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"You Taught Me Language; and My Profit on't." Translation, Differential Authorship, and Frictions as *champurria* Collaborations in Indigenous and Anthropological Writing

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ABSTRACT

Building on an ongoing dialogue with co-editors Claudio Alvarado Lincopi and Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez, this article explores the process that redefined roles and relationships with and through writing. It investigates multivocal representations and collaborative writings, interrogating the possibilities and challenges of divergent positionalities in methodologies and epistemologies of co-creation that are simultaneously Indigenous, academic, ethnographic, and deeply engaged. "Performing the Jumbled City: Subversive Aesthetics and anticolonial indigeneity in Santiago de Chile" (MUP, 2022) results from a 4-year collaborative research project involving Mapuche activists, artists, and scholars. The book, structured as a map of Santiago, chronicles the Indigenous urban diaspora, emphasising creative and political acts of place-making. Connected to a website housing audio-visual materials, the volume experiments with multimodality, collective writing, and shared authorship. Editorial work and writing involved extensive review, feedback, and translation between individual and collective creation, and negotiations around choices of language, style, format, and forms of representation.

Resumen

A partir de un diálogo en devenir con los co-editores Claudio Alvarado Lincopi y Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez, este artículo explora el proceso que redefinió los roles y las relaciones con y a través de la escritura. Investiga representaciones multivocales y escritos colaborativos, interrogando las posibilidades y los retos de las posiciones divergentes en metodologías y epistemologías de co-creación que son simultáneamente indígenas, académicas, etnográficas y profundamente comprometidas. "Performing the Jumbled City: Estética subversiva e indigenismo anticolonial en Santiago de Chile" (MUP, 2022) es el resultado de un proyecto de investigación colaborativa de cuatro años en el que participaron activistas, artistas y académicos Mapuche. El libro, estructurado como un mapa de Santiago, hace una crónica de la diáspora urbana indígena, haciendo hincapié en los actos creativos y políticos de creación de lugares. Conectado a un sitio web que contiene materiales audiovisuales, el volumen experimenta con la multimodalidad, la escritura colectiva y la autoría compartida. El trabajo editorial y de escritura implicaron una revisión continua, retroalimentación y traducción entre la creación individual y colectiva, y negociaciones en torno a las opciones de lenguaje, estilo, formato y formas de representación.

1 | Introduction

The first time I heard the phrase quoted in the title it was not in a Shakespeare theatre play, and it was not in English. It was during a virtual discussion with the Mapuche scholar Claudio Alvarado Lincopi, and theatre director Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez. We were working on the conclusions of our collaboratively written book *Performing the Jumbled City. Subversive Aesthetics and Anticolonial Indigeneity in Santiago de Chile*. The quote was in Spanish, and the concept was expressed in a much more explicit way than the Shakespearean original: "me ensañaste tu lengua, y con esa te maldigo." Claudio was referring to Caliban, and the decolonial reinterpretations of this figure, to elaborate on a concept that had been key and recurrent during our work, that of cannibalistic appropriations, or "antropofágias." Claudio was probably not thinking of a specific "language" or "learning" in itself, but rather of the possibility of appropriation, undoing and reversal of power relations. This tension and collaborative re-assemblage constitute the generative curse that shaped our joint work behind *Performing the Jumbled City*. When Shakespeare entered our conversation, I found myself reflecting once more on the academic production of knowledge, anthropological writing, and the complex relationship with Indigenous worlds.

As suggested by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, this is strongly related to the "political economy of knowledge production," requiring not only to reconsider conceptual and epistemological choices, but also to address "the unequal ways in which salaries and privileges, and publication opportunities are distributed" (2010: 65–66). Acknowledging this problematic backdrop, this article explores collaborative writing as a creative intersection of anthropological and Indigenous knowledge production, characterized by necessary yet partial acts of translation.

In my analysis, I build on the work of Mary Louise Pratt, Joanne Rappaport, and Walter Benjamin, and their reflections on translation as an unfinished process that works through, rather than behind, frictions and entanglements. Looking at translation as border crossing and displacement, I draw on the similarities of this process with the Mapuche experience in urban centers, and their back and forth movements between belongings, practices, and borders. These crossings and "shapeshifting" (Cox 2015) are never complete, yet capable of creating tactics and repertoire[1]. As we will see, the young Mapuche I worked with referred to this experience as *champurria*, re-signifying a term that originally means "mixed-race." In what follows, I propose a focus on *champurria* as a methodological choice and epistemological concept that takes debates around anticolonial projects and their limits one step forward, insisting on the tension between different terms in a relation, and the need to inhabit that tension without resolving it.

This work contributes to a recent trend in Indigenous publishing that involves collaboration with anthropologists/anthropological knowledge (see the Introduction to this Special Issue). It simultaneously engages with different media, forms, and genres within and beyond Indigenous worlds. In the editorial project I analyze here, urban Indigenous political aesthetics are foregrounded through mixed media such as theatre, art, video, and text. This approach prompts reflection on the anthropologist's role and

VIDEO 1 | Theatre play 'Santiago Waria', video by Antil. Reproduced with permission. Video content can be viewed at https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.70031

the creative possibilities arising from these collaborations in knowledge production. Additionally, it encourages consideration of the epistemic value of methodological innovations[2].

