tale of the flood,” or *Xeg Xeg ka Kay Kay* describes a fierce battle between the Mapuche and the natural forces of the planet. The sea, the water, and the mountains—central elements of this region—imprison men as if between two pincers, Evil and Good, dueling for the narrow lands. Those who survived became the founders of Mapuche culture, and those who did not transformed into rocks, fish, and other natural creations. Humankind, nature, religion, culture and society, and life and death emerged from this moment (Bengoa 1996, 9).

This legend illustrates how cataclysm and struggle birthed the culture of the Mapuche. Several years later, it is a cataclysm and struggle that threaten to bring an end to their existence as the Spaniards set foot on their lands.

2.1.2 The Colonial Epoch

The Mapuche had faced great opponents before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors in 1536. For instance, Tupac Inca and his warriors could not conquer most of Mapuche territory despite their immense strength and victory at the northern borders (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 506). Likewise, whereas the Spaniards managed to defeat the Indigenous populations of the rest of Latin America, they failed to conquer the Mapuche lands. Thus, the two parties signed numerous treaties establishing the Bío-Bío River as the border between Chile and Mapuche land (Richards 2010, 61; Richards 2007, 213).

It was not long, however, before the revolutionary patriots of the Chilean colony started demanding independence and incorporating the Mapuche as symbolic references, “the Indian representing love for the soil and fatherland,” to justify the war against Spain from 1810 to 1818 (Richards 2010, 61). After the independence, the autonomy over the independent territory remained in Mapuche hands, albeit under the rising pressure of the Chilean state. The final blow to Mapuche independence was delivered in 1881 when the Chilean military annexed the land in a campaign known as *La Pacificación de la Araucanía* (Kowalczyk 2013, 125).

2.1.3 Mapuche vs. Chilean State

Once conquered by the Chilean state, a significant shift took place in the discourse vis-à-vis the Mapuche, with significant economic, geopolitical, cultural, and linguistic impact on the people of the land. First, the Mapuche were relegated to reserved areas called *reducciones*, separated by the parcels of land assigned to Chilean peasants and newly arrived European immigrants. These reservations made up a mere 6.4 percent of their original territory (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 507). As a result, the Mapuche were forced to become peasants, plagued by poverty since the living conditions in the reservations were often of exceedingly poor quality (Kowalczyk 2013, 125).

The introduction of reservations was one of the various assimilation policies the Mapuche were subjected to. They were obliged, for example, to adapt to the Chilean educational system or perform military service (Kowalczyk 2013, 125). These policies were intended to demolish the Mapuche unity and their culture's traditions and invoked considerable antagonism between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Chile (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 507). In the past, politicians and newspapers alike characterized the Mapuche as savage and uncivilized creatures. This rhetoric was then transformed into the notion of "mestizaje" (Richards 2010, 62).

As scholars Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman (2002) stress, nation-building requires homogenization: Western and Indigenous idiosyncrasies should be diminished on behalf of the nation's identity (7). Thus, racial and cultural mixing became an assimilation tool for the Chilean state, used to disintegrate minority identities into a mass of homogeneous patriotic citizens (Richards 2010, 62). While Mapuche identity was formerly acknowledged as a symbol of nation-building, it is shunned by authorities and media in the present.

2.1.4 Smoke signals – Discrimination, Resistance, and Rebellion

The establishment of *reducciones* shortly after the annexation of the Araucanía Region in the late 19th century coincidentally invoked the cultivation of ancient cultural practices, in addition to a small revival of communication in Mapudungun, resulting in an ethnic subculture of resistance (Kowalczyk 2013, 125; Gallegos et al. 2010, 97). Furthermore, the transformation of Mapuche culture in terms of modernity raised interest in participation in the Chilean political scene, which resulted in the emergence of various Mapuche organizations defending the right to their prior territory and opposing the racism and discrimination exerted by political authorities and media (Kowalczyk 2013, 125).

Soon, being both an ethnic minority and a popular class of predominantly peasants, the Mapuche entered a period of intensified social struggles in the 1950s and 1960s (Kowalczyk 2013, 125). By the end of the 1960s, they had united to reclaim their previous lands, due in part to agrarian reforms first led by President Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964–1970) and subsequently by the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) administration (1970–1973) (Waldman 2012, 58). However, owing to the lens through which policymakers and academics perceived the Mapuche, Chilean presidents, including Eduardo Frei and later Salvador Allende (1970-1973), mainly addressed Mapuche land concerns in the context of their peasantry (Richards 2007, 214).

Nevertheless, these presidencies—and especially that of Allende—yielded small victories for the Mapuche organizations (Waldman 2012, 58). In 1972, parliament enacted a modified version of a bill formerly suggested by Indigenous organizations in 1970. This law was the first to recognize Indigenous people as living independently of their territories; it established an Institute of Indigenous Development and contained a vow to return the seized Mapuche lands (Richards 2010, 64).

Nevertheless, these efforts were halted—or perhaps one could say *were reversed*—after the military coup the following year. First, individuals who engaged in the agrarian reforms were subjected to severe political oppression, including executions, disappearances, torture, and jail, since Mapuche were often labeled communists by the Chilean military (Waldman 2012, 58). Additionally, the arrival of neoliberal capitalism under the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1989) focused on forestry expansion and forced the Mapuche to leave the lands that had been returned to them during Allende’s presidency (Kowalczyk 2013, 126; Waldman 2012, 58).

Under the military dictatorship, the government dropped the term Indigenous from the official lexicon since it pushed for Mapuche incorporation into Chilean culture. This decision sparked Mapuche resistance, which stimulated the return of Mapuche peoples to democracy

(Waldman 2012, 59). The industry's expansion was accompanied by massive environmental destruction, including the eradication of native forests in favor of fast-growing normative tree species such as pine and eucalyptus, the depletion of streams and underground water due to abnormal tree growth—resulting in water scarcity in nearby communities—and the usage of pesticides from planes, frequently contaminating cattle and water resources (Kowalczyk 2013, 126).

This expansion of global agricultural production reactivated Mapuche mobilizations, which fused the struggle for land with environmental concerns—a feature of Indigenous movements emerging in Latin America in the 1980s that was absent from Indigenous discourse in the 1950s and 1960s. The burgeoning ecological movement in North America and Western Europe is highly likely to have affected the environmental discourse (Kowalczyk 2013, 126). Finally, in 1988, the Chileans voted in a referendum against the reelection of Pinochet, and in 1989 the dictatorship of Pinochet had come to a close (Kowalczyk 2013, 126; Waldman 2012, 59).

The post-dictatorship regimes attempted to mend a socially and politically fragmented and profoundly polarized nation. To promote national reconciliation, they accepted intellectual pluralism as a democratic ideal (Waldman 2012, 59-60). The quincentennial of the “discovery” of the Americas in 1992 paved the way for a synchronized Indigenous mobilization across the continent, with Indigenous people organizing various activities to openly denounce the invasion and colonization of the Americas. The Mapuche movement gradually evolved into an ethnically informed consciousness (60). Consequently, in 1993, the National Congress implemented a new Indigenous Law (Richards 2010, 68; Kowalczyk 2013, 127).

The 1993 Indigenous Law promised the protection and expansion of land and water rights for the Indigenous people of Chile and established the *Corporación de Desarrollo Indígena* (National Indigenous Development Corporation, CONADI) for these and other

policies (Richards 2010, 68). Nonetheless, several academics argue that CONADI activities on behalf of Chile's Mapuche population were contradictory and hypocritical (Kowalczyk 2013, 127; Waldman 2012, 61; Foerster and Vergara 2000, 13). The succeeding decades remained marked by struggle, oppression, and oftentimes bloodshed.

The Anti-Terrorist Law (1984) enacted under the Pinochet regime permits penalties up to three times higher than those imposed in the Chilean Criminal Code and deems acts committed with the objective of “creating fear in the community” or “imposing demands on authorities” to be terrorism (Sáez-Arance 2015, 223). Thus, numerous activist protests by Mapuche have been classified as terrorism. The severe punishment of this law is condemned by human rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch and the UN Human Rights Council (223). Likewise, in 2019, the non-governmental Indigenous rights organization Cultural Survival drafted a report stating that Chile's efforts to align its legislation with the needs of its Indigenous population were lacking. Their main criticism: the criminalization of Mapuche protests and the deep-rooted discrimination in both the justice system and mainstream media (Cultural Survival 2019, 2).

2.1.5 What it Means to Be Mapuche

Indigenous identity is frequently strongly tied to a sense of place—a physical, spiritual, and social connection to the land (Valenzuela and Unzueta 2015, 2094). As portrayed in the brief synopsis of the myth of *Xeg Xeg ka Kay Kay*, the land has a profound meaning for the Mapuche. It can be suggested that, at times, only those with significant ties to the homeland are granted the right to Mapuche identification (Valenzuela and Unzueta 2015, 2094; Waldman 2012, 57).

Nowadays, most Mapuche reside in the urban regions of Chile, having abandoned their original settlements (Valenzuela and Unzueta 2015, 2059; Zúñiga and Olate 2017). Hitherto, the inhabitants of the coastal territory identified as *Lafquenche*, those from the eastern side of

the Andes as *Pehuenche*, and the Mapuche in the south of the territory as *Huilliche* (Albó et al. 2009, 129). However, nationalist ideology, migration, assimilation, and discrimination had led many Mapuche to cast aside their Indigenous background (Foerster and Vergara 2000, 16).

The notion of *mestizaje* in Latin America, along with the aforementioned factors, yielded confusion regarding the ethnic identity of the descendants of the somewhat estranged Mapuche in urban regions (Oteíza and Merino 2012). In their study on Mapuche identity, Oteíza and Merino (2012) argue that most Mapuche adolescents take pride in their Mapuche roots. Nonetheless, several ethnic markers, e.g., a Mapuche surname, physical appearance, rural home, and lack of participation in Mapuche rituals and ceremonies, created tensions in self-identification (314). Overall, it should be noted that much of these tensions are heavily related to proficiency in their language, Mapudungun, spoken fluently by less than ten percent of Mapuche in urban Chile in 2006 (Oteíza and Merino 2012, 307; Gallegos et al. 2010, 96).

2.2 Mapudungun – Preservation and Revitalization

Mapudungun has become the second language (L2) of most Mapuche, particularly adults and children (Lagos, Espinoza and Rojas 2013, 406). Returning to the concept of nation-building described in the previous section, one should bear in mind that homogeneity entails language unity, which the authorities strived to achieve through language planning² (henceforth LP) mechanisms (Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 2002, 7). In the Chilean case, regardless of the secondary role of Mapudungun, the dominant role is reserved for Spanish (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 606). However, as argued in subsection 2.1.5, Indigenous peoples of the

² Language policy practices aimed at bringing about a deliberate shift in language usage in one or more communities (Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 2002, 7).

American continent highly value language proficiency and might even consider language a primary vehicle for asserting an identity (Romaine 2006, 465).

Since parents realized that using Mapudungun would result in social and economic alienation of their children from Chileans, many families forbid their children to speak or learn Mapudungun (Gallegos et al. 2010, 97). As Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas (2013) highlight in their article on LP and its influence on Mapudungun, the language not only ceases to be spoken or taught; there are also fewer and fewer public domains that demand its use (406). Furthermore, various scholars argue that the community's attitude toward the language plays a significant role in its survival (Crystal 2000, 19; Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas 2013, 407; Bradley 2002, 1). Does this signify that the Mapuche language will soon find itself on the brink of death? And if so, why should we care?

This section endeavors to answer these questions while delving deeper into the meaning of language death and revitalization and focusing on one of today's blooming practices in Mapudungun, namely Mapuche literature.

2.2.1 Can These Bones Live?

Crystal (2000) dissects the meaning of a language's demise and its impact and discusses specific approaches to revitalizing endangered languages. "If you are the last speaker of a language, your language—viewed as a tool of communication—is already dead. For a language is alive only as long as there is someone to speak it to" (Crystal 2000, 2). On February 16, 2022, a member of the Yámana tribe in Chile and simultaneously the last speaker of their language, Yaghan, passed away, taking with her the language of her ancestors and that of the community (Rivas Molina 2022).

This fate might be awaiting the language of the Mapuche as well. Organizations such as UNESCO and several scholars have classified the severity of extinction threat using various

methods (Zúñiga and Olate 2017, 347). The *Ethnologue* database ranks Mapudungun as “endangered,” meaning that children are no longer expected to learn the language; the subsequent level is “extinction,” indicating that the language is not used anymore (Ethnologue 2022). Crystal (2000) stresses that the decline of a language can be accredited to cultural assimilation: “One culture is influenced by a more dominant culture, and begins to lose its character as a result of its members adopting new behavior and mores” (77).

One example of cultural assimilation is the shift from Mapudungun as a mother tongue to Mapudungun as an L2, with over eighty percent of Mapuche lacking sufficient communication skills as of 2013 (Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas 2013, 406). Despite Chile’s linguistic diversity, Spanish remains its official language (406). Today, Chile facilitates a national bilingual education program known as the PEIB. While the program aims to foster education in both Spanish and an Indigenous language, inclusion of Indigenous individuals in decision-making and assessment of intercultural education in cities remains inadequate (Brablec 2022, 81). As a result, the fragmented distribution of Mapuche knowledge and language over several subjects, instead of adopting a holistic model, obstructs the intrinsic learning-teaching processes that enabled Native cultures to be preserved in numerous communities (Sánchez and Antileo 2016, 38-39).

Essentially, while the PEIB encourages the teaching of Indigenous knowledge and language, it constrains the ancestral Mapuche educator by enforcing a curriculum that upholds a Western understanding of education. According to Mapuche scholars who strive to voice the demands of their communities, to emphasize only one type of knowledge is to indulge in educational monocentrism while ignoring the fact that diversity and heterogeneity are essential to the human condition. When this occurs, one is confronted with the concept of abysmal thinking, which positions the visible, intelligible, or useful experiences, actors, and social

knowledge on one side, and those that are unintelligible, forgotten, or dangerous on the other (Sánchez and Antileo 2016, 43).

Thus, the founders of Chile's modern educational system devised a disorganized and ambiguous Indigenous language teaching program, the PEIB, based on the assumption that Indigenous languages were incompatible with modernity (Brablec 2022, 72). Furthermore, LP efforts have primarily been influenced by standard language ideology, which not only opposes multilingualism but also prioritizes a unified writing system and language standardization over the demands of Mapuche themselves (Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas 2013, 414).

These efforts demonstrate a certain degree of interest in the revitalization of Mapudungun on the part of the Chilean government, albeit trifling. One could argue that the Chilean government's languid attitude is unsurprising given the relatively withdrawn and erratic stance of primarily the newer Mapuche generations toward the language. In other words, the government's modest involvement may be explained by a lack of interest in, and thus demand for, Indigenous language education.

Consequently, this argument prompts another question: why should the Chilean government care about Mapudungun? Why should we care? Apart from the duty of the Chilean state to recognize all of its citizens and the burden that it brought upon itself by the oppression of its Indigenous population, several academics underline the pivotal purpose of language diversity (Crystal 2000; Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas 2013; Álvarez-Santullano and Forno 2008). For instance, Suzanne Romaine (2006) refutes the argument by critic Kenan Malik (2000) that the decline of language diversity should be celebrated since he believes it is a sign of modernity. She argues that "[t]he present-day diglossic distribution of many minority languages vis-à-vis dominant languages comes [...] to confirm the imagery as it polarizes [...] metaphorical dualities along an axis between two societies as represented by their languages" (445).

Furthermore, Crystal (2000) highlights various counter-arguments: (1) building on ecological notions, humans need cultural and thus linguistic diversity to survive³; (2) language contains history and identity, a richness of heritage; (3) languages help us study the linguistic capabilities of the human brain, thus expanding human knowledge. He bases his first argument on the sentiment that the success of humanity in colonizing the planet owes to our ability to develop cultures that correspond with all types of environments. If diversity is a precondition for human success, linguistic diversity preservation is essential (33).

Second, he points out that of all identity characteristics, language is the most ubiquitous; functioning as a primary register of identity, it is accessible at a distance and even in the dark (Crystal 2000, 40). Conjointly, he insists that language encapsulates the history of its speaker, serving as an archive of history (41). Third, Crystal urges his readers to ask themselves the following question: “What would be missed if a catastrophic event had ended the development of X?” With X being any well-known language. No Shakespeare, Verne, Dickens, or Kafka (45). This reasoning applies to every language.

Western zoological and botanical taxonomies heavily depend on knowledge gained through Indigenous languages (Crystal 2000, 49). Moreover, linguistic interaction with Indigenous populations can benefit both world art and science by providing a source of new creative forms that have frequently been utilized as inspiration by Western painters, sculptors, craft workers, and decorative artists (49-50). Similarly, Brodzki (2007) delineates the metaphor of bodies and texts since both have the potential to live on in unique ways. She links the resurrection of bones in the biblical tale of Ezekiel to translation by defining translation as a mode of survival.

³ “The strongest ecosystems are those which are most diverse” (Crystal 2000, 33).

The scholars in the preceding paragraphs primarily focus on language as cultural memory. Their arguments show that preventing language death is a core requisite for humanity. But how can we change attitudes toward endangered languages and stimulate revitalization?

2.2.2 Revival – The Voice of Mapuche Literature

Romaine (2006) emphasizes that Indigenous peoples who have begun to speak up on language death are frequently enraged by linguists' promulgation and prophecies that their language is dead, endangered, or on the verge of extinction. They despise such pronouncements, however well-intentioned they may be. Conversely, numerous Native people have expressed that their language is merely sleeping and ought to be awoken (468). This awakening appears to be occurring in the case of Mapudungun in Chile.

Bradley (2002) proposes that the social use and beliefs concerning language can transform its prosperity. He argues that these factors can be influenced by increasing social networks, domains, and services in that language (4-5). Correspondingly, trendy commodities, e.g., the extremely popular Marvel-style comic *Guardianes del Sur* (2017), depicting the heroic tales of Mapuche warriors (Orin 2020), demonstrate a change in the attitudes apropos Mapuche culture. Moreover, a few decades earlier, in the 1980s and 1990s, Mapuche literary authorship flourished (Stocco 2017, 143). The epoch of the incorporation of Mapuche voices into the literary system of Chile had begun.

In this corner of the world, Indigenous authors generally write in Spanish in addition to, though not exclusively, their corresponding vernacular languages, which have primarily had an oral tradition in the past. The same holds for Mapudungun (Stocco 2017, 142). The oral literature of the Mapuche is diverse and extensive. It deals with two main genres: (1) *epew* or *apew*, covering mythology and traditions, and (2) *ničam* or *ñičam* covering history (Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 539; Carrasco 2014, 111). Another popular tradition and genre is that of

the *ül* (the chant), which, according to Carrasco (2014), may be the only form of expression akin to Western literature, being that Mapuche poetry is a verbal and cultural symbiosis of Western Chilean and Indigenous elements. However, the written tradition was neither possible nor necessary in the past (105).

In the 20th century, authors Elicura Chihuailaf and Leonel Lienlaf, primarily known for their poetry books *En el país de la memoria* (1988) and *Se ha despertado el ave de mi corazón* (1989), set the stage for numerous other writers in the domain of Mapuche literature (Stocco 2017, 143). According to Stocco (2017), many of the succeeding works by Mapuche authors are of bilingual nature (142). Besides poetry, bilingual dictionaries, grammars, and storybooks for children started emerging in the 21st century. The storybooks frequently cover traditional Mapuche tales and myths, such as that of a mother comforting her son who fears the forest at night in Carmen Muñoz's (2014) storybook, translated by Elicura Chihuailaf.

This work was published by Pehuén, a Chilean editorial that aspires to record the memory of Chile's aboriginal peoples for new generations (Pehuén 2022). This editorial has also published an illustrated dictionary written by Nieves Garmendia (2017) and translated by Cristian Vargas Paillahueque to introduce children to Mapudungun. Ostensibly, these new voices in the literary system of Chile did not only reach the general public but the Chilean state as well.

Similar to the dictionary mentioned earlier, specific projects have started to gain support from the Chilean state. In 2011, the Chilean Ministry of Education published the bilingual children's book *La palabra es la flor/Rayengey ti dungun* by Huenún Villa (2011) to stimulate the revitalization of the Mapuche language and the cultural revival of the Mapuche peoples.

The aforementioned writings exhibit not only a recovered pride in Mapuche culture among new generations but also a sense of resistance and conscious agency (Ramay 2016, 3). Carrasco (2014) perceives this resistance as something that—along with the complexity of

Indigenous literature due to mestizo influences—distinguishes Mapuche literature from Chilean literature (106).

2.2.3 The Word is Our Flower

Drawing on the previous findings, this subsection debates the seedlings of a literary Mapuche movement in Chile and deals with the political discourses that have impacted this domain. Cleary (2021) affirms that translation has always played a pivotal role in Latin American politics and culture. According to her, translation is never neutral, whether used in the service of a colonial, neocolonial, or anti-neocolonial purpose (11). The interplay between political and cultural output in Latin America has always been highly intertwined—the translations of the colonial period and the early years after independence beget the very power structures that cultivate and define the boundaries of future translations. In the following decades, the practice was engaged on a pragmatic, conceptual, and metaphorical level as an anti-neocolonial response to the hierarchies of worldwide cultural relations (12).

Hence, it is worth analyzing the hierarchies prevalent in the perceptions of the Mapuche bolstered by Chilean intellectuals in written discourse. Sáez-Arance (2015) points out that the gap between overtly discriminatory popular sentiments and official—even intellectual—discourses in Chile may be narrower than we believe or hope (221). Along with Foerster and Vergara (2000), Sáez-Arance (2015) argues that the chief conservative newspaper in Chile, *El Mercurio*, encourages ethnic conflict and frequently reports Mapuche *terrorism*. Correspondingly, some of the most prominent historians in Chile, such as José Bengoa, Jorge Pinto, and Leonardo León, approach Mapuche history from a derogatory point of view (Cano 2017, 36).

One such example is Sergio Villalobos, an influential historian and professor at the Universidad de Chile. He refuses to use the denomination Mapuche and criticizes its existence,

since he believes this to be merely an invention of leftist intellectuals. Instead, he adopts the Spanish colonial terminology and addresses the people of the land as Araucanians (Sáez-Arance 2015, 224). The influences of academics such as Villalobos are problematic, not only because of their racist elements but because they enable the invisibilization of Mapuche identity in Chile's history and firmly mold the consensus.

On the contrary, the 20th century also witnessed several intellectuals who began to explore Indigenous interests. Though this movement never became a dominant current in Chilean culture, literature produced by renowned poets such as Pablo Neruda (1904-1973) and Gabriela Mistral (1889-1957) testified to Chile's *indigenismo* movement (Crow 2013, 83). The goal of the Latin American *indigenismo* movement was to establish emancipation and integration of Native inhabitants. It was predominantly led by mestizos or *criollos*, who defended their role as a spokesperson for Indigenous peoples based on the paternalistic premise that Indigenous people were unable to speak up for themselves (83). Nevertheless, Neruda and Mistral wanted the trauma and struggles of the Mapuche to be known and functioned as an amplifying medium for Mapuche voices, describing in their poems the brutal violence of Spanish colonialism and the atrocities that scarred Chile's national identity (Crow 2013, 91-92).

Subsection 2.2.2 argued that the attitudes of Mapuche people themselves toward their own culture and language are highly crucial to the revitalization of Mapudungun. Poems such as those written by Neruda have been well received by various contemporary Mapuche academics and political activists. The author Elicura Chihuailaf supports and embraces Neruda's position as a literary voice of Mapuche thought or desire (Crow 2013, 95). Though the *indigenismo* movement was not representative of Mapuche people—in the sense that those of mestizo or criollo background constructed it—it may have inspired the pioneers of bilingual Mapuche literature of the 1980s and 1990s to use their words as their weapon against oppression.

To be specific, it allowed for the budding of a kind of resistant translation, one that reappropriates the notion of translation—long used as a tool of colonial violence—as a strategy of preserving the *Indian* in the text, both literally and metaphorically (Brodzki 2007, 145). The specific way in which this resistance manifests itself in Indigenous translations is further explored in the next section.

2.3 The Role of Translation in Socio-Political Shifts

This section sheds light on the missing link within the hitherto established theoretical structure, translation—one of the driving forces behind Mapuche literature. It aims to highlight the similarities and contrasts between the models proposed in Translation Studies and Postcolonial Studies and demonstrates why specific aspects of these paradigms should be refashioned to facilitate a synthesis that can be used in this study.

Subsection 2.3.1 delves further into the notion of language and identity and investigates the understandings of the postcolonial condition in a translatorial context to confirm the resemblances and discrepancies between the Mapudungun translator and the established postcolonial translator. Subsection 2.3.2 explores the roots of the translatorial debate on agency and activism, deliberating the initial academic reflections on translation and power relations and how these ought to be reconsidered to mold a framework that accommodates the climate of the Mapudungun translator. Subsection 2.3.3 positions these reconciliated theories vis-à-vis Indigenous approaches to translation and identity to create a synthesized framework deployed in the next chapter.

2.3.1 Postcolonial Translation – Of Intimacy and Violence

This subsection offers further insight into the cultural tensions and intricacy that mark the discourse regarding postcolonial understandings of language, identity, and resistance. Ostensibly, in postcolonialism, translation is considered both a prerequisite and a result of unequal power relations between ex-colonizers and the colonized (Conisbee Baer 2014, 233). Therefore, translation scholars have argued that translation played a part in mediating colonization by grammaticalizing, domesticating, and appropriating the languages and cultures of the colonized (Conisbee Baer 2014, 233; Munday 2009, 216). Simultaneously, scholars such as Bhaba (2012), Niranjana (1992), Spivak (2012), Basnett (2017), and Gamal (2012) have argued that translation can make equal the traces—epistemologies, perceptions, stereotypes—of asymmetrical power relations left behind by colonization.

So, what role, exactly, does translation play in postcolonial theory and to what extent are the principles of postcolonial translation representative of the Indigenous Latin American context? Orsini and Srivastava (2013) claim that while postcolonial scholars generally agree with Even-Zohar's (2021) notion that translation is key to any literary system, they are reluctant to describe postcolonial translations using terms that allow for marginalization or hierarchical structures e.g., as peripheral or secondary, rich or poor, vernacular or metropolitan, domestic or foreign (326). Instead, many postcolonial critics have ventured into the concept of hybridity—the assimilation of opposites—as fundamental elements of postcolonial literature, seeing the parallels between this hybrid condition and translation and simultaneously turning translation into a cipher for something far broader than interlingual transmission (Gamal 2012, 103; Munday 2009, 101).

Bhabha (2012) defines hybridity as the condition that allows for cultural translation, a term he uses broadly to refer to the ongoing displacement that occurs with migration, transformation, re-inscription, and in-betweenness, and which he sees as distinctive of

postcolonial cultures (Munday 2009, 102). Akin to Basnett (2017), he observes the intermediate space—or Third Space—between source and target culture as a space where exoticism and cultural diversity are reconciled by stressing their interdependence and mutual fabrication of subjectivities (Bhabha 2012, 56). Ultimately, Bhabha (2012) proposes this theory to counter “the production of discriminatory identities that secure the ‘pure’ and original identity of authority” (159). Thus “a place of hybridity,” according to Bhabha (2012), is one “where the construction of a political object that is new, neither the one nor the other, properly alienates our political expectations, and changes, as it must, the very forms of our recognition of the moment of politics” (37).

It is unequivocally imaginable that most, if not all, people that have faced oppression in the form of colonization strive to change the dominant epistemologies, doxa, and stereotypical discourse concerning them. This general feature of postcolonial translation is, indubitably, also one of the desires of the Mapudungun translator and thus shows a resemblance between the climate of the Mapudungun translator and postcolonial theories based on other cultural regions.

Bassnett (2017) follows in Bhabha’s (2012) steps as she illustrates the hybrid status of postcolonial translation by describing the experience of Ngugi wa Thiong’o, who believes that he has lived in translation for his entire life (24). He recounts that he initially rejected using English as a political act but eventually began to write back and forth between English and the African Bantu language Kikuyu. Ultimately, he was translating and retranslating himself in a continuous dialogue, establishing a balance between the two languages and accepting that his usage of both has molded his identity.

Ngugi’s dialogism, as it is characterized above, resembles that of Mapuche poets and self-translators such as Elicura Chihuailaf and Leonel Lienlaf, who function as mediators between Chilean and Indigenous culture and language that, over the years, have begun to overlap one another to certain extents, in vocabulary and customs for instance. This facet of

hybridity ostensibly resembles the circumstances of the Mapudungun translator and shows why it should be further particularized to study the conditions of the Mapudungun translator.

In contrast to Bhaba and Basnett, Niranjana (1992) approaches the role of translation in postcolonialism using levels of representation. She explains that the complexity that marks postcolonial translation is closely tied to the paradox of the colonial subject's desire for representation while only being able to attain this visibilization by translating themselves into a language represented by or as a colonizing culture (Conisbee Baer 2014, 234). Similarly, Spivak (2012) argues that the paradox of colonialist translation can be counteracted by using the linguistic conventions of the dominant language and preserving the intimacy of that engagement in a literal English rendition, so that the oppressive rhetoric becomes visible and the domination model more subtle (Conisbee Baer 2014, 235; Munday 2009, 99). Shaden Tageldin (2019) argues that this surrender is one of violence and yearning for domination obscured by seduction to self-translate; an inferiority complex that leads to colonization disguised as a loving relationship (Conisbee Baer 2014, 236).

Essentially, postcolonial theory is marked by the condition of hybridity, a condition that opposes the sense of the Self and the Other. As this subsection has demonstrated, certain elements of this theory appear applicable to the environment of the Mapudungun translator, but the focus on homogeneity exceedingly contradicts the Mapuche demand for diversity and renders the framework inappropriate. Another identifiable aspect of postcolonial translation theory pointed out by Niranjana, Spivak, and Tageldin is the dilemma of a desire to make visible what has been obscured whilst being constrained to employing the colonizer's language to do so. The longing for representation and visibilization becomes evident from the endeavors of Mapudungun translators who create bilingual works and translate the texts themselves. Thus, the latter argument appears to be most congruent with the political and cultural circumstances of Mapuche as established in the previous sections of this chapter. Nonetheless, before

formulating an appropriate framework that reflects on existing theories of agency and culture, the fundamental notions that define translatorial activism and the translator's agency should be further explored.

2.3.2 The Translator as Political Activist

Section 2.2 briefly hinted at the crucial involvement of translators in its discussion of Indigenous authorship in Chile by accentuating the dominance of bilingualism and listing several works with their respective translators. Both Carrasco (2014) and Stocco (2017) underline that translation is an inseparable and significant component of Mapuche literature. Stocco (2017) adds that many Native writers self-translate their works from their Indigenous language to Spanish and vice versa. She correlates this recent acquisition to “a movement of cultural recovery and reaffirmation of their Indigenous identity” (143). However, to fully understand the concept of translation as an instrument of political movement, one must delve deeper into the theories and debates in the field of Translation Studies that underline why translation is a form of political engagement and agency.

To reflect on this question, it is essential to consider the arguments made by translation scholar Venuti. His theories on the so-called translator's invisibility can arguably be regarded as Pandora's box—one of the significant incentives behind exploring agency and activism in a translatorial context (Bassnett 2017, 30-31; Orsini and Srivastava 2013, 325). Venuti (2018) defines the translator's invisibility as the dominant trend in Anglophone translation practices of assessing the acceptability of translated texts based on fluency, i.e., “the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities,” creating the illusion of a transparent translation—one that appears to be the original (1). He raises the question of fluency to stress the prestige of the aforesaid English-language values in translation practices by introducing foreignization and domestication, two ethical effects. He, then, argues that all translations employ a domesticating

ethical approach by interpreting the source text in terms and contexts that are intelligible to the receiving culture (xii). Whilst domestication stimulates the process of assimilation, the linguistic signs used in a foreignizing approach draw on culturally marginal resources and ideologies and, thus, allow the recipient to question the asymmetrical relation enforced by translation and can be a form of resistance (xv).

Venuti's consideration of visibility has led scholars such as Tymoczko (2000) and Wolf (2012) to explore the boundaries of the cognitive processes behind translation and propose a similar notion to Venuti's. They argue that translation takes on the form of political engagement or resistance when its partiality or transformative process of translation choices turns *partisan*, engaged and committed, indicating that the translator takes on an advocate role in the face of socio-cultural disparities. Thus, the premise that translation is productive and capable of producing active and political transformations that influence the translation's recipients makes translation a political act.

These conscious interventions, according to Tymoczko (2000), reflect the inevitable conditions of translation, considering that "meaning in a text is overdetermined, and the information in and meaning of a source text is therefore always more extensive than a translation can convey" (24). This implies that the author of the original text is influenced by several conscious and unconscious values, beliefs, interpretations, and, as a result, what the translator is unable to discern—irreducible residue—remains untranslated. The political translator's agency thus becomes apparent in the choices one makes to create a partial representation of the original text. She adds that these political commitments are represented by the translator's choices on different levels: word-by-word, page-by-page, and text-by-text. Moreover, these actions are also demonstrated in paratextual material such as introductions or footnotes (Tymoczko 2000, 24).

Concurrently, the previous paragraph also delineates another side of the cognitive process that opposes the conscious agency. *Habitus*⁴, as conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu, is frequently invoked by Translation Studies scholars in debates concerning translatorial agency (Wolf 2012; Gould and Tahmasebian 2020). First coined by Aristotle, this concept describes the stimulus behind future actions, often interpreted as second nature (Wolf 2012, 134). Following Bourdieu's definition, however, *habitus* refers to socially learned, embedded structures of dispositions and predispositions—they represent the lifelong negotiations between structure and agency (Liu 2012, 1169; Wolf 2012, 135). Hence, Wolf (2012) claims that this theory can be used to correlate the underlying conditions of translation choices, mentioned in the previous paragraph, to the sociopolitical identity of the translator (135). Thus, from a sociological perspective, the translator's *habitus*, like their agency, involves the integration of subalternity and marginality. Except, unlike agency, *habitus* embodies the unconscious means of a translator to transform and select parts of the original text allows them to shape accepted values and truths, thereby holding the power to oppress and marginalize that which does not fit within hegemonic discourse—the Other (Liu 2012, 1169).

Nonetheless, various critics, such as Venuti, have pointed out several limitations of the concept of *habitus* and argue—for instance—that it “oversimplifies human behavior,” since it focuses mainly on structure over agency (Sheffy 1997; Venuti 2013, 7). Another limitation marking Bourdieu's approach to *habitus* is his argument that a politically oriented translation activity can only be carried out by professional politicians, excluding laypeople, e.g., scholars and translators (Wolf 2012, 137). It is thus undeniable that Bourdieu's theory requires reconstruction to be a useful paradigm for studying postcolonial and translatorial conditions (Laurier Decoteau 2013, 281). Liu (2012) refutes the former argument by underlining that if one observes the social reality of the translator, it becomes evident that a socialized individual

⁴ A deeply embedded system of cognitive and motivational processes that triggers particular practices within a discipline (Venuti 2013, 7).

cannot be reduced to a profession and that the translator is always somewhat influenced by social conditioning (1169). Similarly, Wolf (2012) points out that the doxa that views exclusively politicians as political agents should change before a political habitus of a translator can be established (137). And as of today, it appears that the popular understanding of “political” has shifted from public sphere to a much more personal level (Maccabe and Yanacek 2018).

Gould and Tahmasebian (2020) conceptualize a broad theoretical model that overarches the previous notions of agency, habitus, and resistance and introduce the four paradigms of the translator-activist—witness-bearer, voice-giver, vernacular mediator, and revolutionary. They define activism as opposition or resistance to authority based on the subject’s agency. Given the important role of agency in what Walter Benjamin (1923) referred to as the “task of the translator,” the connection between translation and activism is both fundamental and vital (2).

The translatorial agency of the witness-bearer, similar to Venuti’s concept of fluency, blurs the line between author and translator. The witness-bearer generally engages in co-authorship or self-translation and uses prefaces, paratext, songs, or poetry, as a testimony that embodies and bears witness to their experiences as a survivor of political violence. The voice-giver expresses the viewpoints and experiences of marginalized and silenced peoples and strives to make these voices audible (2). The vernacular mediator renders minority tongues into metropolitan languages and vice versa. This paradigm epitomizes the translator faced with a challenge beyond the lack of equivalents that most translators face. Due to fossilization, many concepts and terminology simply do not exist in the vernacular language (229). The vernacular-mediator aims to convince speakers of the viability of their language and its capacity to carry notions alien to it. In this case, the translator-activist, devises new forms and forges new meanings from felicitous, albeit surprising, linguistic juxtapositions. Finally, the fourth paradigm represents the translator as a revolutionary. This paradigm introduces translation as

the collective act of those physically or virtually stationed at the barricades, shaping the discourse context during and after a revolution (3).

These paradigms expand Venuti's concept of fluency by considering ethical effects and intentions. According to Gould and Tahmasebian (2020), the premise that a translation is typically considered activist only when it consciously pursues a goal for social, political, or educational change demonstrates the limitations of current ideas of activist translation (4). Instead of adopting an explicit translation strategy, these paradigms are primarily structured around the impact of an unconscious habitus and intentional agency, allowing for multiple distinctive characterizations of political translatorial engagement.

This subsection demonstrated why I consider Gould and Tahmasebian's (2020) paradigms appropriate for this study. The previous subsection showed why concepts such as hybridity and fluency are certainly relevant and useful but require certain expansion or refashioning to render these arguments more culturally oriented toward the subject of this study. The following subsection connects the last theory, focused on language and identity in Indigenous America, to the proposed synthesis.

2.3.3 Resisting Colonial Static in Indigenous Translation

Having discussed the dominant paradigms used in Postcolonial Studies and Translation Studies, this subsection aims to distinguish a synthesis of the aforementioned findings. In the specific case of Mapuche literature, authors create works birthed by verbal, artistic, and cultural harmony between features of Mapuche and Western Chilean origin, with one prevailing over the other (Carrasco 2014, 105-106). According to Stocco (2017), Native authors dispute the monolingual and monocultural paradigms of national literature in Latin American countries by adopting bilingual practices (142). Therefore, it is paramount that this cultural region is not

overlooked in the pioneering era of postcolonial studies on translation as political engagement, activism, and resistance.

To this end, I would like to briefly probe the suppositions made by Kelly McDonough in Martínez-San Miguel and Arias' (2021) collaborative work. "Regardless of the skill of any translator/interpreter, there is no such thing as a completely commensurable translation," McDonough points out (Martínez-San Miguel and Arias 2021, 395). She explains that in New Spain, historian James Lockhart recognized a phenomenon he coined "double mistaken identity." Since Europeans and Indigenous peoples shared analogous concepts and systems, these were often misinterpreted or mistranslated (396).

By introducing this concept, Lockhart tried to conceptualize the inability "to think beyond one's own ontological and epistemological borders (Martínez-San Miguel and Arias 2021, 396). McDonough labels this interference as "colonial static"—Spanish translations of Indigenous heritage in Mexico erased those parts that did not fit within the Western understanding of the world (396). Menard (2019) understands this colonial static as an order that hierarchizes between the original and simulacra (70). He explains that in a sociopolitical context, the historical and pragmatic understanding of Indigenous and Spanish terms commonly suspended the hierarchy between the original and the simulacrum by prioritizing a translation into Spanish that molds the Mapuche term to fit a Western epistemology, sometimes resulting in treacherous forms of Mapuche expressions.

In the case of Nahuatl, religious concepts such as sin and guilt did not have separate terms. Similarly, Mapuche concepts such as *tuwün* (roughly: territory of origin), *küpalme* (lineage), *kimün* (knowledge), and *rakiduam* (thought) did not exist in Spanish vocabulary as they are deeply rooted in the cosmic understanding of the world and are part of a socio-ethical model that defines Mapuche norms of deeds, worldview, and epistemology that has been transmitted from generation to generation (Menard 2019, 69). Each word represents a concept

that carries multiple interwoven layers of meaning related to the philosophy of the Mapuche and realm of experience (Teillier, Llanquiao, and Salamanca 2018).

Correspondingly, the Spaniards assumed that the Nahuas lacked comprehension of the heavens and nature. At the same time, they failed to see how the Nahuas had conceptualized these notions as cosmovision, an inherent part of Indigenous culture not only for the Nahuas but for the Mapuche as well (Martínez-San Miguel and Arias 2021, 399; Menard 2019, 77). Whilst scrutinizing decolonizing translation, Menard (2019) argues that instead of arranging the language based on original and simulacrum, those who seek to decolonize should outline their politics of language and resistance by affirming a difference between the two “double mistaken” identities. Adhering to Benjamin’s notion, Menard (2019) believes the translation should supplement the original and create its own intention by, if necessary, a literal rendering of syntax to highlight the contrast between two cultural identities and produce new meanings (70). Here, it can be seen that this premise resembles the foreignization strategy, thus indicating the applicability of Venuti’s fluency.

However, as demonstrated by the current developments in Indigenous Latin American literature, it appears that authors have found several additional strategies to navigate between the layers of their multicultural backgrounds. Gamal (2012) argues that postcolonial authors and translators often adopt the strategies of (1) keeping unfamiliar cultural elements untranslated, (2) addition or omission of historical and geographical information, and (3) reshaping the lexicon and grammar of the lingua franca to emphasize foreignness. These strategies, along with Tymoczko’s activist translation strategies and the translator-activist paradigms, are reflected upon in Chapters 4 and 5.

Additionally, the previous sections have demonstrated the resemblances between this study’s subject and existing theories in Translation Studies and Postcolonial Studies. Based on these arguments, a more or less hybrid understanding of identity and language as proposed by

the postcolonialist authors in subsection 2.3.1, ostensibly form a robust foundation for this research.

Thus, I have decided to employ the concept of *ch'ixi*. First coined by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *ch'ixi* complements Bhabha's hybridity or, at the very least, shares a similar purpose: embracing contradictions as a means of dismantling binarisms rather than adding elements in search of unification or totalization (Stocco 2017, 147). It considers the exclusive circumstances of cultural regions borne from the mass genocide and assimilation that its Indigenous peoples have been subjected to. More specifically, it follows the idea that Latin America's cultural setting demonstrates a dialectic state without synthesis marked by opposing worlds and conflicting meanings (142). For instance, whilst Spanish may be the *lingua franca* in various Latin American countries, it is in most cases infused with the Indigenous elements of that particular region, though it is not entirely assimilated.

Hence, Rivera Cusicanqui (2012) argues that the conditions of Indigenous Latin American culture cannot be understood or approached by purely adopting postcolonial notions of hybridity, because these notions obscure the issues that lie at the heart of decolonization (101). She argues that hybridity posits the potential that a third space can be created, where cultural diversity is dissolved. In contrast, *ch'ixi* represents a partial overlap of cultures that shapes the reality of the *mestizaje*—of simultaneously being and not being part of either culture (105). This concept combines the Indigenous world and its opposite without fusing them, allowing for a confirmation of a historically misrepresented or disavowed difference (105). To illustrate, the Indigenous demands regarding language and identity long for the acceptance of difference, not forced homogeneity or fusion (Rivera Cusicanqui 2012, 106). As I have pointed out previously, the notion of *mestizaje*, the racial hybrid of Indigenous and European ancestry, has caused insecurities among Mapuche descendants and made them question their identity since it proposes a fusion of identities that is neither Indigenous nor European. As per the *ch'ixi*

approach, the recognition of difference and conflict as dynamic powers within communities and subjects has exceeded hybridity as a reconciling third term emerging from a dualistic antagonism (Stocco 2017, 147).

In sum, this chapter allows for a better understanding of how cultural identity and language intertwine with the agency of the Mapudungun translator by highlighting the resemblances and discrepancies between their climate and existing literature on political and postcolonial translation. It points out that language is an inherent part of Mapuche identity due to its historical and cultural meaning and, thus, considered an ethnic marker by younger Mapuche generations. It also demonstrates how the intrinsic and holistic ties between Mapudungun and Mapuche culture affect revitalization efforts and considers the importance of Mapuche literature and translation apropos these efforts. This background study further explores the agency of the Mapudungun translator by reflecting on existing postcolonial and activist translation theories such as Venuti's fluency, Bhabha's hybridity, and Bourdieu's habitus. These notions are contrasted against the climate and conditioning of the Mapudungun translator and complemented by adopting the paradigms of the translator-activist and the notion of *ch'ixi*, which incorporate the need to articulate cultural difference and facilitate tangible but broad characterization of translatorial Mapuche activism.

3. Methodology

As stated in the introduction, this thesis endeavors to find the answer to the following research question: How do literary translators of Mapudungun-Spanish in Chile employ translation to raise sociopolitical awareness of the preservation and revitalization of Mapudungun? This chapter outlines the study's methodological approach by elaborating on the data-collection methods and data-analysis strategies in section 3.1. This section provides information about the research sample selection, the interview setup, and the transcription technique. Next, section 3.2 clarifies the study's ethical issues, including privacy and the sensitive topics addressed in the interviews.

3.1 Methods and Procedures

The data for this study consists of six interviews. I have chosen to use a small-scale research sample considering the statistics that demonstrate the small number of fluent Mapudungun speakers, the geographic distance, and different time zones, in combination with my aim to present a thorough and detailed analysis. The research sample was established based on the condition that all participants translate or have translated literature using the Mapudungun-Spanish language pair.

I have chosen to focus on literary translators because my previous research on the topic and the literature review demonstrated literature to be the most prevalent domain for translators of Mapudungun. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Mapuche territory extends across Argentina. However, despite the similarity between the sociocultural context of the countries, the sociopolitical and legal circumstances are not identical. For this reason, I decided to focus solely on Chile and the Chilean context.

The sampling was specified in a way that allowed a large group to meet the criterion since the language the participants are translating is endangered, and the pool of qualified

individuals is limited. This sampling was achieved by solely focusing on literary translation and Mapudungun whilst disregarding demographic components and intersectionality. The interviews were conducted online via the communication service preferred by the participant. As a result, all of the interviews were recorded via Zoom.

This study collected the data of six persons: Ítalo Cantarutti (m), Claudia Morales Mellado (f), Victor Carilaf (m), Cecilia Colihuinca Garces (v), Sonia Vita Manquepi (f), and Rosendo Huisca (m). To further analyze their responses in correlation with their background, I asked the participants several questions regarding their ethnic identity and proficiency in both Mapudungun and Spanish. The ages of the participants ranged from approx.. 25–75. The interviews took place in late March and early April 2022, and I used the social media platforms Facebook and LinkedIn to recruit subjects. After contacting several individuals and posting a notice on Facebook and LinkedIn, I used a snowball strategy whereby I asked interviewees to refer to other potential participants.

I started the meetings by reviewing the form of consent, which can be found in the Appendix (A1 in English and A2 in Spanish). After a brief introduction and verification of consent, I initiated the interview. The interviews were semi-structured, signifying that the informants were asked a series of predetermined but open-ended questions, which allowed for the use of follow-up questions. The interviews lasted approximately 40-60 minutes and were conducted in Spanish.

To ensure the quality and accuracy of the study, I employed a verbatim method for transcribing the interview data. Verbatim transcription is a word-for-word transcription that captures fillers, false starts, non-verbal communication, and stuttering. Thus, interruptions are characterized by a hyphen at the end of the interrupted sentence. Likewise, trailing off or false starts are characterized by an em dash at the end of the sentence. Lastly, stuttering and non-verbal communication are distinguished by an italicized description of the non-verbal audio in

brackets. This method allows for a better comprehension of what was being discussed since it also incorporates nonverbal cues and emotional aspects (Halcomb and Davidson 2006, 38). Because the ethnographic nature of this study calls for contiguity between the researcher and the text, this type of interview record is beneficial for data analysis (40).

Although this approach ensures accuracy, particular audio snippets are missing or incomprehensible due to the Internet connection failing occasionally. These parts have been marked as “unintelligible” in the transcriptions. The finalized transcripts were stored and coded using the qualitative data and analysis software ATLAS.ti. The complete and translated transcriptions can be found in the Appendix (B1 in Spanish and B2 in English). Specific segments contained quotes or words in Mapudungun. I contacted the interlocutors to ensure that the quotes were transcribed correctly.

The data analysis was conducted using a qualitative analytical method, namely thematic analysis. In their paper on the advantages and disadvantages of thematic analysis, Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006) claim that it can be regarded as a beneficial and flexible tool that facilitates the collection of a “rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data” (78). The researcher reports and analyzes the data set based on recurring themes while using the relation to the research question as a benchmark. One should bear in mind that the thematic analysis represents somewhat patterned feedback from the data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 82): my own frame of reference and interests may have influenced the selection of specific themes.

The themes were identified in a deductive manner. Thus, the analysis is primarily driven by my theoretical interests as a researcher (Braun and Clarke 2006, 84-85). Additionally, since this thesis seeks to find and comprehend its subjects’ sociocultural contexts and structural conditions, I decided to utilize a constructionist framework (85). This perspective allows the researcher to theorize the sociocultural contexts and structural conditions correlating to the individual accounts provided (85).

In summary, the criteria of the research sample were intentionally made unrestrictive with the small number of fluent speakers in mind. The interviews were transcribed using a verbatim approach to ensure quality and accuracy. This way, the gathered data could be coded without missing any crucial context, such as the demeanor of the participant when discussing specific topics. Finally, the qualitative data were coded constructively to facilitate the focus on collective agency and sociocultural conditions. These steps increased the feasibility of formulating an apt answer to the research question by amending the flaws of the chosen methods and procedures, thus assuring a relatively foolproof data collection and analysis process. The findings are deliberated utilizing the concept of *ch'ixi* and the paradigms proposed by Gould and Tahmasebian (2020) as defined in the literature review.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

Naturally, adopting a thematic approach and the other aspects of this particular case study setup may raise concerns regarding the study's credibility and especially its ethical considerations. This section addresses the ethical issues that arose during writing and data collection. I prepared a form of consent in which the participant's rights are stipulated. Following and editing the example drafted by Linda Bloomberg and Marie Volpe (2012), the form was drawn up. The confirmation of consent was recorded on audio, and the agreement vowed to protect the participant's personal information by using a pseudonym if they did not feel comfortable using their name.

During the interviews, all participants preferred using their names instead of a pseudonym. Contact information was provided to the participants if they wished to redact specific parts of the interview or personal information, especially regarding generational trauma and discrimination and mentions of companies or organizations. The raw data was stored in a password-protected One Drive account provided by Leiden University. My supervisors and I

were the only people with access to this information. These steps were taken to protect the sensitive details and information shared during the interviews and guarantee that the findings discussed in the following chapters and presented in the transcriptions are disclosed with full consent.

Furthermore, I have also communicated with the participants about segments containing sensitive information to confirm their permission to use the data once more. Given that the interviews address a sensitive topic, namely Indigenous identity and oppression, the interlocutors should feel safe and free to abstain from responding to specific questions and should also be given the option to redact certain information after the interviews.

4. Language and Mapuche Identity

The following two chapters present and discuss the results of the qualitative data collection thematically, following the steps of Braun and Clarke (2006). The findings are distributed over two prominent themes: (1) language and Mapuche identity, discussed in this chapter, and (2) the task of the translator, discussed in Chapter 5. Correspondingly, this chapter strives to answer the first sub-question: What role does Mapuche identity play in the considerations of translators who work with this language?

This chapter answers the sub-question by delineating the themes that were most common in the responses of the semi-structured interviews within the context of culture and language. This question was formulated based on the research discussed in the literature review concerning the significance of language proficiency in self-identification. Ultimately, the answer to this question addresses the reasoning behind the translatorial approaches and strategies undertaken by translators of Mapudungun-Spanish. This chapter uses the concept of *ch'ixi* to provide insight into the nuanced perceptions of and attitudes toward Mapudungun.

Section 4.1 scrutinizes the respondents' understanding of Mapudungun concerning self-identification. This section provides insight into the prevalent sociolinguistic patterns in the data of this study and debates the findings within the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2. The section commences by discussing the ethnic self-identification of the participants and their language proficiency to provide context for interpreting the findings and the correlation between several critical themes in this chapter. It then presents the results concerning the interviewees' viewpoints on language as an ethnic marker of Mapuche identity and elaborates on the correspondence with *ch'ixi*.

Thereafter, section 4.2 further examines the developments of the attitudes the participants adopted toward Mapudungun. These findings are further debated to propose that

the understanding of Mapudungun as the essence of Mapuche identity demonstrates a spiritual burden borne by the language itself, affecting how the participants translate it.

The data is presented by paraphrasing or using direct quotations from the interview transcripts, which can be found in Appendix B1 in Spanish and Appendix B2 in English.

4.1 Speaking or Being? – The Essence of Mapuche Identity

This section explores the sociolinguistic background of the participants and their stances on the role of language in self-identification. The questions related to this theme were intended to provoke the participants to deliberate on what the language meant to them to understand their motivations for specific translation strategies and approaches, which are discussed in Chapter 5. First, the participants were inquired about their proficiency in Mapudungun. One of the six translators had learned Mapudungun as an L2 as an adult. Two translators are native speakers of Mapudungun but did not actively speak the language outside a specific environment until later in life. One translator was raised bilingually, and two others had learned Spanish as an L2.

While both Ítalo and Victor had started actively speaking Mapudungun at a later stage in their life, both had different reasoning. “Because I did not speak the language in a domestic setting, so in other social contexts, [for example with] friends, I would use it. [But] in a school setting, Mapuzungun⁵ was never present. It was never addressed, it was very much off-limits, but it was [allowed] in a university environment. So, first friendships, the immediate social environment, and then university, and later work and everything [else],” Ítalo explained. Though he had always been familiar with the language, as a child, he learned it as “passive bilingualism.”

⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, Mapudungun knows various variants. Often identified as dialects, these variants differ per cardinal point and geographical location. Therefore, the denomination of the language, alphabet, pronunciation, grammar, and syntax of these variants are also different, which is why certain participants refer to, e.g., Mapuzungun or Mapunche.

Similarly, Victor only started actively speaking the language approximately ten years ago. Although he could speak the language, he would not avoid doing it. “[...] I learned it as a child, but the issue here is—. There is an issue, so to speak, of discrimination and self-discrimination for not wanting to speak [Mapudungun] because people laugh at you, so...” Here, Victor speaks of discrimination and shame or embarrassment associated with speaking his mother tongue. This theme is further analyzed in section 4.2.

These responses demonstrate that although Mapudungun functions as a communication tool, the spaces in which it can be used are limited. Ítalo’s description of a childhood characterized by passive bilingualism resulted from the language’s oppression in his school. Likewise, Victor’s passive bilingualism resulted from discrimination stimulated by preconceived notions that the Chilean state and elites enforced in the past.

In contrast with the experiences of Ítalo and Victor, both Sonia and Cecilia only learned of the existence of Spanish after traveling to urban destinations as young children. “After a while I realized that I spoke Mapuzungun, which was not [a] distinctive [language] for me until we started to travel to Santiago frequently. And that is when I said ‘no, we have two different languages.’ So, at that moment I began to realize that we did because Mapuzungun was strongly rejected here. It wasn’t mainstream as it was in the south.”

These responses illustrate how populations in urban regions in Chile tend to reject Mapuche culture and language. Therefore, some Mapuche growing up in cities may feel reluctant and embarrassed to speak Mapudungun. The reluctance of Mapuche in Chilean cities to speak Mapudungun also reinforces the idea that being from a rural area forms an ethnic marker of Mapuche identity since Mapudungun is much more commonplace in these regions.

Next, another contrast could be identified between Rosendo’s linguistic background and Claudia’s. While Rosendo had learned both languages in the same manner as a “fusion,” Claudia had followed a course on Mapudungun at university. This distinction correlates with

the ethnic identities of the two participants. Five out of six interlocutors ethnically self-identified as Mapuche. These five are from different parts of Mapuche territory. Ítalo, Victor, Rosendo, and Cecilia originate from different locations in the Araucanía region, also known as the 9th region in Chile. Sonia is the only participant from the Bío-Bío region, the 8th region.

Whilst these five participants distinguished direct ties with their ethnic identity, Claudia provided a more or less ambiguous response: “Of course, yes. No—. The thing is that, of course, [as] Chileans we have origins—. Not clearly, so to speak, that it’s evident in my surname, but there must be some link there. Of course, it’s not obvious as it is for other people who have Mapuche surnames, but something must be mixed in there.” This quotation demonstrates that Claudia ostensibly has weaker ties within the Mapuche community than the other participants. Based on the hesitance in her response, it appears that Claudia believes she has Indigenous biological ancestry. Yet, instead of identifying as Mapuche, she gravitates toward claiming a mestizo identity.

The interviewees with strong ties within the Mapuche community identified in different ways. For instance, Ítalo’s mother is Mapuche. Both of Sonia’s parents and her maternal and paternal grandparents are Mapuche Pehuenche. Likewise, Victor is Huenteche, Cecilia is Lafquenche via her parents and grandparents, and Rosendo identifies as Moluche. These backgrounds also indicate the variant of Mapudungun spoken by each participant.

Besides the variant of his region, Ítalo is also familiar with Chedungun, spoken in the south of Chile and the southern mountain range known as Nagche territory. Claudia, who has also studied Chedungun, was the only participant who referred to the alphabet she uses, Azümchefe. The fact that none of the other participants mention the alphabet can be attributed to Claudia being the only participant who has learned Mapuche language at a Chilean university. Her mention of the alphabet she learned to use at university is distinctive of the controversiality of LP in Chile and the struggle of working as a translator in Chile. Whilst universities and other

institutions have focused on corpus planning aspects, e.g., a unified writing system or the establishment of an academy, Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas (2013) argue that these efforts have only resulted in more fragmentation. The development of four different alphabets is but one example of this fragmentation.

When inquired about the variant of the language she speaks, Cecilia expressed frustration explaining that she had previously been asked to disclose the variant she speaks but struggles to understand what is meant by variant. She added that these experiences had caused her to doubt her knowledge of the language and made her question whether she spoke it correctly. “I’ll be doing it right [one time], [and another] I’ll be doing it wrong,” she sighed. “So that was my last answer. I told them, ‘The Mapuche that I speak is Lafquenche.’” Equally, Rosendo was resolute when discussing the spelling and pronunciation of Mapudungun. “[...] I say that I’m Mapunche and [I speak] Mapunzungun. [...] because the language is Mapunzungun, not Mapuzungun.”

These responses are consistent with the claim made by Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas (2013) that the debate on corpus planning has deviated entirely from the reality of common speakers of Mapudungun. They are generally unfamiliar with the established writing systems (411). The scholars do not deny the need for a unified writing system. However, they do stress that other social, cultural, and political aspects of the discussion, such as social prestige, stimulation of speaking Mapudungun at home, or the creation of neologisms to maintain Mapudungun’s function as a tool of communication (413).

The interlocutors were also inquired about their opinions on language as an ethnic marker of Mapuche identity. The responses from the participants varied. Three out of six participants, Claudia, Ítalo, and Cecilia, argued that the ability to speak the language does not define a person’s ethnic identity. Sonia argued that one can identify themselves as Mapuche without speaking the language, but this person will not be “fully Mapuche.” Rosendo responded

ambiguously but did emphasize in one of his other responses that he thinks the traditional prayers should be executed in Mapudungun and not in Spanish.

One exception to this pattern was Victor, who clarified his reasoning behind his beliefs. “For me? Yes, because I can dress like a Mapuche, I can do things like a Mapuche. But those things, if I do them in Spanish [and] someone comes along who isn’t Mapuche and does it. What makes the difference, then? [...] language is like the medium. The significance of everything lies in Mapuzungun.” Like Rosendo, who stressed that the prayers should be in Mapudungun, Victor underlined that the language is an integral part of Mapuche culture. “If we’re having a *nguillatun*⁶, the prayers, the orations, everything, we always recite them in Mapuzungun. So, nobody has ever imagined having to do it in Spanish.”

Victor’s and Rosendo’s statements explain how Mapudungun is not merely a communication tool. It carries the spiritual weight of Mapuche roots. It is considered an integral part of Mapuche culture and cannot be replaced by the colonizer’s language, as usage of Spanish would erase the soul of Mapuche culture. At the same time, the passive bilingualism or fusion of Spanish and Mapudungun described by several participants also implies a particular fondness or intimacy with Spanish, which Spivak accredits to the specific conditions of postcolonialist understandings of language (Conisbee Baer 2014, 235).

Despite the lack of consensus regarding the role of the language in identification, all participants agree that Mapudungun plays a significant role in Mapuche culture. “Obviously,” Sonia responded, “Obviously, because it’s a *language* that is alive or the *culture* that is alive. If you do not speak it, your language dies, first and foremost, right? And for a community, a person that doesn’t speak it is as if they are missing a part of themselves to be a Mapuche that—. A full Mapuche.”

⁶ A ritual ceremony held at harvest time to thank the spiritual world and ask for protection and prosperity in the future.

Ostensibly, Sonia's statement illustrates the gist of what Victor was also explaining. While he admitted that he does believe someone can be Mapuche without speaking the language, he argued: "[...] the significance of the language makes the difference. In other words, if a Mapuche person doesn't know how to speak their language, I think it's concerning. It's not that they stop being Mapuche, but they lose their essence as Mapuche."

These arguments contrast with the ones made by Claudia, Ítalo, and Cecilia, who stressed that people might have become estranged due to various reasons, including discrimination. Additionally, Cecilia claimed that "[...] everybody, there's not a single person, [...] who is one hundred percent pure, we are all mestizos." She insisted that language is not the only way people identify as Mapuche. Her statement also suggests that one can be mestizo and still identify as Mapuche, once again underlining a *ch'ixi* understanding of Mapuche identity—an identity that recognizes the contrasts between Western and Indigenous elements without assimilating one another.

Overall, these data provide context to discern what role language plays in the eyes of speakers and community members. Whilst it can be concluded that all participants agree that there are multiple ways to define and articulate Mapuche identity, the responses also suggest that language is considered the primary vehicle for the assertion of identity. These statements do not necessarily argue that one cannot identify as Mapuche without speaking the language. Instead, the main argument implies that language is the missing link that completes Mapuche identity. Furthermore, several quotations have also highlighted an understanding of identity and language that aligns with the notion of *ch'ixi*, the coexistence of multiple cultural identities that antagonize and complement one another; the state of being and not being all at once.

Essentially, the importance of this postcolonial concept is demonstrated by the intricate way the participants defined Mapuche identity and the manifold layers of the self-identification process. More importantly, this section has illustrated that Mapuche identity plays a significant

role in the way the participants approach the language. The spiritual connections between the language and the culture, its usage during ceremonies, and its communicative function demonstrate the strength and delicacy that characterizes the language. These findings provide the rationale behind the participants' approaches to translation of this language, which is further discussed in the next chapter.

4.2 Language Attitudes

This section focuses on attitudes within the Mapuche community toward Mapudungun. The literature review highlighted that the community's attitude toward the language significantly affects its survival. Consequently, the issue of a lack of interest in and demand for Indigenous education was also raised. The questions discussed in this section provide insight into the genuine stances of the participants apropos the language.

Above all, the responses underlined that speaking Mapudungun outside the community frequently triggered others to humiliate or discriminate against the participants. When discussing the Mapudungun course she followed in university, Claudia recalled that her lecturers had shared that they would be discriminated against when speaking the language. According to her, this discrimination did not affect the older generations much because they had already come to terms with their cultural identity. "This generates rejection amongst the youth," she said. "So, on the one hand, they avoid it. They avoid speaking it."

This answer suggests that the younger Mapuche generations are disconnecting themselves from their identity by refraining from speaking the language. However, the experiences of the other participants were different. Their responses mainly emphasized the shame expressed by older generations who refused to speak the language. These responses imply that the acceptance of Mapudungun by those outside of the community has increased, and newer generations are no longer ashamed of their identity.

Still, all five participants who had strong ties to the Mapuche community articulated that they had experienced discrimination due to speaking Mapudungun. “I think that up until a few years ago, at least in the environment where I live, people were very ashamed to speak Mapuzungun, *very much so*,” Ítalo responded. “You could tell. You would speak Mapuzungun to someone, and they would blush and would speak to you in Spanish, even if they understood everything you were saying.

“I still know older adults who have that trauma, they’re [native] speakers. Their first language was Mapuzungun but [when] you talk to them they respond to everything in Spanish and they blush a lot, or laugh, because they get very nervous. They suffered a lot of discrimination at school and basically what the world told them was that they had to erase that language from everything, in other words, it did not exist.”

Similarly, Victor, Sonia, and Rosendo mentioned that people would laugh at them or call them “Indian.” Sonia, on the other hand, considered her ability to speak Mapudungun a helpful instrument. When her classmates called her Indian once, she responded by saying: “This Indian understood what you said, and as a result, you understood what she said. Whereas I understand what you tell me, you do not. And you are ignorant, and I am not.” This example leads to the following prominent theme in the interviews, Mapuche pride.

When asked if the abovementioned participants ever felt ashamed of speaking Mapudungun, only one out of five interlocutors, Victor, acknowledged that he had struggled with shame in his younger days. Although they had been confronted with situations in which others intended to humiliate them, the other four participants stressed that it never caused them to feel embarrassed. “Sometimes, out of the blue, my family would tell me [...] ‘watch yourself a little bit, don’t speak the language anymore [here] because it’s still looked down upon.’ So I said to them: ‘How can other people, other cultures, speak their language without feeling ashamed? Why do we have to be ashamed? Why do we have to keep quiet?’” Cecilia said.

Simultaneously, two out of six participants confirmed that Mapuche people feel incredibly proud of their language. Cecilia explained that Mapuche generally make fun of those in the community who cannot speak the language. She expressed frustration when she described how people tend to ridicule her children since they do not speak Mapudungun habitually but do understand it. Claudia expounded on this behavior and said: “I mean, in Chile, I do not know if—. I am going to talk a little bit about politics, but—. This is also related to the language. Currently, we are dealing with the issue of recognition of the Mapuche people. And they are very vigilant about their language. By that, I mean that they take great care of it and protect it, etc. Because, of course, the language reflects their culture and their thinking.”

Finally, this clarifies the tensions in debates on translation of the language. Given that Mapudungun is considered the core of Mapuche identity, it can be expected that incorrect or inconsiderate usage of the language could lead to misinterpretation and appropriation of Mapuche identity. Mapudungun’s delicate nature can be attributed to its erasure and rejection in the past, resulting in discrimination and rejection among both Mapuche and non-Mapuche. Even so, power can also be found in the perceptions the participants have of Mapudungun. The language reflects and connects the Mapuche culture and thinking and is therefore sacred and something that Mapuche can take pride in.

These findings partially answer the main research question by shedding light on the social and political aspects of the language and the way these affect how the language is perceived by its speakers. Ultimately, this context is intertwined with the translator’s conscious or subconscious agency and is thus considered in the discussion in the next chapter. The next chapter delves further into the translatorial theme of the interviews. It is concluded by reflecting on the main arguments of both chapters to answer the research question of this thesis.

5. The Task of the Mapudungun Translator

This chapter considers these findings and further expounds on the critical ties between the Mapudungun translator's activism and perception of the language whilst formulating an answer to the following sub-question: How can the task of the Mapudungun translator be defined in a sociopolitical context? This chapter first presents the translatorial background of the participants and their experience as a translator of the language pair Mapudungun-Spanish in Section 5.1. The subsequent sections allocate the prominent themes in the responses of the interviewees each to a different corresponding sub-type of the translator-activist as proposed by Gould and Tahmasebian, namely the vernacular mediator, the revolutionary, and the voice-giver. The fourth paradigm, the witness-bearer did not considerably, if at all, correspond with the responses of the participants as they did not incorporate personal experiences in the form of testimonies in their translation and is thus left out.

Section 5.2 treats the participants' stances on the role of translation concerning revitalization, drawing on Gould and Tahmasebian's (2020) notion of the vernacular mediator. This paradigm refers to a translator-activist whose goal is to contribute to the viability and accessibility of "minor" languages. Section 5.3 discusses the participants' approaches to texts with colonialist terminology and ideas. This section argues that the debated responses epitomize the paradigm of the revolutionary translator-activist, one that is positioned at the barricades of change and intends to shape the meaning of the discourse preceding that change.

Next, section 5.4 deliberates the underlying activist stimuli of the participants' translations and ultimately proposes the claim that these responses correspond with the paradigm of the voice-giver. This translator-activist strives to make audible and visible the identities and voices of the oppressed and silenced. Finally, section 5.5 concludes the chapter

by formulating the answer to the main research question and summarizing the findings discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Translating Mapudungun in Chile

This section focuses on the translation career of the interlocutors as it formed a prominent theme during the interviews. Moreover—akin to the impact of identity on matters of language—the development of the interlocutors' translation career may provide context for their reasoning behind translatorial strategies and beliefs.

The level of translation experience of each participant varied greatly. At the time of the interviews, most participants had translated texts of all types, including literature for adults and children, educational texts, and scientific texts. Ítalo, Claudia, and Victor had translated this particular language pair for approximately 5–10 years. Sonia and Cecilia had worked with this language pair for approximately 20 years, though it should be noted that Cecilia mainly worked as an interpreter. Rosendo had worked as a translator for more than fifty years.

All of the interlocutors provided different reasons why they had initially started to work as a translator. Ítalo started translating out of necessity. He took notice of the demand for translators for governmental projects that focused on the inclusion of Indigenous languages and considered this an opportunity. On the other hand, Rosendo wanted to translate to understand different cultures. Similarly, Claudia had an affinity for languages. Victor and Sonia started to specialize in translation because they felt motivated to create more educational material in Mapudungun for their pupils and strived to teach them an Indigenous language.

Most participants held a second job, and according to Victor and Ítalo, most Mapudungun translators cannot generate substantial income in Chile because of little recognition of Mapudungun translators. “In Chile, there’s no official translation career in Mapuzungun-Spanish; there are no official translators,” Ítalo said. “There are recognized

translators, which is different. But they do not exist as—. Like you, for example, you studied and are a professional translator with a university degree and all that. There's no such thing here, so the people who translate are the speakers.”

Correspondingly, Victor recalls how he had previously tried to gather other translators of Mapudungun-Spanish to establish a framework of knowledge and concepts for translators of this language pair to refer to. One that guides translators of Mapudungun and explains to them how much to charge per word or how to find Spanish neologisms for Mapuche concepts. He said that his incentive for this project was that he, like many others, was clueless when he first started working as a translator. He did not know how much he should charge for his translations and lacked fundamental knowledge about translation as a professional career. Ultimately, his attempts were in vain, and the project failed.

Both responses and the summary of the careers and experiences of the participants do not only illustrate the obstacles faced by translators of Mapudungun in Chile. They also depict how devoted the translators are to their language and identity endeavors. Despite the lack of recognition of their efforts as translators of this particular Indigenous language, the participants commit themselves to any attempt that increases the viability of the Mapuche language and culture. The following section further discusses the latter stimulus behind the participants' translations in greater detail.

5.2 The Vernacular Mediator

This section debates the participant's considerations and efforts to make Mapudungun accessible and useful to people in and outside the community. It argues that this intention is consonant with the paradigm of the translator-activist as vernacular mediator. The previous section demonstrated how despite the challenging circumstances of translators of this language pair, all participants emphasized the importance of working with Mapudungun as a translator,

interpreter, or educator. The interview questions inquired about the role of translation in revitalizing the language and the efforts of the participants as translators to stimulate language proficiency to comprehend better the significance and use of translation as an activist instrument.

In this respect, five of six interviewees argued that translation indubitably serves as a revitalization tool. All five insisted that translation produces supplementary reading material that contributes significantly to the education and proficiency of—particularly—the newer generations. “We as translators are very much in charge of transmitting everything that [...] other people [...] are not capable of reading because no one knows all languages. So we as translators have an essential task to transmit the language and ensure that it doesn’t die and that new generations are interested in it,” Claudia said.

Likewise, Cecilia highlighted that Mapudungun should be transmitted to the larger masses, not solely to those who identify as Mapuche but also to Chileans. “And to fight for what you have because these are languages that will eventually disappear, and we are going to say, ‘Dang, why didn’t we distribute it to more people? Why haven’t more children learned it?’” she said. “[...] Or suddenly they tell me, ‘No, you should only resist alongside Mapuche, you cannot fight [for this] with the Spaniards, the Chileans.’ I tell them, ‘No, you see, we have to revitalize our language, teach other children our language, our greeting, our *why*.’”

These responses reflect how the participants define the responsibility of the Mapudungun translator and interpreter. In addition to creating spaces and material that allow Mapuche voices to be heard, spoken, and written down, Cecilia’s statement also echoes the concept of *ch’ixi*. In the previous chapter on Mapuche identity, she claimed that ancestrally, all Chileans are *mestizo*, including herself, and the previous quotation underlines once more the parallels between the two cultures and genetic ancestries whilst also emphasizing the contrasts and drawing a line between Chilean and Mapuche culture. Her choice of words illustrates this

understanding. The “why” that she refers to here applies exclusively to Mapuche thought and understanding (or *kimün* and *rakiduam*), not that of Chilean culture. Instead of adopting a hybrid identity, she makes a distinction and deploys the dichotomy of the self and the other, in line with Rivera Cusicanqui’s model of *ch’ixi*.

Lastly, the apprehensiveness of some community members to spreading Mapuche knowledge also portrays the delicacy of the language as it remains an inherent part of Mapuche’s identity that must be protected and respected. Participants also addressed this tension in the responses related to their efforts or acquaintances’ efforts to revitalize the language through translation. Rosendo, for instance, had translated the Windows 95 operating system from Spanish to Mapudungun. This initiative, according to Victor, was met with significant opposition from the Mapuche community. “It’s something very complex because of the concepts involved, but he did it. [...] It never took off because [some] Mapuche people came forward and said, ‘No, we don’t want that that is being sold.’ There is this bad perception among Mapuche people that by translating, ‘the wingka will now know more than I do.’ That’s nonsense to me.”

The latter depicts once more the strong ties between Mapuche language and culture. Since language bears the weight of cultural identity, transmitting language through translation also means transmitting its knowledge and thus creates spaces of vulnerability. Whilst some, including Victor, reclaim power through these undertakings, others regard them as incentives of undesirable exposure and perhaps appropriation of Mapuche identity and culture by the *wingka*, a Mapuche term to describe the outsider, the Chilean, or thief.

Later, Victor enthusiastically told of an acquaintance who had created a corpus of Mapudungun-Spanish translations. The purpose of this corpus was to facilitate translation and particularly the creation of neologisms for jargon and terminology used in, e.g., technological or political texts. That being said, the majority of the endeavors of the other participants

consisted of translating Mapuche tales and educational texts from Spanish into Mapudungun or historical documents, only written in Mapudungun, to Spanish for the next Mapuche generations. Nevertheless, the participants also raised concerns when discussing the role of translation in revitalization. This concern was related to the literacy level of those living in urban and rural regions, as well as the older versus the younger generations.

Sonia, Ítalo, and Victor stressed that whilst the younger generations can read Mapudungun, most elderly Mapuche cannot do so. Similarly, most Mapuche living in rural areas had never learned how to read or write, in contrast to the Mapuche living in urban areas. “And there, too, the state plays an important role in creating space for teaching and learning Mapuzungun, regardless of its form, written or oral,” Victor argues. “But if I don’t generate readers, I don’t generate speakers, [and] this translation is useless to me. So, I believe that both [translation and revitalization efforts] should be at the same level.”

These last data align with the argument of Lagos, Espinoza, and Rojas (2013) on the topic of revitalization. These endeavors are fruitless if the Mapuche necessities and demands are not prioritized. Nonetheless, the efforts for revitalization and accessibility of the language by the Mapudungun translator correspond with the translator-activist paradigm of the vernacular mediator. The goal of the participants to make Mapudungun accessible to the world and vernacularizing spaces and communication is in line with the objective of the vernacular mediator. However, as previously concluded, giving precedence to the demands of the Mapuche is a pivotal duty of Mapuche activists, an objective that the vernacular mediator does not represent. This gap leads to the next paradigm of the activist-translator, the revolutionary.

5.3 The Revolutionary

This section explores the more overt and outspoken translation approaches of the participants. These considerations are then reflected upon to underline why these impetuses can be defined

by adopting the revolutionary paradigm. The questions discussed in this chapter prompted the interlocutors to consider Elicura Chihuailaf's statements on the political aspect of translation and contemplate their approaches to translating colonialist terminology and concepts. The quotations incorporated in the questions referred to the translation strategies Chihuailaf employed to erase colonialist language and misconceptions (Elguera 2020). It should be noted that these questions were easily misinterpreted, which resulted in a few ambiguous responses. Nonetheless, Victor and Ítalo provided clear illustrations of decolonial translation approaches.

“One should always seek to decolonize. Not trying to colonize, you should decolonize a little bit,” Ítalo claimed. “Of course, as you mention, there are texts like—. Texts, for example, from the chronicles of the Spaniards, or dictionaries left by the Spaniards. [Using] vocabulary in which Mapuche are referred to as ‘Indians’ or ‘barbarians,’ for example. Nowadays, words such as *comunero* are also used. [...] *araucano* is already in decline. [...] Certain groups in Chilean society use it to talk about language when they say the Mapuche speak Araucanian, which is very pejorative, isn’t it? So I always avoid [using] that. The name is Mapuzungun, period.”

This response demonstrates that similarly to Chihuailaf, Ítalo employs a strategy of replacing pejorative terminology or concepts with neologisms endorsed by those within the Mapuche community—proper Mapuche denominations instead of names that were forced upon them. This strategy is his way of decolonizing language and shaping the debate around political change for Indigenous proclaims. Replacing a word such as “commoner” or “Araucanian” with Mapuche is his approach to rectifying the misconceptions.

Likewise, Victor expressed a strong preference for avoiding the use of colonialist denominations. “Generally, when a text like that comes along, I change it almost—. Even though I mention it later, of course, I do make an immediate annotation. That is, I don’t say for example, to the person working on a project if it said *araucano* or if it said ‘dialect,’ ‘the

Mapuzungun dialect.’ I change it on the spot. That is, if it appeared in a text, I put—. I don’t know, I’m not going to put araucano there. [It’s] Mapuche and with a capital letter because it’s a proper name. And if it says ‘dialect,’ no, [I use] ‘language,’ or ‘tongue.’ And then when I deliver the text, I say ‘here it says this,’ and I make it understandable.”

Victor’s approach further highlights the revolutionary endeavors of the Mapuche translator to transform discourses adopting derogatory or pejorative terminology by making comprehensible via annotations or corrections why these notions should no longer be used and actualizing shifts in the climate around these discourses. Whilst Claudia also uses footnotes or paratext, she only does so to introduce Mapuche concepts to those interested without the intention to criticize or justify the use of certain denominations as a revolutionary translator would.

Subsequently, in light of the contemporary conflicts between the Chilean state and the Mapuche nation, the interviewees were asked whether they believed that translation could contribute to political engagement concerning these conflicts. This question was also interpreted in different ways, resulting in a few ambivalent responses. Since, in a connotative sense, politics can refer to “the art of governing,” as one of the interviewees said, two participants focused strictly on military affairs or politicians in their responses. These responses suggest that these interviewees did not perceive the translator as impacting the political engagement of Chilean society and the Chilean political agenda or may have never considered this perspective before.

Sonia argued that such engagement should come from both sides, the government and the people. Rosendo and Cecilia somewhat digressed from the topic and discussed the military presence and martial conflicts in certain parts of Mapuche territory. They believe that as Mapudungun translators, they are not part of any political structure. Claudia pointed toward the Chilean government and expressed hope that the newly elected government would help resolve

the conflicts. Though in previous replies, she also stressed a sense of translatorial agency and said that “everything you write and everything you read has consequences and can help to bring certain interesting topics to the table.”

Some of the abovementioned responses leave plenty of room for interpretation. One of the participants who was unequivocal in his response to this question was Victor. He replied to whether he uses translation as a political instrument by saying, “Yes. Yes, of course. Nowadays, even though the communication is mostly written rather than audiovisual, it is one of the strategies to make visible, let’s say, history, dispossession.” He also discussed the increasing amount of Mapuche literature in the present time. Although he expressed admiration for the writings of Mapuche authors, he was critical of their use of Spanish at the same time. “We continue to produce good writing, of course, but in Spanish. That’s where I think it’s missing—. Among Mapuche writers, it seems to me as if there’s a lack of awareness.”

Here, Victor argued that Mapuche authors tend to overlook the power of the language because they find someone else to translate it for them from Spanish to Mapudungun. Ítalo took an even more radical stance and argued, “It’s complicated in the sense that—. I mean, to speak Mapuzungun in general—because I can’t speak for everyone—is basically to *be* a Mapuche activist, [to be] pro-Mapuche. However, speaking Spanish does not always mean being a pro-Chilean activist [*laughs*]. Understand? [...] I believe there lies the instrumental use of the language to give political weight to Mapuche demands.”

When referring to the efforts of the current government to listen to the Mapuche demands regarding education, Ítalo’s opinion mirrors the same premise that Victor was implying. “So, there, the language, the translation into Mapuzungun has been fundamental. Because if you don’t think about this process in Mapuzungun, deep down you’re thinking as a Westerner. If you think in Spanish, you’re already doing that. You are no longer doing it from

[the perspective of] the Mapuche world. Instead, it's a process embedded in the other world, right? So, the political engagement is great in that sense.”

Overall, these responses conform to Menard's (2019) claim that those who seek to decolonize ought to affirm the difference between colonialist or contemporary nationalist cultures and Indigenous cultural identity. The discussions also reassert the presence of *ch'ixi* by stressing the disparity between two identities whilst also acknowledging their similarities. Lastly, several respondents raised the question of violence and asymmetry in discourses around Mapuche matters. According to Claudia, it is the responsibility of the Mapudungun translator to increase the harmony between two cultures and dismantle any stereotypes and prejudices.

Ítalo, akin to Tageldin's conceptualization of colonization as violent surrender (Conisbee Baer 2014, 236), described these preconceptions as a type of violence that manifests itself in the form of asymmetrical epistemologies—epistemologies of supremacy. According to him, the issue of assimilation is one of the most critical challenges for the Mapudungun translator. “In other words, only what the Western world says is valid, and what the Mapuche world says is not. That is what I always try to balance out. That these epistemologies converse, right? But symmetrically, not asymmetrically. Asymmetric is how it has always been until now,” he adds. According to Sonia and Victor, this is one of the most significant endeavors of the Mapudungun translator to show that the Mapuche language and culture are still present in contemporary times. Based on these findings, one could argue that Victor and Ítalo's translation approaches correspond to that of the revolutionary translator-activist, though most participants refrain from using these more overt strategies.

The suppositions mentioned in this section, “making visible the culture and history” and “speaking the language *is* Mapuche activism,” lead to the final topic discussed during the interviews, the overarching paradigm that defines the task of the Mapudungun translator—that of the voice-giver. This paradigm facilitates strategies of a more obscure nature than the

reshaping of lexicon and addition or omission of historical and geographical information employed by Victor and Ítalo. The following section puts forth arguments that clarify why the remaining data coincide with this paradigm.

5.4 The Voice-giver

This section argues that the overarching intention of the Mapudungun translator is achieved by a more obscure approach than that of the overt revolutionary, that is, to give voice to Mapuche culture and identity. Several questions were asked to further explore this perspective. One of these questions referred to a statement by Chihuailaf on the translator's task. In this statement, he argues that translation is a form of diplomacy and that the main objective of the Mapudungun-Spanish translator is to make the Mapuche culture visible in regions where it is overlooked, such as cities.

The participants were then asked whether they strive to transmit any political message akin to Chihuailaf's through their translations and how they defined the task of the Mapudungun translator. In this case, the responses followed two trajectories. (1) Like Chihuailaf claims, working with language is visibilization and, therefore, translation is a form of activism, or (2) whereas literature, such as Chihuailaf's work, will always have a double meaning, a translator strictly follows the text and context to be translated.

Sonia further illustrates the latter: "What happens? Look, you have to think about who Elicura is, right? So, he's a poet who has been gaining territory through many things. He has a National Literature Prize. So, to get there, he has gone through many things. On the other hand, I'm just a translator. So we see things differently. [...] I cannot compare myself with him because I'm a speaker, but I am also a translator. But he is a poet. Everything he is going to say will have a double meaning." This argument raised by Sonia suggests that not all Mapudungun

take such clear-cut approaches as Victor and Ítalo. Instead, Sonia and Rosendo insist that their translations do not contain any equivocal messages.

Still, when asked to define the task of the Mapudungun translator, Sonia added: “I think that one as a Mapudungun translator or as a Mapudungun teacher or as a speaker, as a Mapuche—. The only thing I want is to transmit that there’s a Chilean culture that, because I am Chilean, contains several, several cultures, it is a multiculturalism. I would like my culture to be known, to be made known, so that’s why I always try to support those who ask me [for help] and see how I can help so that I can contribute and tell them that the Mapuche culture is still alive and has all the tools to be able to do everything that any culture does.”

Perhaps the contrasts between these responses can be explained by a conscious agency, illustrated by Victor’s and Ítalo’s revolutionary approaches, and a subconscious habitus that underlies the translation decisions of all participants. Either way, all participants agreed with Sonia’s prioritization of visibilizing Mapuche culture. “The fact that I make a translation from Spanish-Mapuzungun, Mapuzungun-Spanish, it seems to me that above all it’s a political action to go against those who say no,” Victor argues. “To show that it’s possible, that Mapuzungun has a presence.” Similarly, Ítalo points out, “I think it is important to the extent of the inclusion of Mapuzungun and its visualization, so to speak. That it’s not a dead language, as they say. That Mapuzungun can be used to communicate like any modern language or prestigious languages such as English, German, or Spanish.”

5.5 Political Activism in Mapudungun Translation

These results suggest that not every translator employs the translation strategy of transmitting an overt political message to achieve their endeavors. Thus, they may not consider themselves a diplomat or political influence like a revolutionary translator-activist would. However, simultaneously, it is indisputable that the translators all have one objective: to make the

Mapuche culture and language visible. This chapter has demonstrated that the sociopolitical task of the Mapuche translator can be defined in three ways: the vernacular mediator, the revolutionary, and the voice-giver.

Most participants aim to increase viability of the language, and making the Mapuche language visible via translation is their primary approach to fulfilling their task as a Mapudungun translator. That is to say, in most cases, the task of the Mapudungun translator corresponded with that of the vernacular mediator or voice-giver. However, Ítalo's and Victor's approaches of omitting colonialist terminology or notions and adding Mapuche words and ideas by leaving them untranslated or including annotations also provide a foothold for defining the Mapudungun translator as a revolutionary.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this research is to gain insight into the Mapuche Nation's needs and to encourage scholars in the field of Translation Studies to not overlook this cultural region since understanding its translatorial environment also bears answers to concerns about language and identity creation. To do so, this thesis first established a theoretical framework in Chapter 2. This chapter put forth several significant arguments to reflect on the findings discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

The literature review proposes (1) that we should be concerned about language death because language forms the primary register of identity. Language carries the history of its speakers, expands human knowledge, and contributes to linguistic diversity, which has always been a prerequisite for human success. (2) The review also argues that theories used in the majority of postcolonial Translation Studies scholarship—despite sharing similarities—are not entirely appropriate for academic scrutiny of translation in an Indigenous Latin American context. (3) Lastly, this chapter claimed that to comprehend the profound link between language and identity and its influence on translation efforts, a thus far mostly unexploited theoretical framework should be adopted, one that allows for better interpretation of Indigenous identity in Latin America, *ch'ixi*. *Ch'ixi* This paradigm accounts for a mestizo and Indigenous reality in which cultural differences coexist in pronounced antagonism and complementarity rather than blending into some type of toned-down hybridity (Stocco 2017, 147) .

To investigate the previous claims I have conducted in-depth interviews, formulated as the sub-questions discussed in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 stresses the sociopolitical dimensions of debates on Mapudungun and why these aspects create tensions in discussions on translation. The findings discussed in this chapter suggest that the participants of this study consider Mapudungun an essential part of Mapuche identity and further highlight the apprehension

experienced by members of the Mapuche community to share the language with outsiders, as a result of its erasure and rejection in the past.

Chapter 5 related these outcomes to the translation strategies of the participants and how these can be defined using the paradigms of the vernacular mediator, revolutionary, and voice-giver. The overarching and most dominant paradigm turned out to be that of the voice-giver. That is to say, the translatorial approaches of the participants proved to be motivated by the goal to make visible and amplify Mapuche voices and demands through translation. Furthermore, some of the strategies and stances of the participants strongly resemble that of the revolutionary and vernacular mediator.

On the one hand, the revolutionary incentives and strategies focused on changing the discourse around political change by replacing pejorative terminology and providing explanations of Mapuche notions in translations. On the other, the vernacular mediator strives to make the language accessible and viable through translations, for instance, children's books and reading material for future generations. Overall, these findings show that the Mapudungun translator employs translation as an instrument to produce educational material, change the political climate of discourses on Mapuche culture, and—most importantly—highlight Mapuche presence and demands.

6.1 Research Limitations

This section touches on the study's limitations in representativeness, intersectionality, and shortcomings of the theoretical framework. First, though this thesis does shed light on ethnic markers to a certain extent, other participant demographics and the intersectionality between those demographics are not heavily considered in this thesis.

Additionally, since the translation expertise of the participants is not reflected in the set-up of the study and the analysis, the results of the data collection and conclusion of the analysis

may differ from a case study that stresses the translator's competence. Likewise, one should be mindful that the angle from which this thesis studies translation and Latin American culture has not been embraced by many other scholars thus far, meaning that the pioneering role of this thesis may make it prone to errors.

Next, as was covered to some degree in the previous chapters, questions centered around the influence of a translator on the political scene were either misunderstood or partially contested by most participants. Those who contested the impact of translation on political engagement, for instance, adopted the denotative definition of *politics* and *political*. In contrast, the respondents who recognized the political impact of translation appeared to fixate on the connotations of these words. The responses to these particular political questions mainly differ due to semantic variation. Finally, my Spanish proficiency may also have impacted the outcome of the interviews, given that Spanish is not my mother tongue. Thus, in terms of reliability, these major obstacles could be prevented by clear and concrete explanations of ambiguous questions and conducting the interviews in the L1 of the researcher, preferably Spanish.

6.2 Recommendations

Since the Mapuche territory extends across parts of Chile and Argentina, the ideal research design would have facilitated interviews with translators from both Chile and Argentina. However, since the inclusion of the political climate of Mapuche struggle in Argentina would be beyond the scope of this study, this part of Mapuche land was excluded. Thus, a study on this subject would ideally prioritize a larger research population, including translators from Chile and Argentina, and a refined focus on the intersectionality of the population's demographics. Additionally, as this study does not yield insight into the impact of overlapping identities and interests such as that of feminist and LGBTQ+ incentives or contrasts between the considerations of Mapuche scholars vis-à-vis laypersons.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

This study has demonstrated that contemporary theories on postcolonial translation are inappropriate for researching notions of identity, language, and agency in Indigenous Latin America. Aside from delineating how Mapudungun translators raise sociopolitical awareness of the preservation and revitalization of Mapudungun, this thesis also stresses that perceptions of the link between identity and language should be considered in studies on this subject. To properly study the link between identity and language and understand where translation is positioned in this structure, this study argues that adopting the concept of *ch'ixi* is most appropriate.

In closing, in the preface of the Mapuche literature mentioned in Chapter 2, Huenún Villa (2011) writes, “let this book be a flower, both in Mapudungun and Spanish, for the garden of our days.” Likewise, I hope this thesis can be considered the seed of a growing scholarly interest in translating Indigenous literature and its political and activist endeavors.

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Appendices

A1 – English Form of Consent



University of Leiden Centre for Linguistics

Principal Researcher: Selena Rayen Gallardo Torres

Research Title: The Word is the Flower: Reflecting on the Activist Turn in Post-Colonial Translations of Mapuche Literature in Chile

You are invited to participate in a research study that explores the use of translation as a form of political and activist engagement. Your participation in this study requires an interview during which you will be asked questions about your opinions and attitudes relative to your experience as a literary translator of the language pair Mapudungun-Spanish. The duration of the interview will be approximately 60 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audio taped and transcribed, the purpose thereof being to capture and maintain an accurate record of the discussion. **Your name will not be used unless consent is given. If you do not give consent for using your name, you will be referred to only by way of a pseudonym on all transcripts and data collected.**

This study will be conducted by the researcher Selena Rayen Gallardo Torres, a master's student at Leiden University. The interview will be undertaken at a time and location that is mutually suitable.

Risks and Benefits:

This research will hopefully contribute to understanding the significance of translation, and so the potential benefit of this study is contribution to translation related research as well as a better general understanding of Mapuche culture. Participation in this study carries the same amount of risk that individuals will encounter in any other interviews with educational purposes, meaning that this information will only be used for expanding the academic knowledge of the topic. There is no financial remuneration for your participation in this study.

Data Storage to Protect Confidentiality:

Under no circumstances whatsoever will you be identified by name in the course of this research study, or in any publication thereof, unless consent is given to do so. Every effort will be made that all information provided by you is not accessible to unauthorized persons. All data will be coded and securely stored until finalization of the thesis, and will be used for professional purposes only. The principal researcher and supervisor(s) are the only people who will have access to this information.

How the Results Will be Used:

This research study is to be submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the master's degree of Linguistics: Translation at the Humanities Faculty, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands. The results of this study will be published as a master's thesis. In addition, information may be used for educational purposes in professional presentation(s) and/or educational publication(s).

Participant's Rights

- I have read and discussed the research description with the researcher. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.
 - My participation in this research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time without jeopardy to future medical care, employment, student status, or other entitlements.
 - The researcher may withdraw me from the research at her professional discretion.
 - If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available that may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, the investigator will provide this information to me.
 - Any information derived from the research that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed *without* my consent, except as specifically required by law.
 - If at any time I have any questions regarding the research or my participation, I can contact the researcher, Selena Gallardo Torres (s.r.gallardo.torres@umail.leidenuniv.nl) who will answer my questions. I may also contact the researcher's thesis supervisors, Tim Reus (t.reus@hum.leidenuniv.nl) and Eduardo Alves Vieira (e.alves.vieira@hum.leidenuniv.nl).
 - If at any time I have comments or concerns regarding the conduct of the research, or questions about my rights as a research subject, I should contact Leiden University Center for Linguistics (LUCL). Phone: +31 71 527 2125. Email: lucl@hum.leidenuniv.nl
 - Audio taping is part of this research. Only the principal researcher and the members of the research team will have access to written and taped materials.
-

Consent

The form of consent will be reviewed in at the beginning of the interview and the agreement will be registered on audio. By proceeding participation in the interviews, you agree to the conditions stipulated in this form of consent.

A2 – Formulario de Consentimiento en Español



Centro de Lingüística de la Universidad de Leiden

Investigadora principal: Selena Rayen Gallardo Torres

Título de la investigación: La palabra es la flor: Reflexión sobre el giro activista en las traducciones postcoloniales de la literatura mapuche en Chile

Se le invita a participar en un estudio de investigación que explora el uso de la traducción como forma de compromiso político y activista. Su participación en este estudio requiere una entrevista durante la cual se le harán preguntas sobre sus opiniones y actitudes relativas a su experiencia como traductor literario del par de lenguas mapudungun-español. La duración de la entrevista será de aproximadamente 60 minutos. Con su permiso, la entrevista será grabada y transcrita, con el propósito de capturar y mantener un registro preciso de la discusión. Su nombre no se utilizará a menos que dé su consentimiento. **Si no da su consentimiento para que se utilice su nombre, sólo se hará referencia a usted mediante un seudónimo en todas las transcripciones y datos recopilados.**

Este estudio será realizado por la investigadora Selena Rayen Gallardo Torres, estudiante de Magíster en la Universidad de Leiden. La entrevista se llevará a cabo en el momento y lugar que convenga a ambas partes.

Riesgos y beneficios:

Se espera que esta investigación contribuya a la comprensión del significado de la traducción, por lo que el beneficio potencial de este estudio es la contribución a la investigación relacionada con la traducción, así como una mejor comprensión general de la cultura mapuche. La participación en este estudio conlleva la misma cantidad de riesgo que las personas encontrarán en cualquier otra entrevista con fines educativos, lo que significa que esta información sólo se utilizará para ampliar el conocimiento académico del tema. No hay remuneración económica por su participación en este estudio.

Protección de la confidencialidad de los datos:

Bajo ninguna circunstancia se le identificará por su nombre en el curso de este estudio de investigación, o en cualquier publicación del mismo, a menos que se dé el consentimiento para hacerlo. Se hará todo lo posible para que toda la información proporcionada por usted no sea accesible a personas no autorizadas. Todos los datos serán codificados y almacenados de forma segura hasta la finalización de la tesis, y se utilizarán únicamente con fines profesionales. El investigador principal y el (los) profesor(es) son las únicas personas que tendrán acceso a esta información.

Cómo se utilizarán los resultados:

Este estudio de investigación se presenta como cumplimiento parcial de los requisitos para obtener el título de Magíster en Lingüística: Traducción en la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de Leiden, Leiden, Países Bajos. Los resultados de este estudio se publicarán como tesis de magíster. Además, la información podrá utilizarse con fines educativos en presentaciones profesionales y/o publicaciones educativas.

Derechos del participante

- He leído y discutido la descripción de la investigación con la investigadora. He tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre los propósitos y procedimientos relativos a este estudio.
 - Mi participación en esta investigación es voluntaria. Puedo negarme a participar o retirarme de la participación en cualquier momento sin poner en peligro la atención médica futura, el empleo, la condición de estudiante u otros derechos.
 - La investigadora puede retirarme de la investigación según su criterio profesional.
 - Si, durante el curso del estudio, se dispone de nueva información significativa que se haya desarrollado y que pueda estar relacionada con mi voluntad de seguir participando, la investigadora me proporcionará esta información.
 - **Cualquier información derivada de la investigación que me identifique personalmente no se divulgará voluntariamente ni se revelará sin mi consentimiento, salvo que la ley lo exija específicamente.**
 - Si en algún momento tengo alguna pregunta sobre la investigación o mi participación, puedo ponerme en contacto con la investigadora, Selena Gallardo Torres (s.r.gallardo.torres@umail.leidenuniv.nl), que responderá a mis preguntas. También puedo ponerme en contacto con el director de tesis de la investigadora, Tim Reus (t.reus@hum.leidenuniv.nl) y Eduardo Alves Vieira (e.alves.vieira@hum.leidenuniv.nl).
 - Si en algún momento tengo comentarios o dudas sobre la realización de la investigación, o preguntas sobre mis derechos como sujeto de la investigación, debo ponerme en contacto con el Centro Lingüístico de la Universidad de Leiden (LUCL). Teléfono: +31 71 527 2125. Correo electrónico: lucl@hum.leidenuniv.nl
 - La grabación de audio forma parte de esta investigación. Sólo la investigadora principal y los miembros del equipo de investigación tendrán acceso a los materiales escritos y grabados.
-

Consentimiento

El formulario de consentimiento se revisará al principio de la entrevista y el acuerdo se registrará en audio. **Al proceder a la participación en las entrevistas, usted acepta las condiciones estipuladas en este formulario de consentimiento.**

B1 – Interview Transcriptions in Spanish

*Estas entrevistas se realizaron antes de haber investigado los orígenes de mi abuelo y, por tanto, pueden contener incoherencias. Además, después de haber realizado todas las entrevistas, me di cuenta de que había utilizado el término renacimiento. Mi intención era utilizar una palabra que significara revitalización y no creo que renacimiento fuera el término correcto.

B1.1 Claudia

Archivo: entrevistaconclaudia.m4a

Duración: 42:59

Fecha: 25 marzo 2022

Selena: Hola, ¿me escuchas?

Claudia: Hola, sí.

Selena: Yo soy Selena, mucho gusto de conocerle. Primero, me gustaría preguntar ¿puedo usar «tú» o prefiere «usted»?

Claudia: Puedes usar tú.

Selena: OK. Bueno, en primer lugar, me gustaría hablar rápidamente del formulario de consentimiento que he enviado hoy mismo. He marcado en amarillo las frases más importantes del documento. Lo más importante que quiero saber es si te parece bien que utilicé tu propio nombre y apellido en mi tesis. Si no quieres, tu nombre no se mencionará en ninguna parte y voy a utilizar un seudónimo.

Claudia: Sí, de acuerdo.

Selena: OK. Bueno. Vamos a empezar con la primera pregunta. ¿Qué tipo de textos has traducido?

Claudia: En general, o solo en mapudungun?

Selena: En mapudungun, sí, sí.

Claudia: OK. Textos sobre literatura. Principalmente, cuentos para niños. Y también textos que tienen que ver con ciertas normativas que se relacionan con el pueblo mapuche. Sí, con ciertas normativas. Textos que vienen de organismos internacionales como XXXX, XXXX, ese tipo de textos, digamos.

Selena: Claro. ¿Y [también] poemas, libros, o—?

Claudia: Sí, también, sí. Sí también en más de alguna oportunidad. Poemas no, porque ya es más difícil [ríe].

Selena: [ríe]

Claudia: No, pero textos más como cuentos o libros.

Selena: OK. De acuerdo. Entonces la próxima pregunta [es] ¿por qué empezaste a traducir? En general.

Claudia: En general? Bueno, yo estudié traducción en la universidad de Santiago de Chile. Traducción inglés-portugués. Me gustan los idiomas, principalmente. Por eso me decidí a la carrera. Ya luego años después, hizo un magíster en la lengua español en la universidad de Chile. Y ahí entré al Mapudungun, tenía un electivo de Mapudungun. Y claro, me pareció interesante, me interesé más en eso.

Selena: Hmhm. Y—. Bueno, ¿por qué empezaste a traducir el mapudungun-castellano?

Claudia: Bueno, por temas prácticos, en realidad. Para que no se me olvide, hay que utilizarlo. Y porque empezaron a—. Aquí en Chile igual hay pocas personas que lo hacen, entonces comienzan a llegar solicitudes para poder traducir y allí comencé. Porque, como te digo, son pocas las personas que lo hacen.

Selena: Sí, sí. OK. ¿Tienes origen mapuche?

Claudia: Claro, sí. No—. Es que, claro, [como] chilenos tenemos origen—. No claramente, digamos, que se note en mi apellido, pero debe haber algún nexo por allí. Claro, no es claro como otras personas que tienen sus apellidos mapuche. Pero, algo se debe mezclar por allí.

Selena: Hmhm. Y ¿qué forma de mapudungun hablas? Por ejemplo, Moluche Picunche, Pehuenche—.

Claudia: Sí, siempre se me olvida el nombre porque hay dos—. Sungun, creo que si así le dicen. Si quieres, te puedo confirmar en un momento, porque tiene un nombre que siempre me preguntan y yo siempre lo olvido. Si quieres, seguimos o lo busco.

Selena: Sí-

Claudia: ¿Lo busco? No me demoro, que lo tengo—. Lo tengo anotado por acá y—. En mi correo—. Que, claro, al traducir te preguntan que—.

Selena: Sí, claro.

Claudia: Esa no es. Déjame buscar por acá. Es que mi computador está muy lento...

Selena: [ríe]

Claudia:... Pero, podemos—. Y de que se trata tu—. ¿Qué estás estudiando?

Selena: Traducción-

Claudia: Creo que lo escribiste. ¿De traducción inglés?

Selena: [Sí] inglés y holandés. Y mi tesis se trata de traducción de mapudungun-castellano. Yo creo que es muy importante saber más sobre la importancia de traducción.

Claudia: Claro. ¿Tú eres traductor entonces?

Selena: [ríe] Sí, un poco.

Claudia: Pero ¿traduces o te dedicas a otras cosas?

Selena: Es que no estoy listo con mi estudio y-

Claudia: Ah, OK.

Selena: [Estoy] haciendo prácticas en una oficina de traducción.

Claudia: Ah, OK. Perfecto. Entiendo. Utilizo el grafemario azümchefe. Porque se dividen en grafemarios [y] son dos, y yo [traduzco] azümchefe. Siempre se me olvida el nombre.

Selena: OK. Bueno, ¿crees que la lengua y la capacidad de hablarla juegan un papel importante en las comunidades mapuches y porque?

Claudia: Claro, sí. O sea, en Chile no sé si—. Voy a hablar un poco de política pero—. Es que tiene que ver con el lenguaje también. Ahora hay un tema de reconocimiento del pueblo mapuche. Y ellos son muy celosos de su lengua. Me refiero a que la cuidan mucho y la protegen, etc. Porque, claro, la lengua es un reflejo de su cultura y de su pensamiento.

Selena: Sí, sí. De su identidad.

Claudia: Claro, y de su identidad. Entonces, por eso la protegen—. O están intentando crear mecanismos políticos a través de leyes para proteger la lengua. Porque además, también queda cada vez menos hablantes, entonces—. Porque, claro, me comentaban hace un tiempo solo los mayores—. Las personas mayores saben la lengua, los jóvenes como principalmente viven en el sur y en el sur no hay muchos lugares donde puedan estudiar. Se vienen a Santiago, entonces, se pierde. Y también me recuerdo ahora que comentaban en una oportunidad que se sienten discriminados cuando hablan su lengua. Y eso genera, claro, problemas. En el adulto no, porque el adulto—. Es parte de su cultura y lo entiende así, pero le genera un rechazo, digamos. Esa discriminación genera un rechazo entre los más jóvenes. Entonces, por una parte, la evitan, evitan hablarla.

Selena: Sí. ¿Crees que se sienten avergonzados al hablar en mapudungun?

Claudia: Claro, porque siento que—. Se sienten discriminados porque es una lengua minoritaria, es un pueblo que políticamente ahora en Chile con el—. Que hay un conflicto, más o menos grande. No sé si has leído del conflicto en la Araucanía.

Selena: Sí, sí, sobre la pacificación.

Claudia: Claro, influye mucho, yo creo. O sea, no en todas las personas sí en una parte importante.

Selena: Sí. Hmhm. Y ¿Crees que alguien solo es realmente mapuche cuando también habla la lengua?

Claudia: No, no. Como te digo, hay gente que—. Si siente o—. Mucho—. También tengo amigas que a través de su apellido han buscado ese nexo con el pueblo, ¿no? Pero llegaron a la adultez sin saber la lengua. Entonces, no. Creo que ayuda más sentirse parte del pueblo, pero que no es algo que defina tanto el sentirte o no, de parte del pueblo.

Selena: OK. Y ¿De qué manera crees que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Claudia: Mucho [*ríe*]. Mucho. Es que, claro, nosotras como traductoras estamos muy encargadas de transmitir todo lo que no—. Otras personas no pueden—. No serían capaces de leer porque una persona no puede saber todas las lenguas. Entonces, ahí los traductores tenemos una tarea bien importante de transmisión de la lengua y para permitir que no muera y las generaciones nuevas se interesen por ella.

Selena: Sí. Y ¿Traducir la literatura infantil, por ejemplo, podría contribuir a la fluidez y al compromiso de las generaciones más mapuche jóvenes?

Claudia: Absolutamente. Sabes, es primordial que en las escuelas se hable de la lengua y se acerque a los niños a la lengua. Y—. Porque también ayuda—. Yo también—. Soy profesora de español, entonces, también ayuda a entender el español. Entonces, no es algo que está tan alejado de todo. Deberíamos saber algo de mapudungun para saber del origen de algunas palabras que usamos ahora. Entonces, es muy interesante y muy necesario que se enseñen. Es parte de nuestra cultura.

