Loanword Adaptation in Spanish and Mapudungun: a Phonological and Sociolinguistic Analysis

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of Mapudungun loanword adaptation, with a focus on the treatment of foreign phonemes and syllable structures. The data used for analysis in this thesis are Spanish loanwords borrowed into Mapudungun as found in Golluscio (2009) and the World Loanword Database, or WOLD (Golluscio, Fraguas, Mellico 2009), as well as Mapudungun words adapted into modern Chilean Spanish as seen in the RAE Spanish Dictionary (2001). The goal of this thesis is to show that there are deliberate patterns in how loanwords are adopted in both languages, and I investigate the phonological factors as well as sociolinguistic factors that regulate loanword adaptation.

Spanish loanwords undergo repair processes such as segmental changes, for example palatalization (1a), suprasegmental changes, such as stress adaptations (1b), and the deletion of syllables in words with more than three syllables in order to match their native root-word system (1c).

(1) Repair strategies used by Mapudungun (Spanish to Mapudungun):

a. Palatalization of /x/ /oˈβɛxa/ > /oʃiˈʃa/ ‘the sheep’

b. Stress adaptation /ˈbaka/ > /waˈka/ ‘the cow’

c. Deletion of initial syllables /eskaˈlera/ > /kaˈlera/ ‘the stairs,’ ‘the ladder’
Loanwords in Mapudungun vary in their degrees of adaptation according to the age of the loanword. Loanwords introduced by the Spanish soon after their conquest of the Mapuche region show the most modifications in phonological adaptation, while words introduced in the late 19th century show fewer (Golluscio, 2009). The lexicon of Mapudungun is full of loanwords from the sociolinguistically dominant language Spanish. Although Spanish has adapted loanwords from Mapudungun, the influence is not nearly as great, and the transferring of words is mainly one-sided in favor of Spanish (Golluscio, 2009). Unlike Quechua that underwent fundamental changes, such as the adaptation of the sound and grammatical systems to those of Spanish (Heggarty, 2006), Mapudungun maintains its phonology in loanwords with very few exceptions, preferring “Mapucheness.” Therefore, I hypothesize that Mapudungun resists adopting foreign phones or structures as a way of stating their independence. Furthermore, I discuss historical and current sociolinguistic factors, such as the prestige of Spanish and lower status of Mapudungun, including the history of attributing negative stereotypes to the Mapuche since as early as the 1500s (Alvarado & Purcell, 2003). I also discuss public and political usages of the languages and linguistic discrimination of the Mapuche. In these analyses, I confront the impacts of discriminatory actions on a culture that has historically resisted foreign domination for centuries.

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1. Introduction:

1.1 A History of Resistance

Mapudungun, also known as Mapuche, is a language isolate spoken by the Mapuche people. There are 144,000 native speakers in south-central Chile, as well as approximately 8,400 in western Argentina (Sadowsky et al. 2013). The name Mapudungun is composed of “mapu,” meaning “earth” or “land” as well as “dungun,” which is the verb “to speak.” Mapuche contains both “mapu” and “che,” which means “people” (Smeets 1989). To the Mapuche people, Mapudungun is literally the language of the earth. Mapuche lands hold great cultural significance, and their belief system is comprised of a strong relationship between man and nature (UNPO 2013).

Historically, the Mapuche people are renowned for their strength and bravery. In the late 1500s they resisted domination by the invading Incas, who were eventually discouraged by their resistance and the continual defeat of their invasion troops (Minahan 2013). When the Spanish arrived in 1541, their attempts to conquer the Mapuche were met with the same resistance. For example, when conquistador Pedro de Valdivia attempted to conquer the Mapuche people in 1546, their chief Michimalonco led a massive uprising, freeing prisoners and destroying the capital Santiago in a humiliating spectacle for the Spanish (Bengoa 2003, Heidegger, 2012). In 1641, the Spanish even acknowledged their failure to defeat the indigenous group and wrote the Treaty of Quillin, which both defined Mapuche lands and recognized them as an independent nation (UNPO 2013). The Mapuche people were the first and only indigenous group that had their independence formally recognized and legally acknowledged by the Spanish Empire (Ray 2007).
The Mapuche people were the last indigenous group in South America to maintain independence, which they had done since the first contact with Spanish in 1541 all the way to 1817. With the defeat of the Spanish by the Chilean and Argentinian governments in 1810, the original treaty between the Spanish and Mapuche people was abrogated. After which, the new republics instigated the gradual takeover of indigenous lands (Nesti 2001). The population and economic policies of Chile never promoted the integration of the Mapuche, but instead promoted exclusion and annihilation. In the 1860s, Chilean and Argentinian governments encouraged European settlers to take more land, which meant the death, displacement, and enslavement of countless indigenous people (Bengoa 2000, Nesti 2001). To this day, that period of time is considered by many to be a genocide (Churchill 1997). After the Mapuche suffered from territorial conquest, military aggression, and persecution that affects entire communities to this day, the Mapuche were finally considered defeated in the year 1880.

