

# Discourse & Society

<http://das.sagepub.com/>

---

## **Am I a genuine Mapuche? Tensions and contradictions in the construction of ethnic identity in Mapuche adolescents from Temuco and Santiago**

Teresa Oteiza and María E. Merino

*Discourse Society* 2012 23: 297

DOI: 10.1177/0957926511433455

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://das.sagepub.com/content/23/3/297>

---

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

**Additional services and information for *Discourse & Society* can be found at:**

**Email Alerts:** <http://das.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

**Subscriptions:** <http://das.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

**Reprints:** <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

**Permissions:** <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

**Citations:** <http://das.sagepub.com/content/23/3/297.refs.html>

>> [Version of Record](#) - May 24, 2012

[What is This?](#)



# Am I a genuine Mapuche? Tensions and contradictions in the construction of ethnic identity in Mapuche adolescents from Temuco and Santiago

Discourse & Society  
23(3) 297–317  
© The Author(s) 2012  
Reprints and permission: [sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav](http://sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav)  
DOI: 10.1177/0957926511433455  
[das.sagepub.com](http://das.sagepub.com)  
SAGE

**Teresa Oteíza**

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Chile

**María E. Merino**

Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile

## Abstract

This article examines the particular ways in which Mapuche adolescents from Santiago and Temuco dynamically express and give value to their Mapuche identity. We analyze the means by which they value themselves and others and how they represent their accounts of experiences in their communities to adjust concepts of identity and express degrees of affiliation. We investigate using an appraisal framework which provides analytical tools to explore interpersonal meanings instantiated in discursive choices of attitude and graduation. Among the linguistics resources to express graduation, we postulate that the subsystem of focus constitutes a key evaluative resource that Mapuche youths use to manifest their contradictions and tensions regarding the construction of their identity in a country that historically has discriminate indigenous people. We attempt to demonstrate that Mapuche adolescents negotiate naturalized ideological positions about their identity and what is considered 'normal' in their urban communities of Santiago and Temuco.

## Keywords

Appraisal analysis, focus, Mapuche adolescents, Mapuche identity

---

## Corresponding author:

Teresa Oteiza, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Av. Vicuña Mackenna 4860, Macul, Campus San Joaquín, Santiago, Chile.

Email: [moteizas@uc.cl](mailto:moteizas@uc.cl)

No sé si soy realmente Mapuche ...  
I don't know if I'm really Mapuche ...

We are always ourselves, but who we are, who we portray ourselves as being, who we are constructed as being changes with interactants and settings, with age of life. Identities develop and change, they are at least multi-faceted if not in fact plural. Their consistency and continuity are our constructions, mandated by our cultural notions of the kinds of selves that are normal and abnormal in our community.

(Lemke, 2010: 19)

## Introduction

This article concerns tensions in the self-representations of Mapuche identity among Mapuche youth from Santiago and Temuco in Chile, a country that has historically discriminated against indigenous people (e.g. Merino and Mellor, 2009; Merino and Quilaqueo, 2004; Saiz, 2002; Saiz and Williams, 1991). The study proceeds from an understanding of identity as a complex process that is co-constructed with others throughout a lifetime, and from an appreciation of a dialectic relationship in which 'the institutions, situations, and social structures (...) shape discourse, while discourse also shapes and affects those institutions and social structures' (Achugar and Oteiza, 2009: 374).

Iedema and Caldas-Coulthard (2010) reference Lemke's ideas of a redefinition of identity from 'a simple descriptor of self to embodying a notion that plays a very specific socio-political role in the social sciences. Straddling social and personal dimensions of self, identity reconciles sociological and phenomenological accounts about who people are and what they do'. For Lemke, however, 'the boundary position of identity is still more complex. As a concept, identity is capable of opening up the possibility of recognizing that who we are and what we do is traversed by not just two, but by numerous "time-scales"' (2010: 4). It was evident in this study, for example, that the majority of the Mapuche adolescents valued and were proud of their Mapuche identity, while at the same time they expressed difficulty in recognizing whether they were 'really' Mapuche or not. The Mapuche adolescents also expressed difficulty in recognizing discrimination and tended to consider that if they had been 'picked on', it was their own individual responsibility to learn how to deal with the situation and to not feel discriminated against.

Recognizing that there are multiple means by which identity meanings are manifested, this study explores tensions evident in their linguistic representations in the discourse of the Mapuche adolescents. Linguistic choices are considered in the context of a social semiotic theory of language, that is, one that recognizes the role of language in the construction of subjectivities and intersubjectivities of a social reality. The linguistic analysis is concerned in particular with how evaluation is expressed both implicitly and explicitly and this orients the research towards the resources of appraisal theory (e.g. Hood, 2010; Hood and Martin, 2007; Martin, 2000, 2003; Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005). Among the ample possibilities for exploring interpersonal meaning that appraisal theory offers, we pay particular attention in our data to the sub-semantic system of GRADUATION AS FOCUS. Resources of focus emerge as a key means by which Mapuche adolescents discursively define their Mapuche identity and reveal the tensions, contradictions and contextual constraints that operate around their affiliations with this identity.

This article begins with a brief description of research regarding the discursive and social construction of discrimination towards the Mapuche people in Chile, how they perceive this discrimination, and the complex and dynamic construction of ethnic identity among youths in Chilean society. We continue with a brief account of APPRAISAL theory and its analytical potential for understanding the discursive representation of social problems. We attend, in particular, to the sub-system of GRADUATION AS FOCUS as a key resource drawn upon in expressions of value in the adolescent interviews. An account of the analyses are then presented, with examples from interviews highlighting semantic resources for expressing interpersonal meaning, including negative polarity, inscriptions of ATTITUDE, and expressions of GRADUATION AS FOCUS. These choices combine to create patterns of subjectivities that express the adolescents' Mapuche identity, and tensions and contradictions involved. The study aims to enhance our understanding of the complex process of identity formation in Mapuche adolescents in Chile.

Preliminary findings show that identity construction in Mapuche adolescents from Temuco and Santiago is mainly performed through their adscription/non adscription to three categories: having a Mapuche surname, speaking/not speaking the mapudungun language and participating in cultural rituals and ceremonies. This discourse is constructed around three main topics: being/feeling as a 'Mapuche' within Chilean society; being a 'Mapuche student', which highlights their experiences in primary and secondary education and how they have faced discriminatory episodes, and their future projection as a professional; and 'being a member of a Mapuche family', in which Temuco youngsters appreciate their living with or having their family elders close to them in the rural communities in the south of the country, in contrast to adolescents in Santiago whose elders live in the south and who then replace these missing opportunities with a stronger participation in urban Mapuche cultural organizations.