Selena: Sí, claro. Y, bueno, un traductor suele adaptar elementos del texto para que se traduzcan mejor a la otra cultura, ¿hay ciertas adaptaciones que haces cuando traduces?

Claudia: Sí. Pero en el caso del mapudungun es bien difícil porque—. Uno como traductor debe tratar de que sea lo más fiel posible. Y por ahí, cuesta buscar ciertas equivalencias de—. O cómo decirlo porque el mapudungun es muy específico. No sé si «específico» es la palabra correcta. Pero sí, también es, como, muy poético, digamos. Y también hablan todo—. Y todo lo asocian con elementos de la naturaleza. Sobre todo en los cuentos mapuches son—. Entonces, aterrizar eso al español también es difícil, pero hay que buscar la manera de que lo más parecido posible—. No sé si es «parecido», pero—. Si se puede entender y que no pierde el sentido de lo que se quiere expresar. Yo creo que ese es el punto principal.

Selena: ¿Hay otros conceptos o consideraciones mapuches que te resulten difíciles de traducir o quizás sean intraducibles?

Claudia: Yo creo que sí, claro. De buenas a primeras te digo que sí. Hay unos conceptos que son intraducibles, de que tratar de adaptarlos al español. Tanto del español como al mapudungun y del mapudungun al español. Hay que tratar de buscar las equivalencias. Pero yo creo que es más difícil del español al mapudungun porque igual el mapudungun es más limitado en vocabulario. Entonces, quizás una frase larga en español tenga una sola palabra en mapudungun. Porque el mapudungun trabaja—. No sé si sabes que trabaja con partículas. Entonces, a una palabra, una raíz, se le van agregando partículas y partículas, y partículas. Entonces—. O mezcla dos palabras para crear un concepto.

Selena: Sí, sí.

Claudia: Necesitaba eso. Entonces, eso.

Selena: OK, claro. Además de los cambios estéticos, también hay cambios que el traductor puede hacer para combatir ciertos estereotipos discriminatorios o coloniales sustituyéndolos. Por ejemplo, por términos y conceptos mapuches. Hay nombres como «araucano» de la época colonial, pero también «reducciones» y «pacificación» de la época en que ya se había formado el estado chileno, ¿Como traductor como te enfrentas a este tipo de términos y por qué?

Claudia: Me encanta este tema.

Selena: [ríe]

Claudia: Te cuento un poco por qué tiene que ver con lo que estoy haciendo ahora también. Ahora estoy haciendo un doctorado en traductología en la universidad de Valladolid. Y mi tema de investigación tiene que ver con la traducción de literatura afrobrasileña escrita por mujeres. Y lo estoy estudiando porque la traducción de mujeres afro no es tan conocida en Latina América en el Cono Sur. Yo estoy estudiando solamente el Cono Sur. Porque la literatura escrita por mujeres afro no es tan conocida como la literatura escrita por hombres. Entonces, ahí se mezclan varios temas y unos de los temas que se mezcla dentro de eso y dentro de la traducción, y que está muy en boga aquí en Chile en el mundo también con todo lo de los movimientos feministas. Es el tema de traducir en clave feminista. Entonces, también, claro, trato de aplicar, evidentemente es un tema distinto. Pero si también trato de aplicarlo a mi trabajo como traductora. Porque tú sabes que nuestra profesión también es cultura, entonces. Y todo lo que tú escribes y todo lo que tú lees tiene consecuencias y pueda ayudar a poner en tabla ciertos temas que son interesantes. Entonces, yo la verdad es que estoy, en ese tema, muy comprometida con eso.

Selena: Sí, yo también.

Claudia: Sí. No sé bien qué pasa con traductores mayores. Creo que en alguna vez en algún progreso hablamos de que traductores—. Somos más mujeres que hombres en general los que estudiamos la carrera. Creo que en términos generales las mujeres estamos a raíz del movimiento feminista estamos más comprometidas con ese tipo de escritura, que los hombres. quizás, es un prejuicio pero puede ser. Pero, sí. Lo tengo muy en cuenta. Pero también hay que tener cuidado con eso porque se puede generar un conflicto, pero ahí vamos.

Selena: A ver, las traducciones pueden servir para enseñar a los de fuera más sobre la cultura mapuche, ¿crees que es importante encontrar un punto medio entre la cultura chilena y la mapuche a través de la traducción y por qué?

Claudia: Claro, sí. Es que están conectadas. Y el lenguaje es clave. Aparte del lenguaje puede crear ese nexo y esa unión. Como te digo, yo también hago clases de español y no pocos alumnos me preguntan por el pueblo mapuche a raíz del conflicto que hay. Entonces, ahí uno trata de entrar—. Yo creo que se—. Están muy unidos y separarlos no tiene mucho sentido, o sea—. Yo en realidad siempre hago el nexo. O sea, empiezo por cosas súper básicas, no sé, cómo—. Y prácticas. Como por ejemplo decirle al alumno «Oye, ¿sabes que la comuna donde vives su nombre tiene que ver con la palabra mapuche?» y así vamos entrando en el tema. Entonces, están conectados. Yo creo que no se pueden separar. O no debieran separarse.

Selena: Sí. ¿Intentas traducir al español de manera que los textos también enseñan algo sobre la cultura mapuche a los lectores?

Claudia: Sí. Uno siempre trata—. Siempre venga al tema de poner ahí de poner ahí su nota al pie.

Selena: Ah. Sí, sí [*ríe*].

Claudia: Y que—. Siempre es típico. De ahí uno pone un poco de su—. De su cosecha, como decimos aquí, así como de su propio. Sí, lo hago.

Selena: En una entrevista sobre traducción, el autor y traductor Elicura Chihuailaf dice que considera que la traducción es una forma de diplomacia y cree que la tarea del traductor mapuche es principalmente poder llegar a la gente de la ciudad y hacer visible la cultura mapuche en ella. ¿Hay algún mensaje político en particular que intentes transmitir a través de tus traducciones?

Claudia: Sí, es que el lenguaje es político. Entonces, cualquier cosa que tú intentes transmitir es político. Entonces, sí. ¿Cómo te digo, volviendo al tema del feminismo, que no viene al caso, pero se entiende la analogía, traducir como en clave feminista, no? Es político. Lo mismo que te mencionaba no sé, pues, de—. A través de una nota al pie, insertar [*y*] explicar ciertos términos que puedan ser—. Que a mí me parezcan—. Que son interesantes para el lector. Y que puedan introducir un poco a la cultura o a que te llame la atención y quieras investigar. Si, lo hago. Entonces, el lenguaje es político.

Selena: Y aparte de los aspectos técnicos de traducción, los traductores, como Elicura Chihuailaf, tienen otros intereses, como borrar la huella que la colonización y la asimilación han dejado en la comunidad mapuche. Además de aspectos técnicos como la gramática y el estilo, etcétera, ¿cuál es para ti el objetivo más importante de traducir este par de idiomas?

Claudia: Ay, qué difícil la pregunta [*suspira*]. Porque son tantas cosas las que se involucran cuando uno traduce. Yo creo que lo primero es cierto. Uno como traductor trata de que el sentido de lo que se quiere, de lo que expresó el—. El de lo que expresa el texto fuente, sea el mismo que el texto de llegada, o sea la traducción. Yo creo que eso es lo principal que uno trata de hacer y de ahí, claro, salirte de esto también es un poco complejo. Pero, como te digo, uno a través de estos textos también trata de en la medida de lo posible, entregar algún tipo de mensaje o que ese texto resuene en el lector y lo invite a, en este caso, adentrarse más en la cultura mapuche.

Selena: Sí, OK. Y además, en el presente todavía hay enfrentamientos entre el Estado chileno y las comunidades mapuches. Y, ¿cómo crees que la traducción puede contribuir al compromiso político en torno a esta injusticia? Y no solo desde el lado de los mapuches, sino también de los propios—. De los chilenos.

Claudia: El gobierno actual está, de presente Boric, está con el propósito firme y creo que es distinto a lo que se había hecho antes, de conversar. ¿No? De conversar con—. Sobre este tema y otros problemas que hay en La Araucanía. Porque también hay otros que no hay que conocerlo. Pero acercar—. Hay que acercarse, para que estos conflictos cesen, digamos. Y en términos de—. De lo que tú me preguntas, yo creo que—. Lo importante y lo que veo que acá podemos hacer. Es transmitirle al tipo, este tipo, de contenidos de lecturas mapuche, digamos.

De cuentos que se yo, que involucran a la cultura mapuche y a los estudiantes también. Para poder—. Para intentar de que entiendan un poco de su cultura y de su cosmovisión, como ellos lo definen. Porque—. Y claro, para ellos se trata de una cosmovisión. O sea, ningún elemento está separado del otro. Entonces yo creo que a través de la lectura, los jóvenes también pueden entender un poco del pensamiento mapuche y de por qué ellos defendían tanto—. O quieren defender su cultura y su territorio. El tema que está ahora ahí en—. Con una problemática grande.

Selena: Crees que hay una forma de traducir y transmitir el trauma y el dolor de la injusticia y la discriminación que—. A los extranjeros, a los chilenos.

Claudia: ¿El dolor del pueblo mapuche?

Selena: Sí, sí.

Claudia: Es que—. Claro. O sea, nosotros ya sabemos que—. O sea, como te digo, que en general, pero sí los que tratamos de informarnos más. Sabemos las injusticias que se han cometido con el pueblo mapuche, siempre va a haber sectores que no lo van a entender. Por, qué sé yo, porque ya tienen un pensamiento preconcebido, una forma distinta de ver las cosas. Pero creo que la educación está cambiando en Chile y creo que ahora se puede hablar mucho más abiertamente de esos temas y quitarle un poco esa visión romántica que a nosotros los que somos más, más viejitos, nos enseñaron del lado de la historia eso de que se pelearon y qué sé yo. Entonces quitarle un poco ese romanticismo que nos enseñaron siempre. La historia de Chile y hablar de lo que realmente pasó, ¿no? Y no solamente con el pueblo mapuche, sino que también con otros pueblos que—. Sí, que los mataron ahí. Hay un genocidio, entonces, creo que ya a esta altura se puede hablar, digamos, abiertamente de eso.

Selena: Gracias por las respuestas. Y, me gustaría preguntarle—. Preguntarte ¿si hay algo que quisieras compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor de mapudungun?

Claudia: Me cuesta un poco separarlo de—. Del trabajo en general. Qué hago con otras lenguas. ¿No? Porque como te digo, es la tarea del traductor—. Es, que, aquel que no pueda entender un texto—. A través del trabajo que nosotros podemos hacer—. Y claro, el mapudungun es—. Obviamente, tiene ese sentido, el poder traducirlo. Pero también como chilena, tiene ese componente de—. Hay un componente de responsabilidad. ¿No? Por tratar de que—. De que otros no solamente entiendan la lengua, sino que también entiendan a través del lenguaje y a través de la forma en que el mapuche, el pueblo mapuche, se expresa. Entiendan un poco de su cultura y como te dije antes, de su cosmovisión, yo creo que esa es la tarea principal de los que nos dedicamos al mapudungun. Creo que eso es como la materia principal. Tratar de acercar y romper mitos prejuicios a través de la lengua.

Selena: Sí, sí. Muchas gracias y lo disfruté.

Claudia: Fue muy especial. Si hay algo que no se entienda o que necesites saber, me escribes. No hay ningún problema.

Selena: Sí, muchas gracias.

Claudia: Seguramente a lo mejor también te contacto para—. Para alguna cosa por ahí que estoy haciendo, mi investigación.

Selena: Sí, creo que es muy interesante y me gusta.

Claudia: Cualquier cosa que necesites, estoy disponible.

Selena: Sí, gracias.

B1.2 Cecilia

Archivo: entrevistaconcecilia.m4a

Duración: 00:47:04

Fecha: 31 marzo 2022

Selena: Hola.

Cecilia: Hola.

Selena: ¿Me escuchas?

Cecilia: Sí, y usted a mí?

Selena: Sí, sí.

Cecilia: Ya.

Selena: Mucho gusto de conocerle. Yo soy Selena. Soy estudiante de la Universidad de Leiden en los Países Bajos. Y actualmente estoy haciendo un magíster en traducción del par de lenguas inglés y holandés. Mi mamá está aquí en la habitación para ayudarme cuando no puedo encontrar mis palabras. Porque como nací en los Países Bajos, no he hablado castellano desde la infancia. Así que no domino el idioma y—. Sí. Pero no se preocupe, puedo entender casi todo lo que me dice, pero a veces me cuesta formar frases y hacer preguntas y todo eso. Por eso le pido que hable con calma y claridad, para que pueda seguir a seguirle más fácilmente.

Cecilia: Oh, me acostaré un poquito [*ininteligible*], es que hoy hablamos rápido.

Selena: Sí, yo-

Cecilia: [*ininteligible*] es Cecilia.

Selena: Sí. Hmhm.

Cecilia: ¿Me escucha bien?

Selena: Es que la conexión es un poco mala, pero—.

Cecilia: Me imagino. Bueno, yo soy una representante de los pueblos indígenas acá en Puente Alto. Tenemos una asociación indígena, la cual no es muy abundante, pero sí estamos ahí tratando de revitalizar todo—. De todo un poco.

Selena: Sí, sí.

Cecilia: Me crié con mis abuelos. Entonces, de por sí sé la lengua mapuche nativa. Hay muchas palabras que hoy en día se usan, que no son 100% mapuche. Entonces, que fue con el tema de las traducciones, que cuando yo tenía 14 años igual hice muchas traducciones que se fueron para otros países. Y después decliné de no seguir porque empezaron con el verbo o el sustantivo. Entonces de ahí encontré que la lengua nativa iba a morir. Entonces no seguí aceptando y renegué de seguir enseñando hasta hace como tres o cuatro años ante la pandemia. Hicimos talleres acá básicos dentro de Puente Alto, dentro de Bajo de Mena, que yo también vivo en Baja de Mena.

Selena: Sí, claro. Bueno, en primer lugar, me gustaría hablar rápidamente del formulario de consentimiento que he enviado hoy mismo. He marcado en amarillo, las frases más importantes del documento. Y—. Bueno, lo más importante que quiero saber es si le parece bien que utilice su propio nombre y apellido en mi tesis. Si no quiere su nombre, no se mencionará en ninguna parte y voy a utilizar un seudónimo.

Cecilia: Eso es decisión suya. Si le puedo ayudar, yo no tengo ningún problema. Y va a partir siendo de—. Yo no tengo ningún problema porque creo que lo que es tema mapuche no tenemos por qué escondernos. Nunca me he escondido acá y si tengo que vestirme con mi vestimenta tradicional, lo hago. Si tengo que salir desde mi casa, lo hago. No tengo ningún problema en ese sentido. No me afecta ni me preocupa el tema de ser mapuche. No, estoy súper orgullosa en ese sentido.

Selena: Sí, muchas gracias. Su consentimiento y sus respuestas quedan grabados para que pueda recuperar la información cuando escriba mi tesis. Y mis profesores y yo somos los únicos que tenemos acceso a esta información y voy a borrar la finalización de la tesis. Si está de acuerdo con estas condiciones, podemos continuar con la entrevista.

Cecilia: Sí.

Selena: OK. Voy a empezar con la primera pregunta. ¿Qué tipo de textos ha traducido?

Cecilia: En ese tiempo fueron textos de lecturas. A traducir textos de lecturas que más recuerdo en ese tiempo. Ahora último tenía que traducir unos libros, pero no lo he hecho porque después, hace un año atrás tuve un accidente. Entonces de por sí sufro de memoria corta, tengo, o sea, un poquito de comprensión lectora. Me cuesta mucho. Si por ejemplo hablar de correo no hay problema, pero el así como ir de pausa [y] pausa me complica porque otra que también soy abuela y en cualquier minuto me llaman por mi nieto y tengo que partir, eso es lo que tengo.

Selena: Hmhm. Y ¿ha traducido poemas o libros o cuentos para niños también?

Cecilia: Oh ahora último no, ni lo he hecho tampoco. En ese tiempo eran libros que, como le explicaba yo, eran libro—. Palabras, qué eran—. A ver, eran—. Es un libro normal, pero ya después me pasaron otros libros a traducir donde iban los sustantivos y los que era el verbo. Y ahí fue cuando ya no, ya no pude pasar.

Selena: Sí, OK. Claro.

Cecilia: De ahí ya no quise más traducir. Y ahora último, generalmente [he] traducido palabras que me han ido pidiendo la gente cuando vimos la clase, también unos pequeños. Por ejemplo, los saludos, que cómo me presento estas cosas, ahora último. Pero los libros fue como a los 14 años, hace mucho tiempo.

Selena: OK, y ¿por qué empezó a traducir el mapudungun-castellano?

Cecilia: Porque en ese tiempo un caballero que era muy amante al pueblo mapuche, me pidió que le ayude a traducir, porque él incluso aprendía a hablar mapuzungun. Y lo apoyé y después él me empezó a pagar por el trabajo y me había llamado la atención. Después, cuando ya empezamos con los verbos y todo eso, yo ya no quise porque como el mapuzungun es diferente. No está escrito tampoco. Entonces igual es como muy—. Después fueron cambiando también el abecedario mapuche. Entonces ahí también me—. Porque, ¿qué no pues? Porque el—. Por ejemplo, al cambiar el abecedario las palabras no suenan iguales, suenan diferente. Entonces por esa razón no—. Como que me resigné a no seguir.

Selena: Y ¿cuánto tiempo lleva traduciendo este par de idiomas?

Cecilia: Ese fue cuando tenía 14 años. Y después, a los 18, hicimos un taller con los niños. También debido a la traducción, también, del «Trenk Trenk y Kai Kai». Ahí hice un taller de los niños y ahora último y ahora con la organización. Llevamos casi seis años y al año tuvimos el beneficio de enseñar a los niños el mapuzungun. Ahí empezamos a traducir a los niños, pero acá dentro de la organización, a los niños y a los adultos. Y de repente cuando hay cosas que hay que traducir, me la piden, pero como yo lo explico también, hay palabras que en el mapuzungun no existen. Hacer muchas cosas, que es muy relativo que exista, al menos que uno ya lo vaya, como que adaptando el mapuzungun ahora se está adaptando.

Selena: Y tiene origen mapuche también, ¿no cierto?

Cecilia: Sí, mi abuelo fuera un longko en su comunidad. Yo soy descendiente. Yo soy lafkuenche. Mi abuelo fue longko del [ininteligible] donde es el nguillatuwe de nosotros. Yo soy de oriundo de Puerto Saavedra.

Selena: Sí, claro. ¿Qué variante mapudungun habla?

Cecilia: Es que—. Lo que pasa es que eso es lo que no logro entender. ¿Cuál? ¿El cual? El tema de las variantes, porque yo hablo el mapuzungun que me enseñaron mi abuelo, el que aprendí estando con ellos, no el que fue a la universidad, no—. Entonces a veces me ha tocado dar entrevistas acá y me dicen—. Es que lo que pasa me—. En CONADI hay un caballero que me hizo la entrevista para ser profesora y él me dijo que «no», me dijo, «Tu lengua no coincide con la de nosotros» y todo. Y quedé en duda. Me quedé en duda. Le dije, «Yo lo estaré haciendo bien, lo estaré haciendo mal». Y yo viajo una vez al mes a Puerto Saavedra y empecé a conversar con mi gente allá. Y no pues, yo no estoy mal, el mapuzungun es la lafkuenche, el picunche el huilliche. El que, sabe, como los cuatro puntos cardinales. Entonces ahí me quedé, dije «Ya, entonces el mapuche que yo hablo es lafkuenche». ¿Por qué no? El caballero que a mí me entrevistó era pehuenche, entonces muchas palabras no coinciden.

Selena: De acuerdo. ¿Ha hablado el idioma de niño o aprendió después?

Cecilia: No, de niño, de niño dice mi mamá que yo era muy intrusa cuando era chiquitita. Entonces siempre andaba copiando lo que hablaba mi abuela. Nací yo—. Me crié con mis abuelos. Mi abuelo se llamaba XXXX, mi abuela XXXX. Entonces yo me crié con mi abuelo en el campo y ellos—. Después con el tiempo me di cuenta de que yo hablaba el idioma mapuzungun, que para mí no era distintivo, hasta que ya empezamos a viajar constantemente a Santiago. Y ahí yo decía no, pues si tenemos dos lenguas diferentes. Entonces ahí empecé a distinguir que no, porque el mapuzungun acá era muy rechazado, no era como en la corriente, como en el sur.

Selena: Y ¿alguna vez se sintió avergonzado por hablar en mapudungun?

Cecilia: Nunca, nunca. Nunca jamás. A veces, de repente, mi familia me decía que las de la feria me decían «Oye», de repente «quédate un poquito, que ya no hables el idioma, porque igual es mal mirado». Entonces yo le decía «¿Cómo las demás personas, las demás culturas, pueden hablar su lengua sin sentir vergüenza? ¿Por qué nosotros tenemos que tener vergüenza? ¿Por qué tenemos que callar?» Entonces yo en ese sentido, si tengo que hablar, el mapuzungun, lo hablo. Y si hay que traducir al mismo momento que uno lo está hablando también, porque hay muchas personas que no lo saben la lengua, el mapuzugun. Tienen organizaciones, pero en el mismo momento tampoco saben la lengua. Entonces que pasa es que igual quedan ahí, como «¿Qué dijo la lamngen?» Entonces yo ahí le voy traduciendo al tiro.

Selena: OK. Y ¿cree usted que la lengua y la capacidad de hablar juegan un papel importante en las comunidades mapuches y por qué?

Cecilia: Si, la lengua, la cultura, la comida, las tradiciones, todo sería importante para—. Es un cúmulo de cosas que es muy importante para la cultura. El vivir un Nguillatún es muy importante. El vivir un machitún. Son como raíces que todavía por lo menos nosotros en el lado lafquenche lo tenemos. Lo que es medicina natural también lo tenemos. Entonces yo encuentro que es muy importante porque causa menos daño que estar con pastillas, estar con muchas cosas más. Entonces el pueblo igual opina lo mismo por las abuelitas, lo que más piden cuando están enfermos, «No, dame una agüita de hierba, antes que me lleven al hospital y todo».

Selena: Y cree que alguien solo es realmente mapuche cuando también habla la lengua. ¿Y por qué lo cree?

Cecilia: No, no, lo que pasa es que aquí el que se sienta identificado no es solamente por la lengua. Hay muchas personas chilenas, como se le dice a la persona que no son mapuche, que están como muy interiorizado en el tema del mapuche. Yo igual los considero—. Siempre digo «El mapuche no está definido». Yo—. Cuando a mí me dicen, «Yo no tengo raíces indígenas», yo le digo «lo siento, pero todo el mundo». Le digo, «todo el mundo, no hay ni una persona», le digo yo, «que sea 100% puro, somos todos mestizos». Entonces hay personas que a lo mejor sus antepasados fueron mapuche y ellos vuelven a estudiar lo que [es] el pueblo mapuche y saben mucho del pueblo mapuche incluso de no solamente el pueblo mapuche, el aymara, muchos pueblos más que hay acá en Chile.

Selena: OK, interesante.

Cecilia: Sí. Por lo menos yo—. A mi parece—. Porque yo—. En mi cultura yo he visto que es una cultura muy orgullosa. Por ejemplo, como que el chileno no puede entrar al rumbo del mapuche. No, no puede ser. ¿Cómo pueden aprender de nosotros? No. Yo no soy así porque igual una parte mía es mestiza, entonces si reniego de eso, estoy renegando hasta de ser yo misma. Así que por esta razón digo yo esto.

Selena: Y de qué manera cree usted que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Cecilia: Bueno, lo que pasa es que hay mucha gente que necesita la traducción en el sentido de ir sabiendo que palabras son el mapuzungun o también el aymara, el vascuence, porque hay muchas lenguas que están ya habitadas dentro del idioma español, que son indígenas. Entonces ahí uno mismo va viendo cuáles son las lenguas indígenas y cuáles no. Y la necesidad de la persona de saber de qué se trata porque cuando tú vas a algún lugar y te hablan en mapuzungun como le deseo el mapuche muy orgulloso y se burla generalmente de las personas que no saben hablar. Y es lamentable porque yo lo veo con mis hijos, mis hijos saben el mapuzungun, ¿pero hablarlo así de seguido? No. Ellos saben todo, entienden todo y así todo. De repente la gente se burla de ellos, como que «estos niños no saben hablar mapuzungun» y se burlan en mapuzungun y ellos saben. Entonces yo mismo después le digo a la persona «Oiga, tengan mucho cuidado, porque hay mucha gente que va aprendiendo de a poco y se siente muy dañado cuando ustedes le dicen estas cosas a las personas».

Selena: Sí, sí. Y ¿piensa que traducir la literatura infantil, por ejemplo, podría contribuir a la fluidez y el compromiso de las generaciones más jóvenes mapuches?

Cecilia: Sí participamos acá. Me acuerdo yo hace como dos, casi tres años atrás, en lo que era la educación indígena en los colegios. Se iba, estaba dedicado desde el primer año hasta los 6.º año básico, el cual se supone que es revitalizada la lengua indígena. O sea que, por ejemplo, pudiéramos que los niños ya—. Como para Estados Unidos es importante el inglés, qué nosotros—. Que para los niños de acá fuera el español y el mapuzungun que fuera súper importante para ellos. Y luchar por lo que uno tiene, porque son lenguas que después van a desaparecer y vamos a decir «Pucha, ¿por qué no la distribuimos a más personas, porque más niños no aprendieron?» Entonces por eso yo soy súper—. En ese sentido—. O de repente me dicen «No, que tú tienes que luchar solamente con los mapuches. No, no podéis luchar con la gente española, los chilenos, no.» Yo digo «no, pues, nosotros tenemos que revitalizar nuestra lengua, enseñarle a los demás niños nuestra lengua, el saludo, el por qué. Porque le digo yo, el mapuzugun siempre tiene el por qué.»

Selena: Sí, sí. Y un traductor suele adaptar elementos del texto que se traduzca para que se traduzca mejor a la otra cultura. Hay ciertas adaptaciones que hace cuando traduces.

Cecilia: Sí. Sí, por ejemplo, la palabra en el mapuzugun, por ejemplo, no vale lo mismo que va como al revés, algo así. Porque sabe que sea, se va traduciendo por ejemplo una línea y al leer se lee al revés. Pero significa lo mismo en el español. No sé si me logra entender lo que le estoy diciendo. O sea, no es por ejemplo el «buenos días ¿cómo están?» Una cosa así. El saludo es como lo más normal, pero por ejemplo hacer una frase como variando las palabras no va así como el «buenos días, ¿cómo están?» Porque el bueno—. Por ejemplo, el mari mari chumlaymi. Y en una frase no es lo mismo que en una frase, por ejemplo, en una línea ya dice ya-

Selena: Su micrófono. Sí, su micrófono no funciona.

Cecilia: [*ininteligible*] no coincide al—. Una traducción no coincide al 100% cuando es por frase, cuando es un saludo sí. Cuando es algo oculto, sí, pero cuando es por frase no.

Selena: OK. ¿Hay otros conceptos o consideraciones mapuches que le resulten difíciles de traducir?

Cecilia: Por ejemplo, cuando la frase no existe, es difícil de traducir. Ya como que el español es muy abundante, pero el mapuzugun es como muy corto. Entonces hay palabras que no, sí se puede traducir, pero no en el mapuzugun nativo. Tienes que adaptarlo.

Selena: Y además de los cambios estéticos, también hay cambios que el traductor puede hacer para combatir ciertos estereotipos discriminatorios o coloniales, sustituyéndolos, por ejemplo, por términos y conceptos mapuches. Hay nombres como «araucano» y de la época colonial, pero también «reducciones» y «pacificación». Como traductor, ¿cómo se enfrenta a este tipo de términos y por qué?

Cecilia: Primero. [*ininteligible*]. Entonces, en ese sentido. Ya, ya es complicado. Pero por ejemplo, hay palabras que sí sustituyen. A ver cómo le podría decir como el garabato una cosa así como lo insultó.

Selena: Y las traducciones también pueden servir para enseñar a los de afuera más sobre la cultura mapuche. ¿Cree usted que es importante encontrar un punto medio entre la cultura chilena y la mapuche a través de la traducción y por qué?

Cecilia: No entendí esa cuestión.

Selena: Por ejemplo, intenta traducir al español. De manera que los textos también enseñan algo sobre la cultura mapuche a los lectores. Por ejemplo, explicando conceptos y consentimientos, y—.

Cecilia: Yo creo que sí. Yo creo que sí. No, no debería influir, solamente que cuando no se encuentra la palabra en el nativo es más complicado, pero no así la traducción del español al mapuche o del mapuche al español. Si hay palabras, pero como le digo yo, eh, adaptables algunas.

Selena: Sí, OK. Y ¿a veces se deja algunos conceptos sin traducir? Por ejemplo. ¿Cómo traduciría la palabra «huinca» al castellano?

Cecilia: ¿La palabra qué?

Selena: Huinca.

Cecilia: Ahí qué hago—. Lo que pasa es que el wingka no es español. Wingka es una palabra mapuche. La dejo un minuto. Por favor, que retire a mi nieto.

[Silencio]

Cecilia: Ahora sí volvimos. Así que es la labor de ser abuelita [*ríe*].

Selena: [ríe]

Cecilia: Ahora sí, sigamos.

Sandra: [ininteligible]

Cecilia: ¿Le he dicho la frase delante o no?

Sandra: ¿Me escucha señora?

Cecilia: Hola.

Sandra: Yo soy la mamá y estoy un poquito detrás porque ella tampoco no habla tan bien el castellano. Se siente insegura y por eso quiere que yo esté cerca para por si acaso, no entiende. Pero mi pregunta sobre el huinca era usted—. Porque usted dice que es—. Se le decía así al español, ¿no? ¿Pero también se le dice así al chileno ahora?

Cecilia: Sí.

Sandra: Esa era mi pregunta. Ya, OK.

Cecilia: El wingka para los mapuche son todos que no pertenecen a la cultura mapuche. Por ejemplo, si hay un aymara, si hay un quechua o hay otro—. Otro pueblo indígena. Ellos son lamngenes, son hermanos. Pero si hay un chileno es un wingka.

Sandra: Claro, ya.

Cecilia: Si ahí hay un chileno malo, ya le dicen otras cosas.

Sandra: Claro, sí.

Cecilia: Pero por ejemplo, el mapuche—. Por ejemplo, al wingka malo se le dice «trehua, wingka trehua». Es perro. Entonces ese es como el insulto más grande que hace un mapuche, sea un cuento o una cosa así. No es así como algunos dicen otras palabras más feas. Y no es, no es eso, sino que es como algo de un animal, de una parte íntima, una cosa así.

Sandra: Pero usted usaría esa palabra. ¿Si tuviera que traducirla, aunque en Chile ya es conocida, no? Yo creo el Huinca.

Cecilia: Sí, acá.

Sandra: Si también los chilenos saben del huinca, quiero decir.

Cecilia: Sí. Entonces aquí, por ejemplo, la persona cuando por ejemplo le dicen huinca, igual uno se siente la gente wingka que le gusta la cultura mapuche se siente muy ofendido.

Sandra: ¿Entonces no, no siempre lo diría?

Cecilia: Es utilizado, es utilizado, pero para el que como le digo yo, está interiorizada la cultura mapuche, se sienten ofendidos porque es como un insulto. Hay personas que se sienten insultado a que lo traten wingka, pero wingka para el mapuche es una persona blanca, es una persona que no es característica indígena.

Sandra: Pero si usted tendría que traducir un texto donde dice esa palabra wingka, de mapudungun al español, usted lo traduciría de otra forma o le pondría chileno? O ¿usaría wingka?

Cecilia: Lo que pasa es que wingka para el mapuche es una persona blanca, porque parte de mi apellido es Colihuinka. Nosotros estamos Naguin. Pero mi bisabuelo, como era rubio de ojos azules, le cambiaron a Colihuinka, que es «hombre blanco». Kallfü es azul y wingka es blanco. Como por eso le digo, es persona de otra cultura, lamngen se puede utilizar como para un aymara o un vascuence. Aunque la piel sea blanca, ellos lo ven como un hermano, pero al ser blanco lo ven como una persona. Ya como llegaron los españoles. Pero lo que pasa es que generalmente es ofensivo para las personas que quieren—. Que se ama la cultura y son parte wingka, pero apoyan mucho a la cultura, entonces ahí ellos se sienten ofendidos. Y algunos no le dan importancia a la palabra wingka, pero wingka es una parte utilizada del mapuche hacia una persona blanca.

Selena: Y aparte de los aspectos técnicos de traducción, los traductores como Elicura Chihuailaf tienen otros intereses como borrar la huella de la colonización y la asimilación han dejado en la comunidad mapuche, además de aspectos técnicos como la gramática y el estilo. ¿Cuál es para usted el objetivo más importante de traducir este par de idiomas?

Cecilia: El—. Bueno, la parte mía, como yo no viví en ese en esta época, la parte mía es más que sea educacional, que sea educacional, que sea parte de los niños. Que los niños aprendan el idioma, que tengan un conocimiento de las palabras, porque el día de mañana nosotros ya no vamos a estar o no van a estar la gente que es hablante, entonces que pase que ellos tienen que mantener la cultura y saber del tema. Entonces más que nada educativo la traducción para mí ahora. Porque yo no puedo hablar de hace 500 años atrás, porque no lo viví. No sé cómo habrá sido y tampoco me gustaba a lo mejor haber estado, si viví lo que fue la discriminación mapuche. Sí viví lo que es tener un apellido wingka, tener apellido mapuche en los colegios. Todo eso sí lo viví. Entonces en ese aspecto yo trato de—. O sea, no estoy a favor de la violencia ni del bullying en ese sentido.

Selena: Sí. Y cree que usted cree que la traducción puede contribuir al compromiso político en esta injusticia. ¿No solo desde el lado de los mapuches sino también de los chilenos?

Cecilia: No, no. Lo que—. Sí, por ejemplo es—. Tengo amigos que, por ejemplo, le enseñaron a los amigos que son militares y le enseñaron a los militares. Ahí, ahí, por ejemplo, como que no le doy el favor que lo hagan. Porque igual es que como que aquí la figura de Fuerza Armada como que no están muy a favor de los pueblos. Entonces ahí como que ellos lo pueden utilizar como lo utilizaron en ese tiempo, como una—. Como—. No sé, como estrategia de ellos, como de guerra a si me logran entenderla. Pero por ejemplo, que los niños aprendan que todo el pueblo puede aprender la lengua, no hay ningún problema. Pero por ejemplo, ya que las Fuerzas Armadas se interioricen en el tema de nosotros no me gusta porque ellos son discriminatorios con nosotros. Por ejemplo, si a mí me ven vestida con mi tenía completa de mapuche, ya empiezan a rumorear y eso que yo si o si participó en eventos masivos, en eventos grandes. Si tengo que ir a una marcha para dar a conocer quiénes somos,

voy y ya carabineros nos mira de otra manera. Si voy por ejemplo a un evento acá, por ejemplo a la gobernación, también me miran raro. Entonces ya en ese lado y por ejemplo no, no me gustaría yo el tema de la traducción de la lengua hacia ella. Entonces eso sí, eso en esa parte como que discrepo yo de la traducción. Pero por ejemplo, lo que es en ayuda hacia los niños, en la ayuda hacia los pueblos, en ayuda en de que todo el mundo que le interese, sí.

Selena: Sí, ya. Bueno, gracias por las respuestas. Por último, me gustaría preguntarle si hay algo que quisiera compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor mapudungun-español.

Cecilia: Bueno, por ejemplo, requiere mucha concentración traducir mapuzungun. Son palabras muy delicadas que de repente hay que traducir para no dañar al otro es difícil. Como le decía yo, el mapuzungun no está muy adaptado. Pero para una persona que, por ejemplo, hablamos el mismo mundo, se nos hace fácil el tema, pero para el que no lo sabe es muy difícil. Y el mapuzungun escrito que nosotros sabemos el antiguo y de repente difícil de pronunciar porque se ocupa la U con comillas, se ocupan palabras que alguno me dice, los chicos me dicen «palabras raras». Entonces toda traducción es difícil.

Selena: Sí, claro. Sí, sí. Buena. Esa fue la entrevista. Muchas gracias por participar y lo disfruté. Y fue muy interesante.

Sandra: *[ininteligible]*

Cecilia: No escucho a su mamá.

Sandra: ¿Y dónde vive?

Cecilia: Yo, ahora en Puente Alto. Es como al sur de Santiago, Puerto Saavedra.

Sandra: Y eso queda mucho más al sur, me imagino.

Cecilia: Hasta la 9.^a región en la costa.

Sandra: Ah, ya me imaginaba. Ya, OK, ya. Y mi papá es de la—. Era del—. De la—. Del Bío-Bío, de esos lugares. También tenía una abuela mapuche. Eso es lo único que sé por el resto del falleció. Así que mucho no sé. Por eso mi hija también está muy interesada en este tema.

Cecilia: Sí, no. Sí esa es la idea de que—. Eso es lo que pasa que hubo un tiempo donde todo el mundo tenía que salir. Todo el mundo tenía que caer por ser mapuche. Y que por cierto, también hubo muchos apellidos que se cambiaron. Después ya la gente no va reconociendo quiénes son y quién está.

Sandra: Claro, no? Pero al contrario, mi papá siempre fue muy orgulloso de sus raíces mapuche, así que ya para él, para nosotros fue siempre bien claro.

Cecilia: Eso es muy importante.

Sandra: Sí, eso es muy importante. Muchas gracias. De haber tomado tiempo para responder las preguntas de mi hija.

Cecilia: Si no cualquier cosa. Eso sí, como le digo yo, mi tiempo es oro porque yo corro todo el día. Si no es por alguien es por los chiquillos, sino por alguna persona de la asociación, sino por alguien más. Yo hago cualquier cosa tratando de organizarme. Puedo apañar lo que usted necesita.

Selena: Sí, muchas gracias.

Cecilia: Qué le vaya bien.

Selena: Ya, gracias.

Cecilia: Chao.

Selena: Chao.

B1.3 Ítalo

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Selena: Hola. ¿Puedes escucharme? Yo soy Selena, mucho gusto de conocerte. Soy estudiante de la universidad de Leiden en los Países Bajos y actualmente estoy haciendo un magíster en traducción del par de lenguas inglés y holandés. Mi mamá está en la habitación para ayudarme cuando no puedo encontrar mis palabras. Como nací en los Países Bajos y no he hablado castellano desde la infancia, no domino el idioma. Pero no te preocupes, puedo entender casi todo lo que me dices, pero a veces me cuesta formar frases y todo eso. Por eso te pido que hables con calma y claridad, para que pueda seguirte más fácilmente.

Ítalo: Sí, un gusto.

Selena: Primero, me gustaría saber—. En primer lugar, me gustaría hablar rápidamente del formulario de consentimiento que he enviado hoy mismo. He marcado en amarilla las frases más importantes del documento. Lo más importante que quiero saber es si te parece bien que utilice tu propio nombre y apellido en mi tesis.

Ítalo: Sí, no hay problema.

Selena: Tu consentimiento y tus respuestas quedan grabados para que pueda recuperar la información cuando escriba mi tesis. Y mis profesores y yo somos los únicos que tenemos acceso a esta información. Y voy a borrarla a la finalización de la tesis. Y bueno, si estás de acuerdo con esas condiciones, podemos continuar con la entrevista.

Ítalo: Sí. No hay ningún problema. Estoy de acuerdo.

Selena: OK. Vamos a empezar con la primera pregunta. ¿Qué tipo de textos has traducido? Por ejemplo, poemas, libros...

Ítalo: Sí, poemas, libros, y algunos textos científicos. Algunos como en el área del turismo. Otros textos en el área de salud también. Si, más textos—. Textos técnicos, a veces como aspectos jurídicos, de leyes.

Selena: Sí, OK.

Ítalo: Y bastantes sobre temas de—. [Textos] señálicas, las señales de tránsito. O indicaciones, como para los hospitales también, hospitales interculturales.

Selena: OK. Y entonces la próxima pregunta. ¿Por qué empezaste a traducir?

Ítalo: Por necesidad. Por—. ¿Por qué empecé a traducir? Nunca me había preguntado eso [ríe]. Porque—. Por trabajo, o sea, como laboralmente, por trabajo. Yo no soy traductor, porque acá en—. En Chile no hay ninguna carrera de traducción en mapudungun castellano oficial, no hay traductores oficiales, ¿bien? Sí hay traductores reconocidos, que es distinto. Pero no existe como—. Como tú, por ejemplo, que estudiaste y eres traductora de profesión con un título universitario, y todo eso. Acá no existe, entonces, las personas que traducen son los hablantes. Y dentro de ese rango me llegaron solicitudes de traducción si yo podía colaborar con eso, y así empecé hace como diez años.

Selena: Sí. Y—. Bueno, ¿por qué empezaste a traducir mapudungun castellano?

Ítalo: Hay mucha demanda de traducción de textos en el—. En el contexto de la inclusión de idiomas, de las lenguas indígenas en todo el aparato gubernamental y oficial. Entonces yo creo que desde ahí comenzó eso. Muchos proyectos, por ejemplo, de distinto tipo, se basan en eso. Se basan en inclusión, ya sea en salud, en el XXXX, por ejemplo, acá en Chile he incorporado muchos proyectos y muchas cosas que—. En donde los beneficiarios son mapuche. Entonces necesitan que todos los textos vayan traducidos.

Selena: OK. Claro. ¿Y cuánto tiempo llevas traduciendo este par de idiomas?

Ítalo: Bueno, así como trabajo, diríamos. Porque son diez años aproximadamente.

Selena: OK. Sí. Y ¿tienes origen mapuche?

Ítalo: Sí, no. Por mi mamá.

Selena: Hmhm. OK. ¿Y qué forma de mapudungun hablas?

Ítalo: ¿Cómo dialecto dices tú?

Selena: Sí.

Ítalo: Bueno, yo vivo en Pitrufrquén, esto está al sur de Temuco. Un poco al sur de Temuco. Entonces esa es la variante que hablo un poco. También sé bastante por temas familiares de Chedungun, que es la variante que está en la cordillera. Y entonces podríamos decir que es la variante más—. Nagche que—. Como se utiliza la gente, no sé, pero están en los valles. Pero también entiendo lo que se habla en—. Más en la cordillera, ¿ya? Tengo—. Me puedo desenvolver en esos dos ámbitos.

Selena: Sí. ¿Has hablado el idioma de niño o lo aprendiste después?

Ítalo: Me pasé un poco como a ti, yo creo [*ríe*]. [Es] que yo entendía mucho cuando niño porque siempre escuchaba hablar. Pero después en la—. Cuando ya entré en la universidad, me tocó desarrollarlo más y más fluido. Así que—. Y—. He estudiado, puedo decir de niño, no sé, pero no como—. Un bilingüismo pasivo se puede decir. Así que ahora ya no tengo problemas con eso.

Selena: Sí, sí. Y—. ¿Por qué aprendiste el idioma más tarde?

Ítalo: Porque en el contexto familiar no se hablaba entonces de los otros contextos sociales si se hablaba, [con] amigos—. En un contexto escolar nunca estuvo presente el mapuzungun. No se trataba de este tema, estaba muy vetado, pero sí en el contexto universitario. Ya en—. Bueno, en primero, las amistades, digamos, el contexto social inmediato. Y luego la universidad igual—. Y ya después el trabajo y todo.

Selena: Sí.

Ítalo: Pero podríamos decir que el contexto social es lo que más me ayudó a vender.

Selena: OK. Y bueno, yo quiero saber si alguna vez te sentiste avergonzado por hablar en mapudungun y—. Sí, eso.

Ítalo: No, no avergonzado, pero no siempre digo que sé hablar [*ríe*], pero depende del contexto también. Si estás en un contexto mapuche, tú hablas en mapuzugun. Si estás en un contexto con otras personas que no son mapuche o que no hay ninguna persona mapuche, tiendes a no—. A no utilizarlo ni a no resaltar eso.

Selena: Sí, sí. Porque, a veces—. Creo que en algunos casos hay discriminación.

Ítalo: Sí, hay discriminación todavía.

Selena: Sí, y-

Ítalo: Y hay mucho conocimiento. Entonces, por ejemplo, yo puedo—. Yo, cuando salimos de aquí con mi familia, conversamos, hablamos aquí dentro del hogar, se habla en mapuzungun o chedungun. Y también cuando vamos a comprar [y] todo eso. Pero cuando tú tienes que interactuar con las otras personas chilenas, no puedes, porque ellos no hablan. Entonces ya tienes que recurrir al castellano. El castellano es la lengua franca en este caso.

Selena: Y bueno, ¿crees que la lengua y la capacidad de hablarla juegan un papel importante en las comunidades mapuches? ¿Y por qué?

Ítalo: Es importantísimo porque la gente valora mucho a la [lengua]. Bueno, pasa lo siguiente, los contextos son distintos. Por ejemplo, en la zona donde yo estoy viviendo, donde vivo, las generaciones jóvenes no hablan mapuzungun, ni siquiera lo entienden, ya. Hay un desplazamiento del idioma. Sin embargo, por ejemplo, en la cordillera aún la gente se comunica en chedungun y es más transversal. Tú puedes hablar con un niño o con un adulto, con un adulto mayor y todos te van a entender, ¿ya? Hay un uso social mucho más amplio del chedungun. En cambio, acá en la zona de los valles, cerca de las ciudades, no, ya se ha

perdido mucho. Tú solamente puedes entablar conversaciones fluidas con personas mayores. Por ejemplo, cerca de Temuco, de personas que son, no sé, de—. Jóvenes hay. Jóvenes, me refiero yo a personas de veintitantos años, de 20 a 30 años. Sí, hay personas, pero no todos. De 40 para arriba, la mayoría habla, ¿ya? Y—. O muchos, y ya de 60 años, por ejemplo, la gente que tiene 60 todos saben hablar. Es raro que alguien no sé. Y aquí—. ¿Qué quiero decir con eso? Entonces es muy valorado cuando una persona sabe hablar mapuzugun porque es una especie de, ¿cómo te puedo decir, como un bastión? Ya, es como una especie de resistencia cultural que se da.

Selena: Sí, sí. Y ¿crees que alguien solo es realmente mapuche cuando también habla la lengua?

Ítalo: No, no, no, porque—. Porque si tú por alguna razón, ya sea histórica, familiar, social, por ejemplo, la discriminación. Tú no aprendiste a hablar mapuzugun. Eso no te hace ni más ni menos. O sea, tú puedes recuperar tu lengua, puedes aprenderla, pero en ningún caso se te quita tu calidad de lo que tú eres.

Selena: Sí, claro. Y ¿de qué manera crees que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Ítalo: Yo creo que es importante en la medida de la inclusión del mapuzugun y su visualización, es decir que no es una lengua muerta como se dice. Que el mapuzugun sí sirve para comunicar como cualquier lengua moderna o lenguas de prestigio como el inglés, el alemán. Tú puedes comunicar ideas, puedes traducir ciencia, puedes traducir medicina occidental, incluso, puedes traducir textos jurídicos. Cosas que no son del acervo cultural o lingüístico mapuche propiamente, también las puedes traducir. Puedes readecuar términos, puedes—. Tienes muchas herramientas, entonces es muy importante que se traduzcan los textos al mapuzugun. Sobre todo—. Ya que—. Ahí—. Como que se perdió la señal un poco. Sí, ahora. ¿Tú me puedes escuchar?

Selena: Sí, sí, sí.

Ítalo: Ya, sobre todo ahora, que, por ejemplo, las generaciones más jóvenes son lectores también de mapuzugun. ¿Ya? Entonces es importante que quede un registro escrito. Para la gente mayor es muy importante que esos registros, esas traducciones, sean orales. Porque la gente mayor no lee en mapuzugun, pero sí comprende todo en la lengua.

Selena: Sí, OK. Y-

Ítalo: Por eso, es un tema de justicia social, diríamos.

Selena: Sí, sí. Y por ejemplo, piensas que traducir la literatura infantil podría contribuir a la fluidez y al compromiso de las generaciones más jóvenes de—. Mapuche.

Ítalo: Sí, sí, puede contribuir, porque justamente lo que falta ahora es la—. Entre comillas, la producción de nuevos hablantes. Entonces se necesita mucho material solamente en mapuzugun o la traducción de material al mapuzugun para que esos nuevos hablantes, ¿no cierto? Los infantes, los niños, pueden tener acceso a la lengua mediante cuentos, mediante leyendas, mediante distintos materiales.

Selena: Sí, claro. Un traductor suele adaptar elementos del texto para que se traduzca mejor a la otra cultura. ¿Hay ciertas adaptaciones que haces cuando traduces?

Ítalo: Sí, sí, porque hay muchas palabras, hay muchos conceptos e ideas del mundo occidental que no están en el mundo mapuche y viceversa también. Cuando me tengo que traducir del mapuzungun, por ejemplo, a veces me ha tocado traducir en unas conversaciones o aspectos rituales o ceremoniales el castellano. Entonces tienes que hacer un tremendo párrafo porque tienes que explicar lo que el hablante en una palabra dice. Creo que todo [tiene] un significado simbólico. Entonces me imagino, porque yo no soy traductor entre lenguas europeas, pero me imagino que, por ejemplo, entre el holandés y el castellano, el inglés, hay mucha más similitud o cultural. Pero acá tienes—. Tienes como 6000 años de desfase, no de desfase, sin de crecer juntos, de ser, de crecer separados. Entonces hay muchos aspectos culturales que son muy distintos. La visión de la salud, la visión del—. La visión de la justicia, por ejemplo, que no es punitiva, por ejemplo, en el caso mapuche. El castigo no es lo que hace justicia no es—. No se trata de encarcelar a una persona, no es eso, sino de equiparar en la salud también. No es medicarse, sino equilibrarse. Y eso también hay un sinnúmero de conceptos que cuesta y ahí se requiere la adaptación o la explicación.

Selena: Sí, sí. Y hay—. Sí, ¿hay otros conceptos o consideraciones mapuches que te resulten difíciles de traducir o quizás sean intraducibles? ¿Y qué haces con esto?

Ítalo: Sí, hay muchos, muchos, muchos. Suelo incluirlos. Por ejemplo, si traduzco del mapuzungun al español suelo incluir los textuales. Es cierto que tradujo la palabra y se adjunta una explicación o un pie de página. Por ejemplo, la palabra «purun». Purun es—. En una palabra te lo diría como bailar. Pero no es bailar, porque el baile tiene un sentido ritual. Entonces no es como bailar como tú vas a una, a un bar o a una discoteca y vas a bailar. No, no, no es ese [tipo de] bailar, es el baile ritual que tú haces en sociedad como comunitario, ¿ya? Con una comunidad. Por lo tanto, tengo que poner, por ejemplo, en castellano, [cuando] se realizan purun y explicó al lado lo que significa purun, cuál es el sentido del purun, y por qué se hace. Y cuál es la implicancia, o sea, quienes sí hacen purun, quienes no hacen purun, todas.

Selena: Sí. Qué interesante. Además de los cambios—. Además de los cambios estéticos, también hay cambios que el traductor puede hacer para combatir ciertos estereotipos, estereotipos discriminatorios o coloniales, sustituyéndolos, por ejemplo, por términos y conceptos mapuches. Hay nombres como «araucanos» de la época colonial, pero también «reducciones» y pacificación de la época en que ya se había formado el Estado chileno, y—. Como traductor, ¿cómo te enfrentas a este tipo de términos y por qué?

Ítalo: Siempre tratando de descolonizar. No tratando de colonizar, al contrario, debes decolonizar un poco. Claro, como tú mencionas, hay texto como—. Textos, por ejemplo, desde las crónicas de los españoles o diccionarios que dejaron los españoles. Vocabulario en donde ellos se reciben como «Indios» o «bárbaros», o así se refieren a él. En el caso actual también se utilizan palabras como «comunero». Hay otras que dicen comunero, tienen «araucano» y ya está como en declive. Pero sí la gente lo usa cuando la gente—. Ciertos sectores de la sociedad chilena lo ocupan como para hablar del idioma cuando dicen hablan en araucano, cosa que es muy peyorativa, ¿no cierto? Entonces, eso se evita siempre, el nombre de la lengua es mapuzungun y punto.

Selena: Sí. Hmhm.

Ítalo: Ya, mapuzungun o chedungun, depende de la variante pero—. Pero refiriéndose así. Esta es una manera de relevar el—. Y creo que un poco el respeto que hay que tenerse y la valoración, de la autovaloración.

Selena: Sí, OK. Y las traducciones también pueden servir para enseñar a los de fuera más sobre la cultura mapuche. ¿Crees que es importante encontrar un punto medio entre la cultura chilena y la mapuche a través de la traducción? ¿Y por qué?

Ítalo: Ya. Sí es importante y—. Y sirve la traducción efectivamente como un medio para dar a conocer aspectos propios del mundo mapuche, digamos, lo intercultural. Por lo general hay cosas que son en todo el mundo, incluso en el mundo cotidiano. Para qué hablar del mundo más ritual y ceremonial es muy distinto a lo occidental entonces, él está lleno de prejuicios y una interpretación prejuiciada del mundo occidental sobre el mundo mapuche. Por ejemplo, se tiende a satanizar, por ejemplo, algunos ritos o cosas así, a las visiones. Por ejemplo, del mundo de la visión de la organización social es distinta también. Y en ese sentido es importante explicar mediante la traducción cómo es ese mundo. Para que el otro pueda comprender en el fondo la humanidad que hay detrás.