Following their defeat, many Mapuche were forced from their homes to live in impoverished rural communities. Children were also taken in order to be trained as slaves and work for affluent Chilean families (Nesti 2001).

From the late 20th century onward, they have continued to face ignorance and exclusion, as the Chilean government does not recognize their language, or any other indigenous languages, nor do they recognize their status as an independent nation (Nesti 2001). Though indigenous activism is gaining ground, many still feel invisible, suffering quietly. The poverty rate is especially high among the Mapuche; roughly one third of Mapuche households live below the poverty line (Richards 2006).

The current sociolinguistic situation is complex; different generations and groups have different ideas about what they want to see happen to their language and culture. Now the
majority of Mapudungun speakers are bilingual in Spanish and their mother tongue (Baker & Jones 1998), and fewer and fewer people are able to claim proficiency in their ancestral language due to the pervasiveness of Spanish as well as the stigma of being indigenous.

Mapuche people have also become more divided over the years. There are those still holding onto tradition and resisting any form of assimilation, and there are the “urban” Mapuche that participate in Chilean society (Vinet 2013). Urban Mapuche are said to have lost their ancestral link to the land, and they live in isolation in underprivileged areas and work in low-paying jobs (Lagos et al. 2013).

The history of the Mapuche plays an integral role in understanding their language. Though oppressed and wronged, the Mapuche remain a resilient group and fiercely guard their traditions and culture. We are presented with a culture that has fought dominance for centuries but whose language nonetheless contains 18.9% Spanish loanwords (Golluscio 2009). The Mapuche people’s treatment and perception of foreignness or otherness, as well as how they use and value their language, show that Mapudungun is still a strong factor of cultural resistance.

1.2 An Introduction to the Sociolinguistic Aspects of Loanwords in Mapudungun

Loanwords have entered the vocabulary of Mapudungun since the arrival of the Spanish. Data collected in 1606 by Valdivia shows that many of loanwords already had an equivalent in the native tongue. This fact is a source of ire for language purists, who believe that Mapudungun already has the capacity to talk about new concepts without needing to borrow from other languages. Later innovations and concepts, such as national institutions, schools, hospitals and
health, and technology have exclusively Spanish loanwords, with no attempt to create new words (Golluscio, Fraguas, Mellico 2009).

Proponents of language revitalization such as Paul Heggarty (2006) find that while borrowing is natural and can enrich vocabulary, excessive borrowing is detrimental to the language, especially when original words are replaced. Another issue is the dominance of one language and culture over the other. The linguistic market highly favors Spanish over indigenous languages. It comes with an image of respectability and prestige, while Mapudungun on the other hand is not seen as favorable. Excessive borrowing, especially under these social conditions, is known as the first stage of “linguistic suicide,” a term coined by Denison (1977) that means that decreasing proficiency in speakers and the reluctance to pass on their language to subsequent generations. Large scale borrowings are often a catalyst to fundamental changes of the language, such as in the sound system and grammar (Heggarty 2006).

The idea of actitud Mapuchizante or “Mapucheness” is taking pride in the language and culture, having an attachment to it, and keeping it alive and thriving (Caniguan 2007). Those who seek to revitalize the language suggest looking at the social conditions of the Mapuche and the stigma that surrounds the use of Mapudungun. In 7.7, I further address the obstacles of language revitalization and possible routes to take in order to overcome these issues.
2. Phonemic Inventories

2.1 Phonemic Inventory of Central Mapudungun

*Compiled from the data of Smeets (1989), Zúñiga (2006), Golluscio (2009), Salamanca & Quintrileo (2009)

Figure 1. Vowel inventory of Mapudungun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
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Figure 2: Glide Inventory of Mapudungun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Labiovelar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>u̯</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Figure 3: Consonant inventory of Mapudungun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
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<th>Velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
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<td>OwnProperty</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>n</td>
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<td>j̩</td>
<td>p̯</td>
<td>η̯</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j̩</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>tʃ̩</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
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<td>Ʉ</td>
<td>y̯</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Native Mapudungun does not contain voiced plosives or fricatives. In certain loanwords, depending on the dialect, they may be voiced (Smeets 1989).
2.2 Phonemic Inventory of Chilean-variety Spanish

