"MAPUDUNGUN IS UNDERSTANDING WHERE WE COME FROM": CONSTRUING ALIGNMENT AROUND A HERITAGE LANGUAGE IDENTITY IN A FOCUS GROUP INTERACTION[1]

ANGELA TIRONI*
Universidad de Chile

CRISTINA ARANCIBIA**
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

ABSTRACT: This article aims to identify and describe how participants in a focus group interaction co-build alignment around shared values and experiences as heritage learners of Mapudungun (Don, 2019; White, 2003; 2010; 2021). Specific attention is paid to how bonds (Knight, 2010; 2013) mapped by resources from the ENGAGEMENT system are negotiated throughout the conversation (Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1979). We adhere to the socio-semiotic perspective postulated by Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) to approach the construing of individual and collective textual identity connected to learning Mapudungun by participants in a focus group. Our findings show that participants' positioning acts instantiated in patterns of ENGAGEMENT meanings contribute to building axiological alignment around the relevance of Mapudungun for their future teaching professions and their discovery of a new way of perceiving the world through learning the language.

KEYWORDS: heritage language learning, Mapudungun, pre-service teacher identity, alignment, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Engagement System.

"EL MAPUDUNGUN ES ENTENDER DE DÓNDE VENIMOS": CONSTRUYENDO LA ALINEACIÓN EN TORNO A UNA IDENTIDAD LINGÜÍSTICA HEREDADA EN LA INTERACCIÓN DE UN GRUPO DE DISCUSIÓN

Resumen: Este artículo tiene como objetivo identificar y describir cómo los participantes en una interacción de grupo focal co-construyen la alineación en torno a valores y experiencias compartidas como aprendices de herencia

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* Para correspondencia dirigirse a: Angela Tironi (atironi@uchile.cl)
** Para correspondencia dirigirse a: Cristina Arancibia (marancag@uc.cl)

del Mapudungun (Don, 2019; White, 2003; 2010; 2021). Se presta atención específica a cómo los vínculos (Knight, 2010; 2013) mapeados por los recursos del sistema de compromiso se negocian a lo largo de la conversación (Martin, 1992; Ventola, 1979). Nos adherimos a la perspectiva socio-semiótica postulada por Halliday (1994) y Halliday y Matthiessen (2014) para abordar la construcción de la identidad textual individual y colectiva relacionada con el aprendizaje del mapudungun por parte de participantes en un grupo focal. Nuestros hallazgos muestran que los actos de posicionamiento de los participantes, manifestados en patrones de significados de compromiso contribuyen a construir un alineamiento axiológico en torno a la relevancia del mapudungun para sus futuras profesiones docentes y su descubrimiento de una nueva forma de percibir el mundo a través del aprendizaje de la lengua.

Palabras clave: aprendizaje de lenguas de herencia, mapudungun, identidad de profesores en formación, alineamiento, lingüística sistémico-funcional, sistema de compromiso.

1. Introduction

Akin to the phenomenon of ethnic extinction and assimilation (Kroupa, 2014) experienced by indigenous groups in the northern part of the Americas and other native groups in former European colonies, the Mapuche nation has also been subjected to degrading and exclusionary practices by the state and the Chilean society for centuries (Loncon, 2017). New generations of Mapuche descent in urban Santiago, where this study was conducted, have begun to rethink their Mapuche identities in the context of historical demands of autonomy and recognition reinstated since the return of democracy in 1991 (Brablec, 2021; Faxer, 2017). In response to these demands, some tertiary education institutions have included the Mapudungun language among their second language courses to foster spaces for language revitalization or "recuperation" (Lara Millapán, 2012). In this study, we explore the traces left by the tenor dimensions of discourse, namely, status and solidarity in oral interaction (Don, 2019). The interplay of status and solidarity is enacted in the discourse semantic stratum of language through strategies of positioning displayed by heritage language learners regarding the process of learning Mapudugun as a path to ancestry recovery.

A focus group was conducted in a teacher training university in 2019 to explore the perceptions of Mapuche descent students regarding their reconnection with their ancestry through language learning. We locate our study using the theoretical tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL henceforth). Specifically, we concentrate on the negotiation of bonds as realized by the ENGAGEMENT system (Martin & White 2005, White 2003) during face-to-face interaction to examine how heritage language (Montrul, 2016; Little, 2017) becomes a learning path to build up people's collective and individual identities.