Selena: Sí. A veces dejas algunos conceptos sin traducir o los explicas en la traducción. Por ejemplo, ¿cómo traducirías la palabra «huinca» al castellano?

Ítalo: ¿Cuál palabra?

Selena: No sé cómo—. Huinca.

Ítalo: No, así te—. Te lo dijiste bien, es que no—. Se corta el—.

Selena: [ríe]

Ítalo: Tranquila. No, huinca. Sí, hay palabras que se dejan exacto. Pero depende del contexto, ¿ya? Si tú traduces—. O sea, traducimos, pero no traducimos palabras separadas. ¿No cierto? Traducimos ideas, traducimos conceptos, traducimos mediante un contexto. Entonces, por ejemplo, la palabra huinca depende de [lo] que estés diciendo con eso y a quién te estás refiriendo. Por lo general, en el contexto político, por ejemplo, cuando la gente dice la palabra huinca no se está refiriendo solamente a que una persona es mapuche, sino [que] se está refiriendo al Estado chileno o al Estado argentino, en este caso, ¿ya? Cuando son textos de otra índole, entonces puede ser wingka como no mapuche, ¿ya?

Selena: Ya.

Ítalo: Ahora, eso como intraculturalmente, sí tiene un sentido como más peyorativo, ya. Incluso la gente hablante cuando tienen amigos chilenos tratan de no decirle esa palabra o de no—. Porque es un poco violenta.

Selena: Sí, OK. En una entrevista sobre traducción, el autor y traductor, Elicura Chihuailaf, dice que considera que la traducción es una forma de diplomacia y cree que la tarea del traductor mapuche es principalmente poder llegar a la gente de la ciudad y hacer visible la cultura mapuche en ella. ¿Hay algún mensaje político en particular que intentes transmitir a través de tus traducciones?

Ítalo: Sí, yo creo y soy partidario de lo que dice Elicura. También considero eso, uno en cierta manera es como una especie de embajador, de una especie de diplomático, y debe ser muy cuidadoso con lo que dices y debes ser responsable con lo que traduces. Hay un rango ético grande que hay que respetar, pero también respetando lo propio. Yo me baso en eso, o sea—. Traté de relevar los mapuche de las traducciones, porque de llevarlo a un, por ejemplo, de llevarlo un buen castellano, ya. ¿Por qué? Porque si tú lo dejas en un castellano muy vulgar, entonces la gente lo va a interpretar. El lector que es hispanohablante lo va a interpretar como algo vulgar y va a interpretar que todo el mundo mapuche en el fondo es como algo vulgar. Y qué ha ocurrido, ya, con algunas traducciones. Lo mismo, al revés, cuando ahí, por ejemplo, ahí en ciertos hospitales hay traducciones que son de dependencias del hospital y están traducidos al mapuzungun, pero está introducido en un mapuzungun que no es que como el mapuzugun que hablaríamos en la casa. Pero algo más formal. Entonces tú le estás rebajando un poco el perfil a eso. Eso es lo que pasa un poco, ¿ya? Entonces, sí, uno es como una especie de embajador y en el fondo, un diplomático, como dice Elicura. Es un acto de diplomacia. Sobre todo entre el mapuzungun y el español en donde no ha habido, históricamente, muy buenas relaciones que digamos. Entonces hay que tener cuidado con lo que se dice, porque si tú puedes estudiar incluso la historia de los que le llamaban acá, o las lenguas que le llamaban, que eran los traductores que tenía los españoles y que a la vez los mismos mapuches también tenían traductores de español. Bueno, ellos armaron y desarmaron la guerra en su momento, entonces no es menor la tarea que hay y por hoy pasa un poco parecido.

Selena: Y bueno, ¿cuáles son estos mensajes en tu caso? Los mensajes políticos.

Ítalo: Los mensajes políticos. Bueno, siempre dependiendo del texto que estés traduciendo. Si estás hablando de ciencia, bueno, te restringe un poco más a lo que te están diciendo. Sin embargo, el mensaje político es, por ejemplo, muy sustentado en la contingencia de la realidad actual sociopolítica. Por ejemplo, se mandan a traducir—. A mí me ha tocado producir textos sobre humedales, ¿ya? Humedales y humedales urbanos. Desde el punto de vista occidental, un humedal es un humedal y punto. Es agua con un par de aves y vegetación. Pero desde el punto de vista mapuche, el humedal no es agua ni—. El agua está viva, tiene un espíritu protector o [hay un] espíritu protector en un lugar donde se va a buscar medicina o remedios, «lahuen», entonces. Y tiene un contexto social y espiritual mucho más profundo que un humedal como en castellano. Por ende, ¿qué es lo que se busca? Que a través de esa traducción se propicie la protección de ese humedal, por ejemplo, ¿ya? Que se note la relevancia cultural y espiritual y social que tiene su humedal, por ejemplo, para determinada comunidad. Eso es lo que tú debes traducir porque en el fondo [es] el interés de la sociedad en común. Ese sí sería un mensaje político claro y lo he hecho y en realidad todos lo hacen porque es lo que hay que hacer. No es solamente «re felekelay ta mapu» dice la gente. La tierra no está así sola, como que inertes no, sino que tiene vida.

Selena: Sí, sí. Aparte de los aspectos técnicos de la traducción, los traductores, como Elicura Chihuailaf tienen otros intereses, como borrar la huella que la colonización y la asimilación han dejado en la comunidad mapuche. Además de aspectos técnicos como la gramática y el estilo, etcétera. ¿Cuál es para ti el objetivo más importante de traducir este par de idiomas?

Ítalo: En todos los que nombraste creo que también son importantes, pero más que nada el tema de la asimilación es muy importante, acá. Hay un tema de violencia o de cómo te explico esto, que no es violencia, es supremacía epistemológica. Es decir, solamente lo que el mundo

occidental dice es válido y lo que dice el mundo mapuche no es válido. De eso trató de equiparar siempre, de que esas epistemologías conversen, que dialoguen, ¿ya? Pero de manera simétrica, no asimétrica. Asimétrica es como ha sido siempre hasta ahora, si no que tiene que estar equiparado. Tiene que estar de una—. Con las fuerzas equilibradas, eso, por una parte. Desde los aspectos gramaticales y más lingüísticos, no me preocupó tanto porque cada idioma tiene su propia forma y su estructura, y tiene sus propios métodos para explicarse a sí misma. Así que eso no, no me preocupa en realidad. El castellano tiene sus propios métodos, como todos los idiomas, el mapuzungun también, el holandés, el inglés, todos. Tú puedes hacer comprender a una persona en el idioma cualquier idea del otro con los propios medios.

Selena: Sí, y—. Además, en el presente todavía hay enfrentamientos entre el Estado chileno y las comunidades mapuches. ¿Cómo crees que la traducción puede contribuir al compromiso político en torno a esta injusticia? ¿Y no solo desde el lado de los mapuches, sino también de los chilenos?

Ítalo: Es complicada esa pregunta. A ver, puede—. Es complicado en el sentido de que—. O sea, hablar mapuzungun por lo general, porque no puedo decir todos, es en el fondo ser prácticamente un militante mapuche, activista mapuche, pro mapuche. Sin embargo, hablar castellano no siempre significa ser un activista pro chileno [*ríe*]. ¿Ya? No sé si notas esa diferencia, porque hay mucha población mapuche que no es mapuche hablante. Hay mucha población—. Hay población chilena que reniega un poco de esa raíz—. O de esa violencia histórica de que ha ejercido el mundo occidental sobre los pueblos indígenas. Entonces es—. El compromiso está porque—. Creo que es porque—. Creo que hay una utilización instrumental del idioma para darle peso político a las demandas mapuche, es decir. Por cualquier demanda. Por ejemplo, si demandas en educación, por ejemplo, que se da ahora que como en el mismo tema de la de la Convención Constituyente, se ha dado la discusión sobre la educación propia, el derecho a educarse en tu propia lengua ya. Entonces ahí la lengua, la traducción al mapuzungun ha sido fundamental, porque si tú no piensas ese proceso en mapuzungun, en el fondo estás pensando cómo occidental. Si piensas que—. Si lo piensas en castellano, ya estás pensando así. Ya no están haciendo desde el mundo mapuche, sino que es una propuesta como insertada en el otro mundo, ¿ya? Entonces el compromiso político es grande en ese sentido.

Selena: Sí. ¿Crees que hay una forma de traducir y transmitir el trauma y el dolor de la injusticia y la discriminación del pueblo mapuche?

Ítalo: Como—. ¿Me preguntas por una forma en específico?

Selena: No, pero—. No específico.

Ítalo: Sí, es una forma de relevar, de relevar conocimientos, de relevar saberes, de relevar políticas, de relevar educación, de relevar salud, es una forma de relevar y de potenciar, ¿ya? Porque tú lo haces, específicamente en este contexto, lo haces visible, ¿ya? Quizás, no sé, en otras lenguas quizás no pase eso. Si tú traduces, por ejemplo, del holandés al inglés, quizás no haya tanto que relevar de la cultura holandesa. No lo sé, estoy suponiendo, pero porque hay una—. Están más equiparados en cuanto a niveles políticos, ¿ya?. En cambio, acá no, aquí ha habido una situación de injusticia histórica que se arrastra desde [*hace*] siglos. Entonces, el hecho de levantar la voz y en tu idioma es mucho más fuerte. Pensé que hasta hace unos años atrás, por lo menos en el contexto donde vivo yo, la gente se avergonzaba mucho de hablar mapuzungun, mucho, mucho. Tú te dabas cuenta. Tú le hablaba en mapuzungun a una

persona y la gente se sonrojaba y te hablaba en castellano, aunque entendiera todo lo que tú le estás diciendo. Todavía yo conozco adultos mayores que tienen ese trauma, ellos son hablantes. Su primera lengua fue el mapuzugun, pero tú le hablas en mapuzungun y ellos te responden todo, pero en castellano y se sonrojan mucho, o se ríen, porque se pone muy nervioso. Sufrieron mucha discriminación en el colegio y prácticamente lo que el mundo les dijo era que tenían que borrar ese idioma de todo, o sea, no existía. Entonces ahora que si ellos ven jóvenes por ejemplo, que hablan en mapuzungun, en donde la traducción por ejemplo tenía fines educativos. Por ejemplo, yo soy profesor también aquí en la en una escuela, cuando los niños llegan hablando cosas que yo les enseño, donde los abuelos, ellos de primera se ríen en la primera instancia, pero al pasar de los meses ya se empiezan a comprometer un poco con él—. Con la educación de sus nietos o hijos y entienden que tienen que transmitir también la lengua a ellos. Entonces, ahí la traducción ha jugado un rol socio educativo importantísimo.

Selena: Sí. Y bueno, por último, me gustaría preguntarte si hay algo que quisieras compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor de mapudungun.

Ítalo: Yo creo que lo que le pasa a todos los traductores tienes que haber sido muy enriquecedor porque te lleva a aprender mucho. Cuando tú traduces te toca traducir, no específicamente de los temas en los que tú eres más experto, sino que a veces te toca traducir de todo. Entonces, te lleva a explorar mucho la ciencia, no solamente la ciencia. En mi caso, no solo la occidental. Me ha llevado a conversar mucho con los mayores, por ejemplo, para poder entender ciertos conceptos que todavía me cuestan—. O entonces, ha sido muy enriquecedor para mí, por lo menos como traductor. Y como te mencionaba, es una responsabilidad grande. Hay que ser muy responsable en el contexto sociopolítico que se vive en Chile. Tienes que ser muy cauto y muy—. También ser un poco—. ¿Cómo se dice esto? «Ñüwa» como se dice en mapuzungun, ser pillito, ser inteligente para hacer encajar tus ideas de una manera no violenta a veces, pero que hacerlas comprensibles para el otro. Creo que a ti también te pasa eso, seguro [cuando] traduces.

Selena: Sí, sí. Hmhm. Bueno, esa fue la entrevista. Ah. Mi mamá, mi mamá tiene una pregunta.

Sandra: Hola.

Ítalo: Hola, hola, un gusto. ¿Cómo está? No lo escucho muy bien.

Sandra: ¿Me escuchas bien?

Ítalo: Ahora sí, ahora sí.

Sandra: Ahora sí, tengo que acercarme más.

Ítalo: Me parece.

Sandra: Muy interesante lo que contabas. Mi hija tiene que entrevistar a más personas para su tesis y lo primero que me di cuenta es que cuando tú hablas del idioma. Yo siempre digo «mapudungun», pero no es así, ¿no?

Ítalo: ¿Mapudungun?

Sandra: ¿Es mapudungun? Porque tú lo nombras—. Me parecía que lo nombraba distinto.

Ítalo: Mapuzungun. Es que depende, por ejemplo, de—. Yo diría que de Temuco hacia el sur, la gente dice Mapuzungun como con «z». Y de ahí hay como una variante dialéctica hacia el norte y la gente dice mapudungun y la gente de la cordillera le dice chedungun. Es lo mismo que—. Es dialecto.

Sandra: Es lo mismo. Yo pensaba que lo estaba diciendo todo el tiempo mal, pero la verdad es que—.

Ítalo: No, está bien.

Sandra: Está bien. Eso, claro, depende de donde—.

Ítalo: Se pueden decir todas en realidad.

Sandra: OK, OK. Mi hija está muy interesada en este tema porque yo nací en Calama, pero mi papá viene de la región—. Él nació cerca de Lanalhue, del lago Lanalhue. Qué queda—.

Ítalo: Es la octava región. Es el de Bío-Bío.

Sandra: Exacto. De este lado. Y mi papá era muy—. Siempre fue muy, como se dice, orgulloso de sus ciertas—. De sus raíces que según él, son de mapuche, ¿no? Y por eso es que mi hija también está interesada en este tema ahora, yo creo. Para que entiendas también por qué ella eligió esto para su tesis también, claro que ella no tiene nada que—.

Ítalo: No, pero excelente. No, es un honor. Que bueno que se visualice esto desde ustedes que están tan lejos. Pero a la vez tan cerca.

Sandra: Sí, sí, sí, sí.

Ítalo: Están tan lejos físicamente solamente.

Sandra: Exacto, exacto, Y yo creo que quizás aquí afuera, a veces más—. Justamente, uno trata de conocer y mantener más ciertas, por lo que no tiene cerca no. Yo no hablo nada de eso. Mi papá tampoco hablaba nada [de eso]. Él vivió un tiempo como niño en una reducción, tengo entendido, pero falleció hace diez años atrás. Lamentablemente, hay muchos que no le podemos preguntar, pero, eso hace que—. Bueno, yo creo que por eso mi hija también siempre tiene ese interés en todo este tema de los mapuche y bien. Bueno, también entiendo todo lo que está pasando hoy en día todo el tiempo en Chile. Entonces más que nada era para también darte—. Porque ella no ha contado mucho por qué sola elige esta tesis, pero esa es la razón por la cual la ha elegido, ¿no?

Ítalo: No, pero excelente. Está bien porque es otra relación de la traducción, diría yo lo que le comentaba. Por ejemplo, no sé, si tú traduces de francés a sepa a español o de español a inglés es distinto, porque para empezar no son sociedades que estén en conflicto actualmente. No en un conflicto como el que se ve acá, porque aquí sí hay conflicto, o sea, incluso el que ha llegado al armado. Pero siempre hay un roce social no muy reciente ahí. Hay como una

desconfianza muy grande entre las dos sociedades, estamos en contacto y muy cercanos además estamos. Y todos mezclados también.

Sandra: Exacto. Eso es lo mismo que yo le digo. Yo me encuentro tan—. Ya que todavía la haya tantos chilenos que no quieran aceptar que de cierta forma, sea del norte o sea del sur, alguna raíz con lo nativa tiene, ¿no? De indígenas de cualquier lado que sean. Claro, hay algunos que son realmente casi 100% europeos y nunca se mezclarán con nada. Pero la mayoría sí, claro.

Ítalo: Claro.

Sandra: Entonces-

Ítalo: Pero otros no pues. La base—. El otro día estaba leyendo algo de eso. Era—. En el fondo, la base genética predominante en Chile es indígena.

Sandra: Exacto, sí.

Ítalo: No así la identidad cultural.

Sandra: No.

Ítalo: Como identidad cultural, los chilenos creen que están en Leiden [*ríe*].

Sandra: Eso mismo, sí, sí. Prefieren ser europeos.

Ítalo: Pero si uno lo mira, uno va a Santiago, por ejemplo, y ve las caras, el rostro de las personas, y uno ve los rostros que ve acá en el sur son indígenas.

Sandra: Exacto.

Ítalo: Se nota que hay [ciertas] facciones y todo eso. Que no tengan los apellidos o cosas así no quiere decir que no haya nada de ti—. En tu historia.

Sandra: Eso mismo sí. Y eso a mí todavía, a pesar de tantos años, veo que no cambia en Chile. Quizás ahora de a poco, no sé.

Ítalo: Sí. La juventud, sí.

Sandra: La juventud sí-

Ítalo: La juventud es bastante más consciente de eso y no tiene problemas con eso. Incluso la gente está muy orgullosa de saber.

Sandra: Y eso es bueno. Que salga el orgullo y menos la vergüenza. Quizás no sé. Tiene que ver todo con el colonialismo y-

Ítalo: Yo hago—. El lunes estaba en una clase y dije, «Yo debería grabado esto porque para hacer el contraste», estaba en una clase con tercero básico de niños que tienen ocho años por ahí. Y de repente un niño dijo—. Yo no le dije nada, estábamos haciendo otra actividad. Dijo,

se paró y dijo «¿quién es mapuche aquí?» Y algunos le empezaron a levantar la mano y dijo «Yo soy mapuche» y «Yo soy Colimil», «Yo soy Huaiquilao». Y la empezaron a decir sus nombres. «Yo vengo de esta comunidad» y «Mi madre o mi abuelo eran de esta comunidad». Y que eran como la mitad del curso, más o menos. Y pensaba yo—. Yo decía «Cuando yo era niño jamás hubiera dicho eso». No, no, cuando pasaban la lista yo me acuerdo como se agachaba la gente por la vergüenza enorme que tenía. Claro, terrible como se montaba a los mismos que le instigaron. Si tú tenías un apellido mapuche o cualquier cosa o lo que fuera que oliera a mapuche era un odio [*ríe*], así, lo que recibiría del resto. Y, el resto de los niños [en la clase] no tuvo problemas con eso. Dicen que «Yo no soy mapuche, yo soy chilena» y no era drama.

Sandra: Claro. No, no, no, sí, de eso se trata. O sea, no tanto de que tengas que ser, pero que lo que sepan algunos-

Ítalo: Exacto.

Sandra: Sea mapuche o sea de—.

Ítalo: No sé de donde sea decir el tema. Aquí no hay tanta vergüenza étnica. Que fue muy fuerte de eso—. Yo lo recuerdo. Lo tengo muy vivo eso, todos se acuerdan de eso. Fue una, una época muy oscura, diríamos para la gente mapuche vivir en la represión constante.

Sandra: Exacto, sí.

Ítalo: Como una parte, pero así silenciado. No era una parte declarada. Nadie te decía que no podrías sentarte aquí ni nada. Pero te lo hacían saber de otra manera.

Sandra: Exacto, sí. Bueno, me gustó mucho escucharte, eso quería decir.

Ítalo: Su nombre, disculpe, no le pregunté su nombre.

Sandra: Mi nombre es—. Yo soy Sandra.

Ítalo: Sandra.

Sandra: Sandra.

Ítalo: Sandra y Selenia. Sí, Selenia ya-

Sandra: Sí, sí, sí.

Ítalo: Bueno, ¿es tarde allí no cierto?

Sandra: Son las 20:00 de la noche, sí.

Ítalo: Son cuatro horas más.

Sandra: Sí, ahora son cuatro. Creo que la próxima semana cambia.

Ítalo: Sí, nosotros cambiamos ahí, van a ser cinco.

Sandra: Claro, nosotros también cambiamos. Así que van a ser seis.

Ítalo: Ustedes entran en la primavera.

Sandra: Exacto. Nosotros estamos entrando en la primavera aquí.

Ítalo: Nosotros estamos aquí con todo el frío.

Selena: [ríe]

Sandra: Bueno, en el sur, si yo viajo a Chile el 28 de abril, voy a ver a mi mamá que está viviendo en Coquimbo. Pero ahí el tiempo siempre es como una primavera y la vida no cambia mucho.

Ítalo: No cambia mucho. Aquí está helado, aquí en la noche tienes que estar con parka y todo y hacer fuego. Si no, no, porque tú vives todo resfriada.

Sandra: ¿Tú vives en Temuco o al lado cercano?

Ítalo: Vivo cerca de Temuco, como a 30 kilómetros de Temuco.

Sandra: Sí, yo estuve en Temuco también. Viajé con mi papá por todos lados, hasta Temuco llegamos. Pero hace mucho tiempo atrás. Pero bueno, algún día quizás vamos a-

Ítalo: Sí, vengan, vengan. Yo de repente no las escucho, no sé qué pasa.

Sandra: Sí, y hay un gato aquí que mete tanto ruido también [ríe].

Ítalo: [ríe] El gato, puede ser. ¿Ese gato que está atrás?

Sandra: No, no, no. Hay otro ya golpeando la puerta.

Ítalo: Ya, me gusto haber conversado con ustedes. Espero que tengan un buen viaje igual.

Selena: Gracias, gracias.

Ítalo: No hay problema. Bien, Selena, gracias por la oportunidad. Y que te vaya muy bien con tu tesis.

Selena: Muchas gracias, sí. Y si tienes alguna pregunta sobre mi tesis o cualquier cosa, siempre puedes enviarme un mensaje.

Ítalo: Ya, ya. Ya no hay problema. Igualmente. Lo mismo te digo. Si necesitas otra cosa, me avisas, nos coordinamos y no hay problema.

Selena: Sí.

Ítalo: Bien.

Selena: Gracias.

Ítalo: Cuídate, saludos.

B1.4 Rosendo

Archivo: entrevistaconrosendo.m4a

Duración: 58:55

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Selena: Hola.

Rosendo: Hola, hola.

Selena: Hola.

Rosendo: Sí. ¿Me escuches?

Selena: Sí, sí.

Rosendo: Ya.

Selena: Un momento, por favor. Sí. Puede—.

Rosendo: Usted es blanquita, porque resulta que está—. No sé, mi pantalla está oscura y así la veo usted oscurito. No sé cómo me veo para usted [*ríe*].

Selena: [*rié*]

Rosendo: No sé si será mi celular el que estaba así. Yo no sé en qué momento quedó así, no. No sé si igual me veo así con—. Creo que se dice, la pantalla—. No sé como, pero tiene un—. Ahí, he visto un nombre como dice, pero no sé—. No sé cómo sacarlo de ahí. Pero sea una foto real.

Selena: Sí. Bueno-

Rosendo: Pero igual somos muy bonitos, yo creo [*ríe*].

Selena: [*ríe*]

Rosendo: Ya. Lo importante es que me escuche y yo le escuche. Yo leí su carta y resulta que habla de consentimiento.

Selena: Sí, sí.

Rosendo: Bueno, como no tengo el consentimiento así que no—. Yo ya no leo eso, porque no—. Todo es lo mismo y todo tiene buenas intenciones.

Selena: Hmm, sí.

Rosendo: Entonces, eso [*ríe*]

Selena: Bueno, mucho gusto de conocerle.

Rosendo: Sí.

Selena: Yo soy—. Me llamo Selena.

Rosendo: Ya.

Selena: Y soy estudiante de la Universidad de Leiden en los Países Bajos. Y—. Mi mamá también está aquí en la habitación para ayudarme cuando no puedo encontrar mis palabras. Porque como nací aquí no he hablado castellano desde la infancia y no domino el español muy bien.

Rosendo: Pero hablas muy bien pues.

Selena: [*ríe*]

Rosendo: [*ríe*]

Selena: Gracias. Bueno, puedo entender casi todo lo que me dice, pero me resulta difícil hacer preguntas y formar frases. Y—. Sí.

Rosendo: Le entiendo. Como—. Ahí mismo, el planteamiento de la—. Del—. El objetivo del—. De la traducción es que siempre yo he dicho—. Bueno, que me han dicho y más bueno he escuchado. La traducción es—. La traducción es ficción, porque la traducción es—. Está en contra de la realidad, o sea, de la verdad tradicional. Traicionar. La traducción es traición. En Italiano se dice «traduttore» y «traditore».

Selena: Hmm. Sí, sí.

Rosendo: Yo no sé—. No soy italiano, pero algo le pego [*ríe*].

Selena: Eh. Bueno. Sí. ¿Primero me gustaría preguntar si prefiere «usted» o «tú»?

Rosendo: Tú, tú mejor. Tú, tú, tú [*ríe*].

Selena: [*ríe*] Voy a hablar rápidamente del formulario de consentimiento.

Rosendo: Sí.

Selena: Lo más importante que quiero saber es si te parece bien, que utilice tu propio nombre y apellido en mi tesis.

Rosendo: Yo creo que es mejor porque no me gustan los anonimatos por lo mismo porque resulta que de repente cualquier otra persona puede—. O sea, en vez de protegerme, qué además es desprotegido, porque eso queda así como una cosa sin nombre que cualquiera lo puede colocar su nombre y hágase la luz. Bueno, por lo menos no sé si servirá de tomar un nombre, pero yo prefiero utilice mi nombre aunque sea con conciencia y sentimiento, porque el papel es una y el otro que—. Eso. Yo soy—. Eso, pues. Quiero sí mi nombre.

Selena: Sin—. ¿Sin nombre?

Rosendo: Sí. O sea, mi nombre, mi nombre.

Selena: Ah, OK [ríe].

Rosendo: Con mi nombre.

Selena: OK, OK. Claro. Y-

Rosendo: Yo tampoco soy hispanohablante. Soy mapunzungun hablante. Y hablo el mapunzungun. El castellano es una lengua para mí—. Ah, bueno. El—. La lengua—. El idioma de contacto. Porque yo soy—. O sea, en este caso soy traductor mapunzungun-castellano, castellano-mapunzungun.

Selena: Sí. Eh, bueno. Tu consentimiento y tus respuestas quedan grabados para que pueda recuperar la información cuando escriba mi tesis. Y mis profesores y yo somos los únicos que tenemos acceso a esta grabación y voy a borrarla a la finalización de la tesis.

Rosendo: Sí. Afirmativo. Bien, bien, bien. En mapunzungun se dice «feley feley» [ríe].

Selena: Sí [ríe]. Vamos a empezar con la primera pregunta. ¿Qué tipo de textos has traducido?

Rosendo: Uf. Antropología, lingüística, traducción literaria. De hecho tengo un literato que ganó el premio este año, que es Elicura Chihuailaf. El ganador de este año.

Selena: Sí, sí, sí. Lo conozco.

Rosendo: El es mi—. Uno de mis—. He hecho todas las traducciones. O sea, no todo, pero muchas traducciones. Y así, bueno, en todas las otras áreas de la lingüística, de la antropología. Porque he hecho clases, y todos esos temas. Y no, no solamente traduzco, pues. Soy profesor. Yo soy profesor de estado y tengo asuntos de lingüística.

Selena: Sí, sí, claro. ¿Y también [has traducido] poemas o libros o literatura?

Rosendo: Sí, claro. El libro puede ser leído de distinta índole en el sentido de—. Por ejemplo, el libro que está publicado en la editorial [*ininteligible*], la que es de culturas—. La cultura mapunche. Se habla sobre la medicina tradicional y la—. Y los conocimientos, o sea, por ejemplo los—. De lo que se dice de—. Como conversaban los mapunche antiguos sobre el tema de la religiosidad, la salud, la medicina y toda otra idiosincrasia.

Selena: Hmm. Sí. ¿Y cuentos para niños también?

Rosendo: Ha?

Selena: Cuentos-

Rosendo: Bueno, pues-

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Claro, todo.

Selena: Sí. OK. ¿Y por qué empezaste a traducir?

Rosendo: [ríe] ¿Por qué? Es que me encontré que—. Bueno, por un lado, yo lo que quería era que escribir se—. Escriba en mi—. O sea, yo [quería poder] escribir en mi idioma, que es el mapunzungun. Y entonces la cual existía dificultad en el sentido de que—. Creo que fue totalmente junto con escribir mapunzungun. Me encontré con que había que traducirla. O sea, no es que yo quise hacerlo. [Es] que tenía que hacerlo y lo empecé haciendo no más, pues, sin pensar si quiero o no quiero. Entiendes? [ríe].

Selena: Sí, sí, sí.

Rosendo: O sea, porque había que hacerlo. Porque el escribir y el traducir no son cosas naturales. Si no que una arbitrariedad, dicen los expertos. O sea, que—. Hay que hacerlo porque hay que hacerlo. O sea, no es porque querer hacerlo.

Selena: Hmm, sí. ¿Y cuánto tiempo llevas traduciendo este par de idiomas?

Rosendo: 50 años.

Selena: OK.

Rosendo: Desde los 70, o 78. No, 70 porque—. Bueno, yo siempre pensé en, a ver—. Traduciendo de forma escrita, sí. Pero traducido, siempre he traducido, 70 años [ríe].

Selena: [ríe] Sí, sí.

Rosendo: Claro, porque—. Porque resulta que está en español y está en mapunzungun, que es mi lengua materna igual. Yo tendría que estar entre los dos idiomas siempre.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Ahora en la escuela, en la universidad te dice este idioma, este otro idioma no está viva, no más, pues. No es así.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Nosotros—. O sea, las personas. Como persona vive y no sabe qué idioma es, porque el idioma es la cosa natural. Entonces, por lo tanto, no está—. En este caso no está—. Bueno, habla del español en el Cono Sur, pero muchos idiomas más porque qué pasa con la radio y cuando uno escucha otro idioma, japonés, chino. En Norteamérica, por ejemplo, cuando fueron a la luna los astronautas. Uf. ¿Cuándo fue eso? [ríe].

Selena: [ríe]

Rosendo: Entonces, uno ya en este caso—. Que tiene uso de razón, que ya uno—. Escucha radio y escuchó otros idiomas.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Causó miedo hace 70 años.

Selena: También tienes origen mapuche. ¿De qué parte de la región mapuche vienes?

Rosendo: Uh. De aquí en el corazón mismo de La Araucanía, pues. [Es] llamado «zona de conflicto» para los de la—. Del Gobierno.

Selena: Sí, sí. Claro. ¿Y qué variante de mapudungun hablas?

Rosendo: Bueno, eh. Que por la selección que hacen los lingüistas, yo soy hablante moluche de los mapunche, pues.

Selena: Ah, OK. Sí. ¿Has hablado el idioma de niño o lo aprendiste después?

Rosendo: Dos cosas, o sea, yo lo he fusionado. Yo aprendí el mapunzungun y el castellano de la misma forma.

Selena: Sí. ¿Y alguna vez te sentiste avergonzado por hablar en mapudungun?

Rosendo: Avergonzado, no. Pero, que alguien me haga algo qué yo sienta que hace—. Que me dé vergüenza, sí. Porque cuando hacen burla a uno. Pero, ¿yo avergonzarme por hablar un idioma? Jamás. Porque resulta que siempre he estado en muchas instituciones militares, escolares, universidades, y nunca, nunca he pensado siquiera en cómo voy a hablar. Si [en el sentido de] no, aquí no debo hablar.

Selena: Hmm. Y-

Rosendo: No tengo el hueso de la vergüenza. Para mí. No es que sea un sinvergüenza, que es otra cosa [ríe].

Selena: [ríe] ¿Y crees que la lengua y la capacidad de hablarla juegan un papel importante en las comunidades mapuches? ¿Y por qué?

Rosendo: Todo idioma y todo pueblo, su idioma natal es lo que más recibe. Porque es la forma de pensar y la forma en que puede expresar lo que siente. En este caso, bueno, resulta que ejercer su religión no es un requisito porque hay que hacerlo en el idioma que corresponde, que es su idioma, que es el mapuzungun. Y de hecho todo en la oración es bueno en la lengua de oración. No se dice el castellano, tiene que ser en mapunzungun. O sea, La oración—. O sea, de la religión cristiana, como es la que imponen los colegios acá. Y de hecho yo estudié toda—. O sea, hablando de estudiar, yo me refiero cuando uno tiene que rendir exámenes, escuela, ir a clases, esa escuela. Ahí uno aprende. Yo aprendí en las escuelas cristianas. Y ejercí en escuelas cristianas e instituciones cristianas. Por ejemplo, en el Hospital de la Diócesis Anglicana de Chile, Bolivia y Perú. Como contador, porque soy contador de principios, eso estudié primero. Y yo atendía a un hospital de las anglicanas y una sección de escuelas Anglicana en el puente—. Y la Diócesis Anglicana de Chile, Bolivia, y Perú, como contador. Y ejercí en la Universidad de—. Católica. Ah, como ejercicio profesional. El asunto de los idiomas. Y estudié en una—. En la Universidad de Chile, que es la Universidad de La

Frontera de acá en Temuco. Porque Chile antes que fuera del gobierno militar—. Porque se llama Chile antes que fuera del gobierno militar.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Se decía Chile. Pero después se cambió el nombre a Universidad de La Frontera.

Selena: Ya.

Rosendo: Entonces, ahí aprendí. Bueno, obviamente con el sistema Chileno, de la salud, de la pedagogía y todas las cuestiones de la—. Y así—. Y eso yo lo hice en la especialidad de conta—. En el área comercial, porque yo tengo—. Soy pro—. Soy contador, que tiene que ver con el—. Con las cuentas públicas y todo ese asunto. Pero hoy mi título dice que soy profesor de Estado mención en contabilidad.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Entonces, obtuve esos títulos profesionales y trabajé en la Universidad de La Frontera, para la eh. Para la traducción de Windows 95.

Selena: Sí, sí.

Rosendo: O sea, la Microsoft.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Entonces, por lo tanto, tengo [*conexión perdida*]. Ejerciendo al mismo tiempo todo. ¿Aló?

Selena: Ah, se pierde la conexión.

Rosendo: Pero ahora-

Selena: Ahora está bien.

Rosendo: [*ríe*]

Selena: [*ríe*] ¿Puedes repetir la cuestión de Windows? Lo que estaba contando sobre el Windows. ¿Puedes repetir lo?

Rosendo: Sí, bueno. Hoy fui la—. Trabajé para la traducción del sistema en lengua—. Al idioma mapunzungun. Pero del español, sí. Porque, bueno, claro del español.

Selena: Sí, OK. ¿Y de qué manera crees que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Rosendo: «Renacimiento», pero no puede ser «renacimiento» porque nunca ha muerto.

Selena: Sí, claro, pero—. ¿Piensas, por ejemplo, que traducir la literatura infantil podría contribuir a la fluidez y al compromiso de las generaciones más jóvenes?

Rosendo: Yo creo la fluidez más que el compromiso, porque el compromiso está en la persona.

Selena: Hmm. OK, claro. Un traductor suele adaptar elementos del texto para que se traduzca mejor a la otra cultura. ¿Hay ciertas adaptaciones que haces cuando traduces?

Rosendo: No, no. Yo más bien utilizo justamente sinónimos y antónimos, lo que significa la palabra en el otro idioma.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Entonces yo uso mi propia, cómo se dice—. Mi propia idea de que puedo hacerlo.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Entonces, no la traducción misma.

Selena: OK.

Rosendo: O sea, el literal, como se dice, la traducción. Hay que encontrar las palabras. Y a dónde está la ideal de tal o cual cosa en el—. De la palabra. Muchos exigen pero también ya después aprendiendo y distinguiendo la forma de traducir, la forma que se dice lo literal y lo conceptual.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: O contextual.

Selena: Sí, ya. ¿Y hay conceptos o consideraciones mapuche que te resulten difíciles de traducir?

Rosendo: Sí, sí, sí, hay.

Selena: ¿Y por ejemplo, [las que] sean intraducibles?

Rosendo: Ha?

Selena: ¿Sean intraducibles? Los-

Rosendo: Hay que traducir los intraducibles porque puede ser—. Porque son—. A ver cómo le puse—. Son palabras que son—. Cómo le puedo decir que—. Suele traducir el sentido. Por ejemplo, la—. Los poemas u otra cosa que se llama, por ejemplo, que son—. Son el lenguaje de desear. Por ejemplo la—. El asunto de la—. De asuntos sexuales e—. Cosas así, pues.

Selena: Hmm, sí. ¿Y qué haces con las palabras intraducibles?

Rosendo: ¿Aló? ¿Aló?

Selena: Eh. Hola. ¿Me escuchas?

Rosendo: Sí, sí. Escucho, escucho.

Selena: OK, eh. Sí. ¿Qué haces con las palabras que son—. ¿Qué sean intraducibles?

Rosendo: No, es que no—. Queda en blanco no más. El—. Lo que correspondería hacerlo.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: O sea, no es—. No he encontrado la traducción.

Selena: Sí, OK. Eh. Y el traductor también puede hacer algo para combatir ciertos estereotipos discriminatorios o coloniales, sustituyéndolos, por ejemplo, por términos y conceptos mapuches. Hay nombres como araucano de la época colonial, pero también traducciones y pacificación como traductor. ¿Cómo te enfrentas a este tipo de términos y por qué?

Rosendo: No, porque yo soy mapunche y cuando digo algo en la radio digo mapunche y el pueblo de mapunche. Entonces, no—. No voy a hacer de los errores.

Selena: Sí, claro.

Rosendo: Porque esas son palabras malísimas. Bueno, no sé si—. Para mí el caso es lo mismo, para la mayoría de ustedes, por ejemplo, yo le digo la ordinariez. O sea, lo ordinario, o sea lo—. Bueno, por no decir lo feo, lo hediondo, lo cochino y lo hediondo, porque—. Eso. Pero yo digo que es ordinario. O sea, es mi palabra que yo utilizo generalmente para mis amigos por ahí. Yo le digo, bueno, «¿qué dice usted a esas personas que dicen Araucano? Ah, no pues, es un ordinario».

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Eso para mí es ordinariez. Bueno, no sé si no tengo bien claro que es lo que significaría en castellano decir ordinario, lo que más—. Se usa lo ordinario. Por ejemplo, acá los registros—. Parece que viene [*conexión perdida*] en la oficialidad del gobierno, por ejemplo. Entonces, según el orden uno se dijo tal cosa. En el orden dos, tal cosa. Es el orden del día. Hoy se dice que va a llover, por ejemplo, a las 15:00 de la tarde, o sea, a las cuatro [ríe]. Ya, eso sería un ordinario, porque una orden, pero que—. Tal como usted me dijo, hoy día lo vamos a reunir a las cinco. Es una orden. Entonces yo dije [*conexión perdida*].

Selena: [ríe]

Rosendo: ¿Le gustaría que [*conexión perdida*] una ordinaria?

Selena: No.

Rosendo: Claro, pero acá en Chile se dice así. Ordinario número tanto.

Selena: OK, sí. Y eh-

Rosendo: Entonces eso es [*conexión perdida*]. Una palabra en mapunzungun que—. Es un—. No favorable a otros países u otras partes. Estaría yo siendo parte de la ordinariez [ríe].

Entonces sería más malo todavía, pues. Entonces yo digo—. Yo digo que soy mapunche y [hablo] mapunzungun. Y tengo ese mapunche y digo mapunzungun. Porque el idioma es mapunzungun no mapuzungun.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Y la persona es mapunche. Yo soy mapunche. Hablo mapunzungun.

Selena: Sí, OK. ¿Y cómo traduciría la palabra «huinca» al castellano?

Rosendo: El—. El ordinario [ríe]. Si la verdad es que la wingka viene de «wingkün» que significa robar.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Usted sería el ladrón, el intruso. Ese sería el cambio porque resulta que, bueno, por último voy a decir wingka, no más. Porque la palabra se conoce como—. Como todos los conocemos y sabemos todo lo que significa.

Selena: Sí. Claro. Eh. En una entrevista sobre traducción Elicura Chihuailaf también dice que—. Bueno, dice que considera que la traducción es una forma de diplomacia y cree que la tarea del traductor es principalmente poder llegar a la gente de la ciudad y hacer visible la cultura mapuche en ella. ¿Hay algún mensaje político en particular que intentes transmitir a través de tus traducciones?

Rosendo: No, yo diría que no, porque solo en el pensamiento del autor del texto, no más. Entonces, no es eso. Porque uno va a—. Por ejemplo, las traducciones que yo hago son—. Según—. Es el texto que yo traduzco. No la intencionalidad que tenga, porque hay—. Por ejemplo, hay—. Se habla del texto y el contexto.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Entonces, uno va—. Como le decía yo, hay connotaciones que son textualmente, por ejemplo de la—. Hay una idea en Santiago sobre todo que se llama Chile—. Algo mapu, o algo así. O sea, de tratar de entrarse a la urbanidad creo. Y entonces, la urbanidad—. Hay mucho periférico. Ahí está la cultura periférica que son—. Bueno, es un mundo—. No sé si de esa cosa se habla. Entonces yo en traducciones que me han llegado—. Además, me han llegado, sí. Pero no lo he traducido porque no me tema y me faltaría el contexto porque no soy de las—. De ese sector. Entonces no, son cosas desconocidas, pues.

Selena: Sí, claro. Y entonces, ¿cuál es para ti el objetivo más importante de traducir este par de idiomas?

Rosendo: No, el idioma para mí es traducir para poder entender ambas culturas.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Porque resulta que la—. Eso me da a entender a mí. Por ejemplo, cuando yo hice el servicio militar, el—. Había un profesor y—. Que hizo la traducción de la Canción Nacional al mapunzungun como un asunto de ensayo literario. Como estudiante y como hablante del mapunzungun que era XXXX. Que conocí de niño y me tocó conocerlo justamente con el

servicio militar, que fue el 72-73. Justo cuando se hace el pronunciamiento militar. Entonces él—. Lo conocí en el ejército que visitó en ese tiempo. El regimiento, mi regimiento en el cual desarrollamos actividades culturales para—. Bueno, que aquí en Lautaro, o sea dentro de la Chile región, pues. O sea, no era—. Era en nuestro país. Si no que aquí fue. Pero ahí me di cuenta de que nuestra cultura es nada más que—. O sea, ni nada, diría que me tocara ejercerlo yo mismo. Aunque dentro del regimiento, por decirlo. Con uniforme, con todo, hablando en mapunzungun y nuestro profesor que era—. Que el visitó como doctor en la materia, profesor antiguo e hizo la presentación en algún momento de toda la muestra de baile. Nosotros como jóvenes de 18 años, militares, o sea—. Totalmente jóvenes y en esa forma juntos. Entonces, por lo tanto—. Y resulta también—. Es que también dentro de repente como ya viene—. Nosotros venimos enfrentando una guerra que siempre ha permanecido en Chile. Porque eso también lo escuché de otro mapunche antiguo que la guerra no ha terminado porque resulta que—. Que, eh. Que en cualquier momento las personas para—. En el caso del wingka para agredir al mapunche cuando le dice Indio cuando se enoja con él.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Sino de amiguito, nuevo colega y compañero de curso, colega laboral y todo.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Pero cuando le dicen que es indio [*resopla*]. Y al revés igual. Pues es mi amigo, es mi amiga, y etcétera, etcétera y todo. ¿Pero cuándo le digo que es un wingka? Solamente en el momento de agresión. Esa agresión viene la agresividad que viene—. Por ejemplo, se habla de la guerra de Arauco fue antes el año 77-80. Pero es que no, sigue y persigue y permanece vivo ahora mismo en la tierra. Eso está ahí. Porque tenemos unos abuelos que nos cuentan. Aquí llegó la usurpación. ¿Mala conexión?

Selena: Sí, un poco, sí.

Rosendo: Pero eso le voy a decir que no, no—. O sea, la palabra «wingka» en realidad no—. No dice nada cuando no hay nada [*ríe*]. Pero cuando sí suceden cosas, sí, pues.

Selena: Bueno, sí. Claro. Eh. ¿Y crees que la traducción puede contribuir al compromiso político de la situación?

Rosendo: No sé. Yo no, no, no soy de esa arena de la política, así que no—. Porque al entiéndase por la palabra política, que en la lengua castellana se habla de política, es arte de gobernar. Resulta que mi hija es científica política de profesión. Estudio en la universidad ese título.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Ciencias políticas. Y esto es para mí la excepción. Cuando leí la ciencia política es el arte de gobernar. Por lo tanto, mi política es eso. No estoy hablando de la política chilena ni nada.

Selena: Sí, OK. Ya. ¿Y crees que hay una forma de traducir y transmitir el trauma y el dolor de la injusticia y la discriminación del pueblo mapuche?

Rosendo: Naturalmente, el mapunche lo hace en su idioma, en su pueblo, en su gente, pues.

Selena: Hmm, sí. Y es difícil a veces para—. No sé cómo puedo decirlo. Mi mamá me va a ayudar.

Sandra: Aquí está la mamá. Aquí está la mamá, ¿me escuchas? ¿Aló?

Rosendo: Sí.

Sandra: Bueno, Selena [*conexión perdida*] no la puede traducir al castellano. [*conexión perdida*] ¿Aló?

Rosendo: Sí.

Sandra: ¿Me entendió?

Rosendo: Sí, escuchó.

Sandra: Bueno, mi—. Selena quiere saber qué [*conexión perdida*].

Rosendo: Ahí no le escucho [*ríe*].

Sandra: ¿Ahora no? ¿Y ahora?

Rosendo: Ahora no escucho. No se escucha, no se escucha nada.

Sandra: Ah, ¿a ver donde tengo que hablar Selena?

Selena: Aquí.

Sandra: ¿Me escuchas?

Rosendo: Ahora sí, ahora sí.

Sandra: Mi hija quiere saber-

Rosendo: La pregunta no la escucho.

Sandra: [*conexión perdida*] como traduciría-

Rosendo: Parece que—. No sé. Algo se arranca de inmediato.

Sandra: Ah, sí, se pierden palabras.

Rosendo: A ver.

Sandra: ¿Ahora me escuchas?

Rosendo: Ahí le escucho.

Sandra: Ya, sí. De qué forma [*conexión perdida*]. ¿Aló? ¿Aló?

Rosendo: ¿Aló? Mala conexión dice aquí, mala conexión.

Sandra: ... Desapareció, ahora lo veo.

Rosendo: Escucho a Seleno pero no, no—. Cuando me habla a mí no le escucho la señora.

Seleno: [ríe]

Sandra: Eh. ¿Cómo?

Rosendo: Ahí sí.

Sandra: Así. Entonces estoy más cerca del micrófono, pienso.

Rosendo: Ahí está, ahí está.

Sandra: Ahí está. ¿Cómo traduciría usted el eh. ¿El trauma o discriminación de los mapuche?

Rosendo: Trauma o discriminación...

Sandra: Hmm.

Rosendo: Bueno, en la pena se dicen «weñangkün» y «wezatun» pues. O es decir «apenar» y «maltrato» eso.

Sandra: Maltrato. Ya. OK. Eso será suficiente para mí [conexión perdida]. No sabía cómo hacer esa pregunta. ¿Me escucho? ¿Aló?

Rosendo: ¿Aló? [conexión perdida]. El micrófono, el micrófono.

Sandra: El micrófono, sí. Tengo que acercarme más al micrófono. No sé dónde está pero—. ¿Me escuchas así?

Rosendo: [ríe]

Sandra: [ríe] No tengo idea dónde.

Rosendo: Cuando mira ese punto que está ahí. Ahí, ahí escucho.

Sandra: Ah, OK. Ahora me escucha.

Rosendo: Hmm. 100%.

Sandra: Ah, entonces, tengo que estar aquí, ya [ríe].

Rosendo: [ríe]

Sandra: OK.

Rosendo: No se aleje la hija antes que la hija se aleje de usted [*ríe*].

Sandra: Eso [*ríe*].

Rosendo: [*ríe*]

Sandra: La próxima pregunta—. ¿Tienes otra pregunta?

Selena: No.

Sandra: Ah, esa fue tu última pregunta.

Rosendo: Clarito, clarito.

Sandra: Clarito, ya.

Selena: [*conexión perdida*]

Sandra: Esa era la última pregunta de mi hija.

Selena: Bueno, eh.

Rosendo: Ahora nos vamos.

Sandra: Espere, un momentito. ¿Qué dice? ¿Qué más quiere decir?

Selena: Me gustaría preguntarte si hay algo que quisieras compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor.

Sandra: ¿Entendió?

Rosendo: No, a ella no la escuché. La entrevistadora, no la escuché ahora.

Selena: [*ríe*] Eh.

Rosendo: Eso.

Selena: Me gustaría-

Rosendo: Ahí, ahí.

Selena: Sí [*ríe*]. Me gustaría-

Rosendo: [*ininteligible*]

Selena: ... Si hay algo que quisieras compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor.

Rosendo: Mire, yo estoy inconsciente y no inconsciente. No, pero soy sobre todo bilingüe y bicultural. Porque, no—. No hago esa diferenciación, porque yo—. Para mí es universal todo lo que yo hago.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Entonces, ya no podría hacer ninguna recomendación ni nada porque como he participado en muchas conferencias de congresos nacionales e internacionales, entonces uno no lo debe sentir. Bueno, también he tenido buenos maestros, profesores, que uno no tiene que ir como que va a ir a dar un examen. Si no que va a estar presente y nada más. Y eso [es] lo que hacen. Y por lo menos le tenía que donde—. Tenía que estar—. Por ejemplo, en el regimiento cuando uno tiene 18 años en la cual uno se va a otro lugar que en realidad que cambió totalmente el mundo del niño. Al dejar de ser niño y salir de la sala de clase, [y] entrar a una [*conexión perdida*].

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: [*ininteligible*] Ya ahora está volviendo la imagen.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Entonces no—. No diría mejor ni menorpreciado en ninguna parte. Porque hay que—. Hay que ser y actuar como ser—. Porque—. Como los antropólogos dicen, pues, «donde fueres, haz lo que vieres».

Selena: OK. Bueno, esa fue la entrevista. Muchas gracias por participar. Y si tienes alguna pregunta sobre mi tesis o cualquier otra cosa, siempre puedes enviarme un mensaje.

Rosendo: Claro que sí. Cuando lo escriba—. Lo escriba y termine. Y quiero ver y tener su trabajo.

Selena: Creo que—. Bueno-

Rosendo: Entonces [*conexión perdida*].

Selena: Eh.

Sandra: Es en inglés.

Selena: Sí, es en inglés. Yo quiero que alguien lo traduzca al español.

Sandra: Y quizás—.

Selena: Quizás [*conexión perdida*].

Sandra: [*ríe*]

Selena: [*ríe*]

Sandra: ¿Escuchó lo que dijo mi hija?

Rosendo: Sí, lo que quiere que sea en español. Sí, está bien, sí. Bueno, ya veremos cómo se podría hacer. Ya.

Sandra: Claro, sí. Porque tiene que hacer su tesis en inglés aquí. Entonces, tiene que traducir toda esta conversación al inglés.

Rosendo: No escuchó nada de lo último que estén hablando seguramente, no—.

Sandra: Le digo que la conversación que ella tiene con usted tiene que hacer—. Traducirla al inglés porque su tesis tiene que ser en inglés.

Rosendo: Ya, no sé. Bueno, yo—. El castellano y el mapunzungun lo domino, del inglés poco o nada [*ríe*].

Sandra: [*ríe*]

Selena: [*ríe*]

Sandra: Por eso que ella pensaba de traducirlo al castellano, cuando esté lista. En algún momento a ver si lo puede traducir al castellano.

Rosendo: Claro, al castellano.

Sandra: Claro.

Selena: Sí.

Rosendo: Perfecto. Pewkayal entonces.

Sandra: ¿Perdón?

Rosendo: Pewkayal, pewkayal.

Sandra: ¿Eso es en mapudungun?

Rosendo: Lo vemos, lo vemos [*ríe*].

B1.5 Sonia

Archivo: entrevistaconsonia.m4a

Duración: 00:47:49

Fecha: 31 marzo 2022

Selena: Hola.

Sonia: Hola. ¿Cómo estás?

Selena: Estoy bien, gracias.

Sonia: Perdón. Se me había olvidado. Como no recibí ningún aviso antes. Se me fue.

Selena: Ningún problema. Bueno. Mucho gusto de conocerle. Yo soy Selena.

Sonia: Igual.

Selena: Soy estudiante-

Sonia: ¿Eres Chilena?

Selena: Sí, sí, sí, sí. Mis padres son chilenos. Y yo nací aquí en Ámsterdam, en Holanda. Pero sí.

Sonia: ¿Hablas holandés?

Selena: Sí, holandés e inglés. Y un poco castellano también, pero no domino el idioma.

Sonia: Ya, no te preocupes, así que nos entenderemos. ¿Cuál es tu nombre?

Selena: Selena.

Sonia: Selena. Sí, pues. Estás estudiando un magíster en lingüística.

Selena: Sí, sí en traducción.

Sonia: Ya. Traducción.

Selena: Traducción de holandés e inglés.

Sonia: Ya, sí.

Selena: ¿Me escuchas bien?

Sonia: Súper bien.

Selena: OK, OK.

Sonia: Súper bien. Yo estoy en mi trabajo ahora.

Selena: OK.

Sonia: Todavía estaba acá. Estaba entregando a los niños. Y de repente vi tu mensaje y yo pensé que tenía un compromiso y pensé [*pone cara de asombro*].

Selena: [*ríe*] Bueno, mi mamá está en la habitación para ayudarme cuando no puedo encontrar mis palabras. Porque a veces me resulta difícil formar frases y hacer preguntas. Y bueno, puedo entender casi todo lo que me dice, pero a veces es difícil formar frases y todo eso. Por eso le pido que hable con calma y claridad, para que pueda seguirle más fácilmente.