*Compiled from the data of Macpherson (1975), Sadowsky & Salamanca (2011)

Figure 4: Vowel inventory of Chilean Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>high</td>
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<tr>
<td>low</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Consonant Inventory of Chilean Spanish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Postalveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>p</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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</table>

*Note, the previous data encompasses the phonemic inventory of contemporary Chilean Spanish. Any significant changes to the language in regards to loanword adaptation have been addressed in further sections (i.e.: 3.1.1)

3. Phonemic Repair Strategies

Compared to Spanish, Mapudungun has a relatively low number of consonantal phonemes. Mapudungun deals with these differences in a variety of ways.

The following adaptations have been recorded before the 19th century, but borrowing has produced changes in Mapudungun’s native inventory that begin to manifest in later centuries,
prompting Golluscio to call the changes phonemic (Golluscio, Fraguas, Mellico 2009, Golluscio 2009).

3.1 Voiceless Fricative \[x\] Adjustments

One Spanish phoneme that is adjusted with great frequency is the voiceless fricative \([x]\), which does not exist in Mapudungun’s consonantal inventory (Smeets 1989, Zúñiga 2006). It is always changed, but it is adjusted in several manners: palatalization, plosivization, and affrication.

From my analysis, it has not been made clear what environments trigger which adjustments. Palatalization seems to occur only intervocally, while plosivization and affrication happen intervocally and in initial positions. Vowel features do not seem to govern treatment either. One reason to consider could be the particular age of the loanword, but since my sources are not able to pinpoint the exact period that words entered the vocabulary, it is perhaps something to consider for further research.

3.1.1 Palatalization of \([x]\)

(2) \(x \rightarrow \mathcal{f}^1\)
   a. /oˈbɛxa/ > /oˈfɛxa/ ‘sheep’

(3) \(x \rightarrow \mathcal{t}\)
   a. /aˈbɛxo/ > /aˈbaχo/ ‘under’
   b. /ˈɛxe/ > /eˈχe/ ‘axle’

---

^1 Note: I have only seen one instance of the change from \(x \rightarrow \mathcal{f}\). Penny (2002) notes that before c.1650, \([x]\) was not a part of the consonantal inventory. In the 16th century, it was pronounced as \([\mathcal{f}]\), so it is possible that a different phone was heard and adapted. Palatalization does not seem to be as common as other methods, as \(x \rightarrow \mathcal{t}\) also seemed quite rare.
3.1.2 Plosivization of [x]

(4) $x > k$
   a. /es’pexo/ > /es’peko/  ‘mirror’
   b. /xa’bon/ > /ka’fon/  ‘soap’
   c. /o’xota/ > /e’kota/  ‘sandal’

3.1.3 Affrication of [x]

(5) $x > \tilde{f}$
   a. /a’yuxa/ > /a’ku[\tilde{f}]a/  ‘needle’
   b. /’axos/ > /a[\tilde{f}]uq/  ‘garlic’
   c. /’xaro/ > /[\tilde{f}]a[\tilde{u}]/  ‘jug’, ‘cup’

3.2 Voiced Plosive and Fricative Adjustments

As I briefly mentioned previously, native Mapudungun does not contain voiced plosives or fricatives. Voicing of plosives and fricatives occurs exclusively in loanwords, if it happens at all (Smeets 1989), depending on the particular group or dialect. When voicing occurs, it generally happens in loanwords introduced to the language post 1800s. (Golluscio, Fraguas, Mellico 2009). Words introduced previously were adjusted by either devoicing or lenition into glides.

3.2.1 Devoicing of Plosives

(6) $b > p$
   a. /’nabos/ > /na’poq/  ‘turnips’
   b. /’cabra/ > /ka’piq/  ‘goat’

(7) $g > k$
   a. /ga’nar/ > /ka’nar/  ‘to earn’
   b. /tes’tigo/ > /tes’tiku/  ‘witness’
   c. /’ganso/ > /kan’su/  ‘goose’
3.2.2 Defricativization of [β]

(8) \(\beta > w\)

a. [ˈa̱bas] > /aˈwaɾ/ ‘beans’

b. [ɾesı̱ˈbir] > /ɾeˈsiwi-/ ‘to receive’

c. [ˈbaka] > /waˈka/ ‘cow’