Our analytical approach takes the text as an object of study and as an instrument for self-representation in context (Halliday & Matthiesen, 2014). From this perspective, our analysis seeks to answer the following research questions: (1) How are couplings of ideational and attitudinal meanings, 'bonds', (Knight, 2010, 2013) negotiated in the

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interaction among participants in the focus groups? (2) How do alignment processes rely on the resources of the ENGAGEMENT system? And (3) How do the shared bonds relate to dimensions of the interactants' identity (ies)? Answers to these research questions become of great importance in exploring the role of dialogism in discourse, understood as a meaning-making process by which past and present come together as a single utterance to construe collective and individual voices (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 87; Volosinov, 1973). From this perspective, individual evaluative positioning acts contribute to instantiating a 'textual persona' (Don, 2019) and building a sense of collective identity where the past and present meet through actual interaction.

The construction of individual and collective identity in the corpus is explored from a trinocular perspective (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Accordingly, from above, we observe the interplay of social roles between the mediator of the focus group, performed by an academic and the undergraduate students participating in the activity. From around, we observe how the nature of the social interaction enacted in the focus group mapped by the ENGAGEMENT system contributes with layers of alignment that construe collective identities through oral interaction. From below, we examine how the textual personae and the collective voices are realized by linguistic choices made by the textual author to align among each other, to other group members and outgroup voices.

2. NEO SPEAKERS AS HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Despite the strong stigmatization faced by the Mapuche people, their culture and their language, certain groups within the population have managed to preserve their identification with their Mapuche roots (Gundermann, 2014). However, this resistance to giving up their identity has not been without conflicts. On one hand, urban Mapuche individuals face a tension between maintaining their connection to their heritage and adapting to modern society (Cisternas, 2020). This struggle deepens the conflict of identity experienced by Mapuche individuals displaced from their ancestral land, as migration to urban spaces necessitates a constant reinterpretation of their identity (Perez *et al*., 2013; Zúñiga & Olate, 2017).

Moreover, the sociolinguistic condition of the Mapundungun language remains precarious (Gundermann *et al*.; 2011, Zúñiga & Olate, 2017), despite a reported increase in the number of people identifying as Mapuche (Census, 2017). While there may be a growing positive attitude towards indigenous identity, the actual usage of Mapundungun has sharply declined in most social discourse practices (Zúñiga & Olate, 2017; Brablec, 2021). As a result, urgent language revitalization efforts are necessary to robustly maintain Mapuche identity. Recognizing this need, urban indigenous groups and associations have taken on the educational role neglected by the formal education system by establishing learning spaces for neo-speakers in universities (Brablec, 2021, p. 6). This initiative not only fosters community building and identity resignification but also leads to a reconceptualization of the meaning of heritage language speakers.

The concept of a heritage speaker varies depending on the sociolinguistic status of the heritage language and the speaker's linguistic competence (Montrul, 2016).

In the case of Mapuche learners, who often discover their Mapuche ancestry later in life, language learning entails a process of "becoming" rather than "remaining," as they strive to reconnect with their indigenous heritage (Little, 2017). Around 15.9% of self-identified Mapuche individuals in Chile claim to be competent users of the Mapudungun language (Zúñiga & Olate, 2017), with an undocumented number of "neo-speakers" (Vergara, 2018) who have both Mapuche and non-Mapuche backgrounds. For these learners, their ethnic and cultural heritage plays a significant role in their language learning journey, as they see the language as a path to build their indigenous ancestry (Carreira, 2004). Accordingly, understanding their individual experiences with Mapudungun and ancestral cultural values is crucial, as identity construction is a collective discourse rooted in relational experiences and conversation. Identity construction will be explored through the theoretical/analytical tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics, more specifically, from the interpersonal meaning dimension of APPRAISAL and, in particular, our analysis explores the dialogic potential of the interpersonal resources modelled by the ENGAGEMENT system (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2010; Oteiza & Pinuer, 2019).

3. APPRAISAL SYSTEM

The APPRAISAL system is one of the two domains of interpersonal meanings located in the discourse semantic stratum of language. This framework of a multi-dimensional system that incorporates the expression of values (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2010, 2019) as categories of attitudes, as degrees of values or perspectives and as options for the expression of intersubjective positioning.

3.1. Feelings as attitude

The attitudinal systemic network, according to Martin and White (2005), does not only entail encoding individual ways of feeling in regards to a phenomenon, but it additionally activates individual stances and positionings involving interlocutors participating in oral and written interaction. Categories of attitude include three semantic domains, namely, AFFECT, JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION. The AFFECT sub-system models the expression of emotions and feelings, the JUDGMENT sub-system models the expression of evaluations and opinions, and the APPRECIATION sub-system models the expression of values and attitudes. Regarding this last subsystem, our article adheres to the further developments proposed by Oteíza & Pinuer (2019) for the observation of social phenomena. The degree of delicacy added to the APPRECIATION system network by Oteíza et al. enables more delicate distinctions to value the quality of social events, processes and situations (Oteiza & Pinuer, 2019, p. 219).