## Discrimination of Mapuche people in Chile

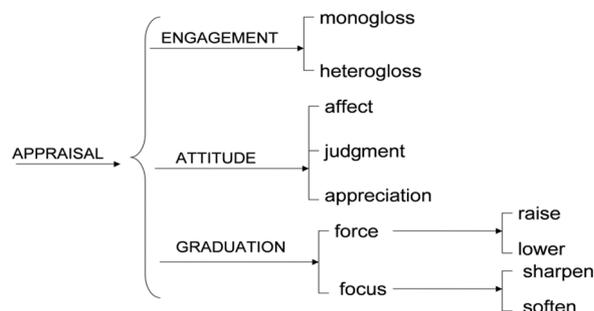
Studies on interethnic and intercultural interactions between Chilean mainstream society and members of the Mapuche culture have shown the mainstream attitude to be distant, suspicious and prejudiced, particularly against Mapuches, the largest indigenous population of the country.<sup>1</sup> For example, Tripaliaf (1969) reported that Mapuche students perceived discrimination at various levels of their education with the more overt at elementary school and the more covert in upper levels. Similarly, 82% of Mapuches interviewed in four populated Chilean cities reported having been patronized, segregated or harassed because of their indigenous condition (Cantoni, 1978). In the same fashion, a national survey (CERC-PARTICIPA, 1999–2001) revealed that over 89% of indigenous people had been discriminated against, mainly at work and in law and public administration. In more recent studies, Mapuche women in the city of Temuco reported being constantly discriminated against at work by their superiors and non-Mapuche colleagues (López, 2001). Furthermore, Mapuche teachers at elementary schools reported discrimination from their non-Mapuche colleagues and parents of non-Mapuche children (Rojas and Sepúlveda, 2002). Merino (2006) found that Mapuches view Chilean contemporary discriminatory practices as mainly perpetrated by means of discourse, a fact that reflects the general practice of Chilean society to avoid overt hostile attitudes to intolerance of diversity. A large-scale study of Chilean residents

of Temuco (a southern city with the largest Mapuche population) revealed that significant racist stereotyping and prejudice underlie non-Mapuche discourse relating to that indigenous group (Merino and Quilaqueo, 2004). Furthermore, this study showed that perceived discrimination is a phenomenon present in the oral discourse of Mapuches, manifested in verbal, behavioral, institutional and macrosocial modes. Besides, discrimination experiences generate two types of psychosocial effects of discrimination: immediate and long term. The former are experienced in the moment when the discriminatory event takes place, accompanied by emotions such as undifferentiated discomfort, sadness and shame, whereas the latter are lifelong perceived effects. Psychological effects cause different types of responses such as defensive, controlled or confrontational responses. The most widespread long-term effects are positive and social, such as education provided to the victim by the family group, in order to learn how to face discrimination positively and make a commitment to the native community. The most frequent positive psychological effects are ethnic reaffirmation and an increase in self-esteem, while one negative psychological effect is identity denial and acceptance of inferiority. It was also ascertained that an important presence of effects mobilizes ethnic identification, a process whose beginning was located by the interviewees in their adolescence (Merino and Mellor, 2009).

### Corpus and analytic framework

The main purpose of appraisal theory has been to present a comprehensive and systematic reorganization of the linguistic resources that can be used to value the social experience and to have a richer understanding of the patterns of interpersonal meaning across the discourse. This objective responds, in part, to the growing interest in research that examines how language builds social roles and the potential these roles have to operate rhetorically and generate influence in beliefs, attitudes, expectations and ways of maintaining relationships (White, 2003). Appraisal theory constitutes a reorientation of the realization of interpersonal meanings in Systemic Functional Linguistics from the lexicogrammatical level as mood and modality (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), to the stratum of discourse semantics (Martin, 1992; Martin and White, 2005). The related register variable is that of tenor, which takes into account the way people interact and negotiate meanings of power, and affiliation or solidarity (Hood, 2010; Hood and Martin, 2007; Martin, 2000, 2003, 2008; Martin and White, 2005; White, 2000, 2003). Systemic Functional Linguistics, as a sociosemiotic perspective on language, considers language as a meaning-making potential and constitutive of human activity as social practice. This theoretical orientation moves us towards an analysis of 'meanings in context and towards rhetorical effects rather than towards grammatical forms' (Martin and White, 2005: 94). As Martin and White (2005) indicate, their intention in developing appraisal theory was to 'extend traditional accounts by attending not only to issues of speaker/writer certainty, commitment and knowledge but also to questions of how the textual voice positions itself with respect to other voices and other positions' (p. 2). Thus, appraisal theory has to do with the negotiation of meanings among real or potential interlocutors, such that every utterance enters into processes of alignment or misalignment with others.

Studies of evaluation show, as Hunston and Thompson (2000) point out, that evaluation is not confined to a particular part of a text, but is found throughout and works in a cumulative



**Figure 1.** Appraisal theory: basic semantic systems.

way as it is encoded. Following this principle, appraisal theory considers evaluation in a conceptual manner and takes into account both grammatical and lexical codification and its patterning across the discourse. As appraisal theory constitutes a system of interpersonal meanings situated at the level of discourse semantics (Martin, 1992), it works at a more abstract level than the lexicogrammatical one, thus allowing meanings to disperse in the former level, in an ample variety of lexicogrammatical systems.

Appraisal theory organizes evaluation in three main semantic systems: engagement, attitude and graduation. As Hood explains, the appraisal framework 'is a multi-dimensional one incorporating the expression of values – as categories of attitude, the manipulation of degrees of values – as graduation, and the introduction and management of voices to whom are attributed – as options for engagement' (Hood, 2010: 25). The semantic system of engagement allows us to analyze the source or origin of attitudes, identifying discourse as more monoglossic or heteroglossic in orientation (Bakhtin, 1985), and the extent to which authors recognize alternative positions in the discourse in relation to specific evaluations. The system of attitude deals with the ways in which feelings are seen as a system of meanings. According to Martin and White (2005: 42, 43), this system has three semantic areas: emotions (affect), which deals with the expression of positive and negative feelings; ethics (judgment), which is concerned with attitudes toward behavior (to admire or to criticize, to praise or to condemn); and aesthetics (appreciation), which involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field. Figure 1 summarizes the general outline of the appraisal framework.

The system of graduation has to do with the fact that expressions of attitude can be adjusted by degree. It is possible to intensify meanings as *FORCE* (e.g. *very bad*); or to 'sharpen' or 'soften' the categorical boundaries around meanings as *FOCUS* (e.g. 'sort of ...' or 'truly ...'). This system groups together language resources that function as

mechanisms by which speaker/writers 'graduate' either the *FORCE* of the utterance or the *FOCUS* of the categorization by which semantic values are identified (...) [Graduations] also play a dialogistic role in that they enable speakers/writers to present themselves as more strongly aligned or less strongly aligned with the value position being advanced by the text and thereby to locate themselves with respect to the communities of shared value and belief associated with those positions. (Martin and White, 2005: 94)

Hood (2010), in her research regarding the instantiation of evaluation in academic writing, emphasizes that an absence of instances of inscribed positive or negative *ATTITUDE* does

not mean an absence of attitudinal meaning. In exploring the range of discourse strategies for evaluating, Hood further develops the GRADUATION categories of FORCE and especially FOCUS. She found that in academic discourses, attitude tends to be invoked through resources of GRADUATION, enabling writers to subjectify objective meanings (Hood, 2010). To identify the value invoked, the reader should look beyond the graduated instance to the co-text and the field to determine the *valeur* to be assigned. Resources of FOCUS enable GRADUATION as degrees of authenticity (*real, truly, pseudo*) and specificity (*general, particularly*), which may have a negative or positive *valeur* depending on the rest of the meaning of the co-text. In addition, Hood points out that ‘the categorical boundaries around processes can be softened by encoding a lack of completion or realization (e.g. *tried to show, possible shows*). Consequently, Hood (2010) considers *valeur* (authenticity and specificity) and fulfilment (completion and actualization) as subcategories of the semantic system of FOCUS.