3.2.3 Devoicing of Fricatives

(9) [f] or /b/ > f

a. /baˈrıl/ > /faˈqıl/ ‘barrel’

b. /baˈrato/ > /faˈqatu/ ‘cheap’

c. /aˈbena/ > /aˈfena/ ‘oats’

3.3 Adaptation of the Spanish [r] and [ɾ]

The Spanish r is realized as a trill /ɾ/ and a flap /ɾ/. In Spanish loanwords in Mapudungun, both of these are replaced by the retroflex approximate /ɬ/.²

(10) \(r > ɬ\)

a. /beˈráko/ > /foˈɬaku/ ‘the boar’

b. /koˈral/ > /koˈɬal/ ‘fence’

(11) \(r > ʟ\)

a. /kuˈɬara/ > /kuˈɬa/ ‘spoon’

b. /kaseˈroɬa/ > /kaˈseɬola/ ‘pan’

4. Stress adaptations

Loanword adaptation goes beyond just the individual sounds of the language. Suprasegmental changes are applied to loanwords. Mapudungun is a toneless language, as is Spanish, so there is no adjustment in that regard. What is adjusted, however, are the stress patterns of loanwords.

Mapudungun has non-contrastive stress, and it has a partially fixed pattern of stress falling on

² Depending on the dialect, the flap /ɾ/ may be used instead of /ɬ/ in intervocalic positions (Golluscio 2009).
second syllable (Echeverria 1965), while Spanish stress is contrastive and not fixed (Green 1988). In the following examples, we can see that the stress has changed in order to fit Mapudungun’s general pattern of second syllable stress.

(12) Reassignment of stress

a. /ˈpobre/ > /poˈfɾe/ ‘poor’
b. /ˈtoro/ > /toˈɾo/ ‘bull’
c. /intʃaˈson/ > /inʃaˈalen/ ‘the swelling’
d. /teˈnødɔ/ > /teˈneɾoŋ/ ‘the fork’

5. Consonant Cluster Adjustments

In Mapudungun, consonant clusters do not occur in the same syllable, so Spanish loanwords with this feature are handled by anaptyxis and elision.

5.1 Anaptyxis

Mapudungun may insert a short vowel, commonly [i] between consonants in order to aid pronunciation by interrupting foreign clusters. This process happens in clusters with r or l as the second consonant, though there are few exceptions (see example 14e).

(13) 0 → i / [+cons, -son] __ [+cons, +cont, +son]

a. /ˈpotɾo/ > /poˈtʃo/ ‘colt’
b. /ˈtɾen/ > /tiˈɾen/ ‘train’
c. /ˈblanˈko/ > /tiˈlan/ ‘white’
d. /ˈflɔɾ/ > /fiˈloɾ/ ‘flower’
e. /ˈʃakra/ > /ʃaˈkiɾa/ ‘small farm’
f. /ˈklavɔ/ > /kiˈlaɾo/ ‘key’
g. /ˈpreˈso/ > /piˈɾesu/ ‘captive’
h. /plaˈtʃo/ > /piˈlatʃu/ ‘saucer’
5.2 Elision

In certain consonant clusters, /s/ is elided, but in other cases it is maintained.

(14) Elision of /s/

a. /ˈplastiko/ > /pʊˈlatiko/ ‘plastic’
b. /ˈfosfoɾo/ > /foˈfɔɾo/ ‘match’
c. /esˈtaka/ > /eˈtaka/ ‘peg’
d. /pesˈkəɾ/ > /peˈkan/ ‘to fish’
e. /raʃˈtiʃo/ > /qaˈtʃiʎu/ ‘rake’
f. /desˈpwes/ > /deˈpwel/ ‘after’

(15) /s/ is maintained

a. /esˈpweləl/ > /isˈpwelə/ ‘spur’
b. /esˈkweləl/ > /isˈkwelə/ ‘school’
c. /esˈtudjo/ > /esˈtudio/ ‘study’

From the previous data under (15), we can see that /s/ tends to be maintained in the initial syllable, but (14c) is an exception to this general pattern. Therefore, I do not believe I have enough conclusive data to make a rule.

6. Syllable Reduction

Mapudungun roots consist of one, two, and very rarely three syllables (Smeets 1989), so Spanish loanwords longer than three syllables undergo a reduction, which is generally the deletion of the initial syllable, which happens to be unstressed.