I start by introducing the research project "MapsUrbe—The Invisible City: Mapuche mapping of Santiago de Chile," which gave rise to the book, and discuss the subsequent shifts toward collaborative research it entailed. I then explore the processes of collective and multimodal writing, focusing particularly on how these imply exchange and translation across diverse positionalities, geographies, and disciplines. Moving from the methodological and epistemological reflections developed within the MapsUrbe project, I understand these intersections through the Mapuche concept of *champurria*. This term is increasingly applied to Indigenous artworks within urban Chile, and especially Santiago. Moving beyond its conventional association with social or physical identity, the concept has recently been reframed to denote multiple processes of mixing. It now signifies the quality of being jumbled and inhabiting contradictions, often through gestures reminiscent of almost cannibalistic appropriation[3]. Reflections on *champurria* profoundly influenced our collaborative writing, as it had previously shaped our research methodology. I revisit this concept in the article's concluding section.

This article mirrors the mixed-media approach used in our research and writing. It alternates between text, images, and video content to showcase the rich, heterogeneous creative process that led to the book's creation. The images show sections of the book; Video 1 demonstrates this process; Video 2 presents Claudio's reflections, which I referenced at the beginning of this article.

Performing the Jumbled City was published Open Access with Manchester University Press in 2022 and is the result of 4 years of collaborative research. Structured as a sort of map of Santiago, the book addresses Indigenous urban migration by exploring four main sites in the city and the connections between them[4]. Linked to a website where audio and video materials, and a catalogue of the original artworks, are stored, the book is an experiment with multimodality, collective writing, and shared authorship. Edited by myself, Claudio Alvarado

VIDEO 2 | Extract of Nütxam/Conversation between Olivia, Claudio, and Roberto about the co-writing process. Zoom video recorded by the author with permission from Claudio and Roberto. Video content can be viewed at https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.70031

Lincopi, and Roberto Cayuqueo Martínez in close collaboration with the broader group of research participants, the production of textual and audio-visual compositions entailed an extensive process of review/feedback/translation, and multiple shifts between individual and collective creation (and back again). This process prompted a redefinition of roles—as ethnographers, artists, curators, activists, engaged scholars—and relationships *with* and *through* writing. It opened a dialogical space shaped by choices of language, style, format, forms of representation and expression, and authorship. Yet before discussing the book, a brief introduction to the broader research process is needed.

The MapsUrbe project (2017–2021) focused on the Mapuche urban diaspora (Antileo 2008, Alvarado Lincopi 2021) and involved a group of young Mapuche activists, artists, and scholars who were first, second, or third generation of migrants to the metropolitan area. Starting as an investigation on Indigenous youth experience of displacement and placemaking in urban contexts, the research gradually moved from an initial focus on participatory cartography, digital storytelling, and biographic interviews, to exploring art-based methodologies and collective and creative means of producing knowledge, such as visual art, performance, and eventually a theatre play staged in the city's public space. All this was possible thanks to a shift from the project's initial focus and to the choice of sharing its coordination with Claudio and Roberto. The research became a space for collective thinking and creation, multiple representations, and the interrogation of the ways in which knowledge is produced.

Especially during the initial months of the research, these shifts were far from smooth and painless. Discussions around new directions and alternative routes were marked by enthusiasm and creativity as well as by friction. In a context characterized by what was rightly defined an "extractivist" approach to academic knowledge making (Nahuelpan 2013; see also Aubry 2007; Leyva et al. 2008), and in which Mapuche scholars have been fighting—and still struggle—for recognition and voice against preposterous accusations of being either "too subjective and too involved" or "not authentic enough" (see also Rappaport 2005), anthropologists tend not to be perceived as positively as we would like to. Our self-image, often perpetuated within the discipline, of

scholar-activists and allies, is not at all taken for granted by our interlocutors in the field, and our work undergoes close scrutiny and intense questioning.

As I have elaborated more extensively in other writings, my role as a European anthropologist was critiqued as strikingly similar to the brief yet demanding presence of tourists (see Alvarado Lincopi 2021). My initial proposal of "participatory methods"—mapping, counter-cartography, and digital storytelling—was rejected as reproducing the same old circuit in which Indigenous participants provide rough material for the anthropologist to carve out interpretation and knowledge. Knowledge was claimed, instead, as collectively produced; and research participants as knowledge producers with their own authoriality.

Having one's professional role questioned is not easy, and despite agreeing with many critiques of anthropology—often ironically labelled as "mapuchografía"—the criticism still stung. Nevertheless, the only viable response was to "stay with the trouble" (Haraway 2016), inhabiting this uncomfortable space to methodically deconstruct the project and rebuild it anew. Slightly different from Haraway's use of this concept, the trouble I refer to is that of being present with others as "unexpected collaborations and combinations" (2016: 4), confronting hard histories from structurally different positionalities, and yet from a similar place of uneasy alliance. It was from this uneasiness and openly critical dialogues that the changes in the MapsUrbe project were generated.

This was not a lonely task: it was very much shared, dialogical, and relational. I do not think I could have dealt with the anxiety it initially generated in my professional self if it were not for Claudio, Roberto, and the other participants' openness, creativity, and continuous intellectual stimuli. Affectivity and care also fundamentally defined our relationship, and playfulness equally characterized the research process and the writing of the book.