After analysing all the data from an appraisal orientation, that is, in terms of how language construes interpersonal meanings in a text, as was mentioned previously, we have found that the semantic sub-system of GRADUATION as FOCUS – as degrees of authenticity of categorical meanings – plays a key role in the way Mapuche adolescents negotiate and naturalize their positions regarding their Mapuche identity. We believe that this language resource helps participants to codify the certainties and uncertainties in their discourse, showing that identities are a dynamic construction that evolves over time and that they are shaped by the experiences they have gone through in their Mapuche communities and with the Chilean community. In addition, we postulate that the linguistic resources used to codify FOCUS in our study are part of an oral register which allows participants more instances of hesitation.

For the study, we interviewed 30 Mapuche adolescents (between 15 and 20 years of age) from the cities of Temuco and Santiago, Chile. The identification criterion for the participants was having at least one Mapuche surname, and the youngsters were recruited through a snowballing sampling technique from both state and private high school. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all participants. Interviews took the form of a conversation between members of the same ethnic group (the interviewer was a young adult of Mapuche origin). Our interest was to provide the conditions for the arousal of an interactional event where ethnic minority identity and ethnic self-definition could be negotiated and displayed between interviewee and interviewer; in other words, we were interested in how both interviewer and interviewee would cooperatively engage in producing the ‘interview’ (Widdicombe and Wooffitt, 1995).

## Analysis and discussion

In this section, we present the results of a partial analysis of the corpus. The appraisal resources used by Mapuche adolescents in their interviews are ample and rich; however, as mentioned previously, we focus on the representation of certain aspects and explore the role of the semantic system of GRADUATION (FORCE and FOCUS) in our analysis. Among all the possibilities for analysis of the always dynamic and complex experience and expression of identity, we consider three main aspects that were present in all interviews, in part because they were part of the questions and because almost all participants mentioned them:

(a) participants' statements about their Mapuche surname and their experiences related to it as children and currently as adolescents; (b) statements about discrimination toward themselves and toward others, and the differences in how they perceived discrimination as children and later as adolescents, emphasizing Mapuche adolescents' view of their individual responsibility regarding Mapuche culture knowledge and their reaction regarding ethnic discrimination; and (c) naturalization of social values about 'normality' regarding social and personal Mapuche identity in urban Mapuche youths.

Attitudes tend to be graduated in the discourse by FORCE and FOCUS (Martin and White, 2005). This graduation could occur in the attitudinal domains of judgment, affect and appreciation. In our analysis of adolescents' Mapuche discourse, we have found that the use of FOCUS is more important as a graduation resource than FORCE, especially in interviews with women. FOCUS signals, such as *it is kind of, sort of*, indicate that something is not completely part of a classification or categorization. Adjusting the categorical boundaries around a whole propositional meaning in this way helps to instantiate meanings of uncertainty. The speaker uses these resources to express that he/she is not quite sure of classifying himself/herself as part of an ethnic community.

### *Mapuche surname and Mapuche identity*

Frequently occurring in these oral interviews is the expression *como que/sort of*. The structure *como que/kind of, sort of, like* has different functions in colloquial oral Spanish. It is possible to postulate that it works as a resource of modalization, like 'perhaps' or as a form of hesitation or expression of doubt. Nevertheless, we consider that in these oral co-constructed interviews, the expressions have a powerful role in graduating attitudinal evaluation. On several occasions, as examples 1–4 show, this resource is combined with FORCE (raising and lowering the 'volume' of the evaluation). It is also combined with negative polarity (*no/no; nunca/never; nada/nothing*), establishing a categorical boundary of 'what is not' in contrast to 'what is'. This occurred mainly in response to the expectation of 'being Mapuche' because of having a Mapuche surname. This could then be identified as a sharpening of focus. However, as it is possible to appreciate in example 1, the negative polarity is part of the meaning of FORCE, so the degree of intensity is still not well defined. This is generally expressed in mental clauses of affection (*gustar/to like; sentir/to feel*) and of cognition (*saber, no saber/to know, not to know*). In example 3, the negative polarity constrains in a combined form (FORCE and FOCUS), both the categorical boundary and the degree of intensity. Example 4 emphasizes, as does example 2, Mapuche adolescents' feelings of not being part of an ethnic community that is perceived as not well defined.

#### Example 1<sup>2</sup>

... soy COMO MÁS tengo apellido Mapuche pero soy COMO MÁS chilena, como que **no no** soy TANTO Mapuche o sea mis apellidos son, pero yo **no**. (mujer, Temuco)<sup>3</sup>

... I'm KIND OF MORE I have a Mapuche surname but I'm KIND OF MORE Chilean, I'm KIND OF **not** I am **not** SO Mapuche I mean my surname is, but I'm **not**. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 2

No<sup>4</sup> igual **bien** porque **no** me siento ASÍ COMO parte de otra cosa ASÍ COMO por apellido Mapuche ser otra cosa. (mujer, Temuco)<sup>5</sup>

No just as **well** because I **don't** feel LIKE part of something else LIKE because of my Mapuche surname I am something else. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 3

... y por ejemplo a mí me dicen que el mío [apellido] **no** es tan ASÍ COMO otros **raro no tanta** gente lo tiene. (mujer, Temuco)

... and for example they tell me that mine [surname] **isn't that** KIND OF **weird** like others **not many** people have it. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 4

Igual me acuerdo que cuando estaba más chica iba como en octavo tenía un amigo que me **molestaba**, pero esa es COMO experiencias más **malas no** me siento ASÍ ASÍ COMO Mapuche ASÍ **no no** me siento Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

Even so, I remember that when I was younger I was in eighth grade I had a friend that **picked on** me, but that is LIKE the **most bad** experiences, I **don't** feel LIKE that LIKE Mapuche **no I don't** feel Mapuche. (woman, Temuco)

Another resource of FOCUS used in Mapuche discourse is 'realmente/really' and 'así como/like',<sup>6</sup> which show that their Mapuche identity membership is less precise, or that they are not 'quite' Mapuche, as it is possible to appreciate in examples 5 to 8. In these instances, the negative polarity helps to emphasize, as in example 6, that they don't feel part of the Mapuche community, recognizing a degree of uncertainty and expressing that they don't feel truly or authentically Mapuche; or, as in example 8, establishing with a cognitive clause that they don't know if they are Mapuche, which reinforces the idea of a categorical area that is not clear or well defined. These expressions of degree of affiliation 'of being and feeling Mapuche' show that it is not something that lies solely in the fact of having a Mapuche surname.