Sonia: OK. Vamos.

Selena: ¿Puedo usar «tú» o prefiere «usted»?

Sonia: No, «tú» no más.

Selena: OK. En primer lugar, me gustaría hablar rápidamente del formulario de consentimiento.

Sonia: Sí, lo tengo aquí.

Selena: He marcado en amarillo las frases más importantes del documento. Lo más importante que quiero saber es si te parece bien que utilice tu propio nombre y apellido en mi tesis. Si no quieres [esto], tu nombre no se mencionará en ninguna parte y voy a utilizar un seudónimo.

Sonia: No, con mi nombre. Con mi nombre, sí.

Selena: OK. Ya, gracias.

Sonia: Y no he visto el formulario, pero no [tengo] preguntas. Tú me preguntas, yo respondo. ¿Ya, te parece?

Selena: Sí.

Sonia: Te puedes [*conexión perdida*]. Tengo el formulario y tengo que enviártelo.

Selena: La conexión es un poco mala. ¿Puedes decirlo otra vez?

Sonia: Debo llenar el formulario y luego enviarlo.

Selena: No, no. No es necesario.

Sonia: ¿No? Ya, OK.

Selena: Tu consentimiento y tus respuestas quedan grabados para que pueda recuperar la información cuando escriba mi tesis. Pero mis profesores y yo somos los únicos que tenemos acceso a esta información y voy a borrarla a la finalización de la tesis.

Sonia: OK, no hay problema.

Selena: Bueno, vamos a empezar con la primera pregunta. ¿Qué tipo de textos has traducido?

Sonia: Yo he traducido de todo tipo de textos, cuentos, documentos de gobierno de derecho humano. He hecho documentos para las universidades. También documentos de esta propuesta de carrera. Así que he hecho prácticamente de todo tipo de documento hecho traducciones. Desde las frases hasta los documentos más formales.

Selena: OK. ¿Y poemas y libros o cuentos para niños también?

Sonia: También. He hecho—. Ahora recién hicimos una lista, una traducción de un poema de Ermelinda Díaz.

Selena: OK, sí. No la conozco, pero—.

Sonia: Es un cuento chileno. Ermelinda Díaz fue una poeta chilena. Entonces, se volvió a recuperar y después se hizo la traducción en mapudungun. Aquí hay también he hecho de documentos, por ejemplo, que son—. Que han sido escritos por los jesuitas, que solo hay un que se llama Chilidúgú, que fue escrito por [Bernardo de] Havestadt y fue escrito en el 1777, que está solo en mapudungun y en latín, no está en castellano. Entonces ahora nosotros la hicimos, le hicimos la traducción al castellano.

Selena: Ya. Claro. ¿Y por qué empezaste a traducir?

Sonia: Porque una que yo soy mapuche, soy hablante. Y resulta que cuando yo empecé, estudié para educadora. Maestra, cómo le dirían por allá. Empecé a cómo estrategia de cómo enseñar una segunda lengua. Y me fui especializando para enseñar una segunda lengua y dije «Qué mejor que la mía, mapudungun». Entonces. Pero no conocía mucha estrategia de cómo enseñar y cómo traducir. Entonces, por eso fui perfeccionando me, haciendo—. Estudiando. Hice el Magíster en Lingüística con mención en Lengua y Cultura Indígena Latinoamérica Americana. Entonces por eso—. Y además que era algo que yo sabía hacer también.

Selena: OK, sí.

Sonia: Porque era mi lengua nativa.

Selena: Sí, sí. ¿Y cuánto tiempo llevas traduciendo este par de idiomas?

Sonia: Oh, hace como mucho—. Creo que hace como unos 20 años. 20 años aproximadamente.

Selena: Y has dicho que tienes un origen mapuche también.

Sonia: Yo soy mapuche. De origen de—. Mis padres son mapuche, mis abuelos son mapuche. O sea, toda mi descendencia hacia atrás es mapuche.

Selena: Y de que-

Sonia: Todos.

Selena: Claro. Y de qué parte de la región Mapuche-

Sonia: De la 8.^a Región Alto Bío-Bío, de la comuna de Alto Bío-Bío. Yo soy mapuche pehuenche.

Selena: Pehuenche, sí. ¿Has hablado el idioma de niño o lo aprendiste después?

Sonia: ¿Cuál? ¿Castellano? ¿El español o el mapudungun?

Selena: El mapudungun.

Sonia: Mapudungun. Desde el vientre de mi madre, o sea, yo aprendí primero mapudungun y después castellano y a los seis años aprendí el castellano.

Selena: Sí, sí. ¿Y alguna vez te sentiste avergonzado por hablar en mapudungun? ¿Y cuál fue la causa?

Sonia: Yo creo que no. Porque para mí, era súper natural hablar el mapudungun, porque fui compañera con mi hermana toda la vida del colegio. Entonces, cuando nosotros peleábamos con mis compañeras, los retamos en mapudungun. Entonces nunca fue, al contrario, fue una herramienta para mí para poder, entre comillas, defenderme de cuando peleábamos. Entonces nunca fue así como un obstáculo hablar mi idioma.

Selena: OK. Y ¿crees que la lengua y la capacidad de hablar juegan un papel importante en las comunidades mapuches?

Sonia: Obvio. Obvio, porque es una lengua que está viva o la cultura que está viva. Si tú no lo hablas, tu idioma se muere. ¿Primero que nada, cierto? Y para una comunidad, una persona que no habla es como si le falta una parte de sí para ser un mapuche que—. Un mapuche completo.

Selena: Sí. Sí. ¿Y crees que alguien solo es realmente mapuche cuando también habla la lengua?

Sonia: O sea, un mapuche completo. Pero tú te puedes identificar como mapuche sin hablar la lengua o sin vivir la cultura, porque tú te identificas como tú, como un ser. Pero si tú tienes ambas, obviamente que te va a identificar más que una persona que no hable el idioma.

Selena: Hmhm. Sí. Y ¿de qué manera crees que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Sonia: Es que—. A ver. La traducción-

Selena: ¿Señora?

Sonia: *[la computadora se apaga]*

Selena: ¿Hola?

Selena: No te escucho. No tienes sonido.

Sonia: ¿Me escuchas?

Selena: Ahora sí *[ríe]*.

Sonia: Sí, ya. Ahora sí. Se me había apagado mi computadora. Entonces me metí por teléfono.

Selena: Ya. Y la pregunta—. ¿De qué manera crees que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Sonia: Lo que pasa es que—. Mira, al renacimiento de la lengua, no sé hasta qué punto. Pero de que ayuda a una comunidad, por ejemplo, rural, no aporta casi en nada. ¿Sí? A una comunidad urbana, porque el urbano ya, ya lee, el mapuche urbano lee, pero el mapuche rural no lee. Entonces, obviamente que para la sociedad urbana ayuda mucho porque alguien puede

ir a coger un libro o meterte en línea y puede acceder a esto, estas traducciones. Pero urbano, no—. O sea, perdón, rural no.

Selena: Sí, sí. Y ¿piensas que traducir la literatura infantil, por ejemplo, podría contribuir a la fluidez y al compromiso de las generaciones más jóvenes de mapuches?

Sonia: Sí. Sí. De hecho, yo en mi colegio yo enseñé el mapudungun y los niños pueden leer. Y además, ya hay palabras—. Hay diálogos que se pueden hacer ya a través de los textos.

Selena: Que bueno.

Sonia: Y ellos te conversan y mucho. A los niños les gusta mucho el mapudungun. Ellos buscan frases. Entonces de todas maneras que ayuda.

Selena: Sí, que bueno. Y un traductor también suele adaptar elementos del texto para que se traduzca mejor a la otra cultura. ¿Hay ciertas adopciones que haces cuando traduces?

Sonia: Sí, lo que pasa es que cuando uno [traduce] se tiene que tener «el hilo conductor» que le llamamos los chilenos o la coherencia, porque al traducir literalmente no queda igual el texto. Yo creo que tú como traductora lo sabes.

Selena: Sí, sí.

Sonia: Sí, entonces hay que tener una coherencia. Entonces, por ejemplo, yo que soy hablante, a mí se me hace fácil hacer esa coherencia. Pero cuando alguien que no es hablante y que tiene que aprender un idioma, obviamente que le va a costar más. Pero cuando tú traduces, lleva, lees, luego traduce. No vas palabra a palabra. ¿Cierto?

Selena: Sí, sí, sí. Tienes que buscar un equivalente también.

Sonia: Poner un equivalente. Por ejemplo, yo no lo he usado porque para mí es fácil traducir. Entonces, por ejemplo, a mí me pasan un texto en castellano, en español, para traducirlo en mapudungun. Yo sé lo que dicen. Entonces, cómo entiendo, igual viene el castellano entonces y también habló el mapudungun fluido. No—. Sé lo que tiene que decir, entonces. O al revés si dice el mapudungun y lo tengo que traducir al español. Entonces yo sé lo que tiene que entender el lector.

Selena: Sí, sí, sí. ¿Hay conceptos o consideraciones mapuches que te resulte difícil de traducir?

Sonia: Si, palabras técnicas que hay que usar el neologismo. Sí, se usa mucho el neologismo para las palabras técnicas. Que—. Como, por ejemplo, «hospital». Entonces se usa el neologismo y el neologismo es tú le das un sentido al sujeto. Entonces—. Y de esa forma se hace la traducción. O por ejemplo Derecho Humano o siglas también. De repente hay que saber lo que significan las siglas para poder hacer la traducción, lo que quiere que el cliente quiere que se diga.

Selena: Sí, sí. ¿Y crees que hay palabras que sean intraducibles?

Sonia: Sí, por ejemplo, las palabras que—. ¿A ver cómo te puedo dar un ejemplo? Porque «universidad» ya se puede traducir, pero por ejemplo los nombres de las personas no se puede traducir. Los sustantivos propios no se pueden traducir, como nombre de las ciudades. No se pueden traducir.

Selena: Sí, exacto. Y además de los cambios estéticos, también hay cambios que el traductor puede hacer para combatir ciertos estereotipos, estereotipos discriminatorios o coloniales, sustituyéndolos, por ejemplo, por términos y conceptos mapuches. Hay nombres como «araucano» o «reducciones» y «pacificación». Y bueno, como traductor, ¿cómo te enfrentas a este tipo de términos y por qué?

Sonia: Lo que pasa, por ejemplo, araucano es como, el lugar araucano. Entonces uno va encontrando la raíz de esa palabra. Bueno, reducción es como decir «achicar». Entonces—. Y eso es lo que hizo la colonización cuando pasó con los pueblos originarios, los redujo. Entonces—. Y—. O sea, hay que saber cómo—. La historia de lo que pasa para poder darle el sentido a la traducción. Sí, entonces por eso te digo que es como un complemento de todos, para poderse llegar a ser un traductor. Personas se puede decir que yo como profesora, igual como maestra, entonces sé cómo tomar cada punto para llegar a ser una de las mejores traducciones. Y que el que lea pueda entender, el lector.

Selena: Sí, ya. Y las traducciones también pueden servir para enseñar a los de fuera más sobre la cultura mapuche. ¿Crees que es importante encontrar un punto medio entre la cultura chilena y la mapuche a través de la traducción?

Sonia: Yo creo que van muy muy de la mano, porque por ejemplo, gente de otro país lo primero que ve Chile no ve mapuche primero entonces. Y luego cuando ya encuentra esta palabra Chile y ve la ubicación y quiere saber más cosas, recién empieza a ver cuánto pueblo originario existen en Chile. Porque no es solamente el mapuche, son nueve pueblos que están reconocidos como oficial entonces, pero aun así hay más que no han sido reconocidos. Entonces yo creo que cuando llegan a esa parte y recién como que se interesan un poquito más.

Selena: Sí, sí. Y ¿intentas traducir al español de manera que los textos también enseñan algo sobre la cultura mapuche a los lectores?

Sonia: ¿Puedes volver a repetir la pregunta?

Selena: Sí, ¿intentas traducir al español de manera que los textos también enseñan algo sobre la cultura mapuche a los lectores?

Sonia: A ver. Pero si un texto, por ejemplo de historia. Si no hay nada que contenga sobre el pueblo originario y yo colocarle eso me dice que si una traducción no se puede hacer esto. No se puede hacer eso porque yo sería como traducirles lo que me piden, pero más agregar lo que yo quiero que el lector sepa no es lo que me están pidiendo. Entonces es difícil colocar algo de uno en una traducción. Al no ser que vaya por último mapuche ya la palabra mapuche o una palabra indígena o que ya ella no puede decirlo, se puede expresar un poquito, pero así como sutilmente.

Selena: Y ¿a veces dejas algunos conceptos sin traducir o los explicas en la traducción?

Sonia: Si es que no se puede traducir, sí. Cuando no se puede utilizar ni el neologismo, pero cuando sí se puede utilizar el neologismo se traduce con neologismo.

Selena: Sí, y por ejemplo, ¿cómo traduciría la palabra «huinca» al castellano?

Sonia: Lo que pasa es que—. Mira, la palabra wingka es como decir antes de que llegaran los españoles, vinieron los incas. El primer invasor fueron los incas y luego fueron los españoles. Entonces y yo cuando los mapuche vieron que vinieron otros invasores, pero que aún tenían más poder que los wingka porque venían con más armamento. Recién ahí dijeron los wingka, pero de wiña de la palabra, así como «arrastrar», como «quitar». Entonces él sería como peor que los incas, como la traducción literal de lo wingka. Hay una historia detrás de esa palabra.

Selena: Sí. Y ¿siempre se lo explicas?

Sonia: Siempre lo explico, entonces. Porque igual hay que ver que los incas también tuvieron su imperio acá en Chile. Entonces no fueron así como tan pasivos y ganaron territorio. Pero después, cuando llegaron los españoles, llegaron con más armamento que ellos y además arrastraron con muchas cosas, muchas partes y construyeron más ciudades. Entonces por eso que wingka no es ingka, wingka de «wiña», de «arrastrar», de «tomar», de «apoderar».

Selena: OK. Y bueno, en una entrevista sobre traducción, el autor y traductor, Elicura Chihuailaf, dice que considera que la traducción es una forma de diplomacia y cree que la tarea del traductor mapuche es principalmente poder llegar a la gente de la ciudad y hacer visible la cultura mapuche en ella. ¿Hay algún mensaje político en particular que intentes transmitir a través de tus traducciones? ¿Y qué son estos mensajes?

Sonia: Lo que pasa que, mira, tiene que pensar que quien es Elicura. Ya, entonces, él es un poeta que ha ido ganando territorio a medida de muchas cosas. El tiene un Premio Nacional de Literatura. Entonces, para llegar ahí, él ha pasado por muchas cosas. En cambio, yo soy traductora, no más. Entonces vemos las cosas de diferente forma, porque nuestra realidad es diferente. Nuestra forma de cómo llegar. Por ejemplo, Elicura Chihuailaf no es hablante nativo, él traduce y con el tiempo aprendió el mapudungun. Entonces tiene que ver dos—. Aquí hay dos—. Por ejemplo, yo no me puedo comparar con él porque yo soy hablante, pero también soy traductora. Pero él es poeta. Él todo lo que va a decir va a tener un doble sentido. Va a ser como un todo más, cómo te podría decir, como que podamos entender o ver, o transmitir lo que yo quiero transmitir. En cambio, yo hago la traducción diferente a él. Porque somos dos personas diferentes en dos formas de pensar diferente.

Selena: Sí, bueno. Además de aspectos técnicos como la gramática y el estilo, ¿cuál es para ti el objetivo más importante de traducir este par de idiomas?

Sonia: A ver la parte gramatical, lo que pasa es que hay que aprenderse la parte gramatical y porque tú sabes que la lengua mapuche no tiene gramática. O sea, tiene, pero no es—. Por ejemplo, que te podría decir que no—. No—. Fue nunca escrito, fue siempre oral. No hay una regla gramatical como en el castellano, que hay que respetar puntos y hay que respetar la coma, las diéresis. Todo eso, todo lo que implica en el castellano y en el mapudungun no existe eso. Entonces por eso es que también cuando tú llegas a traducir algún texto tienes que saber de todo, de todo esto, de las reglas gramaticales españolas o de la regla gramatical del idioma que tú vas a traducir. Por ejemplo, el inglés tiene una forma de traducir, el castellano

tiene una forma de traducir, pero el mapudungun tiene una forma de transcribir prácticamente, pero no hay una regla gramatical.

Selena: Bueno, además, en el presente todavía hay enfrentamientos entre el Estado chileno y las comunidades mapuches. ¿Cómo crees que la traducción puede contribuir al compromiso político? ¿No solo desde el lado de los mapuches, sino también de los chilenos?

Sonia: Yo creo que ahí hay un trabajo más de gobierno que de persona, porque no todas las comunidades tienen ese problema de Estado que se da a conocer afuera y no todas las regiones tampoco. Entonces, yo creo que aquí debe haber una voluntad por ambos lados. Primero conócela—. Que el gobierno chileno conozca la cosmovisión del pueblo en conflicto. Y después que el pueblo en conflicto tenga esa capacidad y esa voluntad de querer solucionar el problema con el Estado chileno. Porque son dos cosas diferentes. Uno es querer y el otro es poder.

Selena: Sí, sí. Bueno, gracias por las respuestas. Por último, me gustaría preguntarte si hay algo que quisieras compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor de mapudungun.

Sonia: ¿De algún trabajo?

Selena: Sobre el trabajo como traductora de mapudungun.

Sonia: Lo que me dirá cuando yo creo que uno como traductor de mapudungun o como profesora de mapudungun o como hablante, como mapuche, lo único que quiere es transmitir que hay una cultura chilena que está. Porque soy chileno, tiene varias, varias culturas, es una multiculturalidad. Mi cultura me gustaría que se conozca, se diera a conocer, entonces por eso yo igual siempre trato de apoyar a la persona que me pide y ver de qué forma yo puedo ayudar para que pueda contribuir y decirle que la cultura mapuche aún vive y tiene toda la herramienta para poder hacer todo lo que cualquier cultura hace. Entonces y que se sepa se hace y luego se puede dar a conocer afuera. [Soy] feliz porque—. Para que sepan que Chile no es solamente el que se habla el español, sino que se habla mapudungun, se habla el aymara, se habla el quechua, se habla el rapanui, se está recuperando muchas lenguas también como el kawésqar, los yaganes también están luchando por recuperar su lengua y su cultura. Entonces se puede hacer aporte para ello y enseñar a cómo traducir. Me hace feliz, he hecho trabajo con esos pueblos, entonces, por eso puedo decir que se puede y que un idioma vivo. Todas las culturas chilenas son una cultura viva y que como cualquier cultura, como cualquier idioma, sirve para lo mismo que para transmitir, para hablar, para darse a conocer y para dialogar.

Selena: Sí, sí. Bueno, esa fue la entrevista. Aquí está mi mamá.

Sandra: Hola, soy Sandra.

Sonia: Hola. Se quedó pegado. Sandra, mucho gusto, Sandra.

Sandra: Mucho gusto también. Mi hija está muy interesada en esto también porque mi papá—. Bueno, según él, él tenía una abuela mapuche. Él viene de—. Él nació en—. Cerca del lago Lanalhue. Es lo único que sé ya.

Sonia: Ya. Por Arauco.

Sandra: Exacto. Y vivió en muchos lugares. En Cañete, Lebu, Coronel fue el último lugar donde vivió antes de partir al norte, a trabajar a los 18 años. Y se quedó en el norte. Como muchos no que viajaban a buscar trabajo. Y al final terminó aquí en Holanda. Y volvió a Chile. Sí, él volvió a Chile. Yo me quedé. Y mis hijos nacieron aquí.

Sonia: Ya.

Sandra: Pero siempre han escuchado de la cultura mapuche. Bueno, lo que yo sé no—. Tampoco tanto no es. Y lamentablemente mi papá falleció hace diez años atrás, así que no hay mucho que preguntar. O sea, tengo un tío en Argentina que quizás pueda saber más. Voy a ver si nos podemos comunicar para que también algo, pueda contribuir a la tesis de Selena y como ella está en la portada en un idioma, se interesó en hacer esto. Pero a mí me gusta mucho también escuchar de que se interese por esto, ¿no?

Sonia: Sí. De todas maneras encuentro que cualquier aporte que uno pueda-

Sonia: [*conexión perdida*]

Sandra: Se quedó.

Sonia:... Pequeñita para poder dar a conocer quiénes somos. Yo soy orgullosa de ser mapuche, de poder enseñar, de poder transmitir lo que yo sé. Mis padres viven en una comunidad y yo donde todo el mundo habla el mapudungun, desde el más chiquitito hasta el más grande. En mi comunidad se vive como hace unos 100 años atrás, con los mapuche. Con un fogón ruka, y con animales. Yo tengo el privilegio vivir aún cómo vivían los mapuche antiguamente, o sea, en cuando voy donde ellos, porque yo vivo en Santiago.

Sandra: Sí, sí, sí. Bueno, yo también. Siempre como niña, mi papá siempre fue muy claro en su orgullo de tener raíces mapuche. ¿Qué al final, pienso yo, mucha gente lo tiene, aunque lo niegue, pero lo tiene en especial si viene de del Sur no? O de Santiago para trabajar. Pero él siempre fue muy claro en eso. Nunca tuvo vergüenza o algo por el estilo o, por lo contrario, entonces se le antojó también. Es lo que escucho hoy también hablamos con otra persona. Y también ella hablaba mucho de su orgullo y encuentro eso, lo encuentro bonito de escuchar lo que a pesar de todo la discriminación que todavía hoy mucha gente todavía se siente muy orgullosa.

Sonia: Sí, sí. Yo creo que depende mucho de la crianza también familiar que—. Por ejemplo, mis padres, cuando nosotros éramos chica, yo salí a estudiar a la ciudad a los seis años y donde me sacaron de mi comunidad que sabía hablar tres palabras en castellano. El «sí», el «no» y el «gracias». Ya, y también yo tuve mi problema de identidad, más que vergüenza de hablar el mapudungun. Porque hasta los seis años yo tenía un nombre que era Pünoylew y después el Registro Civil me pusieron—. Me colocaron Sonia María. Y entonces cuando los profesores pasaban lista decían Sonia María. Yo nunca dije «presente» porque yo no era. Entonces yo era Pünoylew y no era Sonia. Y yo creo que eso fue como mi—. El choque más grande que yo tuve culturalmente hacia lo que no es—. No es mapuche. Y después me fui acostumbrando, pero encontré que hablar de idioma era una herramienta, porque por ejemplo yo peleaba y yo retaba a mis compañeras todo en mapudungun y yo le decía cuando me dijeron una vez India. Y yo le dije y lo repetí. Yo le dije «Esta India, le entendiste lo que tú dijiste, entonces entendiste lo que te dijo. En cambio, yo entiendo lo que tú me dices, pero tú no, y tú eres una ignorante y yo no.» Y entonces después mis compañeras le costaba pelear

con nosotras porque no sabían lo que nosotros le podíamos contestar entonces. Y entonces fue así como «No, no hay que pelear con ella porque te pueden decir cualquier cosa.» Entonces y después escribíamos en mapudungun para poder ayudarnos en las pruebas. Y por eso lo fuimos como fortaleciendo y no disminuyendo. Entonces, y así fuimos y nunca perdimos el idioma. Somos nueve hermanos, de los nueve hermanos ninguno perdió el idioma y todos estudiamos en la ciudad. Fuimos a la universidad, y seguimos. Y nuestros hijos tampoco.

Sandra: Que bien porque también hay mucha juventud que no lo habla.

Sonia: No lo habla, no. De hecho, mi hija, por ejemplo, ella ya profesional, está trabajando en la Contraloría y es auditora, contadora, auditor. Y viaja porque trabaja en la parte de la XXXX. Entonces ella viaja y conoce otras culturas y me dice que no hay como la nuestra entonces. Y eso es como decir «¿Oye, hemos hecho bien el trabajo?» Sí, así que no, yo estoy feliz de enseñar. De hecho yo a mis alumnos les enseñé el mapudungun. Dialogamos por ejemplo con otro curso. Llegan, me dicen mari mari, kimeltuchefe, chumleymí. Y entonces yo le puedo contestar y así. Y ellos me traen palabras para traducirle y yo se lo hago con mucho gusto.

Sandra: ¿Las clases son en castellano o en mapudungun?

Sonia: Yo hago clases de—. Soy profesora de básica y enseñé lenguaje matemático, historia, ciencias naturales.

Sandra: Bueno, oficialmente no es parte del currículo?

Sonia: No.

Sandra: Pero usted lo hace.

Sonia: Sí.

Sandra: Sí, eso quizás se debería hacer más. ¿No? Que todos los niños también, los chilenos, digamos, también están familiarizados con el idioma, pienso yo. Quizás no necesiten hablarlo con fluidez, pero de todas maneras, reconocerlo ya. [Tienen que] saber que hay otro idioma que también se habla.

Sonia: Exacto. Entonces. Pero bueno, ahí hay un trabajo y yo creo que ahora con la nueva Constitución, se va a hacer—. Ir avanzando un poco más. Pero lo que como igual es un trabajo fuerte, es un trabajo duro. Y un trabajo que es muy pesado, porque aparte de nuestro trabajo tenemos que hacer el otro trabajo para poder enseñar en mapudungun. Y en los colegios estás como taller, entonces yo percibo el que quiere participar y el que no. Y eso es un trabajo muy grande.

Sandra: Bueno, ¿quién sabe? Ojalá en diez años más sea otra cosa, ¿no? Uno no sabe cómo va a ser el futuro.

Sonia: Sí, sí.

Sandra: Bueno, gracias por haber escuchado. Yo en estas conversaciones, estas entrevistas de mi hija he estado todo el rato escuchando, pero ella entiende casi todo. No habla mucho

castellano, pero lo entiende todo. Así que no se puede hablar tanto es el problema. Yo estoy cerca, pero la verdad es que he encontrado muy interesante toda esta entrevista.

Sonia: Sí. Y espero que le sirva cualquier cosa, me escribe.

Selena: Ya.

Sonia: Así que estamos en contacto. Cualquier cosa, cualquier duda o si hay una pregunta, cualquier cosa, tú me escribes.

Selena: Ya. Muchas gracias.

Sonia: Selena, Sandra, un gusto. Un abrazo.

Selena: Gracias.

Sonia: Ahí nos vemos. Chao.

B1.6 Víctor

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Fecha: 27 marzo 2022

Selena: Hola.

Víctor: Hola.

Selena: Yo soy Selena, mucho gusto de conocerte. Soy estudiante de la universidad de Leiden en los Países Bajos y actualmente estoy haciendo un magíster en traducción del par de lenguas inglés y holandés. Mi mamá está en la habitación para ayudarme cuando no puedo encontrar mis palabras. Como nací en los Países Bajos y no he hablado castellano desde la infancia, no domino el idioma. Pero no te preocupes, puedo entender casi todo lo que me dices, pero a veces me cuesta formar frases y todo eso. Por eso te pido que hables con calma y claridad, para que pueda seguirte más fácilmente.

Víctor: Sí, ningún problema.

Selena: Primero, me gustaría hablar rápidamente del formulario de consentimiento que he enviado hoy mismo. He marcado en amarilla las frases más importantes del documento. Lo más importante que quiero saber es, si te parece bien, que utilice tu propio nombre y apellido en mi tesis.

Víctor: Bueno, no hay problema en que aparezca no más.

Selena: Gracias, tu consentimiento y tus respuestas quedan grabados—. Grabados para que pueda recuperar la información cuando escriba mi tesis. Y mis profesores y yo somos los únicos que tenemos acceso a esta información. Y voy a borrarla al final. La realización de la tesis. Si estás de acuerdo con estas condiciones, podemos continuar con la entrevista.

Víctor: Claro, sí. De acuerdo.

Selena: Ya, vamos a empezar con la primera pregunta. ¿Qué tipos de textos has traducido?

Víctor: Textos poéticos de—. Poemas o poesía. Textos también de—. Artículos de, digamos—. No sé si [son] leyes, más artículos. Y textos, digamos, de diálogos de—. En ambos sentidos. [Un] diálogo de una entrevista de mapuzungun al español y de español al mapuzungun. Y canciones también. Traducción y adaptación, digamos, a la canción. Y el relato, narración, digamos, para museo.

Selena: Y por qué empezaste a traducir? Y traducir el mapudungun al castellano.

Víctor: Yo creo que hace como cinco años atrás. Lo busqué en redes sociales, primero por temas mapuches y había presencia de páginas destinadas al tema de la cultura mapuche y. Y de ahí que encontré unos dos a tres que eran de enseñanza, uno y otro de noticias de—. Pero no había temas en el idioma, éramos muy pocos y bueno, en ese tiempo yo veía muchas páginas de estas que son—. Que tienen frases, digamos, célebres, frases de amistad, de amor, de frases de—. Digamos, sea de distinto ámbito. Y yo lo que hice fue, dije lo que pensé que sería bueno que esto estuviese en mapuzungun, entonces yo tomé las imágenes. O a veces tomaba el texto y lo traducía por un tema de iniciativa mía, lo que se me ocurrió hacerlo. Y ahí empecé con el tema, digamos, de ir traduciendo. Después busqué en este caso poemas que son bien, digamos, conocidos acá en Chile, poemas como de—. Como poeta, como Pablo Neruda, como Gabriela Mistral. Y dije, esto también podría estar en Mapuzungun. Canciones que eran muy conocidas y tradicionales también. También lo empecé a trabajar, pero por iniciativa propia y otro porque existiera presencia, digamos, en eso. Y además, como yo soy profesor de primaria de básica, y si este material se puede utilizar, entonces en base a eso también. Y porque hubiera presencia del idioma en el Facebook, digamos, en este caso y en redes sociales sí. De ahí nace el tema, digamos, de traducir.

Selena: OK, claro. ¿Y cuánto tiempo llevas traduciendo este par de idiomas?

Víctor: Cinco, cálculo, sí. Es que no falla siete. Yo iría contando esto. Ahora, en base a esto y después me llegan, digamos trabajos de traducción. Y eso era, digamos, por hobby de alguna forma. Después también en el—. A traducir, digamos, temas, un poquito más pedagógicos, y más con sentido cultural. No temas tan, como decía, tan comunes, sino que más específicos. Y después, en base a eso, también empiezan a llegar ofertas de traducción, digamos, pero ya con remuneraciones. Y a todo esto, yo tampoco—. Yo sabía—. No tenía noción de cómo es el costo, cómo se cobra, cómo se trabaja, digamos, el tema de traducción. Y tenía un amigo que trabaja con nosotros, en Kimeltuwe que—. Que es su profesión, digamos, como de traductor. Y él trabajó en, digamos, en una agencia y estas cosas de traducción ahí, y más o menos me dio la indicación de cómo, cómo trabajar el tema de traducción. Y ahí han llegado temas que son distintos. Pero he hecho varios de temas también, incluso de—. Para el—. Traducciones en distintos testamentos que tiene este caso, el Estado en este caso. Como, por ejemplo, el XXXX y otro de la y otro de—. Ahora estuve trabajando con XXXX, algunas, digamos, artículos que quieren pasar al mapuzungun. Y de ahí ya nace el tema, digamos—. Después yo también mismo ofrecí mi trabajo, digamos, para esto. Por querer, digamos—. Por tener una entrada económica más de las pilladas en las sociedades, digamos, [pero] un poco económicas también.

Selena: Sí, sí, sí. Claro. Y ¿tienes origen mapuche?

Víctor: Sí, sí. Incluso, todavía vivo en zonas rurales. No vivo en la ciudad, vivo en el campo, sí.

Selena: Sí. Y ¿de qué parte de la región mapuche vienes?

Víctor: En Chile sería la novena región. La región de la Araucanía, de Temuco. Temuco, Santiago, la región del Bío-Bío son las que más abarcan población mapuche.

Selena: Sí, OK. Y ¿qué forma de mapudungun hablas?

Víctor: No, no. No, sé cómo el—. A qué se refiere «de qué forma», no—.

Selena: El dialecto de—. Por ejemplo, moluche, picunche, pehuenche...

Víctor: Bueno, la zona donde yo vivo se llama Huenteche, ¿ya? Que es una—. Más o menos, es una de las zonas que también mantiene todavía bastantes hablantes. Una de las zonas que uno escucha más—. Bastante, sobre todo a los adultos. Bueno, a todo esto, yo siempre lo menciono en este caso. No es un dialecto, es una variante.

Selena: Sí, sí, de acuerdo. Y ¿has hablado el idioma del niño o lo aprendiste después?

Víctor: No lo aprendí de niño, pero el tema acá es—. Hay un tema, digamos, de discriminación y auto discriminación por el hecho de no querer hablar porque la gente se ríe una, entonces—.

Selena: Sí, sí.

Víctor: Yo lo sabía, pero no lo hablaba. No vine a hablar—. Hablando hace como diez años atrás, recién, sabiéndolo. Eso fue más que nada.

Selena: Sí. ¿Y tú alguna vez te sentiste avergonzado por hablar en mapudungun?

Víctor: Sí, sí. Y no porque alguien me haya avergonzado, sino que es como que viniéramos con eso de—. Porque lo ve—. Uno lo ve en la otra persona, entonces, por lo menos que incluso es tanto que uno mismo se reía de la otra persona. Es una tontería que uno hace, pero lo hacían de joven.

Selena: Sí, OK. ¿Y crees que la lengua y la capacidad de hablarla juegan un papel importante en las comunidades mapuches? Y ¿por qué?

Víctor: Sí, porque sobre todo en las zonas donde se mantienen muchos temas culturales propios que son de la cultura mapuche, que se hacen en el idioma. No, no, uno, no—. Uno no lo—. Todavía no lo coincide que lo estén haciendo en otro idioma como el español. Es como—. Si estamos haciendo un «nguillatún» todos los ruegos, las oraciones, siempre hacemos en mapuzungun. Entonces, nadie se lo imagina que eso tenga que ser en español. Entonces, la necesidad lo es, que haya una machi, por ejemplo, no sepa mapuzungun—. No, no sé—. Es difícil de concebirlo. Entonces, hay ciertos actores dentro de la cultura mapuche, del pueblo mapuche, y hay ciertas ceremonias que no se puede conseguir con otro idioma que

no sea mapuzungun. Entonces, ahí es una de la importancia y uno de los, digamos, de la preocupación que—. Que la cantidad de hablantes, por ejemplo, que hay hoy en día en generaciones, digamos, de 30 años hacia abajo, es muy poco. Muy pocos que son—. Podríamos decir que son hablantes de alguna forma pasiva, saben, entienden, pero no lo hablan. Entonces, hay una población como de los cuarenta hacia arriba, que es todavía la planta. Pero eso va a envejecer en algún momento, entonces, ¿quién sigue?

Selena: Sí. Y crees que los—. ¿Crees que alguien solo es realmente mapuche cuando también habla la lengua?

Víctor: Para mí? Sí, porque yo me puedo vestir como un mapuche. Puedo hacer cosas como mapuche, pero esas cosas si lo hago en español, viene alguien que no es mapuche y lo hace—. ¿En qué radica la diferencia? Y en el caso nuestro, yo hablo de forma personal y como grupo que tenemos, como Kimeltuwe y todo esto, pensamos exactamente lo mismo. Que el idioma es como el medio, la importancia que tiene todo radica en el mapuzungun.

Selena: Sí.

Víctor: Por supuesto, que alguien pueda contradecirme y decir «no». Por ejemplo, hay gente que piensa «no, pues, los mapuche, aunque no sepas hablar igual, eres mapuche» Sí, yo creo que sí, pero la trascendencia que tiene el idioma lo hace distinto. O sea que una persona mapuche no sepa hablar su idioma, a mí me parece que es preocupante. No es que deje de ser mapuche, pero pierde su esencia como tal.

Selena: Sí, sí. OK. ¿Y de qué manera crees que la traducción puede contribuir al renacimiento de la lengua?

Víctor: Yo creo que uno por la escritura y la traducción, yo creo que fue un tema hoy día, sobre todo, porque tenemos mapuches que son lectores, ¿ya? Pero tampoco hay suficiente, digamos, mapuche lectores de mapuzungun, lectores en sí de español que tienen la capacidad y la idea de hacerlo. Pero, yo me he dado cuenta de que también—. Si no tienes suficiente conocimiento del idioma, tienes que—. Pierde un poco en la lectura de saber hacer la pausa cuando corresponde, la entonación de donde corresponde. Entonces, se nota mucho que es lector y no es hablante. Si es hablante y lector se nota al tiro porque sabe hacer la pausa, sabe donde resaltar, digamos, la voz, sabe porque—. Sabe cómo interpretar lo que está leyendo, no solamente leyendo. Entonces, creo que también faltan en formar un poquito lectores también, digamos, del idioma. Pero lo que sirve es para preservar, digamos, palabras, conceptos y conocimiento. Hoy en día es suficiente. Mucha gente plantea de que el mapuzungun es oral. Lo es, sí, lo es. Pero hoy día también tiene un rol supremamente importante la escritura. Porque ya somos lectores, entonces, no podemos olvidarnos de ella.

Selena: Hmhm. Y ¿piensas que traducir la literatura infantil, por ejemplo, podría contribuir a la fluidez y al compromiso de las generaciones más jóvenes mapuche?

Víctor: Sí, porque lo que pasa es que mientras más material para la enseñanza y aprendizaje del mapuzungun mejor. Sean estos, digamos, audiovisuales, sean estos solamente libro, texto, todo, todo lo que—. Sea necesario, y ayude, va a servir. Y sirve.

Selena: Ya. Sí. Un traductor [también] suele adaptar elementos del texto para que se traduzca mejor a la otra cultura. ¿Hay ciertas adaptaciones que haces cuando traduces?

Víctor: ¿Ciertas que perdón? No escuche-

Selena: Las—. Adaptaciones.

Víctor: Sí, sí. Lo que pasa es que el mapuzungun es muy rico en vocabulario, pero es un idioma, no sé qué tan antiguo. Entonces, hay muchos conceptos técnicos y conceptos nuevos que no tienen traducción en mapuzungun. Por mucho tiempo no se hizo—. No se creó neologismo. Entonces, hay ciertos textos que son más fáciles y más difíciles para el mapuzungun. Entonces, no es como traducir, creo yo, al inglés. Porque siento que la cantidad de vocabulario que tiene el inglés con lo que tiene el español son muy similares. No es así en el caso del mapuzungun. Entonces, uno tiene que leer, tiene que hacer el doble trabajo, incluso—. Triple trabajo, porque tiene que leer, interpretar, traducir y después escribirlo. Entonces es doblemente el trabajo, pero esas son las cosas que uno no suele hacer.

Selena: Sí. Y ¿hay otros conceptos o consideraciones mapuches que te resulten difíciles de traducir o quizás sean intraducibles?

Víctor: Sí, conceptos técnicos. Y a veces el tema es que en el mapuzungun a veces se hace un trabajo de—. No para traducir, es como que yo creé un texto—. Yo creo que también es un tema de desconocimiento de parte. Digamos, de la gente que no sabe del mapuzungun. Y además hay un tema a veces de—. Porque el Estado lo exige o alguien dice «Ya hagamos algo en mapuzungun, digamos. Podríamos incluso hacerle un guiño al mapuzungun», ¿no? Entonces, simplemente escribe un texto y dice «Bueno, traduzcamos este texto». Pero uno lee el texto y dice «yo no lo voy a traducir esto porque esto no es fácil de traducirlo». Distinto cuando alguien conoce el mapuzungun y dice «¿Sabes que? Pero este texto no se va a poder». «Entonces, hagámosle uno, si hacemos un resumen y bajemos el nivel, un poquito de tecnicidad que tenga el texto, hagámoslo más como—.» El otro día trabajamos y hacemos una reunión con lo que es para XXXX acá, el instituto XXXX. Entonces, les decía yo eso. Yo tuve un texto en español de los derechos humanos que viene con leyes, con artículos. Está hecho con base jurídica y una persona común [pensará] «¿Qué me están diciendo?». Y hacerles en mapuzungun [es] doblemente el trabajo. Entonces, tienen que—. No buscar textos tan rebuscados, que sea lo más simple posible. No buscar palabras rebuscadas. Entonces, ese es uno de los problemas que tiene. Entonces, cuando traducir al mapuzungun uno dice «Oiga, ¿pero esto se podrá en mapuzungun?» Entonces, debo averiguar cómo es el lenguaje, el vocabulario que tiene el mapuzungun. ¿Tiene suficiente vocabulario para ser traducido o tengo que cambiar ese texto? Porque a veces las personas no lo hacen y uno termina haciendo ese trabajo. Y eso es mucho trabajo. Y otro que es muy difícil traducir poemas. Por ejemplo, que usan los poemas—. La poesía usa muchos recursos literarios que en mapuzungun no funcionan o no se entienden. Porque no son—. Culturalmente, no tienen la misma forma de expresar ciertas cosas. Y también, el mapuzungun tiene mucha—. Por ejemplo, tienes recursos de comparación, pero hay otro tipo de recurso que no lo tiene. Entonces, cuando yo traduzco esto, yo tengo que interpretar porque no puedo decir tal cual lo que está diciendo [el texto]. Porque en mapuzungun uno no se lo va a entender. El mapuzungun suele ser muy literal. No, no, es de—. Digo, una frase poética no es de quiere decir, no sé, pues, un significado más connotativo, más que denotativo. Pero en mapuzungun no es tan así. Si bien tiene también, pero es distinto. Es distinta la forma de expresarlo. Entonces, a mí, yo me he encontrado los textos más difíciles de traducir son los poemas. Los poemas o poesía, en este caso. Todos los que son textos expresivos y los que son jurídicos. Porque no hay vocabulario para «tribunal», para decir «leyes», para esos tipos de conceptos técnicos no lo tienen.

Selena: Sí, de acuerdo. Además de los cambios estéticos, también hay cambios que el traductor puede hacer para combatir ciertos estereotipos discriminatorios o coloniales, sustituyéndolos. Por ejemplo, por términos y conceptos mapuches. Hay nombres como «araucano» de la época colonial, pero también «reducciones» y «pacificación». Y—. ¿Cómo traductor, cómo te enfrentas a este tipo de términos y por qué?

Víctor: Sí. Generalmente, cuando viene un texto así, yo lo cambio casi—. Si bien después lo menciono, por supuesto, pero yo hago la acotación inmediata. O sea, yo no le digo, por ejemplo, a la persona que van a hacer un trabajo, si decía «araucano»—. O decía, por ejemplo, «dialecto», «el dialecto de mapuzungun» yo lo cambio al tiro. O sea, si en el texto aparecía lo pongo, no sé, no voy a poner «araucano», [es] mapuche. Y con mayúscula porque es el nombre propio. Y si dice «dialecto», no, [pongo] idioma o lengua. Y después, cuando yo entrego el texto, le digo «acá decía esto» y lo hago al alcance. Supongamos que el concepto araucano no es un concepto, digamos, impuesto. Y además que ya está en desuso el concepto que corresponde. Pero yo generalmente no lo traduzco tal cual. O sea, yo hago hincapié inmediatamente en hacer ese cambio.

Selena: Sí, OK.

Víctor: Dame un minuto, me está llegando mucho sol. Voy a cambiar un poco para el lado de las—. Ahí, sí.

Selena: Las traducciones también pueden servir para enseñar a los de fuera de fuera más sobre la cultura mapuche. ¿Crees que es importante encontrar un punto medio entre la cultura chilena y la mapuche a través de la traducción y por qué?

Víctor: Yo creo que sí. Es que la traducción de mapuzungun hoy día sí sirve, porque hoy día tenemos mucho, digamos, mucho—. La comunicación hoy día se ha vuelto un poco más escrita que—. Como la que estamos haciendo nosotros, digamos, más presencial o auditiva. Entonces, si bien, digamos, los medios de hoy día como WhatsApp tienen, digamos, los Messenger. Tienen formas de enviar audios, pero generalmente lo que más se usan es el escrito, y de ahí el mapuzungun juega un rol importante. Pero las redes sociales en general, la mayoría—. La mayor parte son medios escritos. Entonces, ahora con él—. No sé si con—. Yo digo con el pueblo, con el general, digamos, más que [con] el pueblo chileno. Es este caso también, si fuese así, sería el pueblo argentino también. El pueblo mapuche tiene presencia, digamos, en el campo, en ambas naciones. Pero, sí, yo creo que todo sirve, todo ayuda.

Selena: Sí. Y ¿intentas traducir al español de manera que los textos también enseñan algo sobre la cultura mapuche a los lectores?

Víctor: Sí, por supuesto. Sí. Y a veces incluso en expresiones. En expresiones se notan claramente, por ejemplo, la forma de conjugar un verbo o la forma de decir ciertas palabras. Y a veces uno puede traducirlo, si tomo un diccionario, puede que lo traduzca y lo puede hacer, pero sería una traducción literal. Pero el mapuzungun a veces tiene cierto concepto propio para—. A esas acciones. Mencionas, por ejemplo, alguien dice «¿Cómo se dice?» voy a suponer, «Cortarse el pelo». Bueno, voy a buscar en el diccionario cómo se dice «cortar» [es] «katrün» y como se dice «pelo» [es] «kaļ». [Entonces] «katrün kaļ» [es] «cortarse el pelo». O «katrün longko» como cortarse el pelo de la cabeza. Tiene sentido, sí, pero el mapuzungun tiene un propio concepto que es «kupil» que hace referencia a cortarse el pelo. No es una traducción literal. Entonces, ahí uno recalca, hay una mención al tema cultural que no es la

forma de traducir. Tiene un concepto propio para ciertas acciones. Y el mapuzungun en ese aspecto es muy rico en lenguaje. En ciertas acciones, a ciertos verbos, tiene su propio concepto y hay conceptos que no son—. ¿Como decir? Que es muy específico una cosa para otra. Por ejemplo, en el español, y no sé si en otro idioma lo sea, los abuelos, todos—. O sea, todos tenemos de alguna forma por un tema genealógico. Tenemos cuatro abuelos que son los paternos y los maternos. Para el mapuzungun, cada abuelo tiene un concepto, una palabra. Mi abuelo paterno tiene un concepto para sí es materno, otro si es abuela materna y paterna otra. Entonces, tengo cuatro conceptos distintos, pero en el español es «abuelo» no más. Entonces, después recalco si es materno o paterno. En el mapuzungun quede el hecho de que diga el concepto, todos sabemos que está referido al abuelo paterno. Entonces, ahí, en ese aspecto, son muy—. Tiene mucha riqueza, digamos, lingüística. Y ahí uno resalta que la cultura es distinta en ese aspecto. Por ejemplo, en el aspecto lingüístico. Ahí hay otras cosas culturales propias que todavía, por ejemplo, lo están.

Selena: Sí. ¿A veces dejas algunos conceptos sin traducir o siempre los explicas?

Víctor: Sí, no, sí. Y eso con concordancia y ponernos de acuerdo con la persona que está pidiendo trabajo. Y además, para ciertos conceptos se tienen que crear neologismos. Y eso en esos neologismos ya tienen que tener un cierto recorrido la persona, que la persona lo ve y dice «Ya, sí, yo sé que es eso». Pero si yo creo solo un concepto, alguien dice «¿Pero qué será esto?». Entonces, tiene que tener un cierto bagaje, ese concepto que se creó para que la gente lo logre. Entonces ahí ya hay otro que simplemente no se puede traducir. No es un concepto, hay muchos conceptos muy difíciles de traducir que uno puede buscar, pero es muy trabajoso en traducir. Y en esto—. Bueno, no sé si está dentro de su pregunta, pero y en esto juegan importante las academias. Que hoy día no existe una academia que se encargue, por ejemplo, de crear neologismos y se dé a conocer y la gente—. Y se evalúe este concepto [como] «no, este concepto no sirve porque no está interpretando lo que realmente es». Y hay un trabajo de buscar, no sé pues, la función que cumple el concepto que quiero crear un neologismo. Y buscarle la raíz para poder decir cómo yo puedo traducir, como puedo crear una palabra no en base a lo que funciona la palabra que quiero hacer. Entonces, eso. Hay muchos, que no—. Cuando son muy técnicos, no se puede traducir.

Selena: Sí, y ¿cómo traduces, por ejemplo, «huinca» al castellano?

Víctor: Con «wingka» hay varias hipótesis en el avalar. Yo simplemente lo traduzco con «aquellos que no es propio de la cultura mapuche». Tan simple como que algo no es propio. Ahora mucha gente le ha buscado varios significados, digamos, lingüísticos. Y uno que es el de «ingka», que no tiene mucha aceptación. El «ingka» porque si bien los mapuche han tenido contacto primero con los Incas y después llegan a esto otro, que son—. Son y no son, entonces estos son los nuevos ingka, los nuevos Incas. Pero entre «ingka» y «wingka» hay una—. Difícilmente la gente mapuche se haya equivocado mucho en pasar una vocal. Es muy complejo, y en general la aceptación me parece que no es mucho. Y el otro, me parece que es el «wingkūn» como el—. Aquel que—. Me parece que tiene que ver un poco con «usurpar», con «robar», con sacar cosas que no les pertenecen de alguna forma. Y ahí vendría como el wingka. Pero son búsquedas lingüísticas que se le ha querido dar, digamos, al concepto en sí. Yo en ese caso no voy a mucho al tema lingüístico, simplemente digo wingka es todo aquel no es propio de la cultura mapuche. Sea conocimiento, sea la persona, sea el alimento, todo lo que no es propio es simplemente no—. Es wingka.

Selena: OK, claro. En una entrevista sobre traducción, el autor y traductor, Elicura Chihuailaf, dice que considera que la traducción es una forma de diplomacia y cree que la tarea del traductor mapuche es principalmente poder llegar a la gente de la ciudad y hacer visible la cultura de ella. ¿Hay algún mensaje político en particular que intentes transmitir a través de tus traducciones?

Víctor: El hecho que hago una traducción del español-mapuzungun, mapuzungun-español, me parece que primero es una acción política de ir contra de aquellos que dicen que no, y eso es porque—. Generalmente, se dan traducciones, digamos, del español al mapuzungun. Y por supuesto que todo netamente es una—. Yo lo considero una acción—. No sé, una acción política en sí. Mostrar que se puede, que el mapuzungun tiene presencia. Que—. Darle espacio, hay hartas cosas dentro de hacer el ejercicio de traducir. Y hacer—. Y en cierta medida también acercar a la gente no mapuche a que hay cosas—. Y lo que pasa es que por ejemplo acá en Chile y en Argentina me parece que pasa lo mismo, hay cierto, digamos, preconcepción. Hay cierto racismo y hay cierto estereotipo. Hay muchas cosas en relación, pero en general hay un desconocimiento del tema del mapuzungun y eso tiene que ver por un tema netamente político del gobierno. El Estado se ha preocupado de crear, digamos, acciones políticas en favor del mapuzungun o de la lengua originaria. Para ellos no es relevante. Entonces, hay una educación colonialista. ¿El mapuzungun? No. Ya incluso un concepto como la historia que ya se hablaba, ya nadie lo habla. Y siempre deminorizarlo. ¿Para qué vamos a poner el letrero si nadie sabe? Entonces, ¿para qué nos sirve? Para nada. Entonces ahí hay ciertas cosas que se desconocen. Pero, por ejemplo, tanto el trabajo de traducción que hacemos en particular y que se ve en Kimeltuwe también es mostrar la otra cara. Y con el mapuzungun yo también puedo traducir cosas como puedo traducir una canción, puedo si es posible un reggaetón, puedo traducir una cumbia, puedo traducir un chiste. Puedo traducir muchas cosas y ahí uno muestra que el mapuzungun sí tiene vigencia, y además de tener vigencia, también tiene su—. Tiene versatilidad, se puede mover en muchos ámbitos y eso es mostrarle a la gente de alguna forma, viene haciendo para nosotros una reeducación. Porque tampoco la gente tiene la culpa. O sea, acá hay un sistema educativo al que todos vamos. Y se ha hecho, digamos, todo un programa, un currículo que dice «esto es lo que hay que enseñar», y uno aprende eso. Si a mí me enseñaron eso, yo no tengo «la culpa», entre comillas también de que me hayan enseñado eso. ¿Entonces el Estado no tiene una acción colonialista, que todos los idiomas digamos que son de pueblos originarios? No, no le da ninguna relevancia y la gente por lo mismo desconoce esto.

Selena: Sí, también quería decir eso. Que aparte de los aspectos técnicos de traducción, hay traductores como Elicura Chihuailaf que dicen que sus intereses son borrar la huella que la colonización y la asimilación han dejado en la comunidad mapuche, además de aspectos técnicos como la gramática y todo eso. ¿Cuál es para ti el objetivo más importante de traducir este par de idiomas?

Víctor: Yo creo que es mostrar la vigencia del mapuzungun. Y la vigencia tanto oral como escrito. Porque generalmente [se cree], «No, el mapuzungun no se escribe». También es una idea preconcebida. Pero una de las cosas es mostrar la vigencia, digamos, del mapuzungun y que se puede hacer varias cosas en distintos ámbitos en lo que uno pueda pensar. Pero en eso podríamos definir de alguna forma el fin último si quisiéramos decirlo.

Selena: Sí. Además, en el presente todavía hay enfrentamientos entre el Estado chileno y las comunidades mapuches. ¿Cómo crees que la traducción puede contribuir al compromiso

político en torno a esta injusticia? ¿Y no solo desde el lado de los mapuches, sino también de los chilenos?