When it comes to Indigenous worlds and epistemological systems, the common association is with orality, more often than not related to rurality and "ancestral territories." While the political recognition of Indigenous territories is especially important for fundamental claims for autonomy and contemporary Indigenous politics, the majority of Indigenous people in Latin America now live in urban centers, having long engaged with the whitish "lettered city" (Rama 1996). Our shared interest in this perspective and migration history formed the initial common ground between Claudio, Roberto, and me. As such, the research project in which we collaboratively engaged was twice defiant: first, in asserting Indigenous spaces within the city; and second, in positioning Indigenous knowledge producers in dialogue with anthropology—not as subjects to be described or as mere describers, but as interpretive agents in their own right. This approach originated in our exchanges, responding at the same time to well-known decolonial claims by Indigenous and black scholars for a decentered production of academic knowledge (e.g., Harrison 1991; Smith 2012; Alonso Bejarano et al. 2019). A common reference was Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's affirmation of how decolonial theory must be accompanied by anticolonial practices (2012). Moving from the point that the colonial construction of the knower/known relationship has restrained any shared production of knowledge between Western and

FIGURE 1 | 'Incipit' from the book Performing the Jumbled City, published under the Creative Commons 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Photo by author.

non-Western people (Quijano 2007), we aimed at challenging this problematic relationship by introducing novel ways of thinking through art and performance. While we have jointly discussed these creative epistemological aspects of the research elsewhere (see Casagrande et al. 2022), this article reflects on one particular aspect of this shared process: our collaborative writing. Inspired by Claudio's Shakespearean provocation quoted above, I aim to explore the potentials and challenges arising from diverse positionalities—and the resulting alliances and tensions—in a collective practice of writing that is simultaneously Indigenous and academic, ethnographic and deeply engaged (see the book Incipit, Figure 1).

2. MapsUrbe: A Collaborative Process

From its inception, MapsUrbe functioned as a forum for exchange and epistemological elaboration. This meant an ongoing reflection on methodological choices as the project unfolded, playing with the interactions between our positionalities, and between textual and non-textual media and formats. In this dialogue, different but complementary things were at stake for us. Having recently completed a PhD and embarked on what would become a prolonged journey of academic precarity and mobility with my young family, I sought alternative approaches to anthropology, taking seriously calls for the decolonization of the discipline. Since my doctoral studies, I had grown increasingly uncomfortable with standard research practices, sensing a profound yet nebulous need for a more ethically, politically, and methodologically engaged approach. The critical perspectives maintained within the Colectivo MapsUrbe[5] around anthropology met my

uneasiness and pushed me in the direction of rethinking my own practice, engaging with fieldwork as a space for the joint articulation of intellectual projects rather than an exoticized place for the extraction of data to be analyzed (Mignolo 2000; Rivera Cusicanqui 2012).

Another crucial element in forging our collaborative space was our shared critique of the Mapuche diaspora's invisibility in urban contexts. This erasure, perpetuated in academia, public policy, and international forums, tends to confine Indigenous peoples to a stereotypical box labelled "nature, rurality, wildlife." Common representations are very often still marked by narrow concepts of tradition and a harmonious relation to nature, in a romanticized alternative to capitalism and Western culture or a form of resistant ecology detached from modernity, technology, and urbanity (De la Cadena, Starn 2007). In Latin America, Indigenous migration to major cities significantly escalated during the first half of the 20th century, driven by land reform policies and development models. However, the category of the "urban Indigenous" as a distinct—and contentious—sociopolitical actor has only recently emerged. This growing body of literature on urban indigeneity sits at the intersection of urban studies, anthropology, critical Indigenous studies, and decolonial approaches. In Chile, Mapuche scholars like Enrique Antileo Baeza, Claudio Alvarado Lincopi, and Walter Imilán have been at the forefront of this research (e.g., Antileo 2008; Imilán 2010; Antileo and Alvarado Lincopi 2017; Alvarado Lincopi 2021)[6]. Concurrently, since the early 2000s, poetry, arts, theatre, and performance in Santiago have significantly advanced Indigenous claims to urban spaces. These creative fields depict urbanity as integral to Indigenous lives and experiences, positioning the city

as a fundamental part of Indigenous geographies. This effort, in which Claudio, Roberto, and many research participants had long been involved before our collaboration, targeted both the Mapuche community in Santiago and external audiences. It aimed to highlight the intimacy and power of their stories for other urban Mapuche, legitimizing their experiences and fostering a collective rethinking of identity and belonging.

This inward movement was particularly strong during the first part of the project and resulted in two of its main outputs: the art exhibition curated by Claudio and me, and the theatre play directed by Roberto. These representations of the history of Mapuche migration were thought and produced with a specific audience in mind: the intention was to first share memories and stories within the Mapuche urban context itself, and from there open to the broader public arena of Santiago.