## Example 5

... es que REALMENTE **no**, a ver, REALMENTE **no** sé mucho del tema. (mujer, Temuco)

... it's just that **not** REALLY, let me see, I **don't** REALLY know much about the issue. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 6

... es que **no** me **no** me siento REALMENTE Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

... it's just that **no I don't** REALLY feel Mapuche. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 7

Eh bueno EN REALIDAD yo **no** me siento ASÍ COMO Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

Eh, well ACTUALLY I **don't** feel LIKE a Mapuche. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 8

... entonces se supone que entonces **no** sé si REALMENTE seré, bueno tengo el apellido pero **no** sé si seré REALMENTE Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

... therefore it is supposed that so I **don't** REALLY know if I REALLY am, well I have the surname but I **don't** know if I REALLY am Mapuche. (woman, Temuco)

We postulate that the expressions *así como* and *como que* have less semantic weight than comparative structures (*como/as*), but rather they function in the discourse as ways of expressing uncertainty about their 'real' belonging to a Mapuche identity. In examples 1 and 5, women from the city of Temuco distance themselves from having a Mapuche identity. It is their surname which is Mapuche but not them; therefore, although they recognize their Mapuche background, they feel 'more Chilean' (sharpening FOCUS), and *como*, *como que*, *realmente* (softening FOCUS). Here they express a tension or contradiction in not knowing if they are 'really' Mapuche, and where the boundaries lie. Clearly, in an implicit manner, they are acknowledging that having a Mapuche surname does not ensure a strong integration to the culture and the social practices that go with it. Others show a stronger negative association with having a Mapuche surname and/or a Mapuche identity, instantiating through negative expressions of affect *no*, *no me gusta/no*, *I don't like* (having a Mapuche surname). The negative polarity is graduated by FOCUS *en realidad/actually*, which also encodes a meaning of counter expectation in relation to what could be considered 'normal' in the community. This is evident in example 9:

## Example 9

... porque a mí EN REALIDAD **no** me **gusta** tener el apellido Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

... because I ACTUALLY **don't like** having a Mapuche surname. (woman, Temuco)

Other Mapuche adolescents do not hesitate in expressing their Mapuche identity, valuing it with positive affect (*sí me agrada/I like it*) and appreciation (*es súper lindo/it is really beautiful*) that is graduated by *force* (*más allá, súper, bien, muy/aside from, really*) as in examples 10, 11 and 12. This latter example also shows how a Mapuche identity can be seen as something 'special' and 'different':

## Example 10

... sí, sí me, me **agrada**, yo, yo me siento identificado Mapuche, **más** allá de los **problemas** que se vean aquí. (hombre, Temuco)

... yes, yes I, I **like** it, I, I feel identified as a Mapuche, aside from **all** the **problems** that you see here [Mapuche conflicts in the south of Chile]. (man, Temuco)

## Example 11

... en todo caso yo encuentro que ser indígena es **súper lindo** una ES COMO **bien luchadora** cuando a mí yo me siento **bien luchadora** cuando me dicen 'ay, es que ella es indígena', sí soy de sangre gruesa (...) yo les decía que sí soy de sangre gruesa y ES COMO **muy gracioso**, pero ser indígena es signo de valor de ser **luchadora**. (mujer, Santiago)

... anyway, I find that being an indigenous is really **beautiful** one is LIKE really **combatant** in my case I feel really **combatant** when they say to me 'Ohh, she's indigenous/native', yes I am of thick blood (...) I was telling you that I am of thick blood and it's LIKE really **funny**, but being indigenous is a sign of the value of being **combatant**. (woman, Santiago)

#### Example 12

... yo me siento a ver como una adolescente **privilegiada** por tener mi apellido porque sé que voy a recibir **más** ayuda y soy **más especial** que los demás porque sabiendo que uno tiene sus apellidos los dos españoles, o cosas por el estilo **no** significan que sean **menos**, pero para mí es **especial** tener mi apellido. (mujer, Santiago)

... I feel, let me see, like a **privileged** adolescent for having my surname because I know that I'm going to receive **more** help and I'm **more special** than the rest because knowing that one has both surnames of Spanish descent, or things like that it doesn't mean that 'you' are **less**, but for me it is **special** having my surname Mapuche o español. (woman, Santiago)

Mapuche identity is also associated with external factors that are not felt as part of their identity by Mapuche adolescents. For instance, in example 13, identity is negatively related to physical appearance or, as in examples 14 and 15, the 'real' Mapuche identity is connected to the south and to living in rural areas. In all these instances, negative attitudes are graduated by FOCUS (*así como, como/like*) and force (*tan, la mayoría/very, the majority*). In other cases, this external association with Mapuche ethnicity relates to how it is reinforced at school, but it is not felt as a 'real' cultural and social world in which the Mapuche youth and her family belongs, as example 16 shows:

#### Example 13

... **no** tengo rasgos Mapuches, entonces **no no** me siento ASÍ COMO Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

... I don't have Mapuche traits, therefore **no** I don't feel LIKE a Mapuche. (woman, Temuco)

#### Example 14

... **no** me siento TANTO del campo TAN Mapuche porque la mayoría de la gente que son Mapuche son del campo **no la mayoría** pero **no** todos. (mujer, Temuco)

... I don't feel SO MUCH my being from the countryside, SO Mapuche because the majority of the Mapuche people come from the countryside **not everybody** but the majority. (woman, Temuco)

#### Example 15

Es que donde ha pasado **mucho** tiempo así que se me ha olvidado el apellido que tengo han pasado cosas diferentes COMO QUE ya **no no** vengo acá, ya **no** voy al sur **tampoco** así es que **no** estoy relacionado con **nada** de eso [tema Mapuche] ahora. (hombre, Santiago)

It's just since so much time has passed that I have forgotten the surname I have, different things have happened LIKE I don't come here anymore, I don't go to the south **either** so therefore I'm **not** involved with **anything** of that [Mapuche matter] now. (man, Santiago)

## Example 16

[Mapuche culture knowledge] Es COMO eso, COMO las cosas del colegio no más, porque **no** somos una familia COMO Mapuche. (mujer, Temuco)

It's LIKE that, LIKE the school things only, because we are **not** LIKE a Mapuche family. (woman, Temuco)

For others, as Example 17 demonstrates, focus (*como que/like*) graduates a negative evaluation of affect (*me da vergüenza/I'm embarrassed, me siento mal/I feel bad*) or negative social esteem of capacity (*no sé pronunciar nada/I don't know [any] pronunciation*) regarding their lack of proficiency in Mapudungun. This negative social esteem of capacity is presented in a comparative way, evoking the idea of participants' own responsibility for not knowing the language.

## Example 17

... yo **no** sé **nada** pronunciar, entonces COMO QUE me da vergüenza decir que sí soy (Mapuche). Porque **no**, **no** sé me siento mal porque hay personas que sí saben y yo **no**. (hombre, Temuco)

... I **don't** know the pronunciation of words, therefore I'm LIKE embarrassed to say that I am (Mapuche). Because, **no**, I **don't** know I feel bad because there are people that do know and I **don't**. (man, Temuco)

On the other hand, example 18, expressed from a more impersonal position by a young woman who participates in political and social activities in her community, manifests her hope for a 'real' identity as a society, and not only as a personal experience.