(16) Initial syllable deletion in polysyllabic (4+) words

a. /eskaˈleɾa/ > /kaˈleɾa/ ‘stairs’ ‘ladder’
b. /estamˈpiʃa/ > /tamˈpiʃa/ ‘stamp’
c. /desaˈjuno/ > /saˈjuno/ ‘breakfast’
I have completed my phonological analysis of Spanish loanwords. The next portion of this essay addresses the sociolinguistic factors affecting the usage of Spanish and Mapudungun.

7. Resistance to Linguistic Change

Historically, languages have resisted conquest and change as a means to state their independence. French Romantic author Victor Hugo famously claimed that “when you offer a translation to a nation, that nation will almost always look at translation as an act of violence against itself” (qtd. Lefevere 1992:14). Not only can this quote apply to translation, but also changes within a language brought about by an outside source.

The colonization of South America meant the domination of Spanish culture and language imposed upon the indigenous people. According to Robinson, changing another culture, spreading its values and way of life, can be considered itself a form of colonization (1977). Furthermore, languages and their words never exist on their own; they carry history and cultural significance. Imposing a language on another culture has more implications than simple linguistic change; it means inscribing the culture with linguistic and cultural values. The refusal to adapt to another language, such as in the case of the Spanish refusing to change their language and instead expecting it of the Mapuche, can be perceived as an assertion of supremacy of one language, including its “unchallenged political, economic and cultural power within [a] nation’s boundaries” (Danan 1991:612).

The continued use of Mapudungun and reluctance to change their phonological structures and syntax shows resistance. Hearing one’s own language and continuing to use it, even in the face of such adversity faced by the Mapuche, serves to confirm its importance and value. According to Mera, hearing and using one’s own language “reinforces a sense of national identity and autonomy” (1999:82), which is something that Mapuche sought.
8. Adaptation of Spanish Loanwords throughout History

8.1 Spanish Conquest

The languages Mapudungun and Spanish first made contact in 1536, with the arrival of the Spanish. Linguistic exchange and borrowing occurred early on, as can be inferred by loanwords that use 16th century Spanish phonemes, as seen in (2). However, unlike other indigenous languages such as Imbabura Quechua and Kallaway, Mapudungun underwent fewer phonological and syntactical changes. It did not develop a mixed variety, nor was there as large a prevalence of function and content words, meanwhile both Quechua and Kallaway borrowed many elements of its lexicon and grammar from Spanish (Danielsen et al. 2014).

Loanwords introduced by the Spanish during this time show the most modifications in adaptation (Golluscio 2009). Language as addressed by the Mapuche is either a way to get to know someone or distance yourself from them (Heidegger 2012). The Mapuche tend to distance themselves from “the other,” both when they are speaking Mapudungun and Spanish. Traditionally, they strongly resisted assimilation. Their refusal to adopt new structures and phones could have been their way of distancing themselves from foreign Spaniards.

8.2 Defeat of the Mapuche

Spanish words introduced to Mapudungun in the 19th century show the least number of adaptations. Several examples exhibit foreign phonemes and syllable structures.

(17) /go'bjerno/ > /go'bjeŋu/ ‘government’
(18) /presi'dente/ > /prese'dente/ ‘president’
(19) /sosia'lishmo/ > /sosia'limu/ ‘socialism’
(17) contains voiced consonants /g/ and /b/, which are not native phonemes to Mapudungun.

(18) shows that the Spanish stress patterns were adopted, as the stress does not fall on the second syllable as it “natively” would. (18) also contains foreign flap /ɾ/. We also see that the process of anaptyxis, as seen in (13a-h), does not occur in the initial consonant cluster.

(19) shows another example of non-native stress patterns.

In (17) – (19), we can see the adaptation of words related to politics, which were adopted greatly during this time period. (17) – (19) were all adopted after the 1880s. At this time, the Mapuche suffered a great loss of their people and land. In the early 1900s, Mapuche people began to migrate to the cities in search of opportunity (Richards 2006). The new adaptation processes could reflect these events: wanting prestige and greater opportunities meant assimilation.

8.3 Recent History

The usage of Mapudungun has been declining greatly. The degree of bilingualism is strong in the Mapuche community. While 85% of the elderly frequently speak Mapudungun as well as 55% of adults, there is a sharp decline in younger generations. 90% of children do not use the language at all (Vinet 2013). Mapudungun is the second language of most Mapuche. Of the people that speak it, 90% have learned Spanish in the household. Furthermore, education is monolingual, and public usage of Mapudungun is virtually nonexistent (Vinet 2013).