The need for constantly repositioning within these inward–outward movements contributed to a redefinition of our roles as ethnographers, artists, curators, and activists, shifting tasks depending on the project's stage. For example, I had a more prominent role at the beginning of fieldwork and in the writing of the book; Roberto directed the theatre play and the writing of the script; Claudio took on the role of main curator for the project's exhibition and wrote the curatorial text. Similarly, authorship shifted, leading to the choice of a mixed collective and individual authorship for different artworks as well as book sections. With these shifts, what we aimed for was not only to co-create the research process but to engage in co-theorization (Rappaport 2008). That is to say, methodological choices were as important as epistemological elaborations, equally part of the joint effort to grasp the reality of the Mapuche diaspora from different yet intersecting perspectives. During discussions and reflections within the group, the concept of *champurria* proved the best way to understand the work we were doing together. It allowed us to think differently, avoiding any smooth synthesis, without blending our positionalities and points of view in any final, overarching, and homogeneous interpretation. We rather chose to keep them in dialogue and in tension, inhabiting their frictional space of exchange. This was reflected in the multimodal use of creative and performative methods and representations. These dynamics shaped an ethnographic practice marked by constant shifts: not just between the "observation" and "participation," but also between the ethnographer's individual gaze and the plurality of gazes of the research participants (see Casagrande 2022).

While this added complexity and richness, it also proved challenging for the negotiation of leadership and the acknowledgment of power relations that can never be fully erased. If these choices defy the anthropologist as an expert, "blur[ring] conventional lines between activist and academic knowledge, "traditional" and western scientific epistemologies, and the research process and products that may result," privilege is never completely erased from collaborative relationships, and keeps resurfacing, sometimes paradoxically (Kennemore, Postero 2020, 9–12; see also Rappaport 2017). Horizontality is more of an aspiration, a necessary horizon that it is not possible to either transcend or reach. At the writing stage, this utopian tension requires the rethinking of issues of authorship and writing authority, while also making apparent one's positioning and privileges, uneasiness, and limits.

3. Indigenous and Anthropological Writing

Performing the Jumbled City is linked to a dedicated website (www.mapsurbe.com) in which maps, images, songs, videoclips, and audios are stored. Throughout the volume, the reader finds links and QR codes to related materials on the website. The book itself is organized into three main sections of varying lengths, complexity, and authorship. The first includes a Preface by the Mapuche scholar and anthropologist Enrique Antileo, and an Introduction authored by me. Initially, I proposed to write the Introduction collectively, but the group was clear in allocating this responsibility to me, making apparent how the research leadership was only partially redistributed and asking me to be transparent about my position (and privileges) as a foreign anthropologist with EU funding and upholding the management of the project[7]. The second section is divided into four chapters linked to four sites within the city and is authored collectively by the "Colectivo MapsUrbe." Every chapter/place connects to themes that were creatively and analytically addressed during the project through on-site workshops, individual and/or collective artworks, and the theatre piece. At the end of every chapter the reader can find a related section of the play. The script encompasses multiple genres—ethnography, fiction, autobiography, history—constituting a key ethnographic representation written in collaboration with the research participants. It holds together dialogic exchanges around the meanings attached to each site, personal experiences, and the broader historical Mapuche memory of migration and diaspora. The script also links the chapters, connecting them through the "Interludes" that are transcriptions of the audio-guides the audience listened to when moving between the four sites (watch part of the theatre play in Video 1).

The third section of the book is dedicated to the writings of individual members of the Collective who choose to reflect on the work we did within the project, but also their own paths in art, research, or activism. The six texts in this section discuss issues of migration and memory (Martín Llancaman, Rodrigo Huenchún Pardo); city space, public monuments, and indigeneity (Antil); racialisation, silence, and resistance (Claudio Alvarado Lincopi); and imagination, creation, and urban trajectories (Cynthia Salgado; Puelpan). The book ends with a conversation between me, Claudio, and Roberto, in the form of the Mapuche *nütxam* (an oral genre of Mapuche storytelling), and an Afterword by Claudio.

The book crystallized into text dynamic processes of collaboration that required several shifts in our use of materials, representation, voices, and genres. The act of writing was part of the project from the beginning, albeit in different formats. Some of the members of the Collective decided to express themselves through writing in their artworks—for example, Martín Llancaman and Simona Mayo—and it was also part of the workshops alongside other forms of expression. Writing accompanied the exhibition and the play, with the script written partly during on-site improvisation, and the use of historical documents such as letters and old journals. Writing was always in dialogue with embodied, spatial, and performative elements, and it changed as the research progressed. As evident in our choice to produce a multimodal object, the editing process required a back-and-forth movement between these different modes and formats, implying modulations and
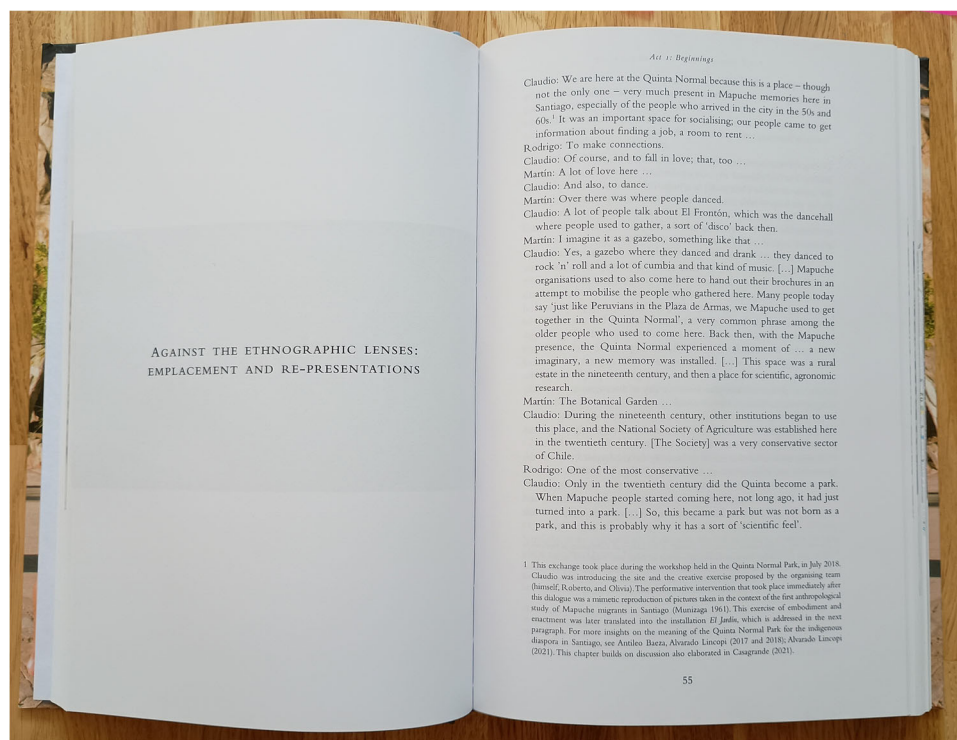
FIGURE 2 | Dialogical start of chapter 1, from the book Performing the Jumbled City, published under the Creative Commons 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Photo by author.