## Example 18

... yo creo que los espacios REALES **no** están [para ser PLENAMENTE una mujer Mapuche] pero está COMO el discurso de que son instituciones abiertas, culturalistas, con el rescate de la cultura y todo, pero, espacios abiertamente y las disposiciones REALES yo creo que **no**. (mujer, Santiago)

... I believe that the REAL spaces are **not** present [to FULLY be a Mapuche woman] but there's LIKE the discourse that they are open institutions, 'culturalistic', with the rescue of the culture and everything, but, open spaces and REAL dispositions I **don't** think so. (woman, Santiago)

### *Ethnic discrimination: Change over time and a matter of personal responsibility*

Many of the participants of the study reveal that they have 'never' experienced discrimination because of their Mapuche ethnicity or Mapuche surname, and those that do recognize this situation tend to minimize its importance and its impact on themselves. Men tend to mention that they have a female cousin or sister who has experienced discrimination and that women tend to get more discriminated against than men. The majority of Mapuche adolescents, when expressing ethnic discrimination, state that they have experienced it

'before', when they were children, but that they later learnt how to deal with the situation or how to respond so they didn't get 'picked on' again. Others state that as they get older, they get more mature, and thus feel less affected by discrimination:

Example 19

Sí, eso ha ido cambiando ahora. Por parte mía debe ser por la edad uno va madurando a lo mejor por eso va cambiando y eso poh. Ahora sí pero son **tallas** NOMÁS las que tiran de repente pero antes de todo así **leseamos, molestamos**. (hombre, Santiago)

[Interviewer asks for experiences of ethnic discrimination] Yes, that has been changing lately. From my part it should be due to age one matures and maybe that's why (one) goes on changing and so. Now yes but they are **jokes** and NOTHING MORE the ones that they suddenly tell but before anything that's how we **joke around**, how we **pick on** others. (men, Santiago)

Example 20

Era COMO **molestia** no era ASÍ COMO oh **mal** era COMO **molestia** porque **no** le encuentro sentido **molestar**. (mujer, Temuco)

[Regarding being **picked on** at elementary school] It was LIKE **bothersome** it wasn't that **bad** It was **bothersome** because I **can't** make sense in **bothering**. (woman, Temuco)

Example 21

Ehh de chico igual he estado entrecomillas **orguloso** de pertenecer a algo diferente por lo menos acá en Santiago, igual me **da lata** de repente cuando chico **no** tengo apellido Mapuche entrecomillas directo, pero me **da lata** que COMO QUE se **burlaban** de por tener apellido Mapuche era **discriminado** y eso igual me **daba rabia** (...). (hombre, Santiago)

Uhm since I was a kid I have always been BETWEEN quotation marks **proud** to belong to something different AT LEAST here in Santiago, even so it **disappointed** me when I was a kid I **don't** have a Mapuche surname between quotation marks, but it **disappoints** me that LIKE they **made fun of** me for having a Mapuche surname I was **discriminated** against and that made me **angry** (...). (man, Santiago)

As example 19 demonstrates, discrimination is expressed by a relational clause *son tallas nomás*, in which *tallas/jokes* are graduated by FOCUS *no más/no more, nothing else* and *de repente/sometimes*, hence the ideational meaning of *jokes* diminishes the level of discrimination perceived by the Mapuche adolescent, but also this attenuation is better achieved by the resources of graduation codified by FOCUS. What we find in Mapuche identity discourse is an expression of not 'real' discrimination, and thus we postulate that *no más/no more, nothing else* does not function as FORCE (quantity) but rather as FOCUS in this instance. Although *como que* can be interpreted as a conversational or oral colloquial marker, it is interesting how Mapuche adolescents mitigate discrimination graduating with this language resource, so it does not appear as an evaluation of negative social sanction but rather as a *kind of* negative social esteem with a less ethical weight involved. This is emphasized by the use of *pick on* instead of *mocking* or *discriminate*, which have a more powerful negative ethical meaning.

Therefore, many Mapuche adolescents do not see ethnic discrimination as a negative social sanction.

In example 22, the young man from Santiago implies that there is a problem in admitting that a person is indigenous. The negative polarity opens up the possibility for a different value position in the discourse. After the expression of the counter expectative instantiated by *pero/but*, the negative polarity *nada más/nothing more* attenuates the force of the evaluation and the social sanction (moral evaluation) as well as the expression *lo toman para la risa/they take it as a laughing matter*:

Example 22

[Llevar apellido Mapuche] Que igual ahora, en la calle así COMO QUE **no** salgo mucho, en el colegio COMO QUE igual de otros cursos COMO QUE tienen apellido Mapuche y COMO QUE **no** me cuesta decirlo poh y **tampoco** me cuesta admitir que soy indígena poh, si hay algunos profesores que confunden mi apellido con otro que son igual pero nos confunden no más y hay algunos que se ponen se rien, lo toman pa'la risa poh pero **nada** más que eso. (hombre, Santiago)

[On having a Mapuche surname] That even now, in the street LIKE I **don't** go out much, in the school LIKE just as other grades/classes KIND OF/SORT OF having a Mapuche surname and LIKE it **isn't hard** for me to say it and it is also **not hard** for me to admit that I am an indigenous/a native, there are some teachers that get confused with my surname with others that are the same but they confuse them and **nothing else** and there are some that start and laugh, they take it as a laughing matter but **nothing** more than that. (man, Santiago)

In the following examples, it is possible to perceive that Mapuche adolescents in the study tend to emphasize their own responsibility in being discriminated against, in the sense that they consider it their own individual duty not only to overcome the situation, but also to stop it and not allow others to discriminate against them, as if they have the power to control at least the external manifestation of a negative social evaluation. As example 23 shows, the participant attributes the responsibility to herself, so it is the person who needs to learn not to be *picked on* by others. The resources of focus, force and negative polarity are combined with resources of modalization (*tal vez/maybe*) and with the attitudes expressed by other lexical items.

Example 23

Yo creo eh yo creo que EXPLÍCITAMENTE **no**, pero **no** sé el hecho de los apellidos en el liceo, en el colegio tal vez cuando más chica EN REALIDAD, cuando más grande ya **no**, que molestan a veces o cuando la gente te pregunta muchas veces, o lo pronuncia mal, o todas esas cosas, puede ser ... pero algo más EXPLÍCITO algo que me haya afectado **no**, yo creo que también va en la forma en que uno lo toma, o uno maneja esa situación. (mujer, Santiago)

[Discriminatory situations that the person has lived through] I believe eh I believe that EXPLICITLY **no**, but I **don't** know about the fact of the surnames in high school, in school maybe when I was younger ACTUALLY, now that I'm older **no**, that they tease me sometimes or when people ask you too many times, or they mispronounce it, or all those things, could be ... but something more EXPLICIT something that has affected me **no**, I believe that it has to do with how one takes it, or how one handles that situation. (woman, Santiago)

## Example 24

... yo les digo a todos los jóvenes Mapuche que no se sientan **discriminados** por la sociedad, que **no** se dejen llevar porque uno a veces es como bien dejado bien que lo pasen a llevar todos y eso **no** debe ser así, que uno **no** tiene que dejar que lo pasen a llevar y menos alguien que es como español, nosotros somos chilenos, sangre PURA, entonces eso yo les recomiendo que **no** se dejen **discriminar**. (hombre, Santiago)

... I tell all the young Mapuches not to feel **discriminated** by society, that they shouldn't let themselves get carried away because one sometimes is like very passive and lets others **trample on** you and it shouldn't be that way, that one shouldn't let others **trample upon** one and especially from someone who is KIND OF Spanish, we are Chilean, PURE blood, so I recommend you all **not** to let yourselves be **discriminated** against. (man, Santiago)

Others emphasized their experience of ethnic discrimination by negative affect, expressing their fear and anger, especially felt when they were children. Many of them stated that they remained silent about their negative affective experiences with discrimination and lived alone with their pain and anger, because they were afraid of telling their parents and/or because they did not want their parents 'to feel bad'. Nevertheless, not all of them reveal, as we have mentioned before, that they have experienced discrimination, thus they express their Mapuche identity and positive experiences of being Mapuche with positive evaluations of affect (pride and happiness) reinforced by a reiterative use of negative polarity:

## Example 25

Sé lo que significa a mí **no** me ha tocado vivirlo, porque he tenido **no** sé si **suerte** o **no** sé que **nunca** me ha tocado ser **discriminada ni nada** de eso ... **no nunca nunca, no no** me he sentido **discriminada** en el sentido que **nunca** me he sentido **atacada** por ser Mapuche. (mujer, Santiago)