Víctor: Yo creo que, como adelante dije, todo ayuda. Pero no basta con traducir. Yo puedo estar traduciendo todo lo que quiera, pero si no, no he formado lectores. No sirve de nada. Si alguien toma un libro en mapuzungun, me dice, «no lo voy a leer porque no sé». Y ahí también el Estado juega un rol importante en el tema de crear un espacio para la enseñanza del mapuzungun, enseñanza y aprendizaje, independiente de cómo sean escritas, sean orales. Pero si yo no formo lectores, no formo hablantes, de nada me sirve esta traducción. Entonces, creo que ambos deben ir al mismo nivel. Yo creo incluso más importante que la gente aprenda. Si no sabe mapuzungun, no va a prestar ningún interés en un texto que esté traducido. Y además que el texto más encima si trae columna en español y mapuzungun, menos porque no sabe si va a poder leer la columna en español, no la en mapuzungun. Entonces eso también es muy importante, que el orden en que estén, digamos, las traducciones. Si no pongo mapuzungun primero y lo pongo secundario, sigue relegando al idioma dominante como el español.

Selena: Y ¿crees que hay una forma de traducir y transmitir el trauma y el dolor de la injusticia y la discriminación del pueblo mapuche a los extranjeros, los chilenos?

Víctor: Sí, sí. Claro que sí. Hoy día, si bien la comunicación es escrita más que audiovisual, es una de las estrategias de visibilizar la lucha. De visibilizar, digamos, historia, despojo—. Y hoy día, existe mucha literatura mapuche. El tema es que existe la literatura mapuche en español y me parece que tampoco hay un incluso de lo mismo. Escritores mapuche, si bien no son conocedores de la lengua, pero tampoco hay una—. No hay una—. Importancia de querer traducirlo si sabe que yo voy a buscar un traductor, que lo que yo dije en el texto me lo hagan—. Me lo traduzcan en mapuzungun. No, tampoco hay un poco de conciencia en este aspecto. Seguimos sacando textos buenos, por supuesto, pero en español. Entonces, creo que ahí falta un poquito—. En los escritores mapuche, me parece, que hace falta un poquito de sensibilizar.

Selena: Claro. Bueno, gracias por las respuestas. Y por último, me gustaría preguntarte si hay algo que quisieras compartir sobre el trabajo como traductor de mapudungun.

Víctor: Sí, sí. Es una de las cosas que no está dentro de la pregunta y me parece que para mí es súper relevante. Y eso en base que me imagino que no sé cuánto—. Porque yo vi sus publicaciones también en el grupo de mapuzungun y le pregunto—. Yo no sé si usted encontró más personas de—. Para la entrevista.

Selena: Cuatro personas en total, pero no fue muy fácil.

Víctor: Ya, ya. Eso lo menciono porque el trabajo de traducción digamos—. Yo no soy muy—. Me interesa el tema, pero no me ha hecho, digamos, por tiempo. No me he hecho el trabajo suficiente de buscar más—. ¿Cómo puede decir? Más antecedentes sobre esto. Pero me parece que el tema de traducción está muy al debe en el tema mapuche y eso es por varias razones. Uno, porque no es rentable, de alguna forma. No hay trabajo suficiente. No es que todos los días estén necesitando traducciones porque no hay interés en traducción de mapuzungun. Y generalmente son instituciones o del Estado, instituciones, digamos, que son pro el tema mapuche, o persona pro el tema mapuche que dice «Ya mira, yo voy a desembolsar una cierta cantidad de dinero para que esto vaya—.» [Y] se traduzca el

mapuzungun. Porque me parece que también va un poco tema de recursos. El Estado lo tiene entonces a veces por un tema, digamos de «ya, pero hagamos algo por el tema mapuche lo traduce para darle más valor a su trabajo y todo», pero no existe, y, por lo tanto, no existe. Por eso yo le preguntaba, es difícil encontrar—. El tema de encontrar traductores porque no hay una carrera traducción, no hay ni carrera técnica, ni profesional de traductores mapuche porque el campo laboral no lo permite. No hay interés. Yo sé que ahí podría seguir, después le doy el dato, si quiere saber cómo funciona un poco el tema. Yo sé que hay una universidad que está sacando una carrera técnica en Viña del Mar. Y esto en base a la nueva Constitución que están acá, donde se planteó el tema de tener traductores. Pero no sé si son traductores o intérpretes de lo que establece, porque no es la misma labor. Si bien hay un tema en común dentro, pero me parece que lo que ellos están trabajando es más que—. Más intérpretes que traductores. Pero hay una carrera técnica recién y por lo mismo—. Y además una carrera técnica fue destinada para personas de ese sector, no más. Por ejemplo, yo quise inscribirme porque yo llevo poco [tiempo] en esto y ni me interesa. Yo conozco personas que llevan más tiempo trabajando y que han hecho traducciones. Por ejemplo, yo no sé si a usted por ahí lo contactaron, si no yo puedo dar datos de don Rosendo Huisca. Rosendo Huisca tradujo incluso el trabajo bastante conectado con temas para el Estado, para el—. Para otros temas, incluso él tradujo el Windows XP en mapuzungun. Es algo súper complejo por los conceptos que trae, pero lo hizo. Y si bien esto—. No cundió esto porque aparecieron personas mapuche que dicen «No, nosotros no queremos esto que se está vendiendo». Hay un mal concepto de la gente mapuche que por el hecho de traducir, «Ahora los wingka van a saber más que yo». Eso para mí es una tontería. Entonces ese trabajo se quedó ahí, se perdió. Hay una aplicación que lo puede hacer. Él, yo sé que él ha trabajado en otra traducción de—. Sobre este texto. Y lo otra que después de la—. Hay una lamngen que se llama XXXX, que ella hizo un trabajo con el tema de traducción, como traducen ciertos conceptos. Y ella también puede tener un banco digamos, de personas que ella encontró como traductores. Pero no hay una persona que esté dedicada al 100% a traducciones porque no es—. No hay suficiente—. No es un trabajo rentable. Tampoco existe una regulación con el tema de traducción, digamos, tanto en tarifas o en forma de trabajar, en concepto por ejemplo. En mi caso, por ejemplo, yo generalmente cuando son textos de técnico o a veces judiciales—. Por ejemplo. Hay un—. La misma lamngen que le menciono. Bueno, lamngen se usa entre hermanas, siempre acá nos referimos así. Ella hizo una especie de corpus con conceptos de traducción de temas, digamos, con juicio, con temas tribunales. Entonces, cómo hizo un corpus, entonces yo busco la palabra. Voy a poner «abogado». Entonces busco la palabra—. Escribo la palabra en el buscador, «abogado», y me aparecen cuatro palabras con fuerzas distintas. O incluso me parece ¿quién es el traductor? Entonces, yo puedo hacer una comparación [de] cómo tradujeron este concepto que es, entre comillas, un «neologismo». Cómo una persona tradujo de una forma y como otra persona tradujo con otra forma y como otra persona tradujo y si coincidieron o no coincidieron en la traducción. Y me parece que a veces los traductores, por eso yo desconozco un poco cómo funciona, a veces hay—. Lo que yo hago en mi caso, yo busco esos conceptos, entonces, hay conceptos que ya alguien tradujo. Entonces, yo no busco una traducción nueva a menos que me parezca que la traducción no es tan buena o el neologismo no es tan bueno. Entonces, si no encuentro yo a partir de eso, puedo crear uno que me parezca que según yo, me parece más correcto que el traduje. Pero generalmente acudo a otros conceptos que ya se tradujeron para no crear algo nuevo. Pero en eso tampoco hay una regulación. No es que alguien diga, se juntaron un día, no sé, pues, una academia, una agencia, [y] dije «creemos estas palabras y esta es la que vamos a usar siempre». Yo, hasta el tiempo del año pasado, busqué en redes sociales. Hice un llamado a toda la gente que quiera traducir. «¿Por qué no nos juntamos y veamos esto? Veamos el tema, cuánto cobras tú, cuánto cobro yo.» Y ahí también hay un tema donde nadie quiere decir cuánto cobra por el hecho de,

no sé, «Tú eres caro [o] tú eres muy barato». Pero yo mismo incluso me he dado el tiempo de decirlo, porque yo sé que hay un desconocimiento de personas que no saben cómo se cobra una traducción. Es como que alguien me diga cuánto—. «Mira, yo tengo una traducción de una—. Tengo una página, te pagó 10.000 \$ por página», dice la persona. «10.000 \$, lo hago en un ratito». Pero quizás se demoró dos horas, entonces quizá la letra no sea tamaño diez y todo justificado. Entonces, no, las palabras en el mapuzungun se cobran por palabra, igual que en el inglés. Incluso más caro que el inglés, porque yo y otras personas que yo conozco, están cobrando, por ejemplo, yo cobro 80 \$ por palabra dependiendo el texto. Si el texto es muy complicado la suma un valor más. Y otro, «¿pero cómo? Si el inglés vale 50 \$». Pero el inglés, cualquier persona [lo hace]. Si digo «¿Quién quiere traducir el inglés?» Van a aparecer veinte [personas]. «¿Quién traduce el mapuzungun?» Nadie pues. Tengo que rebuscar. No hay las suficientes personas para traducir. Y no es—. No hay un trabajo, no hay una agencia [que dice] «ellos son traductores». No, entonces, el tema de traducción es muy nuevo. Pero me parece que ahora, según lo que puedo percibir yo con la nueva Constitución, se va a necesitar más trabajo, digamos, por el hecho de que, al menos, el hecho de que haya un reconocimiento constitucional de la existencia del pueblo mapuche. Y de otro, por supuesto, va a haber una exigencia, digamos, y el Estado se va a ver la obligación de lo que ellos saquen, al menos digamos tanto en audio o escrito en mapuzungun. Entonces, se va a requerir más eso, pero no hay un trabajo, digamos, regulado. No es que yo diga, oiga, [¿para quién trabaja?] no, mira, hay una agencia donde trabajo. No lo hay, no hay. Los traductores generalmente trabajamos en forma individual, particular, no más. Yo trabajo, y yo conozco a algunas otras personas que hacen traducción. Conozco al menos dos, pero son tres personas que yo sé que hacen traducciones si quiere después le doy los datos. Si, que, no están dentro de sus nombres, le pueden dar más antecedentes y—. Pero trabajamos así. Yo le he dicho incluso que nos juntemos con dos o tres de ellos. Nos juntamos una vez que hicimos un trabajo, pero después no seguimos y de al menos serviré. Partamos por los textos como literario, que son los que más piden. Veamos como, no sé pues, unámonos en ciertos conceptos. «¿Cómo decimos resumen, como decimos título? ¿Cómo decimos portada, cómo decimos capítulos?» «Entonces a mí me da—. Si tú cobras \$ 80, yo cobro \$ 50. Bueno, yo, mi trabajo lo hago por \$ 50, si tú lo haces por \$ 80, bien por ti.» Y ahí también va un tema de yo sé que a veces el aquí, no sé si me estoy alargando, pero, el quién manda hacer trabajo, voy a tener dos personas. Puedo hacerlo yo, Víctor Carilaf, me cobra 60 \$. Si dejo hacerlo a Rosendo Huisca me cobra \$100 pesos. Me voy acá pues, por 60 \$ me sale más barato. Y detrás de eso también tiene que haber un—. Y eso lo da por supuesto en los trabajos y lo das los años también. Hay una cuestión, un asunto de reputación. Mira, Carilaf me cobra 60 \$, Don Rosendo me cobra 100 \$. Pero yo veo el trabajo de Rosendo y se nota que es un trabajo serio. Tiene años trabajando en esto, sabe cómo funciona esto. Esta me cobra 60 \$, pero yo veo la traducción y le muestro a otro peñi que sabe mapuzungun y me dice «Oiga, ¿quién te tradujo esto?» Entonces, sí viene uno es más barato y otro más caro. Pero así también la calidad que me entrega es distinta a la que me entrega acá. ¿Entonces, me parece que—. ¿Por qué no hay esto? Porque el campo que hay detrás de la traducción de mapuzungun es muy poca. Si bien se ha hecho trabajo de traducción desde mucho tiempo atrás. Pero no hay una—. Alguien que—. Una agencia, un—. Y la gente también, el tema de los mapuche en este aspecto [es que] son muy—. Cuando hay dinero por detrás, son como, muy—. No sé pues. No soy muy cercano a decir «Yo cobro tanto». Yo no tengo problema, y si yo cobro 80 \$ eso es lo que vale mi trabajo. Si hay alguien que es mejor, o cobra más. Bueno, pues, la gente que le manda hacer el trabajo va a decir. Yo le pago más porque él sí hace un buen trabajo. Me parece y corresponde. Pero todo eso es un tema de desconocimiento. La gente no sabe siquiera cobrar. ¿Cuánto tengo que cobrar por una buena traducción? Es tan así, digamos el—. Lo que está digamos en la traducción del mapuzungun.

Selena: Sí, claro.

Víctor: Eso es todo. Eso es lo que vamos a hacer.

Selena: Sí, muchas gracias. Y mi mamá-

Sandra: Te gustaría tener los datos, ¿no?

Selena: Sí, sí, sí. Me gustaría tener los datos y-

Sandra: Solo quiero decir que fue muy interesante. Yo soy Sandra, la mamá.

Víctor: Sí, yo creo que usted habla español y se nota porque-

Sandra: Yo sí hablo español, sí. Pero mis niños no. Bueno, nacieron aquí y yo hablo holandés también muy bien. Porque ya vivo aquí, bueno, casi toda mi vida. Casi toda mi vida. Así que fue con esto de la escuela y el trabajo. Yo hablo en realidad diariamente, más holandés que castellano, así que para mí también era más fácil hablarle a ellos en holandés, lo que no fue tan bueno porque no hablan también español, pero bueno, ella se las arregla. Todas estas preguntas, ella también las formuló y no me pidió ayuda. Lo hizo todo sola, pero con este tema que ella tiene he escuchado unas cuantas entrevistas muy interesantes, igual está todas distintas creo, pero todo es muy interesante. Y justamente esto estábamos conversando ayer u hoy. De que no hay muchos traductores. Es difícil. Selena me decía hoy de que si no encuentra más personas, le va a preguntar a las personas que ahora entrevistó. Sí que tienen datos de otras personas porque en realidad es difícil encontrar.

Víctor: Sí, y además es que cuando hablamos—. Yo, incluso, yo he hecho, digamos, un vario trabajo. Por supuesto, en comparación a otra persona, me parece un poco. Hartos textos y libros, digamos no largo. Porque para mí por tiempo yo soy profesor y no me da el tiempo para estar trabajando como para usted es suficiente porque es muy largo y al final gastó tiempo y económicamente es algo más que ganas. Tampoco no me voy a enriquecer con eso porque no, no lo es. Pero es una entrada de más que uno tiene y—. Pero no es lo mismo haber traducido varios textos porque yo puedo decir, «¿alguien es traductor?» Yo puedo decir, «¡sí, yo!» «¿Y cuánto ha traducido?» «Bueno, traduje dos textos, he traducido un libro y un poema.» Bueno, hice dos traducciones no más, pues. Creo que tiene que ver un poco con eso. O sea, tiene que ver cuántas veces yo traduje porque puedo decir alguien hizo una traducción o a veces alguien me puede traducir un texto que si uno lo ve en grupo de Facebook y alguien puede traducirlo no tiene problema, pero eso no lo hace. Creo que una persona traductora tiene que tener un cierto texto o haber traducido cierto año, haber traducido para decir-

Sandra: El trayecto de-

Víctor: Sí, hay gente que tradujo un, dos, tres veces y después nunca más se dedicó a eso, hizo otra cosa. Por eso digo que no hay una carrera, no hay una independencia técnica universitaria. No lo hay. En adelante yo creo que va a haber menos, porque trabajo mucho más difícil el ser intérprete. Por la cantidad, digamos, de vocabulario que tiene el mapuzungun que lo que tiene el español. Eso es instantáneo en el momento y-

Sandra: No, es difícil.

Víctor: Hay que tener habilidades comunicativas, hay otras cosas que se necesitan.

Sandra: Y de eso nos enteramos ayer, de que realmente no existe una carrera para esto, que toda la gente que lo hace porque ellos mismos se-

Víctor: Sí, sí.

Sandra: Ya. ¿Y usted vive donde? ¿Está cerca de Temuco, no?

Víctor: Sí, pero hoy día en otro lugar. Vengo de visita a otro lugar y—. A ver si puedo dar una vuelta con esto. No sé dónde se da una vuelta acá. A ver.

Sandra: Se fue. Ahí está. ¡Qué hermoso! ¿Dónde es?

Víctor: En Panguipulli.

Sandra: Sí, me suena, pero nunca he estado por esos lados.

Víctor: El sur un poquito. O sea, un poco más al sur, desde Temuco.

Sandra: Más al sur. Yo viajé hasta Temuco, pero no más allá, no.

Víctor: Ya, sí. Pero ahora vivo bien en Temuco, pero no en la ciudad, sino en el campo.

Sandra: ¿Y ahora está llegando el otoño allá?

Víctor: Sí.

Sandra: Y como está el tiempo? ¿Incluso en el sur todavía así?

Víctor: Sí, sí. Yo vi un poco. Pero ahora está bonito. Ahí está agradable.

Sandra: Ya. Porque yo conozco más que nada la parte. Bueno, mi papá viene de bueno—. Vivió en Coronel, en Cañete, de esos lados venía él. Sí, por eso que viajé también al sur a conocer esos lados. Pero me parece muy hermoso. Algún día voy a ir con los niños. Con mi hijo y mi hija.

Víctor: Andando por acá, a ver si podemos mantener el contacto.

Sandra: Sí, mira, ahí tenemos un contacto, así que-

Víctor: Sí, sí.

Sandra: Muchas gracias.

Víctor: Ya, mire, yo por el mismo WhatsApp le envío los nombres. Voy a hablar con las personas si es que pueden algunos porque uno no le podía llamar. A ver si me autorizaba el nombre o si no se los doy. Le dice que va de parte mía, que era el tema de traducción y no creo que tenga mayor dificultad.

Selena: Sí, muchas gracias.

Víctor: Ya, entonces, chau.

Selena: Chau.

B2 – Interview Transcriptions in English

*These interviews took place before having done a background check on my grandfather's ancestry and thus may contain inconsistencies. Furthermore, I realized after having conducted all the interviews that I had used the term *renacimiento* which can be translated as revival. I intended to use a word that meant revitalization (*revitalización* in Spanish) and do not believe *renacimiento* was the correct term to use.

B2.1 Claudia

File: entrevistaconclaudia.m4a

Duration: 42:59

Date: 25 March 2022

Selena: Hello, can you hear me?

Claudia: Hi, yes.

Selena: I'm Selena, nice to meet you. First I'd like to ask if you would like me to address you formally or informally?

Claudia: You can use informal speech.

Selena: OK. Well, first of all, I'd like to quickly talk about the consent form that I sent you earlier today. I've marked in yellow the most important sentences in the document. The most important thing I want to know is if you are okay with me using your own first and last name in my thesis. If you don't want it, your name will not be mentioned anywhere, and I will use a pseudonym.

Claudia: Yes, agreed.

Selena: Okay. Okay. Let's start with the first question. What kind of texts have you translated?

Claudia: In general, or only in Mapudungun?

Selena: In Mapudungun, yes, yes.

Claudia: OK. Texts about literature. Mainly children's stories. And also texts that have to do with certain regulations that relate to the Mapuche people. Yes, with certain regulations. Texts that come from international organizations like XXXX, XXXX, those types of texts, so to speak.

Selena: Sure. And [also] poems, books, or—.

Claudia: Yes, also, yes, yes, on more than one occasion. Not poems, because those are more complicated [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*]

Claudia: No, but texts like stories or books.

Selena: OK. Okay. So the next question [is] why did you start translating? In general.

Claudia: In general? Well, I studied translation at the University of Santiago de Chile. English-Portuguese translation. I like languages, above all. That's why I decided to study. And then years later, I did a master's degree in Spanish language at the University of Chile. And there I began to learn Mapudungun, I took a Mapudungun elective. And of course, I found it interesting, I became more interested in it.

Selena: Hmhm. And—. Well, why did you start translating Mapudungun-Spanish?

Claudia: Well, for practical matters, actually. So that I don't forget, I have to keep using it. And because they started to—. Here in Chile there are few people who do it, so I started to receive requests to translate and that's where it began. Because, as I said, there are few people who do this.

Selena: Yes, yes. Okay. Do you have Mapuche origins?

Claudia: Of course, yes. No—. The thing is that, of course, [as] Chileans we have origins—. Not clearly, so to speak, that it's evident in my surname, but there must be some link there. Of course, it's not obvious as it is for other people who have Mapuche surnames, but something must be mixed in there.

Selena: Hmhm. And what form of Mapudungun do you speak? For example, Moluche Picunche, Pehuenche—.

Claudia: Yes, I always forget the name because there are two of them. Sungun, I think that's what they call it. If you want, I can confirm in a moment, because it has a name that people always ask me about, and I always forget it. If you want, we can continue, or I can look it up.

Selena: Yes-

Claudia: Shall I look for it? I won't be long, I have it. I have it written down here and—. In my e-mail. Of course, when translating, they ask you what-.

Selena: Yes, of course.

Claudia: That's not it. Let me look here. It's just that my computer is very slow...

Selena: [*laughs*]

Claudia:... But, we can—. And what are you—. What are you studying?

Selena: Translation-

Claudia: I think you wrote it. English translation?

Selena: [Yes] English and Dutch. And my thesis is about Mapudungun-Spanish translation. I think it's very crucial to know more about the importance of translation.

Claudia: Of course. So you are a translator?

Selena: [laughs] Yes, to some extent.

Claudia: But do you translate or do you do other things?

Selena: The thing is that I haven't finished my studies and-

Claudia: Ah, OK.

Selena: [I am] working as an intern at a translation agency.

Claudia: Ah, OK. I use the grapheme *azümchefe*. Because they are divided into graphemes, there are two, and I [translate] *azümchefe*. I always forget the name.

Selena: Okay. Well, do you think that language and the ability to speak it play an important role in Mapuche communities and why?

Claudia: Yes, of course. I mean, in Chile, I do not know if—. I am going to talk a little bit about politics, but—. This is also related to the language. Currently, we are dealing with the issue of recognition of the Mapuche people. And they are very vigilant about their language. By that, I mean that they take great care of it and protect it, etc. Because, of course, the language reflects their culture and their thinking.

Selena: Yes, yes. And their identity.

Claudia: Yes, and their identity. So, that is why they are protecting it. Or they are trying to create political mechanisms through laws to protect the language. Because there are also fewer and fewer speakers, so—. Because, of course, I was told some time ago that only the elders—. The older people know the language, the young people, as they mainly live in the south and in the south there are not many places where they can study, they come to Santiago, so they lose [the ability to speak the language]. And I also remember now that they once commented that they feel discriminated against when they speak their language. And that generates, of course, problems. Not among adults, because the adults—. It is part of their culture, and they understand it that way, but it generates a rejection, so to speak. This discrimination generates rejection among the youth. So, on the one hand, they avoid it, they avoid speaking it.

Selena: Yes, do you think they feel embarrassed to speak Mapudungun?

Claudia: Of course, because I think they—. They feel discriminated against because it is a minority language, it is a people that currently, politically, in Chile with the—. With the conflict that is taking place, [which is] somewhat large scale. I don't know if you have read about the conflict in Araucanía.

Selena: Yes, yes, about the pacification.

Claudia: Of course, it influences a lot, I think. I mean, not [the situation of all people], but in certain important areas.

Selena: Yes. Hmhm. And do you think someone is only really Mapuche when they also speak the language?

Claudia: No, no. As I said, there are people who—. If they feel or—. Many—. I also have friends who, through their last name, have looked for that link with the [Mapuche] Nation, right? But they reached adulthood without knowing the language. So, no. I think it helps to feel more like you're a part of the community, but it is not something that defines whether you are part of the people.

Selena: Okay. And in what way do you think translation can contribute to the revitalization of the language?

Claudia: Very much [laughs]. Very much. Of course, we, as translators, are very much in charge of transmitting everything that [others] don't—. Other people cannot—. Other people cannot do. They would not be able to read [this language] because no person is capable of speaking all languages. So, we translators have a very important task to transmit the language and to make sure that it does not die and that the new generations are interested in it.

Selena: Yes, and translating children's literature, for example, could contribute to the fluency and engagement of the younger Mapuche generations?

Claudia: Absolutely. You know, it is paramount that schools talk about the language and bring children closer to the language. And—. Because it also helps—. I also—. I am a Spanish teacher, so, it also helps to understand Spanish. So, it is not something that is extremely distant from everything [else]. We should know some Mapudungun to know the origin of some of the words we use now. It is very interesting and very necessary to be taught. It is part of our culture.

Selena: Yes, of course. And, well, a translator usually adapts elements of the text so that they translate better to the other culture, are there certain adaptations that you make when you translate?

Claudia: Yes, but in the case of Mapudungun it is very difficult because—. As a translator you have to try to make it as faithful as possible. And it is difficult to find certain equivalences of—. Or how to say it because Mapudungun is very specific. I don't know if *specific* is the right word. But yes, it's also, like, very poetic, let's say. And they also talk about everything. And they associate everything with elements of nature. Especially in Mapuche stories they are—. So, to translate that into Spanish is also difficult, but we have to find a way to make it as similar as possible—. I don't know if it's *similar*, but—. It should be understandable, and it should not lose the sense of what it wants to express. I think that is the main point.

Selena: Are there other Mapuche concepts or considerations that you find difficult to translate or perhaps untranslatable?

Claudia: I think so, of course. Right off the bat I say yes. There are some concepts that are untranslatable, we have to try to adapt them to Spanish. Both from Spanish and Mapudungun and from Mapudungun to Spanish. We have to try to find the equivalences. But I think it is more difficult from Spanish to Mapudungun because Mapudungun is more limited in vocabulary. So, maybe a long sentence in Spanish has only one word in Mapudungun. Because Mapudungun works with—. I don't know if you know that it works with particles. So, to a word, a stem, you add particles and particles, and particles, and particles. So—. Or mix two words to create a concept.

Selena: Yes, yes.

Claudia: That's necessary. So, yeah.

Selena: Okay, understood. In addition to aesthetic changes, there are also changes that the translator can make to combat certain stereotypes, discriminatory or colonial stereotypes, replacing them, for example, with Mapuche terms and concepts. There are names like *araucano* or *reducción* and *pacificación*. As a translator, how do you deal with these kinds of terms and why?

Claudia: I love this topic.

Selena: [laughs]

Claudia: Let me tell you a little bit about why it has to do with what I am doing now as well. I am now doing a doctorate in Translation Studies at the University of Valladolid. And my research topic has to do with the translation of Afro-Brazilian literature written by women. And I am studying this topic because the translation of Afro women is not so well known in Latin America in the Southern Cone. I am studying only the Southern Cone. Because literature written by Afro women is not as well known as literature written by men. So, there are several issues mixed in there and one of the issues that is mixed within that and within the translation, and that is very much debated here in Chile and in the world with all the feminist movements. It is the issue of translating in a feminist tone. So, of course, I also try to apply it, obviously it is a different issue. But I also try to apply it to my work as a translator. Because you know that our profession is also culture. And everything you write and everything you read has consequences and can help bring certain interesting topics to the table. So, the truth is that I am, in this matter, very committed to that.

Selena: Yes, me too.

Claudia: Yes, I don't really know how it works for older translators. I think at some point in some progress we were talking about translators—. There are more women than men in general who are studying the career. I think that in general terms women are more committed to this type of writing as a result of the feminist movement, than men, perhaps, it is a prejudice, but it could be. But, yes. I take it very much into account. But you also have to be careful with that because it can generate a conflict, but there we are.

Selena: Let's see, translations can serve to teach outsiders more about Mapuche culture, do you think it is important to find a middle ground between Chilean and Mapuche culture through translation and why?

Claudia: Of course, yes. They are connected. And language is key. In addition to language, it can create that link and that union. As I said, I also teach Spanish and many students ask me about the Mapuche people due to the conflict. So, that's where you try to introduce—. I think that they—. [These groups and their cultures] are closely linked and separating them does not make much sense, I mean—. In fact, I always make the link. I mean, I start with very basic things, I don't know, I don't know, —. And practices. For example, I say to the student "Hey, do you know that the place where you live has a name that comes from a Mapuche word? So, they are connected. I believe that they cannot be separated. Or they should not be separated.

Selena: Yes. Do you try to translate into Spanish so that the texts also teach something about Mapuche culture to the readers?

Claudia: Yes, you always try —. Always try to put your footnote there.

Selena: Ah. Yes, yes [*laughs*].

Claudia: So what—. It's always typical. So you add a little bit of your—. Of your "harvest," as we say here, your own. Yes, I do [that].

Selena: In an interview on translation, author and translator Elicura Chihuailaf says that he considers translation to be a form of diplomacy and believes that the task of the Mapuche translator is mainly to be able to reach people in the city and make Mapuche culture visible there. Is there a particular political message you try to convey through your translations?

Claudia: Yes, language is political. So, whatever you try to transmit is political. So, yes, how can I say, going back to the subject of feminism, which is not relevant, but the analogy is understood, to translate as a feminist approach, isn't it? It is political. The same thing that I mentioned to you, I don't know, then, of—. Through a footnote, inserting [and] explaining certain terms that may be—. That seem to me—. That are interesting for the reader. And that can introduce the culture a little bit [to you] or that catches your attention and that makes you want to investigate. Yes, I do. Therefore, language is political.

Selena: And apart from the technical aspects of translation, translators, like Elicura Chihuailaf, have other interests, such as erasing the imprint that colonization and assimilation have left on the Mapuche community. Besides technical aspects such as grammar and style, etc., what do you see as the most important goal of translating this language pair?

Claudia: Oh, what a difficult question [*sighs*]. Because there are so many factors that are involved when you translate. I think the first thing is true. As a translator, you try to make sure that the meaning of what you want, of what the—. That what the source text expresses, is the same as the target text, that is, the translation. I think that's the main thing one tries to do. And from there, of course, deviating from this is also a bit complex. But, as I said, through these texts one also tries, as far as possible, to deliver some kind of message or that the text resonates with the reader and invites them, in this case, to further explore Mapuche culture.

Selena: Selena: Yes, okay. And also, at present there are still confrontations between the Chilean state and the Mapuche communities. And how do you think translation can contribute to political engagement in terms of this injustice? And not only from the side of the Mapuche, but also from the side of the Mapuche themselves. From the Chileans.

Claudia: The current government takes, with Boric currently in charge, a firm stance and I think it is different from what had been done before, isn't it? To talk about this issue and other problems that exist in La Araucanía. Because there are also other [issues] that we do not need to know about. But to approach—. It is necessary to become closer so that these conflicts cease, for instance. And in terms of—. What you are asking me about, I think that—. What is important and what I believe that we can do here. It is to transmit to the type, this type, of Mapuche reading content, so to speak. Of stories that I know, that involve the Mapuche culture and the students as well. In order to—. To try to make them understand a little bit of their culture and their worldview, as they define it. Because—. And of course, for them, it is a cosmovision. In other words, no element is separate from the other. So I think that through reading, young people can also understand a little bit of Mapuche thought and why they defend so much. Or [why] they want to defend their culture and their territory. The issue that is now exists here—. The one that is very problematic.

Selena: Do you think there is a way to translate and transmit the trauma and the pain of injustice and discrimination that—. To outsiders, to Chileans.

Claudia: The pain of the Mapuche people?

Selena: Yes, yes.

Claudia: It's that—. Right. I mean, we already know that—. I mean, as I said earlier, in general, but those of us who try to inform ourselves more, we know the injustices that have been committed against the Mapuche people. We know the injustices that have been committed with the Mapuche people, there will always be sectors that will not understand. Because, I don't know, because they already have a preconceived thought, a different way of seeing things. But I think that education is changing in Chile and I think that now we can talk much more openly about these issues and take away a little bit [of] that romantic vision that those of us who are older, older, were taught, that side of history, or something like that. So to get rid of a some of that romanticism that we were always taught, the history of Chile and talk about what really happened, right? And not only with the Mapuche people, but also with other Indigenous peoples that—. Yes, that they killed there. It was a genocide, so, I think that at this point we can talk, let's say, openly about it.

Selena: Thank you for the answers. And, I would like to ask you—. Ask you if there is anything you would like to share about working as a Mapudungun translator?

Claudia: It's a little difficult for me to separate it from—. My job in general. What I do with other languages, no? Because as I said, it's the translator's task—. It is, that, the one who cannot understand a text—. Through the work we can—. And of course, Mapudungun is—. Obviously, it carries that meaning, to be able to translate it. But also as a Chilean, it has that component of—. There is a component of responsibility, isn't there? For trying to make—. So that others not only understand the language, but also understand through the language and through Mapuche ways, the Mapuche people, express themselves. To understand a little bit of their culture and, as I told you before, of their cosmovision. I think that is the main task of those of us who dedicate ourselves to Mapudungun. I think that is like the main subject. Trying to bring them closer and break myths and prejudices through language.

Selena: Yes, yes, thank you very much. I enjoyed it.

Claudia: It was very special. If there is anything you don't understand or need to know, write me. No problem at all.

Selena: Yes, thank you very much.

Claudia: I'm sure I might also contact you for—. For something I am doing, my research.

Selena: Yes, I think it's very interesting. I like it.

Claudia: Whatever you need, I am available.

Selena: Yes, thank you.

B2.2 Cecilia

File: entrevistaconcecilia.m4a

Duration: 00:47:04

Date: 31 March 2022

Selena: Hi.

Cecilia: Hello.

Selena: Can you hear me?

Cecilia: Yes and can you hear me?

Selena: Yes.

Cecilia: Alright.

Selena: Nice to meet you. I am Selena. I am a student at Leiden University in the Netherlands. And I am currently doing a master's degree in translation of the English-Dutch language pair. My mom is here in the room to help me when I am struggling to find my words. Because I was born in the Netherlands, I haven't spoken Spanish since childhood. So I am not fluent in the language and—. Yes. But don't worry, I can understand almost everything you tell me, but sometimes it's hard for me to form sentences and ask questions and all that. That's why I ask you to speak calmly and clearly, so that I can keep up with you more easily.

Cecilia: Oh, I'll lie down a little bit [*unintelligible*], we are talking quickly right now.

Selena: Yes, I-

Cecilia: [*unintelligible*] is Cecilia.

Selena: Yes. Hmhm.

Cecilia: Can you hear me well?

Selena: It's just that the connection is a little bad, but—.

Cecilia: I can imagine. Well, I am a representative of the Indigenous peoples here in Puente Alto. We have an Indigenous association, which is not very abundant, but we are there trying to revitalize everything. A little bit of everything.

Selena: Yes, yes.

Cecilia: I grew up with my grandparents. So, I know the Native Mapuche language. There are many words that are used today that are not 100% Mapuche. So, regarding translations, when I was 14 years old I did many translations that went to other countries. And then I declined to continue because they started [using] the verb or the noun. Then I realized that the native language was going to die. So I did not continue to accept [the requests], and I refused to continue teaching until about three or four years ago before the pandemic. We did basic workshops here in Puente Alto, in Bajo de Mena, I also live in Bajo de Mena.

Selena: Yes, of course. Well, first of all, I'd like to quickly talk about the consent form that I submitted earlier today. I've marked in yellow, the most important sentences in the document. And—. Well, the most important thing I want to know is if you're okay with me using your own first and last name on my thesis. If you don't want your name [to be used], it won't be mentioned anywhere, and I'm going to use a pseudonym.

Cecilia: That is your decision. If I can help you, I have no problem. And you are going to start by—. I don't have any problem because I believe that we don't have to hide when it comes to Mapuche issues. I have never hidden [my identity] here and if I have to dress in my traditional dress, I do it. If I have to go out from my house, I do it. I have no problem in that sense. It doesn't affect me or worry me about being Mapuche. No, I am very proud in that sense.

Selena: Yes, thank you very much. Your consent and your answers are recorded so that I can retrieve the information when I write my thesis. And my professors and I are the only ones who have access to this information and I will delete the completion of the thesis. If you agree to these conditions, we can continue with the interview.

Cecilia: Yes.

Selena: OK. I'm going to start with the first question, what kind of texts have you translated?

Cecilia: At that time they were texts of lectures. To translate texts of lectures that I remember the most at that time. Finally, I had to translate some books, but I haven't done it because a year ago I had an accident. So I suffer from short memory, I have, that is, a little bit of reading comprehension. It's very hard for me. For example, if I talk about mail, there is no problem, but going on pause [and] pause complicates me because I am also a grandmother and at any minute they call me for my grandson and I have to leave, that's what I'm struggling with.

Selena: Hmhm. And have you translated poems or books or stories for children as well?

Cecilia: Oh, recently no. Nor have I done it either. At that time they were books that, as I was explaining, they were book—. Words, that were—. Let's see, they were—. It is a normal

book, but later I was given other books to translate where the nouns and the verbs were. And that's when I couldn't, I couldn't manage it anymore.

Selena: Yes, okay. Of course.

Cecilia: From there I didn't want to translate anymore. And these days, I have generally translated words that people have been asking me for when we were watching the class, also some small ones. For example, greetings, how I introduce myself, these things, more recently. But [translating] the books was like at the age of 14, a long time ago.

Selena: Okay, and why did you start translating Mapudungun-Spanish?

Cecilia: Because at that time a gentleman who was very fond of the Mapuche people, asked me to help him translate, because he was actually learning to speak Mapuzungun. And I helped him and then he began to pay me for the work and I had caught his attention. Later, when we started with the verbs and all that, I didn't want to because Mapuzugun is different. It's not written either. So it's still like very—. Then they changed the Mapuche alphabet too. So that's when I also—. Because the—. For example, when changing the alphabet the words do not sound the same, they sound different. So that's why I didn't—. I kind of resigned myself out of it.

Selena: And how long have you been translating this language pair?

Cecilia: That was when I was 14 years old. And then, when I was 18, we did a workshop with the children, also because of the translation of "Treng Treng and Kai Kai." There I did a workshop with the children and now with the organization. We have been doing it for almost six years and after a year we had the benefit of teaching the children Mapuzungun. Then we started to translate for the children, but from within the organization, for the children and for the adults. And when there are suddenly things that need to be translated, they [will] ask me for it. But like I said, there are words that do not exist in Mapuzungun. To do many things, which is very relative that it exists, unless one already goes ahead, like adapting Mapuzungun, it is adapting now.

Selena: And you have Mapuche origin too, right?

Cecilia: Yes, my grandfather was a *longko* in his community. I am a descendant. I am Lafkuenche. My grandfather was *longko* from [unintelligible] where our *nguillatuwe* is. I am from Puerto Saavedra.

Selena: Yes, of course, which Mapudungun variant do you speak?

Cecilia: It's that—. What happens is that's something I can't understand. Which one? The "which one" question? The subject of the variants, because I speak the Mapuzungun that my grandfather taught me. The one I learned when I was with them, not the one that is taught at the university, the one I learned. So sometimes I was participating in interviews here and they tell me—. What happens is that—. In CONADI there is a gentleman who interviewed me to be a teacher, and he told me "no." He said, "Your language does not coincide with ours" and everything. And I was in doubt. I was left in doubt. I said, "I'll be doing it right [one time around], I'll be doing it wrong [the other time around]." And I travel once a month to Puerto Saavedra and I started talking to my people there. And no, I am not doing it incorrectly, the

Mapuzugun consists of the Lafkuenche, the Picunche is the Huilliche. The one that, you know, like the four cardinal points. So there I didn't change my mind, I said "Yeah, then the Mapuche that I speak is Lafkuenche." Why not? The gentleman who interviewed me was Pehuenche, so many words do not match.

Selena: Okay. Did you speak the language as a child or did you learn it later?

Cecilia: No, as a child. My mother says that I was very intrusive when I was little. So I was always copying what my grandmother talked about. I was born—. I grew up with my grandparents. My grandfather's name was XXXX, my grandmother XXXX. So I grew up with my grandfather in the country and they—. After some time I realized that I spoke the Mapuzungun language, which for me was not distinctive, until we started to travel constantly to Santiago. And then I said "No, we have two different languages." So then I began to realize that we do, because Mapuzungun here was very rejected, it was not the mainstream, like in the south.

Selena: And did you ever feel embarrassed about speaking in Mapudungun?

Cecilia: Never, never. Never ever. Sometimes, all of a sudden, my family would tell me that the people at the fair would say to me "Hey, watch yourself a little bit, don't speak the language anymore [here], because it is still looked down upon." So I said to them, "How can other people, other cultures, speak their language without feeling ashamed? Why do we have to be ashamed? Why do we have to keep quiet?" So in that sense, if I have to speak Mapuzungun, I speak it. And if I have to translate at the same moment that I am speaking it [as well], because there are many people who do not know the language, Mapuzugungun. They have organizations, but at the same time they don't know the language either. So what happens is that they remain clueless like "What did the *lamngen* say?" So I translate at the same time.

Selena: Okay. And do you think that language and the ability to speak [it] play an important role in Mapuche communities and why?

Cecilia: Yes, the language, the culture, the food, the traditions, everything would be important for—. It is an accumulation of things that are very important for the culture. Experiencing a *nguillatún* is very important. To experience a *machitún*. Those [things] are like roots that we still have, at least on the Lafkuenche side. We also have natural medicine. So I think it is very important because it causes less damage than [taking] pills, [taking] many other things. So the people say the same thing about [our] grannies, what they ask for most when they're sick, "No, give me a little herbal tea, before they take me to the hospital and everything."

Selena: And you believe that someone is only really Mapuche when they also speak the language. And why do you believe that?

Cecilia: No, no, what happens is that here one does not only identify [as Mapuche] because of the language. There are many Chilean people, as they say to [refer to] people who are not Mapuche, who are very immersed in the Mapuche topic. I still consider them—. I always say "a Mapuche is not [strictly defined]. I—. When they say to me, "I don't have Indigenous roots," I say "I'm sorry, but everybody," I say, "everybody, there is not a single person," I tell them, "who is 100% pure, we are all mestizos." So there are people whose ancestors maybe were Mapuche, and they go back to study what the Mapuche Nation is. And they know a lot

about the Mapuche people, including not only the Mapuche people, the Aymara, but many other [Indigenous] peoples here in Chile.

Selena: Okay, interesting.

Cecilia: Yes. At least, I—. It seems to me—. Because I—. In my culture I have seen that it is a very proud culture. For example, the Chilean cannot join the Mapuche's course. No, that can't be. How can they learn from us? No. I don't think like that because even I am a part mestizo, so if I deny that, I am even denying being myself. So that is why I say this.

Selena: And in what way do you think translation can contribute to the revitalization of the language?

Cecilia: Well, what happens is that there are many people who need translation in the sense of knowing which words are Mapuzungun or also Aymara, Basque, because there are many languages that are already inhabited within the Spanish language, which are Indigenous. So one can distinguish which languages are Indigenous and which are not. And the people need to know [the language] because when you go somewhere, and they speak to you in Mapuzungun, the Mapuche are very proud and generally make fun of people who do not know how to speak it. And it is unfortunate because I see it with my children, my children know Mapuzungun, but do they speak it that often? No. They know everything, they understand everything and so on. Out of nowhere people [will] make fun of them like "these children don't know how to speak Mapuzungun" and they make fun of them in Mapuzungun, and [the kids do] understand. Then I myself tell the person, "Listen, be very careful, because there are many people who are learning little by little, and they feel very hurt when you say these things."

Selena: Yes, yes. And do you think that translating children's literature, for example, could contribute to the fluency and engagement of the younger Mapuche generations?

Cecilia: Yes we do engage here. I remember about two, almost three years ago, in what was Indigenous education in the schools. It was given from the first year to the 6th grade, it's supposed to revitalize the Indigenous language. That is to say, for example, we could have the children speak—. The same way English is important for the United States, that we—. Spanish and Mapuzungun would be very important for the children here. And to fight for what you have, because they are languages that later will eventually disappear, and we will say, "Dang, why didn't we distribute it to more people, why haven't more children learned it? So in that sense—. Or suddenly they tell me "No, you should only resist alongside Mapuche, you cannot fight [for this] with the Spaniards, the Chileans." I tell them "No, you see, we have to revitalize our language, teach other children our language, our greeting, our why." Because like I said, Mapuzugun always has a reasoning.

Selena: Yes, yes, and a translator usually adapts elements of the text to be translated so that it translates better to the other culture. There are certain adaptations that you make when you translate.

Cecilia: Yes. Yes, for example, the word in Mapuzugun, for example, is not the same [in the sense that it] goes like backwards, something like that. Because you know what, you translate for example a line and when you read it you read it backwards. But it means the same thing in Spanish. I don't know if you can understand what I am saying. I mean, it's not, for example,

“Good morning, how are you?” Something like that. The greeting is like the most common thing, but for example, making a phrase like varying the words does not go like this, like “buenos días, ¿cómo están?” Because, well—. Like the “mari mari chumlaymi.” And it is not the same as in a phrase, for example, in one line it already says—.

Selena: Your microphone. Yes, your microphone doesn’t work.

Cecilia: [*unintelligible*] does not match with—. A translation does not match 100% when translate phrase by phrase, when it is a greeting it does. When it is something that is implied, yes, but not when it is by phrase.

Selena: Okay, are there any other Mapuche concepts or considerations that you find difficult to translate?

Cecilia: For example, when the phrase does not exist, it becomes difficult to translate. Spanish is very extensive, but Mapuzugun is very brief. So there are words that are not, you can translate them, but not in the native Mapuzugun. You have to adapt it.

Selena: And in addition to aesthetic changes, there are also changes that the translator can make to combat certain stereotypes, discriminatory or colonial stereotypes, replacing them, for example, with Mapuche terms and concepts. There are names like *araucano* or *reducción* and *pacificación*. As a translator, how do you deal with these kinds of terms and why?

Cecilia: First [*unintelligible*]. So, in that sense. It’s very complicated. But for example, there are words that do substitute [it]. Let’s see, how can I say this? It’s swearing, a thing that insults people.

Selena: And translations can also serve to teach outsiders more about Mapuche culture. Do you think it is important to find a middle ground between Chilean and Mapuche culture through translation and why?

Cecilia: I did not understand that question.

Selena: For example, do you try to translate into Spanish. So the texts also teach something about Mapuche culture to the readers. For example, explaining concepts and consents, and—.

Cecilia: I think so. I think so. It should not have an impact [on the translation], only when the word can not be found in the native language it becomes more complicated, but not the translation from Spanish to Mapuche or from Mapuche to Spanish. There are words [that are harder to translate], but as I said, some of them are adaptable.

Selena: Yes, okay. And do you sometimes leave some concepts untranslated? For example, how would you translate the word “huinca” into Spanish?

Cecilia: The word what?

Selena: Huinca.

Cecilia: What do I do in that case—. What happens is that *wingka* is not Spanish. *Wingka* is a Mapuche word. I’ll leave it at that for a minute. Let me pick up my grandson.

[Silence]

Cecilia: Now we're back. So, that's the duty of a grandmother [laughs].

Selena: [laughs]

Cecilia: Now we can continue, let's continue.

Sandra: [unintelligible]

Cecilia: Did I answer the previous question?

Sandra: Can you hear me, ma'am?

Cecilia: Hello.

Sandra: I'm [her] mom, and I'm in the background because she doesn't speak Spanish that well either. She feels insecure and that's why she wants me to be around just in case, she doesn't understand. But my question about the huinca was you—. Because you said that—. It used to refer to the Spaniards in that way, right? But it is also used for Chileans now?

Cecilia: Yes.

Sandra: That was my question. Yeah, okay.

Cecilia: To the Mapuche the wingka are those who do not belong to the Mapuche culture. For example, if there is an Aymara, if it's a Quechua or another—. Another Indigenous group. They are *lamngenes*, they are brothers. But if it's a Chilean, they are a wingka.

Sandra: Of course, yes.

Cecilia: If there's a bad Chilean, they call him other names.

Sandra: Right, yes.

Cecilia: But for example, the Mapuche—. For example, the bad *wingka* is called "*trehua*, *wingka trehua*." This means dog. So that is like the biggest insult that a Mapuche might use, whether it is [used in] a story or something like that. It's not like some of these uglier words. It's not that, but it's like something from an animal, from an intimate part, something like that.

Sandra: But you would use that word, if you had to translate it, even though it is already known in Chile, right? The [word] Huinca?

Cecilia: Yes, here.

Sandra: If the Chileans also know about the [word] huinca, I mean.

Cecilia: Yes. So here, for example, when a person is called *huinca*, the *wingka* people who are fond of Mapuche culture feel very offended.

Sandra: So no, you wouldn't use it all of the time?

Cecilia: It is used, it is used, but like I mentioned before, people who are immersed in the Mapuche culture, they feel offended because it is like an insult. There are people who feel insulted by being called *wingka*, but *wingka* for the Mapuche is a white person, it is a person who is not typically Indigenous.

Sandra: But if you were to translate a text where it says the word *wingka*, from Mapudungun into Spanish, would you translate it differently or would you use Chilean? Or would you use *wingka*?

Cecilia: The thing is that, to the Mapuche, *wingka* is a white person, because part of my last name is Colihuinca. We are Naguin. But my great-grandfather, since he was blond with blue eyes, they changed it to Colihuinca, which is "white man." *Kallfü* is blue and *wingka* is white. And that's why I said, he is a person from another culture. *Lamngen* can be used as for an Aymara or a Basque. Although the skin is white, they see him as a brother, but being white they see him as a person. Like when the Spaniards arrived. But what happens is that it is generally offensive to people who love—. They love the culture, and they are considered *wingka*, but they support the culture a lot, so they feel offended. And some do not care much about the word *wingka*, but *wingka* is a word used by the Mapuche towards a white person.

Selena: And apart from the technical aspects of translation, translators like Elicura Chihuailaf have other interests such as erasing the imprint that colonization and assimilation have left on the Mapuche community, in addition to technical aspects such as grammar and style. What do you see as the most important goal of translating this language pair?

Cecilia: The—. Well, for me, since I did not live there at that time, it is more about education, that [what I do] is educational, that it [it is useful] for the children. That the children learn the language, that they have a knowledge of the words, because tomorrow we are not going to be there or the people who speak the language are not going to be there, so they have to maintain the culture and know about the topic. So, more than anything else, translation is educational in my eyes. Because I can't talk about 500 years ago, because I didn't exist back then. I don't know what it must have been like and maybe I wouldn't have enjoyed being there, if I lived at a time of Mapuche discrimination. I did experience what it was like to have a *wingka* surname, to have a Mapuche surname in schools. I did experience all of that. So in that aspect I try to—. I mean, I am not in favor of violence or bullying in that sense.

Selena: Yes, and do you think that you believe that translation can contribute to political engagement in terms of this injustice, not only from the Mapuche side but also from the Chilean side?

Cecilia: No, no. What happens is—. Yes, for example is—. I have friends who, for example, taught their friends who are military, and they taught the military. That, for example, I am not very fond of what they're doing. Because here the Armed Forces are not very much in favor of the people. So they can use it as a—. I don't know, as a strategy, as a war strategy, if you know what I mean. But for example, that the children learn [the language and] that all the people can learn the language, that's not a problem. But for example, I don't like that the

Armed Forces become immersed in our culture because they are discriminatory with us. For example, if they see me dressed in my full Mapuche costume, they start to gossip that I participate in massive events, in big events. If I have to go to a march to make it known who we are, I go and the *carabineros* (police) look at us strangely. If I go to an event here, for example to the governor's office, they also look at me strangely. So, in that regard, I do not like the theme of translation. To that extent, I disagree with the [use of] translation. But for example, in terms of help for children, help for the people, help for everyone who is interested in it, yes.

Selena: Yes, right. Well, thank you for the answers. Finally, I would like to ask you if there is anything you would like to share about working as a Mapudungun-Spanish translator.

Cecilia: Well, for example, it requires a lot of concentration to translate Mapuzungun. They are very delicate words that suddenly have to be translated [carefully] so as not to harm the other person. As I was saying, Mapuzungun is not very well adapted. But for a person who, for example, is part of the same world, it is easy for us, but for someone who does not know it, it is very difficult. And the written Mapuzungun that we know is the old version and difficult to pronounce because it uses the ü with quotation marks. This version uses words that some people call, the kids call them "strange words." So any translation is difficult.

Selena: Yeah, I see. Yeah, yeah. Well. That was the interview. Thank you very much for participating. I enjoyed it. And it was very interesting.

Sandra: [*unintelligible*]

Cecilia: I can't hear your mom.

Sandra: And where do you live?

Cecilia: Me, now in Puente Alto. It's like south of Santiago, Puerto Saavedra.

Sandra: And that is much further south, I imagine.

Cecilia: Up to the 9th region, on the coast.

Sandra: Oh, I thought so. Yeah, okay, yeah. And my dad is from the—. He was from the—. From the—. From the Bío-Bío, from those places. He also had a Mapuche grandmother. That's the only thing I know because the rest of his siblings have passed away. So I don't know much. That's why my daughter is also very interested in this subject.

Cecilia: Yes, no. Yes, that's the idea that—. That's what happened. There was a time when everybody had to leave. Everybody had to drop their identity because they were Mapuche. And by the way, there were also many surnames that were changed. Afterwards, people no longer recognize who they are.

Sandra: Of course, right? But on the contrary, my father was always very proud of his Mapuche roots, so for him, for us, it was always very simple.

Cecilia: That is very important.

Sandra: Yes, that is very important. Thank you very much for taking the time to answer my daughter's questions.

Cecilia: Anything that can help. But, as I say, my time is precious because I run all day long. If it is not for someone, it is for the kids, if not for someone from the association, if not for someone else. I do whatever I can to try and stay organized. I can arrange whatever you need.

Selena: Yes, thank you very much.

Cecilia: All the best.

Selena: Yes, thank you.

Cecilia: Bye.

Selena: Bye.