exchanges between forms of expression, media, languages, and genres.

In this back-and-forth, two significant "displacements" should be highlighted. First, from oral exchanges among the group—usually framed as *nütxam* or *txawün* according to Mapuche genres of relational orality—to written texts; and from visual and performative representation to the book format. Within the four central chapters, the form of dialogue typical of the orality of our exchanges constitutes the incipit, and it is used to write the Conclusions, a dialogue or *nütxam* between Claudio, Roberto, and me. Similarly, the book includes, rather than translating into text, artistic and visual representations, reproducing as much as possible the meaningful relationship between orality, written texts, and visual and performative formats. Keeping these different languages and genres in relation through the multimodality we choose to retain within the book made space for orality within the written form, also allowing traditional genres to interplay with technical innovation, multimedia, and artistic representations (see Figures 2 and 3).

A second "displacement" refers to choices made around authorship, audience, and writing style, and in particular the movement between the individual and the collective. Instead of opting for a unique encompassing collective authorship, we opted for shifting authorship in the different sections of the book, signing some essays individually and others collectively. This choice allowed us to maintain the singularity of voices, avoiding any pretense of a homogenous shared authorship and recognizing responsibilities and roles. Drawing on the concept of "differential proximities" developed by Castellano (2024), I define this shifting between individual and collective writing as "differential authorship," to

acknowledge frictions and the presence of multiple positionalities in the production of collaborative writing[8].

Dealing with different layers of authorship required a constant, sometimes confusing, shift in the use of pronouns (we/I). We chose to embrace this ambiguity, as it reflected our experience throughout the project—the constant need to reposition ourselves collectively and individually. This also implied showing in the text, instead of eliding, certain fissures that we/I are far from having resolved. Significant in this regard is the stylistic choice made for Chapters 1–4. Authored as a collective, these chapters retain singular voices in shorter texts parallel to the central narrative. These are extracts of reflections that emerged during the research and guided our writing of the book. The choice of keeping them separate, marked by a different graphic, and linked to individual members of the Collective, instead of incorporating them as "quotes" into the flow of the main text, is a way of representing and claiming friction, and, to a certain extent, incommensurability between the individual and the collective, academic text and orality, improvisation and analysis (see Figure 4). It is an openly problematic attempt at "dislocating" and "displacing" authority and authoriality, engaging "in analysis as a mode of conversation, rather than a mastery" (Mahmood 2005, 1999; see Casagrande 2022).

Conversation also involves a range of interlocutors, and different forms of expression often imply a shift in audience (see Figures 5 and 6). While orality was prominent in the initial phase of the project, with an associated use of audio and video formats to record interactions, writing became more important during the second phase of the research, with the exhibition and the theater play. Finally, during the writing of the book, this format took

FIGURE 3 | Extract from collective nütxam, from the book Performing the Jumbled City, published under the Creative Commons 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Photo by author.

central stage, and with it the issue of translation into English for a different and much more distant audience: Anglophone academia.

What I have been calling "displacements" or "shifts" between formats, media, languages and audience, are, in fact, "translations" in the broader sense of the term, especially if we think of the Latin preposition "trans" as a word-forming element meaning "across, beyond, through, on the other side of, to go beyond" (Oxford English Dictionary). The term signals a movement between things, worlds, and systems of meaning: one that implies both loss and excess. I expand on these points in the following section.