I know what it means I haven't had to live through it, because I have been **lucky** or I don't know what I have **never** been **discriminated** or **nothing** of the sort ... **No never never, no** I haven't felt **discriminated** in the sense that I have **never** felt **attacked** for being Mapuche. (woman, Santiago)

## Example 26

... para mí ha sido muy grato tener un apellido Mapuche, sobre todo de mi madre, ya que me **enorgullece** o **enorgullece** que mis antepasados hayan hecho algo por Chile, entonces me **enorgullece** llevar la sangre chilena, como fueron aguerridos, eso me **gusta** (...) que yo sepa **nunca** me han **discriminado** por ser Mapuche, por ser **indio** (...) **nunca** me he sentido **discriminación** o sea **nunca** me han dicho **nada**, todo súper bien. (hombre, Santiago)

... for me it has been very nice to have a Mapuche surname, especially from my mother's side, as it makes me **proud** or it is **prideful** that my ancestors have done something for Chile, therefore it **fills me with pride** to carry the Chilean blood, as they were '**warriors**', I **like** that (...) As far as I know they have **never discriminated** against me for being Mapuche, for being **Indian** (...) **never** have I felt **discrimination** I mean they have **never** said anything to me, everything is really **great**. (man, Santiago)

GRADUATION of attitudes by FORCE is more related to their linguistic competence with the Mapuche language, Mapudungun, and with their knowledge of Mapuche culture,

thus it is more related to a proposal meaning about their capability, to what they know and what they are capable of doing. The use of this resource is also related to educational benefits, such as scholarships, that Mapuche adolescents can obtain from the state due to their Mapuche ethnicity. Many of them express difficulties in learning Mapudungun and about Mapuche culture and socio-political issues (such as the Mapuche conflict in the south of Chile). The evaluations instantiated by Mapuche adolescents tend to be of negative social esteem of capacity (*no sé mucho del tema; no, no sé nada/I don't know much about the topic; I know nothing* [of Mapuche culture]) because many of them declare that they are not able to speak Mapudungun, or that they do not know very much about Mapuche culture. On the other hand, Mapuche adolescents instantiate their evaluation by a positive affect that shows their connection to Mapuche culture and identity. This is also expressed by negative affect of their nostalgia, anger and sadness about current social and political realities that the Mapuche undergo both 'in the south' in rural locations and in the cities (Santiago and Temuco). Some consider the financial difficulties in studying Mapudungun and Mapuche culture as another form of discrimination, due to a lack of opportunities to learn about their own culture and language. On the other hand, ceremonies and cultural experiences tend to be evaluated with positive affect and positive appreciation: *es bonito el tema, sí, era bien bonito. Bonito/nice* is used more as an affective evaluation than as an aesthetic one in these cases. Both women and men use this adjective when expressing their views regarding Mapuche cultural experiences.

### *Normalization of ideological values regarding Mapuche and Chilean identity*

We have found in our analysis that the conceptualization of what is considered 'normal' by Mapuche adolescents plays a key role in their views of their Mapuche identity. This aspect is also visible in examples mentioned in previous sections in which Mapuche adolescents tend to represent Chilean society as the 'normal' way of living. Mapuche ethnicity is viewed as the 'other', thus 'normality', or the positive evaluation of social esteem, is associated with a non-Mapuche community. Again, in this discourse of conformity with what is considered 'normal' in Chilean society, attitudes are graduated mainly by FOCUS: *soy como/I am like*, in combination with graduating resources of FORCE: *soy como más normal/I am kind of more normal*, as it is possible to see in examples 27–29. As example 2 clearly shows, a Mapuche surname is not enough to make someone feel part of a community. Normality is also indirectly associated with quantity as in *cualquier/any person* or as a person by default: *ciudadana común/common citizen*.

#### Example 27

Si por el apellido es que no es que no tengo con más Mapuches soy COMO más normal. (mujer, Temuco)

If it's because the surname then **no** it's just that I **don't** have (more affinities) with Mapuches I am KIND OF more normal. (woman, Temuco)

## Example 28

[Padres] Como una vida **normal** ASÍ COMO si **no** fueran Mapuche ASÍ COMO que fueran personas normales ASÍ COMO las de aquí, las de aquí de Santiago (...) es que **de repente** yo **no** me siento ni me acuerdo que yo tengo apellido Mapuche. (hombre, Santiago)

[Parents] Like a **normal** life KIND OF as if they weren't Mapuche as if they were KIND OF **normal** people LIKE those from here, from here of Santiago (...) It's just that **sometimes** I don't feel nor remember that I have a Mapuche surname. (man, Santiago)

## Example 29

Ehh me siento **normal** ASÍ COMO cualquier persona, pero igual **no** me **no** he pasado por cosas **buenas** de por el apellido, he sido **discriminado** y COSAS ASÍ cuando era **más** chico sí en el colegio, pero eso ha cambiado aquí y me siento **bien** de ser Mapuche porque ehh vengo del sur y lo paso **bien** con mis primos, así poh, eso (...) Ehh, ah sí poh porque en el colegio lo profes hasta los profesores me **molestaban** por el apellido que tenía y mis compañeros y me sentía **mal** y me sentía **bajoneado** y PURAS COSAS ASÍ. (hombre, Santiago)

Ehh I feel **normal** LIKE any person, but still **no no good** things have happened to me because of the surname, I have been **discriminated** against and THINGS LIKE THAT when I was younger yes in school, but that has changed here and I feel **good** about being Mapuche because ehh I come from the south and we spend a **good** time with my cousins, so, that (...) Ehh, ah so that because in the school the teachers even teachers **bothered** me because of the surname I had and my classmates [also] and I felt **bad** and I felt **down** and things LIKE that. (man, Santiago)

Some of them, as we have attempted to demonstrate in previous examples and in example 30 below, show an evoked (implicit) negative appreciation and negative social esteem regarding Mapuche culture as a 'normal' social evaluation when they express that they 'do not need to feel ashamed of being Mapuche' because this carries on the implicit meaning of this possibility (being ashamed) in Chilean society.

## Example 30

... un Mapuche porque ehh, soy Mapuche poh eh. Me siento Mapuche, me **gusta** mi raza y encuentro que estoy **bien!** en lo que pienso yo! Porque **no** hay que **avergonzarse** de la raza que uno es. Mi mamá siempre me enseñó eso. (hombre, Temuco)

... a Mapuche because ehh, I am Mapuche eh. I feel Mapuche, I **like** my race and I believe that I am **good!** in what I think! One doesn't have to feel **embarrassed** of your race. My mother **always** taught me that. (man, Temuco)

On the other hand, example 31 shows an instance in which a male Mapuche adolescent normalizes discrimination, stating that rejections as well as friendships are 'normal' experiences in life:

## Example 31

Sí, eh hh primero **no** es **fácil** porque cuando chico uno lo **discriminan** por el apellido ESPECIALMENTE pero ya con la edad, uno va creciendo se va acostumbrando a la, a lo **a veces** a los **rechazos** o a la **amistad** igual, a diferentes cosas (...) especialmente la básica con algunos profesores, algunos amigos **pesados** igual o otros. (hombre, Santiago)

Yes, ehhh first It's **not easy** because when I was younger one would be **discriminated** for the surname ESPECIALLY but now as being older, one starts growing and starts getting used to the, to the **sometimes** to the rejections or to the friendship, to different things (...) especially in the elementary with a few teachers, a **few mean** friends or others alike. (man, Santiago)

Nevertheless, we have found some counter examples of what we have previously mentioned, in which young Mapuche identity is associated with rural activities which are felt as 'normal' by Mapuche adolescents and evaluated with a positive social esteem of normality.