9. Mapuche Beliefs Surrounding Mapudungun Usage

A way that the Mapuche differ themselves from Spanish is how they use their language. In Western culture, we believe ourselves able to manipulate language to suit our needs and express
our thoughts and intentions. We believe that our ideas and the words we say are our very own, as reflected in our treatment of plagiarism. The concept of owning a language and wanting to prohibit others from using it is unthinkable. On the other hand, the Mapuche believe language is problematic in conveying a speaker’s intention. Instead, they allow their language to guide them, and believe that speaking is to “align one’s submission to the force of language” (Heidegger 2012:6), meaning that they believe Mapudungun is not fully under their control, but instead it is the force of the world that manifests itself in the word and flows through the speaker. The Mapuche have ritual priests that are known as “Masters of the Word.” It was said that new words appeared to these priests in dreams and visions and were introduced to the Mapuche and Mapudungun (Heidegger 2012). Words arise from their spiritual connection to the land and prayer. This explains why the territorial conquest was so devastating to the Mapuche people; at the loss of their land, Mapuche lost their connection to Mapudungun, whose name itself shows this strong connection. Mapudungun loses its strength when these rituals are not able to be completed, and when people lose faith.

Spanish words introduced to the Mapuche are not regarded with the same intensity as the words from dreams and visions of Mapuche priests. Loanwords are modified to fit what could be considered acceptable with regards to their language’s sound and structure.

The Mapuche believes their language belongs to them and lives in them, which also presents an issue when people outside the community use their words.

10. Appropriation of Mapudungun and Mapuche Culture

Mapuche culture has been exploited, appropriated and commercialized. Their goods and cultural artifacts are mass produced and sold for profit, with no regard to the Mapuche people. Mapuche costumes are not uncommon but are incorrectly represented (Strodthoff 2014).
Mapu̇che consider it inappropriate to invoke the Mapu̇che language, as non-Mapu̇che people do not understand the true meaning and cannot comprehend the connection the language has to the land and their culture.

In 2006, a Mapu̇che tribe sued Microsoft for translating Windows into Mapudungun, claiming that the company violated their cultural heritage. A community leader accused Microsoft of appropriating Mapudungun and intellectual piracy. The tribe also felt slighted that they were not consulted at all before the software's creation. (Ray 2007). The lawsuit raised the question of language ownership, and it also confronted the issue of researchers and linguistic documenting of a language without the explicit consent of the community. The Mapu̇che want to decide when their language is used, instead of having a large group decide for them. Historically their language has been used as a weapon to support the imposition of a foreign and extraneous culture, such as in the case of missionaries using Mapudungun to spread the word of Christianity and other foreign concepts (Ray 2007:235). Now they seek to have control over a language which they have fought to keep.

11. Mapudungun Loanwords in Chilean Spanish

The exchange of loanwords between Spanish and Mapudungun is nearly one-sided, favoring the former. Other than plant and animal names, not much Mapudungun influence is seen. However, certain colloquialisms use Mapudungun words. According to Antonia Ortiz and Martina Ponce (personal communication), Mapudungun loanwords are never used in polite or formal conversation, unlike Spanish loanwords. They are seen as poco culto, “low-brow,” and are often used in a facetious manner.

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3 Note: no conclusion has been reached regarding the case
Certain words and phrases of Mapudungun origin carry negative connotations in the Spanish adaptation, as seen in the following table:

Figure 6: Connotations of Mapudungun

*Data compiled from Rusca (1952), personal communication with A. Ortiz (2015) and M. Ponce (2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mapudungun</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Gloss (Mapudungun/Spanish)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amuln</td>
<td>amulucarse</td>
<td>‘to direct or guide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to flee to the mountains (vulg.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawifi</td>
<td>cahuin</td>
<td>‘A religious banquet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Drunkenness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kufun</td>
<td>cufifo</td>
<td>‘Hot’ (when describing water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘Walking around, feeling hot, drunk, and lively’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malon</td>
<td>malón</td>
<td>‘A pillaging’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘A party’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pichi</td>
<td>hacer pichi</td>
<td>‘Small, a little bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘To urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suchi</td>
<td>suche</td>
<td>‘a young messenger, courier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘one who carries out all unpleasant tasks, servant, slave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The implications of the Spanish adaptations are troubling, especially when we remember that the pervasive stereotypes about the Mapuche people imply savagery or a lack of culture. While Spanish loanwords in Mapudungun remain fairly true to the original meaning, Mapudungun loanwords seem to become unsophisticated and mocking. Even in just a couple of loanwords, the status of the languages is made clear; Spanish is seen as prestigious, while Mapudungun is not.