4. (Partial) Translations

From early on, translation characterized the MapsUrbe project. Throughout the research, Mapudungun was deployed in oral and written forms, in greetings or specific expressions, and in songs. This was the Indigenous language that connected the project's participants to their family history and origins, but also projected them into the future through studying and teaching it within intercultural education programs. Mapudungun also interspersed itself in the two colonial languages that formed part of the project—Spanish during fieldwork, English during the writing of the book—finding space in the use of particular words, slipping into sentences, becoming part of neologisms. As such, the use of the three languages was not clear-cut. As we developed the book, this aspect evolved, fostering a more nuanced and nonlinear relationship. The final book, written in English, was the result of a complex back and forth between English and Spanish, with "incursions" and resistant terms

in Mapudungun, resulting in a mixed and "champurria-ized" language. Faithful to how urban Mapuche youth relate to these languages politically and affectively, this choice highlights the potentialities and impossibilities of translation. It speaks of the entanglements of words and worlds, equally implying violence, loss, and creativity in their reciprocity. That is also why the glossary at the end of the book is not strictly dedicated to terms in Mapudungun, but rather to the "mapurbe" language, a mixture of Spanish and Mapudungun characterized by neologisms and playfulness. This urban Indigenous language was consecrated to poetry by the Mapuche poet David Aniñir in the early 2000s and is now part of a developing aesthetic and lexicon. Throughout the book, instead of translating each term every time it is used, the reader is referred to the glossary, in an effort to keep something of the rhythm of how Mapudungun infiltrates spoken Spanish in Mapuche urban contexts[9].

These choices accompanied our collaborative writing, allowing us to rethink the shifts between languages, codes, and formats. As suggested by Saba Mahmood in her reflections around strategies for displacing Western analytical categories, this meant moving away from ideas of "cultural translation" in the direction of the "refusal of a third mediating term" (2005, 190, building on the work of Marylin Strathern). Similarly, Rappaport's analysis of the translation of the 1991 Colombian Constitution into the Nasa language highlights how this becomes a strategy of conceptual appropriation. In translating from Spanish to Nasa, key political terms—such as state, justice, authority—are not simply transposed from one language to the other, but reconceptualized in their meaning. Looking at these strategies as a way to "pose Indigenous-inspired alternatives to existing models of nationality and citizenship," the author understands translation as a

FIGURE 4 | Extract from collective nütxam, from the book Performing the Jumbled City, published under the Creative Commons 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Photo by author.

process through which linguistic priorities shift. Translation thus becomes a bidirectional movement between or across languages, one that, according to Walter Benjamin, somehow "liberates" the original from its limitations (Rappaport 2005, 5). Along the same lines, in reflecting on translation and cross-cultural meaning making, Marie Louise Pratt signals the importance of attending to fractures and entanglements. Interestingly, the author reflects on the difference between translation as something "mandated by the original" and the possibility of thinking of it as a process that "involves the purposeful creation of *nonequivalence*" (2002, 33, my emphasis).

Pratt, Rappaport, and Benjamin's ideas around translation resonate with much of the work done within MapsUrbe. In the process of translation, the very notions of "native" and "original" languages were problematized. During the research, members of the Collective spoke mainly Spanish, not only as a language shared with me, but also as their main everyday language. Many of the participants understood Mapudungun well, some of them working as translators and teachers, and this language was very much, albeit intermittently, present within the project and book. This language was the linguistic space in which neologisms were created, teasing meaning out of key Mapuche words mixed with Spanish grammar and syntax, such as, for example, the meaningful *rukear*, a play of words for "making a place your home" that turns the Mapuche noun *ruka*, meaning "home," into a Spanish verb. This word became part of a shared vocabulary to think about inhabiting the urban within the Mapuche diaspora in Santiago, and while impossible to be simply "translated," it marked one of the key conceptual and creative shifts within the project.

When we started working on the book, however, Spanish was the main language of our writing, and English became another layer to be added to this linguistic mix. The translation of texts and materials was carried out by me, a native Italian speaker with Spanish as a second and English as a third but first language for my academic writing. All the chapters were then proofread by a native English speaker living in Santiago, and eventually underwent a final check by me, Claudio, and Roberto before publication. All the members of the Collective also received copies of the translated materials prior to printing.