B2.3 Ítalo

File: entrevistaconítalo.m4a

Duration: 00:51:40

Date: 25 March 2022

Selena: Hello, can you hear me? I'm Selena, nice to meet you. I'm a student at Leiden University in the Netherlands, and I'm currently doing a master's degree in translation of the English-Dutch language pair. My mom is in the room to help me when I can't find my words. As I was born in the Netherlands and have not spoken Spanish since childhood, I am not fluent in the language. But don't worry, I can understand almost everything you tell me, but sometimes it's hard for me to form sentences and all that. That's why I ask you to speak calmly and clearly, so that I can follow you more easily.

Ítalo: Yes, a pleasure.

Selena: First, I would like to know—. First of all, I would like to quickly talk about the consent form that I sent earlier today. I've marked in yellow the most important sentences in the document. The most important thing I want to know is if you are okay with me using your own first and last name in my thesis.

Ítalo: Yes, no problem.

Selena: Your consent and your answers are recorded so that I can retrieve the information when I write my thesis. And my professors and I are the only ones who have access to this information. And I will delete it upon the completion of the thesis. And well, if you agree to those conditions, we can continue with the interview.

Ítalo: Yes, no problem. I agree [to the conditions].

Selena: Okay. Let's start with the first question, what kind of texts have you translated? For example, poems, books?

Ítalo: Yes, poems, books, and some scientific texts. Some like in the area of tourism. Other texts in the health area as well. Yes, texts that are more—. Technical texts, sometimes [including] like legal aspects, of laws.

Selena: Yes, okay.

Ítalo: And quite a few on issues of—. [Texts] about signals, traffic signs. Or instructions, like for hospitals as well, intercultural hospitals.

Selena: OK. And then the next question: Why did you start translating?

Ítalo: Out of necessity. Why did I start translating? I never asked myself that question before [laughs]. Because—. Because of work, that is, as a job, for work. I am not a translator, because here in—. In Chile there is no official translation career in Mapuzungun-Spanish, there are no official translators, right? There are recognized translators, which is different. But there is no such thing as—. Like you, for example, who studied and are a professional translator with a university degree, and all that. Here it doesn't exist, so the people who translate are the speakers. And within that range I got requests for translations and questions if I could collaborate, and that's how I started about ten years ago.

Selena: Yes. And—. Well, why did you start translating Mapudungun-Spanish?

Ítalo: There is a lot of demand for translation of texts in the—. In the context of the inclusion of languages, of Indigenous languages in the whole governmental and official apparatus. So I think that's where it started. Many projects, for example, of different types, are based on that. They are based on inclusion, whether in health, in the XXXX, for example, here in Chile I have incorporated many projects and many things—. Where the beneficiaries are Mapuche. So they need all the texts to be translated.

Selena: Okay. Understood. And how long have you been translating this language pair?

Ítalo: Well, as a job, so to speak. Because in that case, it's been about ten years.

Selena: Okay. Yes. And you have Mapuche origin?

Ítalo: Yes, no. From my mother's side.

Selena: Hmhm. OK. And what form of Mapudungun do you speak?

Ítalo: What dialect do you mean?

Selena: Yes.

Ítalo: Well, I live in Pitrufrquén, in the south of Temuco. A little more to the south in Temuco. So that is the variant that I speak to some extent. I also know a lot about Chedungun, which is the variant that is [spoken] in the mountain range. And so we could say that that variant is more—. Nagche that—. How people use it, I don't know, but they live in the valleys. But I also understand what is spoken in—. In the mountain range, understand? I have—. I can get by in those two areas.

Selena: Yes. Did you speak the language as a child or did you learn it later?

Ítalo: I was kind of in the same situation that you were in, I think [*laughs*]. [The thing is] I understood a lot when I was a child because I always listened to people talk. But then in the—. When I entered the university, I had to further develop it and speak it more fluently. And that's why—. And—. I learned it since childhood but not like—. It was a passive bilingualism, you can say. So now I don't have a problem with that anymore.

Selena: Yes, yes. And—. Why did you learn the language later?

Ítalo: Because I did not speak the language in a domestic setting, so in other social contexts, [for example with] friends, I would use it. [But] in a school setting, Mapuzungun was never present. It was never addressed, it was very much off-limits, but it was [allowed] in a university environment. So, first friendships, the immediate social environment, and then university, and later work and everything [else].

Selena: Yes.

Ítalo: But we could say that the social context is what helped me sell the most.

Selena: Okay. And well, I want to know if you ever felt embarrassed for speaking in Mapudungun and—. Yes, that.

Ítalo: No, not embarrassed, but I don't always say that I know how to speak [*laughs*], but it depends on the context too. If you are in a Mapuche context, you speak Mapuzugun. If you are in a context with other people who are not Mapuche or there is no Mapuche person, you generally don't use it or don't emphasize it.

Selena: Yes, yes, because, sometimes—. I think in some cases there is discrimination.

Ítalo: Yes, there is still discrimination.

Selena: Yes, and—.

Ítalo: And there is a lot of awareness. So, for example, I can—. I, when we go out of here with my family, we talk, we talk here inside the home, we talk in Mapuzungun or Chedungun. And also when we go shopping [and] all that. But when you have to interact with the other Chilean people, you can't, because they don't speak [the language]. Then you have to resort to Spanish. Spanish is the lingua franca in this case.

Selena: And, well, do you think that language and the ability to speak it play an important role in Mapuche communities? And why?

Ítalo: It is very important because people value the [language] very much. Well, the following happens, the contexts are different. For example, in the area where I am living, where I live, the younger generations do not speak Mapuzungun, they do not even understand it, anymore. There is a displacement of the language. However, for example, in the mountains people still communicate in Chedungun, and it is more transversal. You can talk to a child or an adult, to an elderly person, and everyone will understand you, right? There is a much wider social use of Chedungun. On the other hand, here in the valleys, near the cities, no, it has been lost to a

great extent. You can only have fluent conversations with older people. For example, near Temuco, there are people who are—. I don't know, young people. Young people, I mean people in their twenties, from 20 to 30 years old. Yes, there are people [who do speak the language], but not all of them. From 40 and up, most of them speak, right? And—. Or many, and [most are] already in their 60s, for example, people in their 60s all know how to talk. It is rare that someone [of this age] does not know. And here—. What do I mean by that? It is highly valued when a person knows how to speak Mapuzugun because it is a kind of, how can I say, like a bastion? Yeah, it' like a kind of cultural resistance that takes place.

Selena: Yes, yes, and do you think someone is only genuinely Mapuche when they also speak the language?

Ítalo: No, no, no, no, because—. Because if for some reason, whether it is historical, family, social, for example, discrimination, you did not learn to speak Mapuzugun. That does not make you more or less. In other words, you can recover your language, you can learn it, but in no case does it take away your quality of who you are.

Selena: Yes, of course. And in what way do you think translation can contribute to the revitalization of the language?

Ítalo: I think it is important to the extent of the inclusion of Mapuzungun and its visualization, that is to say that it is not a dead language as it is said. That Mapuzungun can be used to communicate like any modern language or prestigious languages like English, German. You can communicate ideas, you can translate science, you can translate Western medicine, you can even translate legal texts. Things that are not part of the Mapuche cultural or linguistic heritage properly speaking, you can also translate them. You can re-adapt terms, you can—. You have many tools, so it is very important to translate texts into Mapuzungun. Above all—. Because—. There—. You kind of lost the signal a little bit. Yes, now. Can you hear me?

Selena: Yes, yes, yes, yes.

Ítalo: Yes, especially now that, for example, the younger generations are also Mapuzungun readers. Already? So it is important that there is a written record. For older people it is very important that these records, these translations, are oral. Because older people do not read Mapuzungun, but they understand everything in the language.

Selena: Yes, okay. And—.

Ítalo: That is why it is a matter of social justice, we could say.

Selena: Yes, yes, and for example, do you think that translating children's literature could contribute to the fluency and engagement of the younger generations of—. Mapuche.

Ítalo: Yes, yes, it can contribute, because precisely what is lacking now is the—. In quotation marks, the production of new speakers. So we need a lot of material only in Mapuzungun or the translation of material into Mapuzungun for these new speakers, right? The infants, the children, can have access to the language through stories, through legends, through different materials.

Selena: Yes, of course. A translator usually adapts elements of the text so that it translates better to the other culture. Are there certain adaptations you make when you translate?

Ítalo: Yes, yes, because there are many words, many concepts and ideas from the western world that do not exist in the Mapuche world and vice versa. When I have to translate from Mapuzungun, for example, sometimes I have had to translate some conversations or ritual or ceremonial aspects into Spanish. Then you have to create a tremendous paragraph because you have to explain what the speaker is saying in one word. I think everything [has] a symbolic meaning. So I imagine, because I am not a translator between European languages, but I imagine that, for example, between Dutch and Spanish, English, there is much more similarity or cultural similarity. But here you have—. You have about 6000 years of gap, not of gap, without growing together, of being, of growing apart from one another. So there are many cultural aspects that are very different. The perception of health, the perception of—. The perception of justice, for example, which is not punitive, for example, in the Mapuche case. Punishment is not what makes justice, it's not—. It is not about incarcerating a person, it is not that, but to equalize in health as well. It is not to medicate, but to balance. And there are also countless concepts that are difficult and require adaptation or explanation.

Selena: Yes, yes. And are there—. Yes, are there other Mapuche concepts or considerations that you find difficult to translate or perhaps untranslatable? And what do you do with this?

Ítalo: Yes, there are many, many, many. I usually include them. For example, if I translate from Mapuzungun into Spanish I usually include the textual ones. It is true that I translate the word and an explanation or a footnote is attached. For example, the word *purun*. *Purun* is—. In one word I would describe it to you as dancing. But it's not dancing, because dancing has a ritual sense. So it's not like dancing like you go to a, to a bar or a club, and you go dancing. No, no, it's not that [kind of] dancing, it's the ritual dance that you do in society as a community, got it? Within a community. Therefore, I have to put, for example, in Spanish, [when] *purun* is performed and explain next to it what *purun* means, what is the meaning of *purun*, and why it is done. And what is the implication, that is, those who do *purun*, those who do not do *purun*, all of those details.

Selena: Yes, how interesting. In addition to the changes—. In addition to the aesthetic changes, there are also changes that the translator can make to combat certain stereotypes, discriminatory or colonial stereotypes, replacing them, for example, with Mapuche terms and concepts. There are names like *araucano* or *reducción* and *pacificación*. And—. As a translator, how do you deal with these kinds of terms and why?

Ítalo: One should always seek to decolonize. Not trying to colonize, you should decolonize a little bit. "Of course, as you mention, there are texts like—. Texts, for example, from the chronicles of the Spaniards, or dictionaries left by the Spaniards. [Using] vocabulary in which Mapuche are referred to as Indians or barbarians, for example. Nowadays, words such as *comunero* are also used. There are others who say *araucano* but that word is already in decline. But people do use it when they—. Certain groups in Chilean society use it to talk about language when they say the Mapuche speak Araucanian, which is very pejorative, isn't it? So I always avoid [using] that. The name is Mapuzungun, period.

Selena: Yes. Hmhm.

Ítalo: Yes, Mapuzungun or Chedungun, it depends on the variant but—. But referring to it this way. This is a way of emphasizing the—. And I think that [it shows] a little bit of respect that we have to have and the valuation, the self-esteem.

Selena: Yes, okay. And translations can also serve to teach outsiders more about Mapuche culture. Do you think it's important to find a middle ground between Chilean and Mapuche culture through translation? And why?

Ítalo: Yes. Yes, it is important and—. And translation serves effectively as a means to make known aspects of the Mapuche world, let's say, the intercultural. In general, there are things that are everywhere, even in the everyday world. Why talk about the more ritual and ceremonial world is very different from the Western world so it is full of prejudices and a prejudiced interpretation of the Western world about the Mapuche world. For example, there is a tendency to demonize, for example, some rites or things like that. The perceptions, for example, perceptions of the world [and] of the social organization are also different. And in that sense it is important to explain through translation what that world is like. So that the others can understand the humanity behind it.

Selena: Yes, sometimes you leave some concepts untranslated or explain them in the translation. For example, how would you translate the word *huinca* into Spanish?

Ítalo: Which word?

Selena: I don't know how—. Huinca.

Ítalo: No, that's how you—. You said it correctly, it's just that—. You were cut off—.

Selena: [laughs]

Ítalo: Don't worry. No, wingka. Yes, there are words that remain untranslated. But it depends on the context, right? If you translate—. I mean, we translate, we don't translate separate words. Right? We translate ideas, we translate concepts, we translate through a context. So, for example, the word wingka depends on [what] you are saying with that and who you are referring to. Generally, in the political context, for example, when people say the word wingka they are not just referring to whether a person being Mapuche, but they are referring to the Chilean State or the Argentine State, in this case, ¿understand? When they are texts of a different nature, then it can be wingka or non-Mapuche, got it?

Selena: Yeah.

Ítalo: Now, intraculturally, it does have a more pejorative meaning. Even when speakers have Chilean friends they try not to say that word to them or no—. Because it is a bit aggressive.

Selena: Yes, okay. In an interview about translation, the author and translator, Elicura Chihuailaf, says that he considers translation to be a form of diplomacy and believes that the task of the Mapuche translator is mainly to be able to reach people in the city and make Mapuche culture visible there. Is there a particular political message you try to convey through your translations?

Ítalo: Yes, I believe so, and I am in favor of what Elicura says. I also consider that, in a certain way one is like a kind of ambassador, a kind of diplomat, and you must be very careful with what you say, and you must take responsibility when you translate. There is a big ethical range that you have to respect, but you should also respect your own. I rely on that. I tried to take the Mapuche out of the translations, in order to transform it into a, for example, to transform it into a good Castilian language, right. Why? Because if you leave it in a very vulgar Spanish, then people will interpret it—. The Spanish-speaking reader will interpret it as something vulgar and will interpret the whole Mapuche world as something vulgar. And [that's] what has happened, already, with some translations. The same thing, the other way around, when there, for example, in certain hospitals there are translations that are provided by the hospital, and they are translated into Mapuzungun, but it is introduced in a Mapuzungun that is not like the Mapuzugun that we would speak at home. But something more formal. So you are lowering the profile a little bit. That's what happens a little bit, right? So, yes, one is like a kind of ambassador and in the end, a diplomat, as Elicura says. It is an act of diplomacy. Especially between Mapuzungun and Spanish where historically there have not been, let's say, very good relations. So you have to be careful with what you say, because if you study the history of what they call the *lenguaraces* (intermediaries) here, also called the *lenguas*, which were the translators that the Spaniards had and at the same time the Mapuche themselves also had Spanish translators. Well, they armed and disarmed the war at the time, so it is not a minor task, and today it is a bit similar.

Selena: So, what are these messages in your case? The political messages.

Ítalo: Political messages. Well, it always depends on the text you are translating. If you are talking about science, well, it restricts you a little bit more in terms of what is being said in the text. However, the political message is, for example, very much based on the contingency of the current socio-political reality. For example, translators are asked to—. I have had to produce texts about wetlands, alright? Wetlands and urban wetlands. From the Western point of view, a wetland is a wetland, period. It's water with a couple of birds and vegetation. But from the Mapuche point of view, the wetland is not water nor is it—. Water is alive, it has a protective spirit or there's a protective spirit in a place one goes to search for medicine or remedies, *lahuen*. And it has a much deeper social and spiritual context than a wetland as in Spanish. Therefore, what is the purpose [of the text]? That through this translation the protection of this wetland is promoted, for example, right? That the cultural and spiritual and social relevance of the wetland, for example, for a certain community, is made obvious. That is what you should translate because, in the end, [it is] the interest of the society as a whole. That would be a clear political message and I have done it [this way] and in fact everyone does it because it is the right thing to do. It is not just "re felekelay ta mapu" people say. The land is not simply inert, but it has life.

Selena: Yes, yes. Apart from the technical aspects of translation, translators like Elicura Chihuailaf have other interests, such as erasing the imprint that colonization and assimilation have left on the Mapuche community. Apart from technical aspects such as grammar and style, etc. What is the most important objective for you in translating this language pair?

Ítalo: I think all those things you mentioned are also important, but more than anything else the issue of assimilation is very important here. There is an issue of violence, or how do I explain this to you, which is not violence, it is epistemological supremacy. In other words, only what the Western world says is valid, and what the Mapuche world says is not. That is what I always try to balance out. That these epistemologies converse, right? But

symmetrically, not asymmetrically. Asymmetric is how it has always been until now, and it needs to be balanced. It should be in—. These forces should be balanced, that's what I mean. Regarding the grammatical and more linguistic aspects, I don't worry too much [about these] because each language has its own form and its own structure, and it has its own methods to explain itself. So that doesn't, that doesn't really concern me. Spanish has its own methods, [just] like all languages [do], Mapuzungun too, Dutch, English, all of them. You can help a person understand any foreign idea in whatever language through its own means.

Selena: Yes, and—. Also, at present there are still confrontations between the Chilean State and the Mapuche communities. How do you think translation can contribute to political engagement in terms of this injustice, and not only from the Mapuche side, but also from the Chilean side?

Ítalo: That's a complicated question. Let's see, it can—. It's complicated in the sense that—. I mean, to speak Mapuzungun in general—because I can't speak for everyone—is basically to *be* a Mapuche activist, [to be] pro-Mapuche. However, speaking Spanish does not always mean being a pro-Chilean activist [*laughs*]. Understand? I'm not sure if you can tell the difference, because there is a big part of the Mapuche population that does not speak Mapuche. There's a lot of people who—. There is a portion of the Chilean population that denies a little bit of those roots—. Or of that historical violence that the western world has inflicted on the Indigenous peoples. So it's—. The commitment is because—. I think it's because—. I think there is an instrumental use of language to give political weight to Mapuche demands, so to speak. For any demand. For example, if demands in education, for example, which is happening now, in the same context of the Constituent Convention, there has been a discussion about their own [Indigenous] education, the right to be educated in their own language. So, there, the language, the translation into Mapuzungun has been fundamental. Because if you don't think about this process in Mapuzungun, deep down you're thinking as a Westerner. If you think in Spanish, you're already doing that. You are no longer doing it from [the perspective of] the Mapuche world. Instead, it's a process embedded in the other world, right? So, the political engagement is great in that sense.

Selena: Yes, do you think there is a way to translate and transmit the trauma and pain of injustice and discrimination of the Mapuche people?

Ítalo: How—. Are you asking me about a specific way?

Selena: No, but—. Not specific.

Ítalo: Yes, it is a way of revealing, of revealing understandings, of revealing knowledge, of revealing policies, of revealing education, of revealing health, it is a way of visibilizing and empowering, right? Because you make it, specifically in this context, you make it visible, ok? Maybe, I don't know, maybe in other languages this does not happen. If you translate, for example, from Dutch to English, maybe there's not so much of the Dutch culture to be revealed. I don't know, I'm guessing, but because there is a—. They are more equal in terms of political levels. But not here, here there has been a situation of historical injustice that has been dragging on for centuries. So, raising your voice and [doing that] in your language is much more powerful. I think that up until a few years ago, at least in the environment where I live, people were very ashamed to speak Mapuzungun, very, very much so. You could tell. You would speak Mapuzungun to someone, and they would blush and would speak to you in Spanish, even if they understood everything you were saying. I still know older adults who

have that trauma, they're [native] speakers. Their first language was Mapuzungun but [when] you talk to them they respond to everything in Spanish and they blush a lot, or laugh, because they get very nervous. They suffered a lot of discrimination at school and basically what the world told them was that they had to erase that language from everything, in other words, it did not exist. So now if they see young people, for example, who speak in Mapuzungun, for whom the translation, for example, had educational purposes. For example, I am also a teacher here in a school, when the children come home saying things that I teach them, and the grandparents, they laugh at first, but as the months go by, they begin to engage a little bit with it, with the education of their grandchildren or children and they understand that they have to transmit the language to them as well. So, translation has played a very important socio-educational role.

Selena: Yes, and finally, I would like to ask you if there is anything you would like to share about working as a Mapudungun translator.

Ítalo: I think that all translators have experienced that translating has been very enriching because it leads you to learn a lot. When you translate, you're required to translate, not only the specific topics in which you are specialized, but sometimes you have to translate everything. So you get to explore a lot of science, not only science. In my case, not only Western science. It has led me to talk a lot with the elders, for example, in order to understand certain concepts that are still difficult for me. So, it has been very enriching for me, at least as a translator. And as I mentioned, it is a big responsibility. You have to be very conscious of the socio-political context in Chile. You have to be very cautious and very—. You also have to be a little—. How do you say this? *Nüwa* as they say in Mapuzungun, to be clever, to be able to make your ideas fit together in a non-violent way, but to make them understandable to the other [person]. I think that happens to you too, I'm sure, when you translate.

Selena: Yes, yes. Hmhm. Well, that was the interview. Ah. My mom, my mom has a question.

Sandra: Hello.

Ítalo: Hello, hello. A pleasure. How are you? I can't hear you well.

Sandra: Can you hear me well?

Ítalo: Now I can hear you, yes.

Sandra: Now you can. I need to come a little closer.

Ítalo: I think so.

Sandra: It's very interesting what you have been saying. My daughter needs to interview more people for her thesis and the first thing that caught my attention is when you talk about the language. I always say "Mapudungun" but it's not pronounced like that is it?

Ítalo: Mapudungun?

Sandra: Is it Mapudungun? Because you say it—. I thought you said it differently.

Ítalo: Mapuzungun. The thing is, it depends on the, for example, the—. From Temuco up to the south, people say Mapuzungun with a "z." In the north there is a dialectical variant and

people say Mapudungun and people from the mountain range say Chedungun. It's the same as—. It's a dialect.

Sandra: It's the same. I thought that I was pronouncing it the wrong way this entire time, but the truth is that—.

Ítalo: No, it's fine.

Sandra: It's fine. Right, of course, it depends on—.

Ítalo: You can call it all kinds of names, really.

Sandra: Okay, okay. My daughter is really interested in this topic because I was born in Calama, but my dad came from the—. He was born near the Lanalhue, the Lanalhue lake, which is—.

Ítalo: The 8th region. It's part of the Bío-Bío [area].

Sandra: Exactly. From that part. And my dad was very—. He was always very, how do you say that? Proud of his—. Of his roots, that were, according to him, were Mapuche, right? And that's why my daughter is also interested in this topic right now, I think. So that you understand why she chose this topic for her thesis. Of course, she has nothing to—.

Ítalo: No, but that's excellent. No, it's an honor. It's nice to see that you're interested in doing this while you're so far away but at the same so close.

Sandra: Yes, yes, yes.

Ítalo: So far away physically, but only physically.

Sandra: Exactly, exactly, and I think that maybe out here, sometimes more—. One tries to keep certain things, what you don't have, close to them. I never talk about this stuff. My dad didn't talk about it either. He lived for a while as a child in a reserve, from what I understood, but he passed away ten years ago. Unfortunately, there are many things that we can't ask him, but, that makes—. Well, I think that's why my daughter also always has this interest in this every aspect of the Mapuche topic. Well, I also understand everything that is still going on in Chile today. So more than anything I'm telling you to—. Because she has not said much about why she chose this thesis topic herself, but that's the reason why she has chosen it, right?

Ítalo: No, but excellent. It is good because it is another translation aspect, I would say, as I was telling you. For example, I don't know. If you translate from French to Spanish or from Spanish to English, it's different, because to begin with, they are not societies that are currently in conflict. Not in a type of conflict like the one you see here, because here there is conflict, I mean, one that has even reached the point of armed conflict. But there is always a sense of social friction here that isn't very recent. There is a great distrust between the two societies, we are in contact and we are very close to each other. And we are all mixed as well.

Sandra: Exactly. That is the same thing I was telling you. I think it's so—. I think that there are still so many Chileans who do not want to accept that in a certain way, whether it's from the north or from the south, they have some Native roots, right? Of Indigenous people from

wherever they are. Of course, there are some who are really almost 100% European and will never mix with anything. But most of them do, of course.

Ítalo: Of course.

Sandra: And so-

Ítalo: But others don't, of course. The base—. The other day I was reading something about that. It was—. Basically, the predominant genetic base in Chile is Indigenous.

Sandra: Exactly, yes.

Ítalo: You can tell that people have [certain] features and all that. That you don't have the surnames or things like that does not mean that there's nothing you—. In your background.

Sandra: That's right. And I still see that, in spite of so many years, it has not changed in Chile. Maybe now little by little, I don't know.

Ítalo: Yes, the youth they do—.

Sandra: The youth is—.

Ítalo: The youth is much more aware of this and they don't have issues with it. To the extent that people are very proud to know of this.

Sandra: And that's good. That the pride increases and the shame minimizes. Maybe, I don't know. It's entirely related to the colonization and-

Ítalo: I give—. Monday I was teaching a class and I thought to myself, "should I record this to demonstrate the contrast?" I was in a classroom with third grade children, who are about eight years old. And all of a sudden, a child said—. I didn't say anything, we were busy doing something else. He said—. He stood up and said, "Who is Mapuche here?" And some of the kids started raising their hand and said "I am Mapuche" and "I am Colimil," "I am Huaiquilao." And they started sharing their names. "I come from this community," and "my mom or grandpa are from this community." And it was like, half of the class, more or less. And I was thinking, "When I was a kid, I would have never said that. No, no, when they checked the list, I remember how people would duck because they were embarrassed. Of course, it was terrible how it humiliated the people they listed. If you had a Mapuche surname or anything that reeked of Mapuche [*laughs*] it was met with hatred by the rest. And, the rest of the kids [in the class] did not have any issues with this. They said "I'm not Mapuche, I'm Chilean," and there was no drama.

Sandra: Of course. No, no, no, no, yes, that's what it's all about. I mean, not so much that you have to be [Indigenous], but that people know about some-

Ítalo: Exactly.

Sandra: Whether it's Mapuche or—.

Ítalo: I don't know where the issue stems from. Here there is not so much ethnic shame. That used to be very prominent. I remember it. I remember it very vividly, everyone remembers it. It was a, a very dark time, I would say, for the Mapuche people to live in constant repression.

Sandra: Yes, exactly.

Ítalo: It was a thing that would happen, but it was done quietly. It wasn't something explicit. Nobody actually said that you couldn't sit somewhere or something like that. But they would let you know one way or another.

Sandra: Exactly, yes. Well, I enjoyed listening to you very much. That's what I wanted to say.

Ítalo: Your name, excuse me, I haven't asked what your name is.

Sandra: My name is—. I am Sandra.

Ítalo: Sandra.

Sandra: Sandra.

Ítalo: Sandra and Selena. Yes, Selena I already-

Sandra: Yes, yes.

Ítalo: Well, it's late there, isn't it?

Sandra: It's 8 pm here, yes.

Ítalo: For hours later.

Sandra: Yes, four hours, for now. I think it will change next week.

Ítalo: Yes our time is changing here, it will be a time difference of five hours.

Sandra: Yes. It's changing here as well. So there will be a time difference of six hours.

Ítalo: Spring is starting over there.

Sandra: Exactly, it's becoming spring here.

Ítalo: We are freezing over here.

Selena: *[laughs]*

Sandra: Well, in the south, when I travel to Chile on April 28, I'm going to see my mom who is living in Coquimbo. But there it's always spring and it doesn't change much.

Ítalo: It doesn't change much. Here it's freezing, here at night you have to wear a parka and everything and make a fire. Otherwise, no, because you'll be freezing.

Ítalo: You live in Temuco or somewhere near Temuco?

Ítalo: I live nearby, about 30 km from Temuco.

Sandra: Yes, I have been to Temuco as well. I traveled with my dad all over the country. We went as far as Temuco, but it was a long time ago. But well, maybe someday we are going to-

Ítalo: Yes, come, come. I suddenly can't hear you, I don't know what's going on.

Sandra: Yes, there's a cat making a lot of noise here as well *[laughs]*.

Ítalo: *[laughs]* It could be the cat. Is it the cat behind you?

Sandra: No, no, no. There's another one who's scratching the door.

Ítalo: Right. I enjoyed talking with you two. I hope that you have a safe trip as well.

Selena: Thank you, thank you.

Ítalo: No problem. Well, Selena, thank you for the opportunity. I hope everything goes well with your thesis.

Selena: Thank you so much, yes. And if you have any questions regarding my thesis or something else, you can always send me a message.

Ítalo: Yeah. No problem. Same here. The same goes for you. If you need anything, tell me, we will get in contact and it won't be an issue.

Selena: Yes.

Ítalo: Okay, good.

Selena: Thank you.

Ítalo: Take care, bye.

B2.4 Rosendo

File: entrevistaconrosendo.m4a

Duration: 58:55

Date: 22 April 2022

Selena: Hello.

Rosendo: Hello, hello.

Selena: Hello.

Rosendo: Yes, can you hear me?

Selena: Yes, yes.

Rosendo: Right.

Selena: One moment, please. Yes. Can you—.

Rosendo: You are white, because it turns out that my screen is dark. I don't know, my screen is dark, and so I see you dark. I don't know how I look to you [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*]

Rosendo: I don't know if it was my cell phone that was like that. I don't know at what moment it was like that, no. I don't know if I still look like that with—. I think it's called, the screen—. I don't know how, but it has —. There, I've seen a name like you said, but I don't know—. I don't know how to get it out [of my screen]. But it must be a real picture.

Selena: Yes. Well-

Rosendo: But we are still very pretty, I think [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*]

Rosendo: Yes. The important thing is that you can hear me and I can hear you. I read your letter, and it turns out that it's about consent.

Selena: Yes, yes.

Rosendo: Well, since I don't have the consent, so I don't—. I don't read that anymore, because I don't—. It's all the same, and it all has good intentions.

Selena: Hmm, yes.

Rosendo: So, that's it [*laughs*].

Selena: Well, nice to meet you.

Rosendo: Yes.

Selena: I am—. My name is Selena.

Rosendo: Right.

Selena: And I am a student at Leiden University in the Netherlands. And—. My mom is also here in the room to help me when I can't find my words. Because since I was born here I haven't spoken Spanish as a child and I don't speak Spanish very fluently.

Rosendo: But you speak very well.

Selena: [*laughs*]

Rosendo: [*laughs*]

Selena: Thank you. Well, I can understand almost everything you tell me, but I find it hard to ask questions and form sentences. And—. Yes.

Rosendo: I understand. Like-. This right there, the approach of the—. The—. The purpose of the—. Of the translation is that I have always said—. Well, that I have been told, and I have heard. Translation is—. Translation is fiction, because translation is—. It is against reality, that is, against the traditional truth, to betray. Translation is betrayal. In Italian, they say “traduttore” and “traditore.”

Selena: Hmm. Yes, yes.

Rosendo: I don’t know—. I’m not Italian, but something struck me[*laughs*].

Selena: Uh. Okay. Yes. First I’d like to ask if you would like me to address you formally or informally?

Rosendo: Informal is better. Informal, informal [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*] I’m going to quickly talk about the consent form.

Rosendo: Yes.

Selena: The most important thing I want to know is if you are okay with me using your own first and last name in my thesis.

Rosendo: I think it’s better because I don’t like anonymity for the same reason, because it turns out that suddenly anyone else can—. Or I mean, instead of protecting me, which is also unprotected, because it is like a thing without a name that anyone can put their name on it and make light of it. Well, at least I do not know if it will be useful to take a name, but I prefer to use my name even if it is with conscience and sentiment, because the role is one—. And the other one is what—. That’s it. I am—. That’s it then. I want it to be in my name.

Selena: Without? Without a name?

Rosendo: Yes, I mean, my name, my name.

Selena: Ah, okay [*laughs*].

Rosendo: With my name.

Selena: Okay, okay. Of course. And—.

Rosendo: I am not a Spanish speaker either. I am a Mapunzungun speaker. And I speak Mapunzungun. Spanish is a language for me—. Ah, well. The—. The language—. The contact language. Because I am—. I mean, in this case I am a Mapunzungun-Spanish, Spanish-Mapunzungun translator.

Selena: Yes. Uh, well. Your consent and your answers are recorded so that I can retrieve the information when I write my thesis. And my professors and I are the only ones who have access to this recording and I will delete it upon completion of the thesis.

Rosendo: Yes, roger that. Good, good, good. In Mapunzungun we say “feley feley” [laughs].

Selena: Yes [laughs]. Let’s start with the first question, what kind of texts have you translated?

Rosendo: Phew. Anthropology, linguistics, literary translation. In fact, I have [translated for] a writer who won the prize this year, who is Elicura Chihuailaf. This year’s winner.

Selena: Yes, yes, yes, I know him.

Rosendo: He is my—. One of my—. I have done all of his translations. I mean, not all, but many translations. And so, well, in all the other areas of linguistics, anthropology [as well]. Because I’ve given classes on all of those subjects. And I don’t, I don’t only translate. I am a professor. I’m a state professor and I deal with linguistics.

Selena: Yes, yes, understood. And [have you translated] poems or books, or literature as well?

Rosendo: Yes, of course. The book can be read in different ways, in the sense that—. For example, the book that is published by the publishing company [*unintelligible*], which is from the culture—. The Mapunche culture. It talks about traditional medicine and the—. And the understandings, I mean, for example the—. What is said about—. How the ancient Mapunche talked about religiosity, health, medicine and all other idiosyncrasies.

Selena: Hmhm. Okay. And children’s stories as well/

Rosendo: What?

Selena: Stories-

Rosendo: Yes, well-

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: Of course, everything.

Selena: Yes. Okay. And why did you start translating?

Rosendo: [laughs] why? The thing is that—. Well, on one hand, what I wanted is to—. I wanted to write—. Write in my—. Or, I mean, I wanted to be able to write in my language, which is Mapunzungun. And it was difficult in the sense that—. I think it was entirely in conjunction with writing Mapunzungun. I realized that I had to translate it. I mean, it’s not that I wanted to do it. It’s that I had to do it and I just started doing it, without thinking about whether I wanted to or not. Understand? [laughs].

Selena: Yes, yes, yes.

Rosendo: I mean, it was because I had to do it. Because writing and translating are not natural things. They are arbitrary, is what the experts say. In other words, it’s—. You have to do it, you have no other choice. I mean, it’s not because you want to.

Selena: Hmm, yes. And for how long have you been translating this language pair?

Rosendo: Fifty years.

Selena: Okay.

Rosendo: Since the 70s or 1978. No, the 70s because—. Well, I always thought it was, let's see—. Translating written text, yes. But translating, I have always translated, for seventy years [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*] yes, yes.

Rosendo: Of course, because—. Because a text is in Spanish or it's in Mapunzungun, which is my native tongue as well. I always have to exist in between two languages.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: Currently, in school, in the university, they will tell you that this language, this other language is not alive anymore. That's not the case.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: We—. I mean, people. A person lives without being aware of what language is, because language is a natural thing. So, therefore, it's not—. In this case, it's not—. Well, they are referring to Spanish in the Southern Cone, but there are many other languages because when one listens to the radio they will hear a different language, Japanese, Chinese. In North America, for example, when the astronauts went to the moon. Oof, when was that again? [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*]

Rosendo: And so, one already—. That it has a sense of purpose, that one—. Listens to the radio and has heard other languages.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: Which caused fear 70 years ago.

Selena: You also have Mapuche roots. What part of the Mapuche region do you come from?

Rosendo: Uh. From the heart of La Araucanía. It's called the conflict zone, by those from—. By the government.

Selena: Yes, yes, I understand. And what variant of Mapudungun do you speak?

Rosendo: Well, uh. In terms of the distinction that the linguists make, I am a Mapuche who speaks Moluche.

Selena: Ah, okay. And you have spoken the language since childhood or did you learn it later?

Rosendo: Both, or I mean, a fusion of both. I learned Mapunzungun and Spanish in the same manner.

Selena: Yes. And have you ever felt ashamed to speak Mapundungun?

Rosendo: Ashamed, no. But, that someone has done something that made me feel—. That made me feel ashamed, yes. Like when they're mocking you. But, me feeling ashamed to speak the language? Never. The reality is that I have been in many different institutions, military, educational, universities, and I never, never, thought about how I was going to talk. Like "no I can't speak [the language] here."

Selena: Hmm. And-

Rosendo: No, I don't feel shame. I'm not saying that I'm shameless, which is something entirely different [*laughs*].

Selena: [*laughs*] And do you think that the language and the ability to speak the language play an important role in Mapuche communities? And why?

Rosendo: Every language and for every group, their native language is what they receive the most. Because it used to express the way they think and the way they can express what they feel. In this case, well, apparently practicing their religion is not a requirement because it has to be done in the language that corresponds, which is their language, which is Mapunzungun. And in fact everything about the prayer is the best in the language of prayer. It is not said in Spanish, it has to be in Mapuzungun. In other words, the prayer—. That is, the Christian religion, as it is the one imposed by the schools here. And in fact I studied all—. I mean, speaking of studying, when one has to take exams, school, go to classes, that kind of studying. That's where you learn. I studied in Christian schools. And I practiced in Christian schools and Christian institutions. For example, in the Hospital of the Anglican Diocese of Chile, Bolivia and Peru. As an accountant, because I am a qualified accountant, that's what I studied first. And I attended an Anglican hospital and a number of Anglican schools in the—. And the Anglican Diocese of Chile, Bolivia, and Peru, as an accountant. And I practiced at the University of—. Catholic University. Ah, as a professional practice. The subject of languages. And I studied at a—. At the University of Chile, which is the University of La Frontera here in Temuco. Because Chile before the military government—. Because it was called Chile before the military government.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: It was called Chile. But afterwards they changed the name to the University of La Frontera.

Selena: Yeah.

Rosendo: So, that's where I learned it. Well, obviously through the Chilean system. From health, from pedagogy, all the things related to—. And that way—. And I did those things in the field of—. In the commercial field, because I have—. I am a professional—. I'm an

accountant, I focus on—. Public finance and all that stuff. But today my degree says that I'm a state professor with a major in accounting.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: So, I earned those professional degrees and worked at the Universidad de La Frontera, for the eh. For the translation of Windows 95.

Selena: Yes, yes.

Rosendo: I mean, Microsoft.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: So, therefore, I have [*connection lost*]. Practicing everything simultaneously.

Selena: Ah, we lost connection.

Rosendo: But now-

Selena: Now it's okay.

Rosendo: [*laughs*]

Selena: [*laughs*] can you repeat the stuff about Windows? What you were saying about Windows. Can you repeat it?

Rosendo: Yes, alright. Today I went to the—. I worked on the translation of the system in the language—. Into the language Mapunzungun. But from Spanish, yes. Because, well, of course, from Spanish.

Selena: Yes, of course, but—. Do you think, for example, that translating children's literature could contribute to the proficiency and engagement of the younger generations?

Rosendo: I think it could contribute more to the proficiency than the engagement, because the engagement depends on the person.

Selena: Hmm. Okay, I understand. A translator often adapts elements of the text to make it translate better into the other culture. Are there certain adaptations you make when you translate?

Rosendo: No, no. I tend to use synonyms and antonyms, the meaning that is referred to in the other language.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: So, I use my own way of, how do you say that—. My own way of doing it.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: So, not the same translation.

Selena: Okay.

Rosendo: I mean, literally, what's it called, the translation. You need to find words. And find the ideal of such and such —. Of the word. A lot of challenges, but later you're still learning and distinguishing the way to translate, the way you verbalize the literal and the conceptual.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: Or the contextual.

Selena: Yes, indeed. And are there any Mapuche concepts or considerations that you find difficult to translate?

Rosendo: Yes, yes, yes, there are.

Selena: And, are there any that are, for example, untranslatable?

Rosendo: Huh?

Selena: That are untranslatable? The-

Rosendo: You need to translate the untranslatable words because they can be—. Because they are—. Let's see, how do I put this—. They are words that are—. How can I say that—. One should translate the meaning. For example, the—. Poems, or something else that is considered, for example, that are—. The language of desire. For example, the—. The matter of—. Of sexual matters and—. Things like that.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Hello? Hello?

Selena: Uh. Hello? Can you hear me?

Rosendo: Yes, yes. I can hear you.

Selena: Okay, uhm. Yes. How do you deal with words that are—. That are untranslatable?

Rosendo: I don't, I just don't—. It's just remains unchanged. The—. The appropriate thing to do.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Or, I mean, it's not—. I haven't found a translation.

Selena: Yes, okay. Uhm. The translator can make certain changes to combat certain stereotypes, discriminatory or colonial stereotypes, replacing them, for example, with Mapuche terms and concepts. There are names like *araucano* or *reducción* and *pacificación*. As a translator, how do you deal with these kinds of terms and why?

Rosendo: No, because I am Mapunche and when I say something on the radio I say Mapunche and the Mapunche people. So, no. I am not going to make [those] mistakes.

Selena: Okay, I understand.

Rosendo: Because those are very bad words. Well, I don't know if it's the same, most of you I call "the ordinary," for example. That is to say—. Well, instead of saying the ugly, the stinking, the filthy, and the nasty, because—. That's it. But I say they are "ordinary." That's what I generally use for my friends over there. I say, "Well, what do you say to those people who say Araucano? Ah no, he's an ordinary person."

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: That to me is being ordinary. Well, I don't know if I'm not clear on what it would mean in Spanish to say *ordinario*, what I mainly—. Ordinary is used. For example, here the records—. It seems to come [*connection lost*] in government regulations, for example. So, according to order one, it is said that. In order two, it says this. It is the order of the day. Today it's said that it is going to rain, for example, at 15:00 in the afternoon, that is, at four o'clock [*laughs*]. Yeah, that would be an ordinary, because an order, but that—. Just as you told me, today we are going to meet at five o'clock. That's an order. So I said [*connection lost*].

Selena: [*laughs*]

Rosendo: Do you like [*connection lost*] being called an ordinary?

Selena: No.

Rosendo: Of course, but here in Chile we say it like that. Ordinary number so much.

Selena: Okay, yes. And uh-

Rosendo: So that's [*connection lost*]. A word in Mapunzungun which—. It's a—. Not applicable to other countries or other parts. I would be one of the ordinary [*laughs*]. That would be even worse. So, I say—. I say I'm Mapunche and I [*speak*] Mapunzungun. Because the language is Mapunzungun, not Mapuzungun.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: And the people are Mapunche. I am Mapunche. I speak Mapunzungun.

Selena: Yes, okay. And how would you translate the word *huinca* to Spanish?

Rosendo: You would be the thief, the intruder. That would be the difference because, well, I'm going to say *wingka*, that's all. Because the word is known as—. We all know what it means in its entirety.

Selena: Yes, of course. Uh. In an interview about translation Elicura Chihuailaf also says that—. Well, he says that he considers translation to be a form of diplomacy and believes that

the translator's task is mainly to be able to reach people in the city and make Mapuche culture visible there. Is there any particular political message that you try to convey through your translations?

Rosendo: No, I would say no, because it is only based on the thinking of the author of the text, nothing else. So, it's not that. Because one goes to—. For example, the translations that I do are—. According to—. It is the text that I translate. Not the intentionality I have, because there is—. For example, there is—. You talk about the text and the context.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: So, one goes—. As I was saying, there are connotations that are textually, for example of the—. There is an idea in Santiago about all this that is called Chile—. Something mapu, or something like that. That is, of trying to get into urbanity, I think. And then, —. There is a lot of peripheral. There is the peripheral culture that they are—. Well, it's a world—. I don't know if that's what they talk about. So in translations that I have received—. I have received, yes. But I have not translated it because I am not afraid of this and I would lack the context because I am not from the—. From that sector. So no, they are things that I don't know about.

Selena: Yes, of course. And, so, what is the most important goal of translating this language pair for you?

Rosendo: No. For me, language is a way of translating to understand different cultures.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: Because, as a matter of fact—. This implies to me. For example, when I did my military service, the—. There was a professor and—. Who did the translation of the National Song into Mapunzungun as a topic of his literary essay. As a student and as a Mapunzungun speaker. This person was XXXX. I knew him as a child and I had to meet him precisely when I was doing my military service, which was in 72-73. Just when the military coup d'état took place. So he—. I met him in the army that he visited at that time. The regiment, my regiment in which we developed cultural activities for—. Well, that here in Lautaro, that is, in the Chile region. I mean, it was not—. It was in our country. It was here. But there I realized that our culture is nothing more than—. I mean, I wouldn't say that I had to practice it myself. Although within the regiment, so to speak. With uniform, with everything, speaking in Mapunzungun and our professor who was—. He visited as a doctor in the subject, an old professor and made the presentation at some point of the whole dance show. We as young people of 18 years old, military, that is—. Totally young and in that way together. So, therefore—. And it also turns out—. We are facing a war that has always remained in Chile. Because I also heard that from another old Mapunche that the war is not over because it turns out that—. That, uh. That at any moment the people—. In the case of the wingka to offend the Mapunche when he calls him Indian when he gets angry with him.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: But as a friend, new colleague and classmate, colleague, everything.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: But when they call you Indian [*snorts*]. And the other way around as well. It's my friend, they're my friend, and so on, and so forth. But when do I tell them that they're a wingka? Only at moments of aggression. When that aggressiveness shows. For example, one speaks of the Arauco war, which was before the year 77-80. But no, it continues and persists and remains alive right now in the land. It is here. Because, we have some grandparents who told us. This is where the usurpation began. Bad connection?

Selena: Yes, a little bit. Yes.

Rosendo: But that's what I wanted to say. That there's no—. I mean, the word *wingka* is not really used—. You don't say it when there's nothing going on [*laughs*. But when there are things taking place, yes.

Selena: Well, yes, I understand. Uhm. And do you think that translation could contribute to the political engagement in this situation?

Rosendo: I don't know. I'm not from the political field, so—. Because to understand the word *politics*, which in Spanish is the art of governing. My daughter happens to be a political scientist by profession. She studied for that degree in university.

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: Political science. And that's for me the exception. When I read political science, it is the art of governing. So, my politics is that. I'm not talking about Chilean politics or anything.

Selena: Yes, okay. And do you think there is a way to translate and transmit the trauma and the pain of injustice and discrimination of the Mapuche people?

Rosendo: Naturally, the Mapunche do it in their language, in their Nation, among their people.

Selena: Hmm, yeah. And is it hard sometimes to—. I don't know how I to say it. My mom is going to help me.

Sandra: Here is the mother. Here is the mother, do you hear me? Hello?

Rosendo: Yes.

Sandra: Well, Selena [*connection lost*] can't translate into Spanish. [*Connection lost*] Hello?

Rosendo: Yes.

Sandra: Did you understand what I said?

Rosendo: Yes, I can hear you.

Sandra: Well, my—. Selena wanted to know if [*connection lost*].

Rosendo: Now I can't hear you [*laughs*].

Sandra: Right now you can't? How about now?

Rosendo: I can't hear you right now. I can't hear you, I don't hear anything.

Sandra: Ah, let's see, toward which point do I need to direct my voice Selena>

Selena: Here.

Sandra: Can you hear me?

Rosendo: Right now, yes.

Sandra: My daughter would like to know-

Rosendo: I can't hear the question.

Sandra: [*Connection lost*] how you would translate-

Rosendo: It seems like—. I don't know. Something is interrupted abruptly.

Sandra: Ah, some words are lost.

Rosendo: Let's see.

Sandra: Can you hear me now?

Rosendo: Now I can hear you.

Sandra: Yeah, okay. How would you [*connection lost*]. Hello? Hello?

Rosendo: Hello? It says there's a poor connection.

Sandra:Disappeared, now I can see you.

Rosendo: I can hear Selena but I can't—. When the lady talks to me, I can't hear her.

Selena: [*laughs*]

Sandra: Uh. What?

Rosendo: It's okay now.

Sandra: Like this?

Rosendo: Yes, like this, like this.

Sandra: Okay. How would you translate, uh, the pain or discrimination of the Mapuche?

Rosendo: Trauma or discrimination...

Sandra: Hmhm.

Rosendo: Well, in grief they say *weñangkün* and *wezatun*, which means *grief* or *mistreatment*.

Sandra: Mistreatment. Yeah. Okay. That's all my daughter wanted [*connection lost*]. She didn't know how to ask this question. Can you hear me? Hello?

Rosendo: Hello? [*connection lost*]. The microphone, the microphone.

Sandra: The microphone, yes. I need to be closer to the microphone. I don't know where it is but—. Can you hear me like this?

Rosendo: [*laughs*]

Sandra: [*laughs*] I have no idea where.

Rosendo: When you look at this direction right here. There, there, I can hear you.

Sandra: Ah, okay. Now you can hear me.

Rosendo: Hmhm. 100%.

Sandra: Ah, so, I need to stay here, okay [*laughs*].

Rosendo: [*laughs*]

Sandra: Okay.

Rosendo: Don't let your daughter leave you behind.

Sandra: Right [*laughs*].

Rosendo: [*laughs*]

Sandra: The next question—. Do you have another question?

Selena: No.

Sandra: Ah, that was your last question.

Rosendo: It's finished, we're done.

Sandra: We're done, yes.

Selena: [*connection lost*]

Sandra: This was my daughter's last question.

Selena: Well, uhm.

Rosendo: Now we're going to leave.

Sandra: Wait, one moment. What did you say? What else did you want to say?

Selena: I wanted to ask you if there is something else you would like to share about the job of being a translator?

Sandra: Did you catch that?

Rosendo: No, I can't hear her. The interviewer, I can't hear her right now.

Selena: [*laughs*] Uhm.

Rosendo. Like that.

Selena: I would like to-

Rosendo: Now it's okay.

Selena: Yes [*laughs*]. I would like to-

Rosendo: [*unintelligible*]

Selena: ...if there's anything you would like to share about working as a translator?

Rosendo: Look, I am unconscious and conscious. No, but I'm mostly bilingual and bicultural. Because I don't—. I don't make that distinction, because I—. For me, everything I do is universal.

Selena: Hmhm.

Rosendo: So, I could not make any recommendation or anything because I have participated in many national and international conferences and congresses, so one cannot sense what it is like. Well, I have also had good teachers, professors, that one does not have to attend like going for an examination. You just have to be present and that's all. And that [*is*] what they do. The least one had to do was—. One had to be—. For example, in the regiment when you are 18 years old you go to another place that really totally changed the world of the child. As you stop being a kid and you get out of the classroom, [*and*] you go into a [*connection lost*].

Selena: Hmm.

Rosendo: [*unintelligible*] now the image is coming back.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: And so I wouldn't—. I wouldn't say that it is better or less valuable by any means. You have to be and act like—. Because—. As anthropologists say "where you go, do as you please."

Selena: Okay. Well, we've reached the end of the interview. Thank you so much for participating. If you have any questions about my thesis or something else, you can always message me.

Rosendo: Of course. When you write it—. You write it and you finish it. And I want to see and have your work.

Selena: I think that—. Well-

Rosendo: So [*connection lost*].

Selena: Uhm.

Sandra: It's in English.

Selena: Yes, it's in English. I want someone to translate it to Spanish.

Sandra: And maybe—.

Selena: Maybe [*connection lost*].

Sandra: [*laughs*]

Selena: [*laughs*]

Sandra: Can you hear my daughter?

Rosendo: Yes, she wants it to be in Spanish. Yes, that's good. We'll see how it can be done.

Sandra: Yes, of course. Because she needs to write her thesis in English here. So, she needs to translate this conversation to English.

Rosendo: I didn't hear any of the last things you said, I don't—.

Sandra: I was telling you that the conversation that she has with you, she needs to—. Translate it to English because her thesis needs to be in English.

Rosendo: Yeah, I don't know. Well, I—. I speak Spanish and Mapunzungun, little to no English [*laughs*].

Sandra: [*laughs*]

Selena: [*laughs*]

Sandra: That's why she was thinking about translating it into Spanish when she's done. At some point, she'll see if she can translate it into Spanish.

Rosendo: Yes, to Spanish.

Sandra: Exactly.

Selena: Yes.

Rosendo: Perfect. Pewkayal, then.

Sandra: Excuse me?

Rosendo: Pewkayal, pewkayal.

Sandra: That's in Mapudungun?

Rosendo: See you later, see you later [*laughs*].

B2.5 Sonia

File: entrevistaconsonia.m4a

Duration: 00:47:49

Date: 31 March 2022

Selena: Hello.

Sonia: Hi, how are you?

Selena: I'm fine, thank you.

Sonia: Sorry. I had forgotten [about it]. Since I didn't receive any notice beforehand. It slipped my mind.

Selena: No problem. Alright. Nice to meet you. I am Selena.

Sonia: Nice to meet you, too.

Selena: I'm a student-

Sonia: You're Chilean?

Selena: Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, my parents are Chilean. And I was born here in Amsterdam, in Holland. But yes.

Sonia: Do you speak Dutch?

Selena: Yes, Dutch and English. And a little bit of Spanish too, but I don't speak the language fluently.

Sonia: Yeah, don't worry, we'll understand each other. What is your name?

Selena: Selena.

Sonia: Selena. Yes, alright. You are studying for a master's degree in linguistics.

Selena: Yes, yes in translation.

Sonia: Yes. Translation.

Selena: Translation of Dutch and English.

Sonia: Yes, okay.

Selena: Can you hear me well?

Sonia: Very well.

Selena: Okay, okay.

Sonia: I was still here. I was dropping off the kids. And suddenly I saw your message and thought I had an appointment and I thought [*makes a shocked face*].

Selena: [*ric*] Well, my mom is here in the room to help me when I can't find the words. Because sometimes it's hard for me to formulate sentences and ask questions. And, well, I can understand almost everything you tell me, but sometimes it's hard [*for me*] to come up with sentences and all that. That's why I'm asking you to speak calmly and clearly, so I can keep up more easily.

Sonia: Okay. Let's go.

Selena: Would you like me to address you informally or formally?

Sonia: No, informally is fine.

Selena: Okay. First, I would like to briefly discuss the form of consent.

Sonia: Yes, I have it here.