To conclude this section, we present in Figure 2 the semantic system of *focus* and *force* which instantiate a graduation of attitudes in Mapuche adolescents. As we aim to show in the analysis, the linguistic resources that codify graduation by meanings of focus are more critically involved in showing tensions and uncertainties in the ongoing construction of Mapuche identity in urban Mapuche youth and their possibilities of a 'real' belonging to a Mapuche identity; whereas FORCE is used to graduate a more ample variety of attitudinal evaluations of positive and negative affect, judgment and appreciation in Mapuche discourse.

On the other hand, Figures 3 and 4 represent the verbal processes that construct the system of attitude privileged by Mapuche adolescents and how they feel about the 'other' voices that they include in the discourse. We consider it pertinent to present this system, although it also refers to the semantic system of engagement (the source of attitudes in the appraisal framework), due to the fact that this system is also part of the ideational meaning that is graduated in Mapuche discourse, and it helps to understand Mapuche adolescents' views regarding ethnic discrimination and the construction of their Mapuche identity.

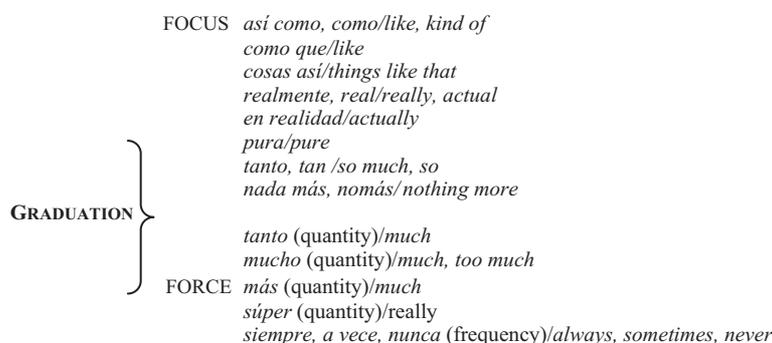


Figure 2. System of focus and force in Mapuche adolescents from Temuco and Santiago.

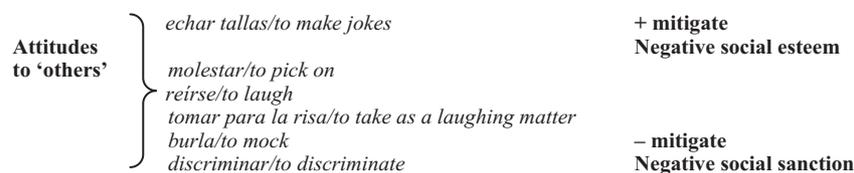


Figure 3. System of attitudes to 'others' in Mapuche adolescents from Temuco and Santiago regarding ethnic discrimination.

Attitudes to 'themselves'	}	<i>sentirse agradecido/a, orgulloso/a/to feel grateful, proud</i>	+ <i>positive affect</i>
		<i>identificado/a/identified</i>	
		<i>agradar/to please</i>	
		<i>no afectarse/not being affected by</i>	
		<i>crear inseguridad/to create insecurity</i>	
		<i>dar vergüenza/ no dar vergüenza/to embarrass</i>	
		<i>causar/dar rabia/to cause anger</i>	- <i>positive affect</i>

**Figure 4.** System of attitudes to 'themselves' in Mapuche adolescents from Temuco and Santiago regarding ethnic discrimination.

## Conclusions

The aim of this study has been to explore the dynamic construction of Mapuche identity in urban Mapuche adolescents. Analyses of the discourse of Mapuche youth draw on appraisal theory to identify instantiations of inscribed and invoked interpersonal meanings. Of relevance are the resources of GRADUATION, and particularly resources that codify FOCUS and adjust the categorical boundaries around entities, processes and propositions. The deployment of these resources is seen to play a key role in how Mapuche youth express contradictions and tensions regarding their affiliation with Mapuche identity. Expressions such as *así como*, *como que*, *realmente/kind of*, *like*, *really* enable Mapuche adolescents to locate themselves as more or less aligned with the Mapuche community. Tensions are similarly manifested around what it means to have a Mapuche surname and around factors such as physical appearance, as well as values reinforced in schooling. Often not knowing the Mapuche language or participating in Mapuche rituals and ceremonies leads to self-classification as 'not really' or 'sort of' with regard to Mapuche ethnicity. Mapuche adolescents consider it their own personal responsibility to maintain their culture and thus reinforce their Mapuche identity.

While the majority of Mapuche adolescents who participated in this study express gratitude for and pride in their Mapuche identity, they also have difficulty in recognizing that they have experienced ethnic discrimination in their lives. As the analysis has shown, Mapuche youths tend to mitigate these experiences using processes such as 'to make jokes', 'to pick on', 'to laugh', which have a negative social-esteem evaluation. However, few of them refer to these experiences as 'real' discrimination; they do not value them in terms of negative social sanction or negative moral evaluation. Another clear finding regarding ethnic identification is that Mapuche adolescents consider that avoiding or putting an end to discrimination is their individual responsibility and a matter of personal maturity.

The individual responsibility that they feel regarding knowing the language, the culture and dealing with discrimination is not new for other minorities in Latin America and other parts of the world that have limited access to elitist public spheres and institutions (Van Dijk, 2009). For instance, we have found in other studies regarding heritage Spanish speakers in Washington State and El Paso Texas, USA, that they tend to blame themselves and feel ashamed for not being able to be proficient in Spanish and academic Spanish, even though they have not had a formal education in this language (Achugar and Oteíza, 2009; Oteíza, 2007).

The appraisal resource of FOCUS has also played a significant role in adjusting attitudes of 'normality' in Mapuche discourse. Many Mapuche youths in our study conceptualize their Mapuche identity in terms of being 'normal' or 'not normal'. Normality is mainly associated not with Mapuche identity, but rather with Chilean society, which is evaluated

with positive social esteem and appreciation as evaluation. Being *así como personas normales/like normal people* implies or evokes a positive social esteem of normality and a positive appreciation of social evaluation to what Chilean society values as 'normal'. According to Lemke, the idea of 'normality' is a simplification of our condition as human beings because 'we are all "queer" in one way or another, and ... "not normal" is the ordinary condition of being human. Normality is always a mystification of normativity, a social lie that succeeds in part by introducing simplistic, low-dimensional category grids for pigeon-holing us, and in part by sanctioning any too public display of mismatched qualities' (Lemke, 2010: 20). However, as the same author states: 'our identities are the product of life in community, and we learn how to interact with many sorts of people very different from ourselves, in the process building up a cumulative repertoire of roles we can play, and with them of identities we can assume' (Lemke, 2010: 20). Therefore, what Mapuche adolescents are expressing in their discourse is part of this learning process of trying to be themselves in interaction with a society that has had difficulties in recognizing Mapuche people as fully part of its community, and in which Mapuche people have also had a conflicting relationship for centuries in an attempt to protect their land and cultural values.

### Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their extremely valuable comments and suggestions on our work. All remaining mistakes are our responsibility.