3.2. The expression of intersubjective positionings

Regarding the discourse semantic domain of ENGAGEMENT, this region of meaning models options for managing the dialogic dimension of texts. The ENGAGEMENT system

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enables speakers to position themselves vis-a-vis their interlocutors and the topics they are discussing. Moreover, the interpersonal potential of the ENGAGEMENT system maps options to negotiate involvement or detachment, and to establish relationships of alignment or disalignment with other speakers or positions (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2019). The dialogic resources mapped by the ENGAGEMENT semantic dimension can be construed as monoglossic (single voiced) or heteroglossic (different-voiced) (Fryer, 2022, p. 10). Monoglossic positionings present textual voices as not recognizing dialogic alternatives. Heteroglossia, on the other hand, invokes dialogic alternatives to expand or contract the dialogic space for other voices in the text (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2019; Fryer, 2022).

The degrees of delicacy built into the heteroglossic semantic domain allow more delicate choices that model interactions as expansive or contractive instances (Hood, 2010, p. 27). Dialogic contraction models interpersonal meanings as instances of [contract: disclaim] and [contract: proclaim]. Both options contribute to construing intersubjective positioning as dominating upon alternative perspectives, differing from the authorial voices (Oteiza & Pinuer, 2019; Fryer, 2022; Valerdi, 2022). Instances of [contract: disclaim] in discourse are oriented to deny or resist perspectives that contradict the voices inserted in oral and written texts. The [contract: proclaim] choices give prominence to the positioning of authorial voices over alternative perspectives (Valerdi, 2022).
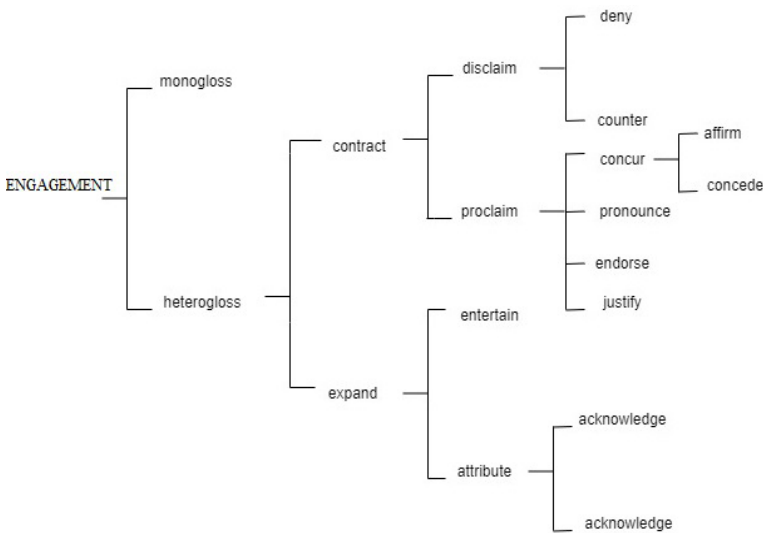

Figure 1. *The engagement system based on Martin and White (2005, p. 134) adapted by Fryer, 2022*

Dialogical expansive options, on the other hand, model the interpersonal meanings construing alternative positionings in discourse. The instances [expand: entertain] and [expand: attribute] invite the putative audience to consider other voices' viewpoints that may differ from authorial perspectives (Fryer, 2022). Instances of [expand: consider],

contribute to placing the propositions in dialogic expansion, thus opening up the dialogic space to other interlocutors. Dialogic movements [expand: attribute] enable the construing degrees of proximity or detachment of the authorial voice regarding the external voices inserted in discourse (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2019).

3.3. The grading of values and opinions

The semantic nuances delineated by the ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT systems are finely calibrated through the GRADUATION subsystem. Within this model, two pivotal choices, FORCE and FOCUS, shape the attitudinal positioning of speakers or writers (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2019). FORCE, the first option, modulates the expression of qualities, processes and proposals by quantifying their intensity, intricately interacting with ATTITUDE. On the other hand, FOCUS, the second option, refines terms based on their prototypicality, either sharpening or softening the categorical delineations of the entities, actions, or propositions under appraisal (Martin & White, 2005; Hood, 2019, p. 389-390).

Overall, these three dimensions of interpersonal meanings may interact in discourse to enable us to observe how the textual voices construe their identity through the text.