Selena: I highlighted the most important phrases in the document in yellow. What I mainly want to know is if you are okay with me using your name and surname in my thesis. If you do not want this, your name won't be mentioned in the thesis at all, and I will be using a pseudonym.

Sonia: No, with my name. With my name, yes.

Selena: Okay. Yes, thank you.

Sonia: I haven't seen the form, but I don't have questions. You can ask me questions and I will respond. Yes? Is that okay with you?

Selena: Yes.

Sonia: You can [*connection lost*]. I have the form and should send it to you.

Selena: The connection is slightly off. Can you repeat that?

Sonia: I should fill out the form and send it later.

Selena: No, no. That's not necessary.

Sonia: No? I see, okay.

Selena: Your consent and your answers are recorded so that I can retrieve the information when I write my thesis. But my professors and I are the only ones who have access to this information, and I will delete it upon completion of the thesis.

Sonia: Okay. No problem.

Selena: Well, let's start with the first question. What types of texts have you translated [in the past]?

Sonia: I have translated all types of texts, stories, human right documents for the state. I have translated documents for universities. And also documents for this career path. So I have basically translated all types of documents. From phrases to formal documents.

Selena: Okay. And poems and books or children's stories as well?

Sonia: As well. I recently did—. Recently, we have just made a collection, a translation of a poem by Ermelinda Díaz.

Selena: Okay, yes. I don't know her, but—.

Sonia: It's a Chilean story. Ermelinda Diaz is a Chilean poet. So, it was recovered and then translated into Mapudungun. Here there are also documents, for example, which are—. Which have been written by the Jesuits. There only exists one of them, called Chilidúgú, which was written by [Bernardo de] Havestadt and was written in 1777, which is only in Mapudungun and Latin, it is not in Spanish. So now we have translated it into Spanish.

Selena: Yes. I understand. And why did you start translating?

Sonia: For one, because I am Mapuche. I am a speaker [of Mapudungun]. And, it so happened that, when I started, I studied to become an educator. *Maestra*, as they would say over here. I began to learn how to teach a second language. And I started specializing in teaching a second language, and I said, "what's better than teaching my own [language]?" So. But I wasn't familiar with many strategies on how to teach and how to translate. And so I began refining my skills, doing—. Studying. I completed a Master's in Linguistics with a specialization in Latin American Indigenous Language and Culture. And so, that's why—. And on top of that, it's also something I knew how to do as well.

Selena: Okay. Yes.

Sonia: Because it's my first language.

Selena: Yes, yes. And for how long have you been translating this language pair?

Sonia: Oh, it's been quite a—. I think it's been 20 years. Approximately 20 years.

Selena: And you said you had a Mapuche origin as well.

Sonia: I am Mapuche. Originally from—. My parents are Mapuche, my grandparents are Mapuche. In other words, all my descendants going all the way back are Mapuche.

Selena: And from what-

Sonia: All of them.

Selena: Understood. And from what part of the Mapuche region-

Sonia: From the 8th region Alto Bío-Bío, from the community of Alto Bío-Bío. I am Mapuche Pehuenche.

Selena: Pehuenche, yes. Have you spoken the language since childhood or did you learn it later?

Sonia: Which one? Spanish? Spanish or Mapudungun?

Selena: Mapudungun.

Sonia: Mapudungun. From my mother's womb, that is, I first learned Mapudungun and then Spanish, and at the age of six I learned Spanish.

Selena: Yes, yes. And have you ever felt ashamed of speaking Mapudungun? What was the reason?

Sonia: I don't think so. Because for me, it was super natural to speak Mapudungun, because I was my sister's classmate for the entirety of my school life. So, when we quarreled with my classmates, we scolded them in Mapudungun. So it was never [like that]. On the contrary, it was a tool for me to be able to, quote unquote, defend myself when we quarreled. So it was never an obstacle to speak my language.

Selena: Okay. And do you think that the language and the ability to speak the language play an important role in Mapuche communities?

Sonia: Obviously, obviously. Because it is the language that is alive, or, the culture that is alive. If you don't speak it, your language dies. Before anything else, right? And for a community, a person who does not speak [the language] is as if they are missing a part of themselves to be a Mapuche that—. A complete Mapuche.

Selena: Yes, yes. And do you think that someone can only be a genuine Mapuche when they are able to also speak the language?

Sonia: That is, a complete Mapuche. But you can identify as Mapuche without speaking the language or without practicing the culture, because you identify yourself as you, as a being. But if you have both [roots and language proficiency], you will obviously be more identifiable than a person who does not speak the language.

Selena: Hmhm. Yes. And how do you think translation can contribute to the revitalization of the language?

Sonia: It's that—. Let's see.

Selena: Ma'am?

Sonia: [*computer turns off*]

Selena: Hello?

Selena: I can't hear you. You have no audio.

Sonia: Can you hear me?

Selena: I can hear you now, yes [*laughs*].

Sonia: Yes, okay. Now you can. My computer turned off. Then I got on the phone.

Selena: Yeah. And the question—. How do you think translation can contribute to the revitalization of the language?

Sonia: The thing is that—. Look, to revitalize the language, I don't know to what extent. But if we are talking about a rural community, for instance, it doesn't help at all. Understand? In an urban community, because this community already is able to read, urban Mapuche read, but rural Mapuche don't read. So, obviously, it helps the urban community a lot because someone can go and grab a book or go online and gain access to these translations. But the urban, does not—. Or I meant to say, the rural doesn't, excuse me.

Selena: Yes, yes. And do you think that children's literature, for instance, could contribute to the fluency and engagement of younger Mapuche generations?

Sonia: Yes. Yes. In fact, in my school I teach Mapudungun and the children can read [it]. And also, there are words that they can already—. They can already have some conversations by means of the texts.

Selena: That's great.

Sonia: And they will talk to you, a lot. The children like Mapudungun very much. They look for phrases [to use]. So it definitely helps.

Selena: Yes, that's really good. And a translator also tends to adapt elements of the text so that it translates better into the other culture. Are there certain adoptions you make when you translate?

Sonia: Yes, what happens is that when one [translates they are] required to have "connecting link," as we Chileans call it, or coherence, because when translating literally, the text is not the same. I think that you, as a translator, know this.

Selena: Yes, yes.

Sonia: Yes, well, you need to be coherent. So, for example, since I'm a speaker, it is easy for me to be coherent. But to someone who isn't a speaker and [still] has to learn the language, it will obviously be much harder. But when you translate, you take, you read, then you translate. You don't translate word for word, right?

Selena: Yes, yes, yes. You need to find an equivalent as well.

Sonia: Place an equivalent [somewhere]. For instance, I have not used [equivalents] because it is easy for me to translate. So, for example, they give me a text in Spanish, to translate into Mapudungun. I know what it says. So, since I understand [it], the Spanish flows naturally, and I also speak fluent Mapudungun. I don't—. I know what [the text] is trying to say. Or the other way around, when it's in Mapudungun and I need to translate it to Spanish. So I know what the reader is supposed to understand.

Selena: Yes, yes, yes. Are there [any] Mapuche concepts or perceptions that you find difficult to translate?

Sonia: Yes, technical terms that require a neologism. Yes, neologisms are widely used for technical words. What—. Like, for example, [in the case of] *hospital*. A neologism is used, and [that way] you give meaning to the subject. So—. And that's how translation is done. Or, for example, *human rights* or acronyms as well. Suddenly you have to know what the acronyms mean in order to make the translation, what the client wants to be said.

Selena: Yes, yes. Do you think there are words that are untranslatable?

Sonia: Yes, for example, words that—. Let's see, how can I provide an example? Because *university* you can already translate, but for example the names of people you cannot translate. Proper nouns cannot be translated, such as names of cities. They cannot be translated.

Selena: Yes, exactly. And in addition to aesthetic changes, there are also changes that the translator can make to combat certain stereotypes, discriminatory or colonial stereotypes, replacing them, for example, with Mapuche terms and concepts. There are names like *araucano* or *reducción* and *pacificación*. And well, as a translator, how do you deal with these kinds of terms and why?

Sonia: What happens [is that], for example, *araucano* is like, the place. So, [in this case] one finds the root of that word. Well, *reducción* is like saying "to shrink." So then—. And—. In other words, we have to know how—. The history of what happened in order to make sense of the translation. Yes, so that's why I say that it's an enhancement, to become a translator. People can say that as a teacher, as a *maestra*, I know how to spot each issue to turn it into one of the best translation. And that the one who will read [the text], the reader, will understand.

Selena: Yes, yeah. And translations can also serve to teach outsiders more about Mapuche culture. Do you think it is important to find a middle ground between Chilean and Mapuche culture through translation?

Sonia: I believe that they go very much hand in hand, because for example, people from another country, the first thing they see when they see Chile is not the Mapuche. And then

when they find the word Chile and see the location and want to know more things, they start to see how many Native people there are in Chile. Because it is not only the Mapuche, there are nine Indigenous groups that are recognized as official, but there are still more that have not been recognized. So I think that when they approach those parts, they become a little more interested.

Selena: And do you try to translate into Spanish so that the texts also teach something about Mapuche culture to the readers?

Sonia: Can you repeat the question again?

Selena: Yes, do you try to translate into Spanish so that the texts also teach something about Mapuche culture to the readers?

Sonia: Let's see. But if a text, for example a history text, if there is nothing in it about the Native people and I put that in it, it means that the translation cannot be done. You can't do that because I should be translating what they ask me, but adding what I want the reader to know, that's not what they are asking me to do. So it's hard to insert something of your own in a translation. Unless the word Mapuche or an Indigenous word appears at the end, or something she can't say, she can express herself a little bit, but in a subtle way.

Selena: And do you sometimes leave some concepts untranslated or do you explain them in the translation?

Sonia: If it cannot be translated, yes. When the neologism cannot be used, but when the neologism can be used, it is translated with neologism.

Selena: Yes, and for example, how would you translate the word *huinca* into Spanish?

Sonia: What happens is that—. Look, the word *wingka* refers to, the Incas who invaded before the Spanish arrived. The first invaders were the Incas and then came the Spaniards. So when the Mapuche saw that other invaders came, they still had more power than the *wingka* because they came with more weapons. So from that moment on they said the *wingka*, but from the word *wiña*, which means “to drag”, as in “to take away.” So [the *wingka*] would be worse than the Inca, like the literal translation of the *wingka*. There is a history behind that word.

Selena: Yes, and do you always explain it to [the readers]?

Sonia: I always explain it. Because you have to bear in mind that the Incas also had their empire here in Chile. This meant that they were not so passive and gained territory. But later, when the Spaniards arrived, they came with more weapons than [the Incas], and they also brought many things with them, many parts and built more cities. So that is why *wingka* is not *ingka*, *wingka* from *wiña*, “to drag,” “to take,” “to seize.”

Selena: Okay. And, well, in an interview about translation, the author and translator, Elicura Chihuailaf, says that he considers translation to be a form of diplomacy and believes that the task of the Mapuche translator is mainly to be able to reach people in the city and make Mapuche culture visible there. Is there a particular political message that you try to convey through your translations? And what are these messages?

Sonia: The thing is that, look, one has to think about who Elicura is. So, he is a poet who has been gaining territory through many things. He has a National Literature Prize. So, to get there, he has gone through many things. [Me,] on the other hand, I am just a translator. So we see things differently, because our reality is different. Our way of getting there. For example, Elicura Chihuailaf is not a native speaker, he translates and with time he learned Mapudungun. So, one has to consider two—. Here there are two—. For example, I cannot compare myself with him because I am a speaker, but I am also a translator. But he is a poet. Everything he is going to say will have a double meaning. It will be like a whole more, how can I say, as if we can understand or see, or transmit what I want to transmit. On the other hand, I do the translation differently from him. Because we are two different people with two different ways of thinking.

Selena: Yes, well. Besides technical aspects such as grammar and style, what do you see as the most important goal of translating this language pair?

Sonia: Let's see the grammatical part, what happens is that you have to learn the grammatical part and because you know that the Mapuche language has no grammar. That is, it has, but it is not—. For example, I could tell you that it was not—. It was never written, it was always oral. There is no grammatical rule like in Spanish, where you have to respect periods, and you have to respect commas, umlauts. All that, everything that is implied in Spanish and Mapudungun does not exist. That is why when you translate a text you have to know about everything, about all this, about the Spanish grammatical rules or the grammatical rules of the language you are going to translate. For example, English has a way of translating, Spanish has a way of translating, but Mapudungun has a way of transcribing practically, but there is no grammatical rule.

Selena: Okay. Furthermore, at present there are still confrontations between the Chilean State and the Mapuche communities. How do you think translation can contribute to political engagement, not only from the Mapuche side, but also from the Chilean side?

Sonia: I believe that this is more a task of the government than of the individual, because not all the communities have this problem of the State that is made known to the outside world and not all the regions either. So, I believe that there must be a will on both sides. First, that the Chilean government knows the cosmovision of the people in conflict. And then that the people in conflict have the capacity and the will to want to solve the problem with the Chilean State. Because they are two different things. One is to want and the other is to be capable.

Selena: Yes, yes, well, thank you for the answers. Finally, I would like to ask you if there is anything you would like to share about working as a Mapudungun translator.

Sonia: Regarding any job?

Selena: About working as a Mapudungun translator.

Sonia: I believe that as a Mapudungun translator or as a Mapudungun teacher or as a speaker, as a Mapuche, the only thing I want is to transmit that there is a Chilean culture that exists. Because I am Chilean, [Chile] has several, several cultures, it is a multicultural. I would like my culture to be known, to be made known, so that is why I always try to support the person who asks me and see how I can help so that they can contribute and tell them that the

Mapuche culture is still alive and has all the tools to be able to do everything that any culture does. So that people know about it and that it is used, and then it can also be shared with the outside. [I'm] glad because—. Because they will know that Chile is not a place where only Spanish is spoken, but also Mapudungun, Aymara, Quechua, Rapa Nui, many languages are also being recovered, such as Kawésqar, the Yaganes are also fighting to recover their language and culture. So we can contribute to this and teach them how to translate. It makes me happy, I have worked with these peoples, so I can say that it is possible and that it is a living language. All Chilean cultures are a living culture and like any culture, like any language, it serves the same purpose: to transmit, to speak, to make oneself known and to dialogue.

Selena: Yes, yes. Well, that was the interview. My mom's here.

Sandra: Hi, I'm Sandra.

Sonia: Hi. It froze. Sandra, nice to meet you, Sandra.

Sandra: Nice to meet you too. My daughter is very interested in this, also because my dad—. Well, according to him, he had a Mapuche grandmother. He comes from—. He was born in—. Near Lake Lanalhue. That's all I know so far.

Sonia: Right. From Arauco.

Sandra: Exactly. And he lived in many places. In Cañete, Lebu, Coronel was the last place where he lived before he left to the north, to work at the age of 18. And he stayed in the north. Like many others who traveled to look for work. And in the end he ended up here in Holland. And he came back to Chile. Yes, he went back to Chile. I stayed. And my children were born here.

Sonia: Yes.

Sandra: But we have always heard about Mapuche culture. Well, not—. As far as I know, it's not that much either. And unfortunately my father passed away ten years ago, so there is not much to ask. I mean, I have an uncle in Argentina who might know more. I am going to see if we can communicate so that I can also contribute to Selena's thesis and since she is covering a language, she is interested in doing this. But I also think it's nice that she is interested in this, right?

Sonia: Yes. I find that any contribution one can make—.

Sonia: [*connection lost*]

Sandra: It froze.

Sonia: ...small to be able to show who we are. I am proud to be Mapuche, to be able to teach, to be able to transmit what I know. My parents live in a community where everyone speaks Mapudungun, from the youngest to the oldest. In my community we live as we did 100 years ago, with the Mapuche. With a *ruka*, fire and animals. I still have the privilege of living the way the Mapuche used to live, that is, when I go to them, because I live in Santiago.

Sandra: Yes, yes, yes, yes. Well, me too. Always as a child, my dad was always very clear about his pride in having Mapuche roots, which in the end, I think, many people have, even if they deny it, but they have it especially if they come from the South, don't they? Or from Santiago to work. But he was always very clear about that. He was never ashamed or anything like that or, not at all, he was interested. That's what I hear today [since] we also talked to another person. And she also talked a lot about her pride and I find that, I find it nice to hear that in spite of all the discrimination, that still to this day many people still feel very proud.

Sonia: Yes, yes, I think it depends a lot on my family upbringing. For example, my parents, when we were young, I went to the city to study when I was six years old and when they took me out of my community I knew how to speak three words in Spanish, yes, no and thank you. Yeah, and I also faced issues related to my identity, rather than embarrassment to speak Mapudungun. Because until I was six years old I had a name that was Pünoylew and then the Civil Registry gave me—. They gave me [the name] Sonia Maria. And then when the teachers checked the list, they said Sonia María. I never said "present" because I wasn't [Sonia Maria]. I was Pünoylew. I was Pünoylew and I was not Sonia. And I think that was like my—. The biggest shock I had experienced culturally when it came to what is not—. Is not Mapuche. And later I got used to it. But I discovered that speaking the language was a tool, because for example I quarreled, and I scolded my classmates all in Mapudungun and when they called me "Indian" once I responded. I said [something] and I repeated it. I said "This Indian, understood what you said, and that's why you understood what she said. So while I understand what you tell me, you don't, and you are ignorant, and I am not." And then afterwards my classmates had a hard time quarreling with us because they didn't know how we would answer. And then it became something along the lines of, "No, you don't have to fight with her because they can call you anything." Then we would write in Mapudungun to help us with the tests. And that's why we were reinforcing it and not diminishing it. And that's how we kept on going, and we never lost the language. All of us nine siblings, none of us lost the language, and we all studied in the city. We went to university, and we continued. And our children didn't either.

Sandra: That's good because there are also many young people who don't speak it.

Sonia: There are those who don't, no. In fact, my daughter, for example, she is already a professional, she is working in the Comptroller's Office. She is an auditor, accountant, auditor. And she travels because she works for the XXXX. So she travels and gets to know other cultures, and she tells me that there is nothing like ours. And that is like saying "Hey, have we done a good job?" Yes, so no, I am happy to teach. In fact, I teach my students Mapudungun. We talk, for example, with another class. They come, they tell me mari mari, kimeltuchefe, chumleyimi. And then I can answer them and so on. And they bring me words to translate, and I do it with pleasure.

Sandra: Are the classes in Spanish or Mapudungun?

Sonia: I teach—. I am an elementary school teacher and I teach math language, history, natural sciences.

Sandra: Well, it's not officially part of the curriculum?

Sonia: No.

Sandra: But you do [teach it].

Sonia: Yes.

Sandra: Yes, maybe that should be done more, right? That all the children, including the Chileans, so to speak, are also familiar with the language, I think. Maybe they don't need to speak it fluently, but anyway, just be able to recognize it [and] know that there is another language that is also spoken.

Sonia: Exactly. But well, there is work to be done, and I believe that now with the new Constitution, it is going to be—. Moving forward a little bit more. But it is a difficult task, it is a difficult task. And it is very hard work, because apart from our work we have to do other work in order to be able to teach in Mapudungun. And in the schools it's like giving a workshop, so I figure out who wants to participate and who doesn't. And that requires a lot of effort. It's hard work.

Sandra: Well, who knows? Hopefully in ten years it will be something else, right? You never know what the future is going to be like.

Sonia: Yes, yes.

Sandra: Well, thank you for listening. During these conversations, these interviews with my daughter, I have been listening all the time, but she understands almost everything. She doesn't speak much Spanish, but she understands everything. So doesn't know how to talk so much is the problem. I am nearby, but the truth is that I have found this whole interview very interesting.

Sonia: Yes, and I hope it will be useful to you, if you need anything, write to me.

Selena: Yes.

Sonia: So we'll be in contact. Anything, any doubt or if there is a question, anything, you write me.

Selena: Yes. Thank you very much.

Sonia: Selena, Sandra, [it was] a pleasure. A hug [from me].

Selena: Thank you.

Sonia: Alright, see you. Bye.

B2.6 Victor

File: entrevistaconvictor.m4a

Duration: 00:51:35

Date: 27 marzo 2022

Selena: Hello.

Victor: Hello.

Selena: I'm Selena, nice to meet you. I am a student from Leiden University in the Netherlands and I am currently completing a Master's in translation of English-Dutch. My mom is in the room, so she can help me out when I can't find my words. Since I was born in the Netherlands, I didn't speak Spanish from a young age so I don't speak the language fluently. But don't worry, I can understand almost everything you say, it's just hard for me to formulate questions or phrases and all that. That's why I'm asking you to speak calmly and clearly so that I can keep up with what you're saying more easily.

Victor: Yes, no problem.

Selena: First I wanted to quickly discuss the consent form that I sent you today. I highlighted the most important parts of the document in yellow. The main thing that I would like to ask if you are okay with me using your own name and surname in my thesis.

Victor: Alright, there's no problem with it just being shown.

Selena: Thank you. Your consent and responses are recorded. Recorded so I can retrieve the information when I'm writing my thesis. And my professors and I are the only ones with access to this information. And I will delete it in the end. After completing the thesis. If you agree with these conditions, we can continue with the interview.

Victor: Yes, of course. Agreed.

Selena: Right. Let's start with the first question. What kind of texts have you translated?

Victor: Poetic texts of—. Poems or poetry. Also texts that—. Articles about, let's say—. Not sure if they are laws, but articles. And texts, so to speak, of dialogues about—. About different things. A dialogue from an interview from Mapuzungun to Spanish or from Spanish to Mapuzungun. And songs as well. Translation and adaptation, so to speak, of the song. And stories, narration, I mean, for museums.

Selena: And why did you start translating? And translating Mapundugun to Spanish?

Victor: I think it was about five years ago. I looked for it on social networks, first for Mapuche topics and there were a number of pages dedicated to the Mapuche culture. And from there I found two or three that were about teaching, one and another one about news regarding—. But there were no topics in the language, there were very few of us and well, at that time I saw many of these pages that are—. That have, let's say, famous phrases, phrases about friendship, love, phrases about—. Let's say, about different aspects. And what I did was, I said what I thought it would be good for this to be in Mapuzungun, so I took the images. Or sometimes I took the text and translated it on my own initiative, whatever came to my mind. And then I started with the topic, so to speak, of translating. Then I looked for poems that are well, let's say, known here in Chile, poems like those made by—. By poets, such as Pablo Neruda, or Gabriela Mistral. And I said, this could also be in Mapuzungun. Songs that were very well known and traditional as well. I also started to work on it, but on my own initiative and because there was a need for it, so to speak. And also, since I am a primary school teacher, this material can be used. So, based on that [premise] as well. And

because there was presence of the language on Facebook, let's say, in this case and in social networks, yes. That's where the topic, I mean, of translating comes from.

Selena: Okay. Understood. And for how long have you been translating these two languages?

Victor: I counted five years, yes. It wouldn't be seven. I would be counting this. Now, based on this I get, let's say translation jobs. And that was, I guess, a hobby in a way. Later I would get into—. To translate topics that are a little more pedagogical, and have more of a cultural sense. Not such, as I said, such common topics, but more specific ones. And then, from there, translation offers started to arrive, as it were, but already with remuneration. And then, I didn't—. I didn't know at all. I had no idea about the cost, how to charge, how to work, let's say, in regard to translation. And I had a friend who works with us, in Kimeltuwe who—. That's his profession, let's say, as a translator. And he worked at an agency and all of that translation-related stuff there, and more or less gave me the indication of how, how to work as a translator. And that's where I've come up with topics that are different. But I've dealt with several topics as well, even for—. For the—. Translations in different testaments that are in this case, the State, in this case. Like, for example, the XXXX and another organization from—. Now I was working with XXXX, some articles that they wanted to be translated to Mapuzungun. And from there this new pursuit was born. Then I also offered my services, let's say, for this. Because I wanted to—. Because I wanted to have more of an economic income than the ones I had in the communities, I guess, [but] a little bit affordable as well.

Selena: Yes, yes, yes. I understand. And do you have Mapuche roots?

Victor: Yes, yes. I even still live in rural areas. I don't live in the city, I live in the countryside.

Selena: Yes. And from what part of the Mapuche region are you?

Victor: In Chile it's known as the 9th region. The Araucania region from Temuco. Temuco, Santiago, the Bío-Bío region are the places with the largest Mapuche population.

Selena: Yes, okay. And what form of Mapudungun do you speak?

Victor: I don't, I don't know what that—. I don't know what you're referring to with "what form," I don't—.

Selena: The dialect of—. For example, Moluche, Picunche, Pehuenche...

Victor: Well, the zone that I'm living in is called Huenteche, right? Which is a—. It's one of the zones that still has a lot of speakers. One of the zones where one will hear a lot—. Quite a lot of adults especially. Well, regarding all of this, I always mention in these cases that it's not a dialect, it's a variant.

Selena: Yes, yes, agreed. And have you spoken the language since childhood or did you learn it later?

Victor: No I learned it as a child, but the issue here is—. There's this issue, so to speak, of discrimination and self-discrimination for not wanting to speak [the language] because the people will laugh at you and so—.

Selena: Yes, yes.

Victor: I did know the language, but I never spoke it. I didn't get to speak it—. Speaking it after about 10 years later, recently.

Selena: Yes. And have you ever felt ashamed to speak Mapudungun?

Victor: Yes, yes. And not because somebody embarrassed me, but it's like we kind of ran with that because—. Because you can see—. You can see it in the other person, I guess, to the point that you start laughing with the person who's making fun of you. It's a silly thing to do, but that's what people did when they were young.

Selena: Yes, okay. And do you think that the language and the ability to speak the language play an important role in Mapuche communities? And why?

Victor: Yes, because, more than anything, the zones where they have maintained a lot of cultural stuff that are of Mapuche origin, they do those things in the language. It's not, it's not like—. People don't—. It does not the same as doing those things in Spanish. It's like—. If we're having a *nguillatun*, the prayers, the orations, everything, we always recite them in Mapuzungun. So, nobody has ever imagined having to do it in Spanish. So there's a need for a *machi*, and if they don't know Mapuzungun—. No, I don't know—. It's hard to imagine that. So, there are certain figures within the Mapuche culture, from the Mapuche Nation, and there are certain ceremonies that cannot be carried out in any language other than Mapuzungun. So, that's an important aspect and one of the concerns, so to speak, that—. That the number of speakers, for instance, those that exist today from the generations of 30 years and younger, are very few. There are very few who—. We could say that they are somewhat passive speakers, they know, they understand, but they don't speak it. So, there is a population of 40 years old and older which remains untouched. But that generation will grow old at some point, so who will follow them up?

Selena: Yes. And do you think that—. Do you think that someone is only really Mapuche when they also speak the language?

Victor: For me? Yes, because I can dress like a Mapuche, I can do things like a Mapuche. But those things, if I do them in Spanish [and] someone comes along who isn't Mapuche and does it. What makes the difference, then? And in our case, I'm talking about my personal situation with the organization that we have, Kimeltuwe and all that, we all think the same. [We think that] the language is like the medium. The significance of everything lies in Mapuzungun.

Selena: Yes.

Victor: Of course, people can always contradict me and say "no." For example, there are people who say "No, the Mapuche, even if you don't know how to speak the language, you are still Mapuche." Yes, I think so too, but the significance of the language makes the difference. In other words, if a Mapuche person does not know how to speak his language, I think it's concerning. It's not that they stop being Mapuche, but they lose their essence as Mapuche.

Selena: Yes, yes. Okay. And in what way do you think that translation could contribute to the revitalization of the language?

Victor: I think that, for writing and translation, I think it's thing today, above all because we have Mapuche who are readers, right? But there are not enough Mapuche readers of Mapuzungun either, readers of Spanish who have the capacity and the intention to do it. But, I have realized that—. If you don't have enough knowledge of the language, you have to—. Some things are lost in the reading of a text, like knowing when to pause correspondingly, the intonation all that. So, it's very noticeable that someone is a reader and not a speaker. If he is a speaker and a reader, it is obvious because they know how to pause, they know where to put the emphasis, their voice, they know why. They know how to interpret what they are reading, not just reading. So, I think we are also lacking in creating readers of the language. But what is useful is to preserve, let's say, words, concepts and knowledge. That's sufficient for now. Many people say that Mapuzungun is oral. It is, yes, it is. But nowadays writing also plays a tremendously important role. Because we have already become readers, we cannot forget about that.

Selena: Hmhm. And do you think that translating children's literature, for example, could contribute to the proficiency and engagement of the younger Mapuche generations?

Víctor: Yes, because what happens is, the more material for teaching and learning Mapuzungun the better. Whether they are, let's say, audiovisuals, whether they are just books, textbooks, everything, whatever is necessary and helps, it will be useful. And it is useful.

Selena: Yeah. Yes. A translator [also] often adapts elements of the text so that it translates better to the other culture. Are there certain adaptations you make when you translate?

Victor: I'm sorry, certain what? I didn't hear-

Selena: The—. Adaptations.

Víctor: Yes, yes. What happens is that Mapuzungun is very rich in vocabulary, but it is a language, that is I don't know, so old. So, there are many technical concepts and new concepts that have no translation in Mapuzungun. For a long time, no neologisms were created. So, there are certain texts that are easier and more difficult to combine with Mapuzungun. So, it's not like translating, I think, into English. Because I feel that the amount of vocabulary English has in common with Spanish is quite a lot. That's not the case for Mapuzungun. So, you have to read, you have to do double the work, even—. Triple the amount of work, because you have to read, interpret, translate and then write it down. So it's double the work, but those are the things that other translators usually don't do.

Selena: Yes, and are there other Mapuche concepts or considerations that you find difficult to translate or perhaps untranslatable?

Víctor: Yes, technical concepts. And sometimes the issue is that in Mapuzungun there is sometimes a task of—. Not to translate, it's like I created a text—. I think it's also a matter of lack of knowledge to some extent. Let's say, from the side of the people who don't know Mapuzungun. And there is also an issue sometimes of—. Because the State demands it or someone says "Let's do something in Mapuzungun. We could even give a nod to Mapuzungun," right? So, someone just writes a text and says "Well, let's translate this text." But you read the text and say "I'm not going to translate this because it's not easy to translate." It's different when someone knows Mapuzungun and says "You know what? It's not

possible to translate this text.” “So, let’s make one, what if we make a summary and lower the level, a little bit, of technicality that the text has, let’s make it more like—.” The other day we were working and had a meeting with XXXX here, the XXXX institute. So, I was telling them about this. I had a human rights text in Spanish that comes with laws, with articles. It was written in legal terms and an ordinary person [will think] “What is this text telling me?” And to do it in Mapuzungun [is] double the work. So, they have to—. Not look for complicated texts, keep it as simple as possible. Don’t look for complicated words. So, that’s one of the problems they have. So, when translating into Mapuzungun one says “Hey, but can this be done in Mapuzungun?” I have to find out what the language is like, the vocabulary that Mapuzungun has, does it have enough vocabulary to be translated or do I have to change that text? Because sometimes people don’t do that [beforehand] and you end up doing that work. And that’s a lot of work. And another thing is that it’s very difficult to translate poems. For example, poems that use—. Poetry uses many literary techniques that do not work or are not understood in Mapuzungun. Culturally, they don’t have the same way of expressing certain things. And also, Mapuzungun has a lot of—. For example, you have means to compare things but not everything is comparable. So, when I translate this, I have to interpret because I can’t say exactly what [the text] is saying. Because in Mapuzungun you are not going to understand it. Mapuzungun tends to be very literal. It’s not—. I mean, a poetic phrase does not mean, I don’t know, well, a more connotative meaning, more than a denotative one. But in Mapuzungun it’s not like that. Although it also has these elements, but it is different. The way of expressing it is different. So, for me, the most difficult texts to translate are the poems. Poems or poetry, in this case. All those that are expressive texts and those that are legal. Because there is no vocabulary for *court*, to say *laws*, for those types of technical concepts. They don’t exist in Mapuzungun.

Selena: Yes, I understand. In addition to the aesthetic changes, there are also changes that the translator can make to combat certain stereotypes, discriminatory or colonial stereotypes, replacing them, for example, with Mapuche terms and concepts. There are names like *araucano* or *reducción* and *pacificación*. And—. As a translator, how do you deal with these kinds of terms and why?

Victor: Yes, generally, when a text like that comes along, I change it almost—. Although I mention it later, of course, but I immediately make a comment. That is to say, I do not tell, for example, the person who is going to do a job, if it said “Araucanian.” Or if it said, for example, “dialect,” “the Mapuzungun dialect,” I change it on the spot. That is, if it appeared in the text I put it, I don’t know, I am not going to use “Araucanian.” [it is] Mapuche. And with a capital letter because it is the proper name. And if it says “dialect,” no, [I put] language or tongue. And then, when I deliver the text, I say “Here it says this” and I make it understandable. Let’s assume that the Araucanian concept is not a concept, let’s say, imposed. And also that the corresponding concept is already in disuse. But I generally do not translate it as it is. That is to say, I immediately make that change.

Selena: Yes, okay.

Victor: Give me a minute, I’m getting too much sun. I’m going to switch a little bit to the side of the—. There, yes.

Selena: Translations can also serve to teach outsiders more about Mapuche culture. Do you think it is important to find a middle ground between Chilean and Mapuche culture through translation and why?

Víctor: I think so. The thing is that the translation of Mapuzungun today is useful, because today we have a lot of, let's say, a lot of—. Communication today has become a little more written than—. Like what we are doing right now, let's say, more face-to-face or auditory. So, although, today's media like WhatsApp has, or Messenger. They have ways of sending audios, but generally what is most used is written, and Mapuzungun plays an important role. But social networks in general, the majority—. Most of them are written media. So, now with the—. I don't know if—. I'm referring to the Mapuche Nation, in general, besides the Chilean communities. In this case also, I should also include the Argentinian communities as well. The Mapuche people have a presence, so to speak, in the countryside, in both nations. But, yes, I believe that everything is useful, everything helps.

Selena: Yes, and do you try to translate into Spanish so that the texts also teach something about Mapuche culture to the readers?

Victor: Yes, of course. Yes, and sometimes even in expressions. In expressions, you can clearly notice, for example, the way of conjugating a verb or the way of saying certain words. And sometimes you can translate it, if you take a dictionary, you can translate it, and you can do it, but it would be a literal translation. But Mapuzungun sometimes has a certain concept of its own for—. For those actions. You mention, for example, somebody says, "How do you say?" I'm going to take a guess, "Cut your hair." Well, I'm going to look up in the dictionary how you say "cut" which is "katrün" and how you say "hair" which is "kal." [So] "katrün kal" [is] "to cut one's hair." Or "katrün longko" as in cutting the hair on the head. It makes sense, yes, but Mapuzungun has its own concept which is "kupil" which refers to cutting the hair. It is not a literal translation. So, there one underlines, there is a reference to the cultural issue that this is not the correct way to translate. It has its own concept for certain actions. And Mapuzungun in that aspect is a very rich in language. For certain actions, for certain verbs, it has its own concept and there are concepts that are not—. How would you call that? That is very specific to one thing or another thing. For example, in Spanish, and I don't know if it's the same in other languages, grandparents, are all—. That is to say, we all have in some way a genealogical understanding. We have four grandparents, paternal and maternal. For Mapuzungun, each grandfather is conceptualized and has a term. There's a word for my paternal grandfather if he is maternal, another word is used for my maternal grandmother and another if they are paternal. So, I have four different concepts, but in Spanish it is just "grandfather." So, later I emphasize whether it is maternal or paternal. In Mapuzungun just by saying the word, we all know that it refers to the paternal grandfather. So, there, in that aspect, they are very—. It has a lot of richness, linguistically, I mean. And there you can see that the culture is different in that aspect. For example, in the linguistic aspect. There are other cultural things that still, for example, exist.

Selena: Yes. And do you also leave some concepts untranslated or do you always explain them?

Victor: Yes, no, yes, yes, and I do this in concordance and agreement with the person who is asking for the job. And also, for certain concepts we have to create neologisms. And in regard to these neologisms they should already have some kind of correlated background, so that the readers see it and say "Yes, yes, I know what that is." But if I create just a concept out of thin air, someone will say "But what could this mean?" So, it has to have a certain trajectory, the concept that was created for people to use it. That already is another thing that just can't be translated. It is not a concept, there are many concepts that are very difficult to translate that

one can look for, but it is very laborious to translate. And in this—. Well, I don't know if it is included in your question, but academies play an important role in this. That nowadays there is no academy in charge, for example, of creating neologisms and making them known and the people—. And this concept is evaluated [like] "No, this concept is not useful because it is not an appropriate interpretation." And there is a task of looking for, I don't know, the function that the concept that I want to create a neologism fulfills. And to search for the origins to be able to say how I can translate, how I can create a word that is not based on I want to make of it. So, that's it. There are many things that are not—. When they are very technical, you can't translate them.

Selena: Yes, and how do you translate, for example, *huinca* into Spanish?

Victor: With wingka there are several hypotheses in the underpinning. I simply translate it as "those that are not part of the Mapuche culture." As simple as something that does not belong. Now many people have looked for several meanings, linguistically. And one of them is *ingka*, which is not very well accepted. The *ingka* because the Mapuche had contact with the Incas first, and then this other group of people arrived that are—. They are and they are not. So these are the new *ingka*, the new Incas. But between *ingka* and *wingka* there is a—. The Mapuche people might have made a big mistake in passing a vowel. It's very complicated, and in general this idea is not really accepted. And the other theory is that, it seems to me, is from *wingkün* as in—. It seems to me that it has to do a little bit with seizing, with stealing, with taking things that don't belong to them in some way. And that's how *wingka* came to be. But these are linguistic theories that we have tried to connect to the concept itself. In my case, I am not going too much into detail about the linguistic subject, I simply say *wingka* is everything that is not part of the Mapuche culture. Be it knowledge, be it a person, be it food, everything that is not part of the culture is simply not—. It's *wingka*.

Selena: OK, I understand. In an interview about translation, the author and translator, Elicura Chihuailaf, says that he considers translation to be a form of diplomacy and believes that the task of the Mapuche translator is mainly to be able to reach the people of the city and make their culture visible. Is there a particular political message you try to convey through your translations?

Víctor: The fact that I make a translation from Spanish-Mapuzungun, Mapuzungun-Spanish, it seems to me that above all it's a political action to go against those who say no, because—. Generally, translations are given, let's say, from Spanish to Mapuzungun. And of course everything is clearly a—. I consider it an action. I don't know, a political action in itself. To show that it is possible, that Mapuzungun has a presence. That—. To give it space, there are many things within the practice of translation. And to a certain extent also to bring non Mapuche people closer to the reality that there are things—. And what happens is that for example here in Chile and in Argentina it seems to me that the same thing happens, there is a certain, let's say, preconception. There is a certain racism and there is a certain stereotype. There are many things that are connected, but in general there is a lack of knowledge about Mapuzungun and that has to do with a purely political issue of the government. The State has been concerned about creating, let's say, political actions in favor of Mapuzungun or the native language. It is not relevant for them. So, there is a colonialist education. Is it in Mapuzungun? No. Even the story that it was spoken and that no one speaks it anymore. And it is always deminorized. Why are we going to share notices if nobody knows the language? Then, what is it good for? For nothing. So there are certain things that are ignored. But, for example, both the translation work that we do in particular and that can be seen in Kimeltuwe

is also to show the other side. And with Mapuzungun I can also translate things like I can translate a song, I can translate a reggaeton, I can translate a cumbia, I can translate a joke. I can translate many things and that shows that Mapuzungun has validity, and in addition to having validity, it also has its—. It has versatility, it can operate in many fields and that is to show the people in some way, it's like learning everything all over again. Because it is not the people's fault either. That is to say, here there is an educational system that we all attend. And there is a whole program, a curriculum that says "This is what has to be taught." and one studies that stuff. If I was taught to think this way, it would not be my fault either, in quotation marks, that I was taught that. So does the State not take colonialist actions, regarding all the languages that are from Indigenous nations? No, it doesn't pay any attention to these things and the people are unaware of this as well.

Selena: Yes, I also wanted to say that. That apart from the technical aspects of translation, there are translators like Elicura Chihuailaf who say that their interests are to erase the imprint that colonization and assimilation have left on the Mapuche community, apart from technical aspects like grammar and all that. What is for you the most important objective of translating this language pair?

Víctor: I think it is to show the validity of Mapuzungun. And the validity, both oral and as written. Because generally [people think that], "No, Mapuzungun is not written." That is also a preconceived idea. But one of the goals is to show the validity of Mapuzungun and that you can do various things in different areas that you can think of. But I think that's where we could the ultimate goal, if we would want to put it that way.

Selena: Yes, there are still confrontations between the Chilean State and the Mapuche communities. How do you think translation can contribute to political engagement around this injustice, and not only from the Mapuche side, but also from the Chilean side?

Victor: I think that, like I said before, everything helps. But translating is not enough. I can translate all I want, but if I don't, I haven't trained any readers. It's of no use. If someone picks up a book in Mapuzungun, they tell me, "I'm not going to read it because I don't know how." And there too, the state plays an important role in creating a space for the teaching of Mapuzungun, teaching and learning, regardless of how they are written or spoken. But if I don't train readers, this translation is of no use to me. So, I believe that both should be at the same level. I think it is even more important that people learn. If they don't know Mapuzungun, they are not going to be interested in a translated text. And furthermore, if the text has a column in Spanish and Mapuzungun, even less so because they might be able to read the column in Spanish, not the one in Mapuzungun. So that is also very important, the order in which the translations are produced. If I don't put Mapuzungun first and put it secondary, it still relegates Spanish as the dominant language.

Selena: And do you think there is a way to translate and transmit the trauma and pain of the injustice and discrimination of the Mapuche people to foreigners, Chileans?

Victor: Yes, yes. Of course, there is. Today, although communication is written rather than audiovisual, it is one of the strategies to make the struggle visible, to make visible, history, dispossession. And as of today, there is a lot of Mapuche literature out there. The issue is that the Mapuche literature that exists, is in Spanish and it seems to me it lacks inclusivity of the same group. Mapuche writers, although they are not connoisseurs of the language, but there is not a—. There is not a—. Importance of wanting to translate it, of searching for a translator,

to make sure that what I said in the text is translated into Mapuzungun. No, there is no conscience in this aspect either. We continue to produce good texts, of course, but in Spanish. So, I think there is something lacking there. Among Mapuche writers, it seems to me, that there is a lack of awareness.

Selena: I see. Well, thank you for the answers. And lastly, I would like to ask you if there is anything you would like to share about working as a Mapudungun translator.

Victor: Yes, yes. It is one of the things that is not included in the questions and I think it is very relevant for me. And this is based on the fact that I can imagine that—. I don't know how many—. Because I also saw your messages in the Mapuzungun group and I'm asking you—. I don't know if you found more people from—. I don't know if you found more people from—. For the interview.

Selena: Four people in total, but it wasn't very easy.

Victor: Yeah, yeah. I'm mentioning this because the profession of translating—. I'm not very—. I'm interested in the subject, but I haven't done it for a long time. I haven't done enough work to search for—. How can I explain this? More background information on this topic. But I believe the subject of translation is quite lacking in the Mapuche context and that's for several reasons. One, because it's not profitable in any way. There's not enough work. It is not the case that translation are needed on a daily basis because there is no interest in Mapuzungun translation. And generally those who ask for translations are institutions or state organizations that are pro-Mapuche, or pro-Mapuche people who say "Look, I'm going to pay a certain amount of money for this to be—." And the Mapuzungun text is translated. But it seems to me that there's also an issue of resources. The state sometimes goes "Hey, let's do something for the Mapuche." They translate it to make their work more valuable but this profession doesn't exist. That's why I was asking you, it's difficult to find—. The issue of finding translators because there is no translation career for Mapuche translators because the labor market does not allow it. There is no interest. I know that I could go on, I will give you the information later, if you want to know more about how this works. I know that there's a university that is offering a technical career in Viña del Mar. And this is based on the new Constitution, where the issue of having translators is raised. But I don't know if they are translators or interpreters, what is being established, because those are two different things. Although I think there is an overarching notion, but it seems as if they're doing work as—. As interpreters rather than translators. But there is a technical career and also—. It's a career that was intended for people of that sector. For example, I wanted to enroll because I have been working in this field for a short time and had no interest in it. I know people who have been working for a longer period of time and who have done translations. For example, I don't know if they contacted you, but if not, I can give you the information of Mr. Rosendo Huisca. Rosendo Huisca even translated work that are strongly connected to the state, of the—. Of different topics. He even translated Windows XP into Mapuzungun. That's very complicated because of the concepts involved, but he did it. And although he—. This was never used because Mapuche individuals showed up and said "No, we don't want that that's being sold." There is this false understanding that the Mapuche have with respect to translation. "Now the wingka are going to know more than me." To me, that's nonsense. So those efforts were wasted. There's an application that can use the work. I know he has worked on another translation of—. Of this text. And another one later—. There is a *lamngen* called XXXX. She worked on some translation-related stuff. How to translate certain concepts. And she might also have a pool of people that she found that are translators. But there is not one person who

is 100% dedicated to translations because there it's not—. There's not enough—. It's not a profitable profession. There's also no regulation concerning the subject of translation, either in terms of rates or the way of working. In my case, for example, I usually translate technical or sometimes legal texts. There is a—. The same lamngen that I mentioned. Well, lamngen is used between sisters, we always refer to people that way here. She made a kind of corpus with concepts of translation of topics, such as trials, with court-related topics. So, since she made a corpus, I can search for "lawyer" and type it in the search engine. And then I get four words with different values. Or even when I think, who translated this? I can make a comparison of how they translated this concept that is, in quotation marks, a neologism. How one person translated it one way, how another translated in another way, and whether they are in accordance with one another. And I feel like, sometimes, translators, that's why I knew so little, sometimes they—. What I do is I look for those concepts, so there are concepts that someone else has already translated. So, I don't look for a new translation unless it seems to me that the translation is not that good or the neologism is not that good. Then, if I don't find one among those translations, I can create one that I think is more correct than the ones I found. But I generally resort to other concepts that have already been translated so as not to create something new. But there is no regulation in that aspect either. It's not as if someone says—. They got together one day, I don't know, an academy, an agency and said "Let's create these words and this is the one we will always use." Up until last year, I searched on social networks. I put out a request to all the people who want to translate. "Why don't we get together and take a look at this? Let's look at the issue, how much do you charge, how much do I charge." And that's another issue, nobody wants to say how much they charge because of, I don't know. "You're expensive, or you're too cheap." But I've taken the time to tell people because I know there's a lack of knowledge from people who don't know how to charge for a translation. It's like someone tells me—. "Look, I have a translation of one—. I have on page. I'll pay you 10,000 pesos per page." And the other person says "10,000? I'll be done in a minute." But maybe it takes two hours and maybe the font is not size ten and corrected. So, no, words in Mapuzungun are charged per word, just like in English. Even more expensive than English, because I and other people I know are charging—. For example, I charge 80 pesos per word depending on the text. If the text is very complicated, the total value is higher. And another thing, "but how? English is worth 50 pesos?" But everyone translates English. If I say, "Who wants to translate English?" Twenty people will appear. "Who translates Mapuzungun?" No one. I have to search for them. There are not enough people to translate. And it's not—. There is no job, there is no agency that says "they are translators." No, so, the topic of translation is very new. But it seems to me that now, from what I can tell with the new Constitution, the demand for work is going to increase. Due to the fact that there is a constitutional recognition of the Mapuche Nation. And there is also going to be a demand—. The State is obligated to announce things in audio or written in Mapuzungun. So there will be more demand. But there is no regulated profession. It's not as if I can say, "Hey who do you work for?" "No, look there is an agency that I work for." Something like that doesn't exist. Translators generally work on an individual, private basis, nothing else. I work, and I know some other people who translate. If you want, I can give you the contact information later. They can provide more background information and—. But we work like this. I have even told them that we should meet, just the two or three of us. We got together once and did some work, but then we didn't continue. Let's start with literary texts, which are the most requested. Let's see how, I don't know let's get together to discuss certain concepts. How do we say summary? How do we say title? How do we say cover? How do we say chapter? And so you'll give me—. If you charge 80 pesos, I'll charge 50 pesos. I do my work for 50 pesos and if you do it for 80 pesos that's good for you. And that is another issue that I know of, here, I don't know if I'm getting carried away. But those who translate, there

are going to be two people. One of them would be me, Victor Carilaf, that would cost me 60 pesos. If I let Rosendo Huisca do it, that would cost me 100 pesos. So I go to Victor, for 60 pesos, it's cheaper. And that's where you also need to—. That's where you should also consider how much experience you have. It's also a matter of reputation. Look, Carilaf costs me 60 pesos, but Rosendo costs me 100 pesos and I can't tell that he's good at his job. He's been doing this for years, he knows how it works. That would cost me 60 pesos, but I can read the translation and show it to another *peñi* who knows Mapuzungun and he says "Hey who translated this for you?" So, yes, there are those who translate for cheaper and others are more pricey. But the quality provided is also different. So, it appears to me that—. And why isn't there anything like this? Because the niche of Mapuzungun translation is very limited. Although translation work has been done for a long time. But there is no one—. Someone who—. An agency, an—. And the people too, the issue of the Mapuche in this aspect is that they are very—. I don't know. They are reluctant to say "I charge this much." I don't have a problem with it. If I charge 80 pesos that's what my work is worth. If there's someone who's better or who charges more, okay, then. The people who request their services will say "I pay this person more because they do a good job." That's how I think and I think that's appropriate. But all this is a matter of unawareness. How much do I have to charge for a good translation? That's what it's like—. Translating Mapuzungun.

Selena: Yes, I understand.

Victor: That's all. That's what we're going to do.

Selena: Yes, thank you so much. And my mom-

Sandra: You would like to have the contact information, right?

Selena: Yes, yes. I would like to have the information and-

Sandra: I only wanted to say that it was very interesting. I'm Sandra. Her mom.

Victor: Yes, I guess that you do speak Spanish and I can tell because-

Sandra: I do speak Spanish. But my kids, no. Well, they were born here and I also speak Dutch very well. Because I have lived here, well, almost my entire life. Almost my entire life. So that's how things went with school and work. I actually speak more Dutch than Spanish on a daily basis. So, it was easier to speak to them in Dutch, which is not good because they don't speak Spanish that well. But, she manages. All these questions, she formulated them herself and did not ask me for help. She did it all by herself. But as a result of this topic that she's studying, I've listened to a few very interesting interviews. They are all different I think, but it's all very interesting. And this is exactly what we were talking about this yesterday or today. That there are not many translators [of Mapudungun]. It's difficult. Selena was telling me today that if she does not find more people, she's going to ask the people she interviewed from now on. [She'll ask] if they have contact information of other people because they really are hard to find.

Victor: Yes, and on top of that, when we talk—. Even I have done a lot of work. Of course, compared to someone else, it seems to be very little. [I have translated] a lot of texts and books, not very large, so to speak. Because for me—. I am a teacher and I do not have the time to be working. While that is enough for you because it's a lot of work, and you spent time on it, and economically you earn more doing it. I'm not going to get rich doing this

because it's not, it just isn't. But it's extra input that one invests and—. However, it's not the same thing as having translated several texts because I can say, "Are there any translators here?" I can say, "Yes, me!" "And how much have you translated?" "Well, I have translated two texts, a book and a poem." Well, they have only translated two things, though. I think it's also somewhat related to that. In other words, it has to do with how many times I translated because I can say that someone did a translation or sometimes someone can translate a text for me and if you see it in a Facebook group and someone can translate it there is no problem, but they don't do that. I think a translator person should have translated a certain number of texts or a certain number of years to say-

Sandra: The trajectory of-

Victor: Yes, there are people who translated one, two, three times and then never worked in that field again. They started doing something else. That is why I say that there is no career, there is no technical university independence. There isn't. From now on I think there will be less, because it will be much more difficult to be an interpreter. Because of the amount, let's say, of vocabulary that Mapuzungun has in comparison to Spanish. That is instantaneous at the moment and—.

Sandra: No, it's hard.

Victor: You have to have communication skills, there are other things you need.

Sandra: And that's what we found out yesterday, that this type of career doesn't really exist, that all the people doing it are doing it because they-

Victor: Yes, yes.

Sandra: Yes, and you live where? You live near Temuco, right?

Victor: Yes, but today in another place. I'm visiting elsewhere and—. Let's see if I can turn this around. I don't know how to turn [the camera] around. Let's see.

Sandra: It's gone. There it is. How beautiful! Where is this?

Victor: In Panguipulli.

Sandra: Yes, that rings a bell, but I have never been around those parts.

Víctor: The south a little bit. That is, a little further south, from Temuco.

Sandra: Further south. I traveled as far as Temuco, but no further.

Víctor: Yes, yes, but now I'm living happily in Temuco, not in the city, but in the countryside.

Sandra: And autumn is approaching there now?

Victor: Yes.

Sandra: And how is the weather? Even it's still like this?

Victor: Yes, yes, I saw a little. But now it is nice. It's nice there.

Sandra: Yes. Because I know more about these parts than anything else. Well, my father comes from—. He lived in Coronel, in Cañete, he came from those places. Yes, that's why I also traveled to the south to get to know those places. But I find it very beautiful. Someday I will go there with the children. With my son and daughter.

Víctor: Coming this way, let's see if we can keep in touch.

Sandra: Yeah, look, now we have a contact there, so-

Victor: Yes, yes.

Sandra: Thank you so much.

Víctor: Yes, look, I am sending the names through the same WhatsApp. I am going to talk to the people to see if they are available because one of them I can't call. I will see if they can give consent to share the name or not. You can tell them that it's on my behalf. That it's related to translation and I don't think they will have issues with it.

Selena: Yes, thank you so much.

Victor: Yes, alright then, goodbye.

Selena: Bye.