Our writing thus implied multiple movements between languages, resulting in a space where linguistic differences were held in tension, rather than fully merging, or "translating" one into the other. A significant example of this is again the theatre play. In its title, "Santiago Waria, pueblo grande de Winkas"[10], the terms in Mapudungun define the meaning of the sentence: "waria" for city and "winka" for non-Indigenous, white (but also with the negative connotation of "invader" or "usurper"). These words are easily understandable for most (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) in Chile, as many other terms used in the play, and keeping them in Mapudungun was part of working *in relation with* languages, words, and frictions. Yet refusing a "third mediating term" presented us with new dilemmas when working on the book in English and translating the theatre play. As mentioned, this was partially resolved by adopting the Mapurbe glossary at the end of the book, but also required choices around what was to be translated and what was not. As a result, the play is in English in its textual parts contained in the book, but the audio tracks on the website (songs, radio programs, original letters of Mapuche migrants read out loud) have been kept in Spanish and Mapudungun. This makes the play comprehensible and easy to follow, and yet the partiality of translation signals and claims the tension between codes and languages, orality and writing.
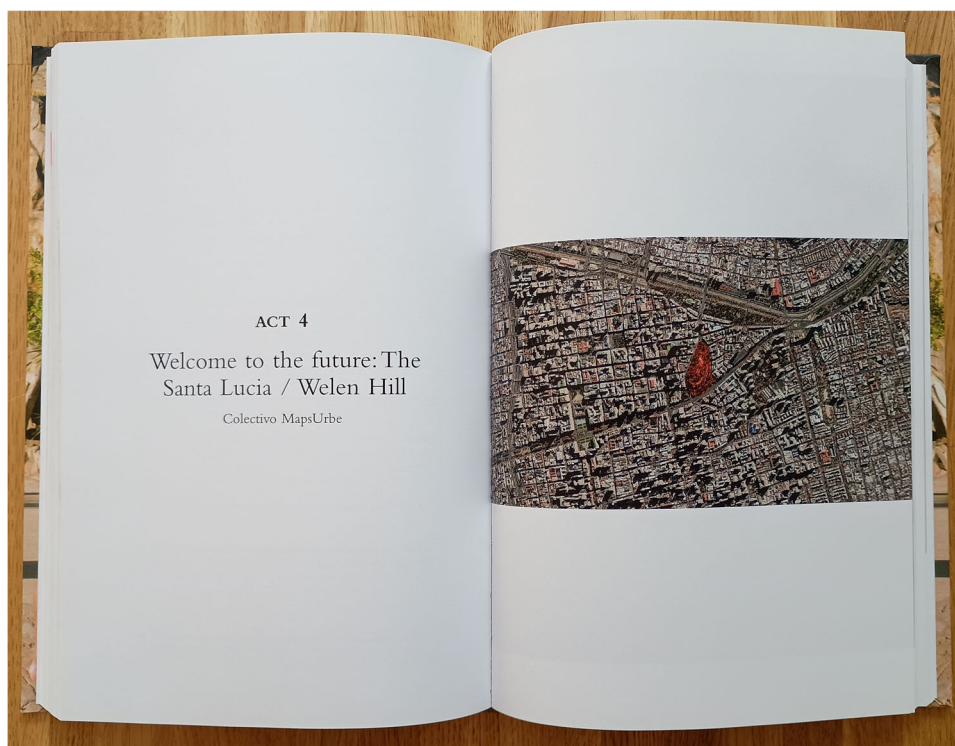
FIGURE 5 | Map at the beginning of chapter 4, from the book Performing the Jumbled City, published under the Creative Commons 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Photo by author.
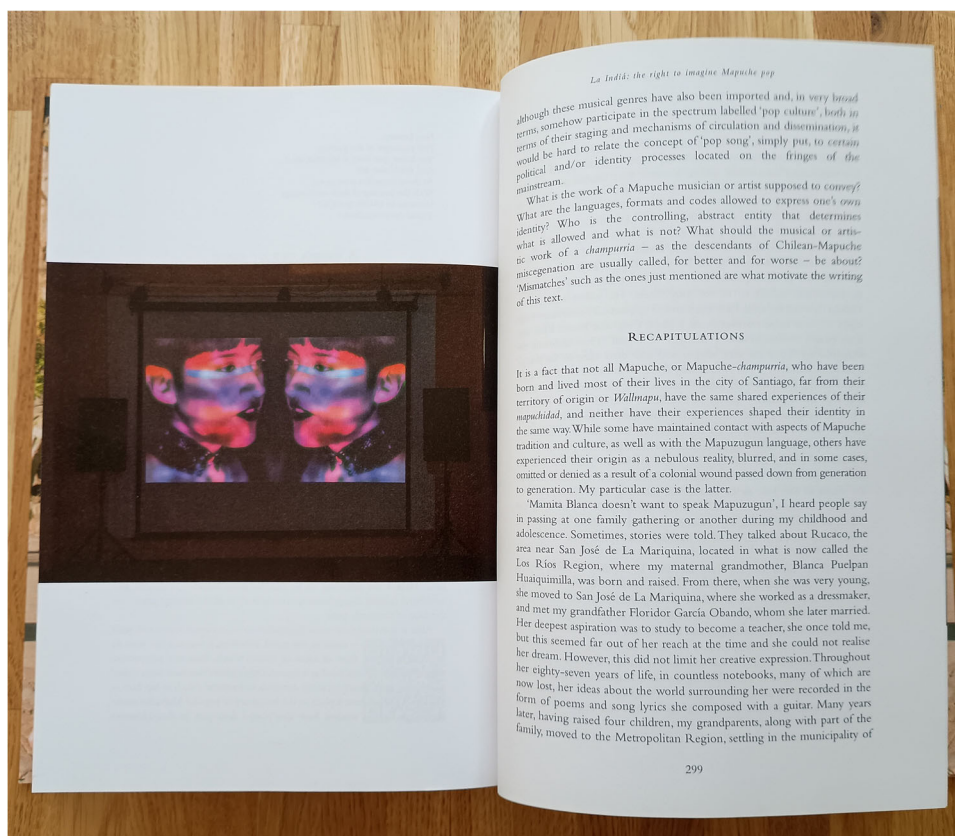
FIGURE 6 | Extract from individual chapter by Puelpan, from the book Performing the Jumbled City, published under the Creative Commons 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Photo by author.

These back-and-forth movements represent very well, from my own situated point of view, the space of dialogue, friction, and alliance created within MapsUrbe. The book is a written, partial expression of a far more intricate and complex space. It represents our abandonment of efforts at (seemingly) "horizontal" translations that smoothly transition from one language to another. From this impossibility and refusal of linearity stems the potentiality of translation as moving across and beyond: never a full synthesis but rather a precarious balancing between languages and meanings. This renders any translation, and, by extension, any possible collaboration between different forms of knowledge production, explicitly partial and insufficient, but also fundamentally generative, as the startling possibility of the new and the unexpected. This generative power born from a precarious and sometimes conflictive balance is what characterizes recent elaborations of the Mapuche concept of the *champurria* as an aesthetic, a complex form of belonging, and a mode of knowledge production. Re-signified to signal a mixing-up, the quality of being jumbled and the capability of holding different, even antagonistic things together, *champurria* becomes both a methodology and an epistemology for the making of knowledge, as expressed by Claudio in a recent conversation (see Video 2).