### Funding

This article presents findings from research grant Fondecyt 1090523 (National Funds for Science and Technology Development, Chile) entitled 'The discursive construction of ethnic identity among urban Mapuche adolescents in Temuco and Santiago'.

### Notes

1. The Mapuche population in Chile is around 1 million out of 16 million of the total Chilean population (Indigenous Population Census; see Censo, 2002).
2. In the examples below, focus is marked with capital letters, force is underlined in lowercase, negative polarity is marked in bold, and inscribed attitude is marked in lower case, in bold and underlined.
3. The word 'more' can function as force or focus. In this example, the young woman is sharpening up the boundaries of being Chilean with 'I'm KIND OF MORE Chilean', establishing distance with a Mapuche identity.
4. This 'no' does not have a real polarity meaning because it is frequently used at the beginning of an oral turn – not necessarily in a colloquial register – as a discursive marker. The second 'no' of example 2 differs in its meaning because '*no me siento*'/'*I don't feel*' portrays a graduated meaning of focus.
5. There is an important meaning potential regarding the source of evaluations (Engagement system), but this analysis goes beyond the scope of this article.
6. The use of 'kind of' or 'like' does not function as an adolescent identity marker, but rather these expressions are used in Chilean colloquial registers across ages (Puga, 1997), although there is little research in this specific area.

## References

- Achugar M and Oteiza T (2009) In whatever language people feel comfortable: Conflicting language ideologies in the US Southwest border. *Text & Talk* 29(4): 371–391.
- Bakhtin MM (1985) *Estética de la creación verbal*. Segunda edición en español. Coyoacán: Siglo veintiuno editores.
- Cantoni W (1978) Relaciones del Mapuche con la sociedad nacional chilena. In: *Raza y Clase en la Sociedad Postcolonial: UNESCO*. Madrid: Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, pp. 227–334.
- Censo (2002) *Etnias: Censo de la Población Chilena*. Santiago, Chile: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas.
- CERC-PARTICIPA (1999–2001) *Encuesta: La discriminación a los Mapuches*. Santiago, Chile: Gobierno de Chile.
- Halliday MAK (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday MAK and Matthiessen M (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd edn. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hood S (2010) *Appraising Research: Evaluation in Academic Writing*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hood S and Martin JR (2007) Invoking attitude: The play of graduation in appraising discourse. In: Hasan R, Matthiessen C and Webster J (eds) *Continuing Discourse on Language: A Functional Perspective*, vol. 2. London: Equinox, pp. 739–764.
- Hunston S and Thompson G (2000) Evaluation: An introduction. In: *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–27.
- Iedema R and Caldas-Coulthard R (2010) Introduction – Identity trouble: critical discourse and contested identities. In: Caldas-Coulthard CR and Iedema R (eds) *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 5–28.
- Lemke J (2010) Identity, development and desire: Critical questions. In: Caldas-Coulthard CR and Iedema R (eds) *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- López J (2001) Percepciones de mujeres Mapuches en torno al prejuicio étnico. El caso de la Corporación de mujeres Mapuches ‘Aukinko Domo’. Tesis de Proyecto Fondecyt 1010839, Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile.
- Martin JR (1992) *English Text: System and Structure*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Martin JR (2000) Beyond exchange: Appraisal systems in English. In: Hunston S and Thompson G (eds) *Evaluation in Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 142–175.
- Martin JR (2003) Introduction. *Text* 23(2, Special Issue): 171–181.
- Martin JR (2008) Tenderness: Realisation and instantiation in a Botswanan town. *Odense Working Papers in Language and Communication* 29: 30–58.
- Martin JR and Rose D (2007) *Working with Discourse*, 2nd edn. London: Continuum.
- Martin JR and Rose D (2008) *Genre Relations: Mapping Culture*. London: Equinox.
- Martin JR and White P (2005) *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Merino ME (2006) Propuesta metodológica de análisis crítico del discurso de la discriminación percibida. *Signos* 39(62): 453–469.
- Merino ME and Mellor D (2009) The discourse of perceived discrimination amongst Mapuches in Chile. *Critical Discourse Studies* 6(3): 215–227.
- Merino ME and Quilaqueo D (2004) Ethnic prejudice against the Mapuche in Chilean society as a reflection of the racist ideology of the Spanish conquistadors. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 27(4): 105–116.
- Oteiza T (2007) Análisis evaluativo: Percepciones lingüísticas de hablantes bilingües. *Estudios Filológicos* 42: 155–173.

- Puga J (1997) *La atenuación en el castellano de Chile: Un enfoque pragmalingüístico*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia.
- Rojas M and Sepúlveda S (2002) Prejuicio étnico respecto de profesores Mapuches de la ciudad de Temuco. Tesis de Pregrado de Proyecto Fondecyt 1010839. Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile.
- Saiz JL (2002) Atribución de estereotipos: Los indígenas Mapuches que perciben los chilenos. In: Morales JF, Páez D, Kornblit AL and Asún D (eds) *Psicología Social*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Prentice Hall-Pearson Educación, pp. 145–151.
- Saiz JL and Williams JE (1991) Estereotipos del indígena Mapuche: Una verificación empírica de proposiciones y hallazgos previos. In: Kuramochi Y and De La Peña P (eds) *Sobre culturas indígenas: Lenguaje e identidad*. Temuco, Chile: CONICYT-UCT-UFRO, pp. 141–148.
- Tripaliaf D (1969) Discriminación racial y social crea complejo de inferioridad en el pueblo Mapuche. *Revista Cauce* 6: 4–8.
- Van Dijk T (2009) *Discurso y Poder*. Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa.
- White PRR (2000) The appraisal website. Available at: <http://www.Grammatics.com/appraisal/> (accessed 5 March 2005).
- White PRR (2003) Beyond modality and hedging: A dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance. *Text* 23(2): 259–284.
- Widdicombe S and Wooffitt R (1995) *The Language of Youth Subcultures: Social Identity in Action*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

### Author biographies

**Teresa Oteíza** is an Associate Professor at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Her interests include the areas of Critical Discourse Analysis, Educational Linguistics and Systemic Functional Linguistics. Her research has focused lately on the valorative prosody in the discourse of history and on the pedagogical discourse of history. She is the author of *El discurso pedagógico de la historia: Un análisis lingüístico sobre la construcción ideológica de la historia de Chile (1970–2001)* (Frasis, 2006), *En (re)construcción: Discurso, identidad y nación en los manuales escolares de historia y ciencias sociales* (with Derrin Pinto; Cuarto Propio, 2011), and has published in journals such as *Discourse & Society*, *Text & Talk*, *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios del Discurso* and *Revista Signos*, among others.

**María E. Merino** is Senior Professor of Linguistics and Discourse Analysis at the School of Teacher Training, Faculty of Education, Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile. Dr Merino holds a PhD in Human Sciences with specialization in Discourse Analysis. Her research area is interethnic and intercultural relations with particular emphasis on the phenomena of prejudice, racism and discrimination against ethnic minorities. She has conducted various national research projects on the presence of prejudice and discrimination against Mapuches in Chilean oral discourse, and perceived discrimination and its psychological effects amongst Mapuches. At present, she is studying the discursive construction of ethnic identity amongst Mapuche adolescents. She has published extensively in Latin American and European journals and is co-author with Teun van Dijk of the book *Discourse and Racism in Latin America* (Rowman & Littlefield, in press), which has also been translated into Spanish and Portuguese.