Attempts to revitalize Mapudungun have to overcome these perceptions so that the language is seen as worthwhile and legitimate.
12. Revitalization Obstacles

12.1 Negative Attitudes towards Mapudungun

Attitudes toward the culture impact people’s desire to speak the language. If its speakers view the language negatively, they are more likely to abandon it (Lagos et al. 2013). Many Mapuche now deny their ethnicity and their language due to shame. For the Mapuche, changing the attitude and perception of Mapudungun is vital to its survival.

Prejudice and stereotypes abound in everyday discourse. Because of their resistance to Spanish conquest, the Mapuche have been noted to be a strong and brave people. They are praised for their connection to nature and their purity, but they are also condemned for their ferocity and “underdeveloped culture,” thus giving birth to the current meaning of the word “savage,” a word derived from Latin denoting something of the woods and forest, principally applied to animals and places, transforming to mean “naïve, greedy, and vicious” (Harper 2001). It was a word that would be widely used by colonizers to justify their conquest of the Americas (Alvarado & Purcell 2003, Patterson 2011).

In the 18th century, many negative stereotypes arose with the expulsion of the Mapuche from their lands (see Section 1.1), including terms such as “lazy Indian” and “barbarian” (Merino & Quilaqueo 2003).

Today, the existence of prejudice is still a very real issue. In a study by Merino and Quilaqueo, it was found that more than 80% of non-Mapuche, from a variety of social classes, harbor negative stereotypes and prejudices against the Mapuche (Merino & Quilaqueo 2003).

If the language is to be promoted and respected, those beliefs need to be ended. Proponents of revitalization also advise creating a supply and demand for the language. Increasing the “language supply” would mean offering more ways to learn the language and
improving education for those of different backgrounds. Increasing the demand would be accomplished by promoting more of its usage in mass media and exposing more people to the culture. Certain groups seek social status for indigenous languages such as Mapudungun to help accomplish this goal (Lagos et al. 2013).

12.2 The Issue of Literacy

Another obstacle is facing the issue of literacy. Mapudungun is traditionally an oral language. Promoting literacy would create a sense of empowerment and prestige for the language, there is no standard writing system, and no consensus has been reached. Opponents claim that promoting literacy could negatively impact the oral traditions of the Mapuche (Lagos et al. 2013).

There are three main alphabets in use for Mapudungun orthography. No consensus between linguists, authorities, or Mapudungun communities has been reached on which alphabet should be used, and it is yet another source of controversy. The Unified Alphabet is widely used by Chilean and Mapuche linguists and in scientific research, but it is criticized for being too Hispanicized. The Raguileo Alphabet is used and defended by certain indigenous groups, but is criticized for being illogical (Ray 2007). Lastly, there is the Azumchefi Alphabet, which is based on older spelling systems, but it is not widely used (Zúñiga 2006).

13. Fighting for Mapudungun

Demonstrations and marches are now held throughout Chile in support of the Mapuche people, even while the police criminalize the resistance. People fighting for Mapuche rights but also Mapudungun. Supporters use the language as a political instrument. Historically language has been used to oppress and marginalize indigenous groups, but now Mapuche writers are fighting
back. Poets use language as a weapon to confront oppression, and as a tool to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity. David Aníñir writes about the Mapurbe, or urban Mapuche, experience and considers his work to be revenge against those who wronged the Mapuche (Wadi 2011). Other Mapuche poets such as Jaime Huenún advocate for the celebration of heritage. Poets such as Elicura Chihuailaf encourage readers to have intercultural dialogues between Chileans and Mapuche, so the latter may share traditions, for the purpose of decentering the dominant culture (Strodthoff 2014). The majority of these works are written in a mix of Spanish and Mapuche, which makes them accessible to larger audiences, but it also places the two languages side by side as a way of saying that Mapudungun can stand alongside Spanish. Mapudungun is used in artistic and clever ways, showing that it is not an uncultured or inferior language.

Mapuche music group Wechekeche Portland or “Meeting of the Young” raps completely in Mapudungun, telling the community to be proud and speak their language and to pass it on to future generations. Their song Mapudungunfinge “Speak Mapudungun” tells the history of their ancestors listening to nature to find the Word:

“Mapudungun,
listen to our conversation,
we all say: don’t be ashamed!
Wake up your heart!
Our ancestors attentively listened

to all forms of life, the songs of birds,
the calls of animals.
So they had the clarity
that there exists the Word, a great wisdom.