Moving from Claudio's words, collaborative writing was a *champurria* exercise that went beyond methodology in a deeply relational conception of knowledge crossing disciplines, geographies, and positionings. To a certain extent, *Performing the Jumbled City* "reduced" the richness of our exchanges, the power of the theatrical play and the force of visual and performative experiments into a limited and two-dimensional "object." We tried to overcome this limitation with strategies such as the inclusion of audio-visual materials within the book format, but loss was inevitable. In the experimental collaboration between different kinds of Indigenous and anthropological writing, a space was opened for reciprocal contamination, invention and potentiality, and a cannibalistic use of language that refuses domestication and enables the positioning of dissonant voices within academic writing. Yet the *champurria* space opened up by our collaboration, while capable of bringing things and people together from different geographies and positionalities, was also shaped by refusal and limitations. As stated at the beginning of this article, there were certain conditions for my engagement as an anthropologist: to be willing to be questioned, transformed, "stained." This also implied to learn when to stay silent, when *not* to translate, what *not* to write. I feel the role Roberto gave me in the theatre piece is quite telling in this regard: to guide the audience, mediating between them and the performers, at times opening the way. With presence and gestures, but not with word. The direction was: I had to be silent. Others' words were the ones building the narrative. This, perhaps, is Caliban's—and Claudio's—generative curse.

5. . . . Some Concluding Thoughts

According to Perry et al. (2023), allyship is about practices rather than identities—*acting* to build a partnership or alliance rather than "being an ally." Discussing instances of collaboration and partnership, the authors see allyship as never "enough," never conclusive, reaching beyond the professional and the institutional to work in solidarity with others, addressing epistemic violence and injustices through co-production. The generation of spaces of solidarity contributes to the rethinking of research, representation, and analysis. Looking at how these spaces are built on shared aims, even when these stem from different positionalities and interests, such practices speak of the possibility of "conspiring" to bring different forms of knowledge into relation.

In the case of the processes discussed here, the mixed media collaboration between Indigenous activists, artists and intellectuals, and the anthropologist have created a space for invisibilized histories and aesthetics to emerge, foregrounding the long history and cultural memory of Indigenous relations to the city. Within this shared space, the choice of publishing a collaborative book written in English responded to different, yet related, aims and concerns. It also and at the same time meant losing out in different ways. For me, an early career anthropologist with precarious research positions, it was important to publish in English to establish myself in academia. At the same time, the choice of a multiple authored book instead of a single authored monograph put me in a less competitive position. For Claudio, Roberto, and the other young scholars and activists who formed part of the Collective, there was a strong interest in positioning the history and politics of the Mapuche urban diaspora within the anglophone debate from their own situated point of view, and not only as "subjects" of this debate. Yet this also meant talking to a different audience than their interlocutors in Chile. These choices and losses are inherent to many translations that characterize this book. At the same time, they are part of an allyship constructed in a shared *champurria* space for a—maybe utopian—relational politics within and beyond academia, one that required us all to work within the limits and boundaries of a foreign language, reckoning, from our different positionalities, with the partiality of both translation and allyship. This, despite leaving the epistemic inequality and the privileges on which academia is built unresolved, as Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui reminds us, nevertheless means opening up possibilities for creativity, knowledge and writing otherwise.

Endnotes

[1] Thanks to one of the reviewers for pointing toward this reflection and the need to foregrounding it.

[2] Notable examples of mixed media collaborations between anthropological and Indigenous writing are the work of Jennifer Deger (Deger

et al. 2019) and a recent experiment in collaborative writing with undocumented migrants in the US (Alonso Bejarano et al. 2019).

[3] Conceived in aesthetic, but also political and epistemological terms, *champurria* resembles the *ch'ixi* theorized by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2010, 2018).

[4] My use of the term 'Indigenous' is aware of the problematic status of this term due to its link with colonial classifications (see Smith 2012). I try to use, instead, the less ambiguous Mapuche as much as possible.

[5] MapsUrbe was an acronym of the project proposal; the 'Colectivo MapsUrbe' was named as such by the research participants during the project.

[6] See also Alexiades, Peluso 2015; Warren 2017; Casagrande 2021; Ikemura, Horn, Poets 2022; Brablec and Canessa 2023.

[7] This is linked to the way funding and academic institutions work. For a critical view on the impact of these aspects on co-production, see Perry et al. (2023).

[8] Castellano uses this concept to remark 'the intersection of gender, socioeconomic status, racialization, ableism, and other axes of social differentiation' at play in the possibility of relationality in the context of the Italian asylum system (2024: 71).

[9] This was a claim for the Mapuche language, showing its vitality as a creative form of recuperation. In this contexts, intercultural education remains fundamental for Indigenous languages (see Chiodi and Loncon Antileo 1999; Loncon Antileo and Castillo Sánchez 2018).

[10] The title was tribute and response to the 1987 documentary 'Santiago, pueblo grande de Huincas' by Rony Goldschmied with the Chilean anthropologist Sonia Montecino.

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