Speak Mapudungun,

Listen to our conversation,
We all say: don’t be ashamed!
Wake up your heart!
Our ancestors attentively listened
to all forms of life, the songs of birds,
the calls of animals.
So they had the clarity
that there exists the Word, a great wisdom.

---

4 Video and Spanish translation found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v~h1-OzMy7hpY
Lyrics transcribed in Unified Alphabet by Amaru Quyllur
Other support comes from people outside the community. Chilean singer Ana Tijoux, who has Amerindian roots but has felt disconnected from the culture, supports the Mapuche by flying Mapuche flags during concerts and writing songs that address their hardships, such as *Canelo Sagrado* or “Sacred Cinnamon Tree” \(^5\) (Simón 2015). The music video shows the juxtaposition of Mapuche land and construction.

In my research, I found that music and poetry are popular forms of resistance. My belief is that poetry shows the artistic value of Mapudungun, giving it value. Music is another form of poetry but utilizes melody and tone to help convey emotion. These art forms are able to speak to the heart, which makes them undeniably valuable. Still, not only hearts can be swayed, but minds as well.

Comparisons may be made between the Chilean government’s reluctance to acknowledge indigenous languages and the Bolivian government’s willingness to do so. The Bolivian constitution was rewritten in 1993, explicitly recognizing the cultural and linguistic diversity present within its borders. The indigenous Aymara is currently used in rural education (Bayley and Schecter 2003). In 2008, Ecuador recognized Quechua and Shuar as official languages in intercultural relations, as well as languages to be used in education. The new constitution also protects indigenous peoples’ rights to own community lands (CIEMAN 2008). Later in 2011, Peru recognized Quechua and Aymara in their constitutions as official languages wherever they are predominant. Moreover, recent attempts have been made to introduce the teaching of indigenous languages in all levels of education (CIEMAN 2011).

Meanwhile, The Chilean government does not recognize the sovereignty or language of the largest indigenous population on its soil. The fight for Mapuche self-determination and the recuperation of land continues. The Mapuche are also fighting for their language to be

\(^5\) The cinnamon tree is a sacred symbol in Mapuche culture
recognized by the Chilean government. Though there are currently no linguistic policies concerning Mapudungun, efforts have been made to revitalize the language, and Mapudungun has already shown the strength to survive through time.

14. Conclusion

Although Mapudungun has borrowed and continues to borrow words, their treatment of loanwords in times of victory shows their resistance to foreign influence; words are highly domesticated and favor their own language’s sounds and forms. In times of defeat and hardship, loanwords show favor towards foreign Spanish elements.

Currently, the Mapuche face hardship, and their language suffers, but as protests and riots currently make headlines, more focus has been placed on this fascinating and unique culture. Traditional Mapuche clothing influences designers, and the New York fashion company VOZ works with Mapuche artists and sells their designs overseas (Henao 2015). Some hospitals in Santiago, Chile refer their patients to Mapuche herbalists as an initiative to introduce and incorporate indigenous knowledge into their public health system (Henao 2015).

Certain members of the Mapuche community embrace outsiders’ curiosity, such as author Pedro Cayuqueo who is glad to see that “The Mapuche today are not just folklore,” but instead are becoming cultural and pop-cultural icons (qtd. Henao 2015). However, although opposition is not highly publicized, the views of certain Mapuche in the Microsoft case (see Section 10) show that not every Mapuche wishes for their culture to be consumed by others. While their culture and language receives more attention, we may begin to see a pronounced dichotomy between these two groups.
Should we only allow Mapudungun to participate in revitalization efforts? With the history of Mapuche oppression, it seems illogical. Mapudungun has not thrived, because parents do not pass it on to their children, fearing it will hinder their success. It has not thrived due to discrimination and hardship. The fact that linguistics and researchers of different backgrounds are working to protect and preserve Mapudungun language and culture shows that their culture has value to the world.

According to UNESCO, “languages transmit values and cultural expressions and are decisive in giving identity to communities and to people” (qtd. Cayuqueo 2013). With the loss of language comes an irreparable loss of identity. Preserving Mapudungun means preserving the importance of the word and its connection to the earth. It means confirming the importance and value of a culture that has defied expectations and has fought for centuries to stay alive. With Mapuche permission, we can help that cause.

_Cuando un pueblo cae en la esclavitud, si conserva bien la lengua propia, es como si tuviera la llave de la prisión_  
[When a people fall into oppression, but still conserve their native tongue, it’s as if they hold the key to their prison]  
- Alphonse Daudet
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