4. IDENTITY(IES) IN TEXT

Crucial to this study is to understand how individual and collective identities are both construed and enacted in discourse. According to Don (2019), a textual persona is built by a series of positioning acts that a writer or speaker makes as a contribution to a discussion. From this perspective, it is the group in interaction which construes identity and crucially depends on relationships which are enacted during interaction. Each interactant needs to have his/her contribution recognized and responded to become the identity which is ratified by the others in the group. Each positioning act is construed linguistically by evaluative resources selected by the textual author to favour or foreground a stance or attitude regarding their experience in the world and in relation to others (Martin & White, 2005). The patterns of attitudinal resources employed constitute the evaluative style of an author and through this means, they display their identity (Martin & White, 2005; Don, 2019). For Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2008) styles and their variability are strongly conditioned by "key aspects of the social context in which the text operates" which include the social roles people play in a communicative situation (Martin & White, 2005, p. 175). This perspective assumed by the Sydney School rests in the stratified theory of text in context to explain the vital relationship of mutual dependence between language and social context. This relation is modelled as realization, that is to say, the patterns of the social organization of culture are realized as patterns of social interaction in each context of situation. These patterns in turn are realized as patterns of discourse (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 10-11) in oral and written texts. From this view, our focus group corresponds to an instance of oral interaction in which the patterns of cultural interaction are realized by the register variables, field, tenor and mode. These dimensions are modelled by the

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ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions in the lexicogrammatical strata of language. In our study, we concentrate on how tenor variables leave traces of social organization in the interaction among participants in a focus group.

As regards tenor, Don (2019) defines "social contact" as one of its dimensions, following Poynton's framework. While Poynton (1985) identified three variables, namely, status, contact and AFFECT, Don (2019) argued that AFFECT should instead be considered as one of the resources for construing tenor (*i.e.* Status and Contact), along with the other ATTITUDE resources under APPRAISAL (Martin & White, 2005). In this light, tenor can be viewed as a continuum of social distance in which positioning enacts individuals' stances and identities through discursive moves during the interaction. Therefore, for the scope of this study, tenor variables collaborate to condition the nature of how individuals display a textual identity during the conversation and how they build a sense of community (Martin & White, 2005; Don, 2019). In this regard, Don points out that individual and group identity can be analyzed in two ways. The first one is by examining the stylistic patterns which are common to them as a function of the social practices they perform. The second one involves the analysis of individual discourses and groups and how they position themselves by ideational means *i.e.*, 'labelling' and by interpersonal means *i.e.*, 'addressing' (Don, 2007, p. 275). In other words, identity is a product of a dialectical process of intersubjectivity in which the interactants position and co-position each other, thereby construing their alignment and disalignment with social actors involved in the social practice that constitutes the Mapuche community and the Chilean society. Those alignments are construed around values, ideologies, and beliefs about the social world and at the same time, call on their shared experiences as a way of construing or calling on affiliation.

5. ALIGNMENT AND AFFILIATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

As pointed out earlier, different, and yet related perspectives have analyzed how people commune to build a sense of in-group belonging and bonding. One angle conceptualizes the social process of bonding as "affiliation" (Zappavigna & Martin, 2018; Knight, 2010, 2013; Logi & Zappavigna, 2019; Logi & Zappavigna, 2021). Conversely, for Kight (2010), affiliation is a social semiotic theory that describes how people identify as members of communities by negotiating values (Knight, 2013, p. 203). The author proposes a framework to analyze how affiliation among friends is sustained during face-to-face interaction through the display of at least one of three major strategies: communing around (sharing or rallying around a bond), laughing off (deferring an unshared potential bond) and condemning (rejecting an unsharable bond). These strategies help us to describe and understand how individual positioning acts around shared beliefs and experiences contribute to reinforcing bonding among interlocutors during the interactions in the context of the focus group (Knight, 2010, p. 203).

Logi and Zappavigna (2019) also explore the oral mode of discourse by examining interactional humour in stand-up comedies and paralanguage as another semiotic system that contributes to affiliation (2021). However, most of the research on community building and identity construction has been focused on the written mode,

which means that our study can contribute to this gap in the research into spoken interaction.

In our research, we examine discursive phenomena by analyzing the value positions that interactants adopt when communing around a shared bond. We also explore the axiological and/or attitudinal meanings associated with these positions. Specifically, we focus on how interactants align their axiological and attitudinal stances (White, 2010) concerning shared values in relation to the addressee(s). This investigation centers on the affiliative practice of negotiating values, which involves co-selecting interpersonal and ideational meanings across metafunctions (Zappavigna & Martin, 2018).

Within these interactions, the coupling of interpersonal and ideational meanings occurs through the fusion of an attitude and a target (Knight, 2010). Knight refers to these connections as 'bonds.' For instance, we have observed such bonds in the following example from our data:

"Mapudungun is important "[+ve/APPRECIATION: impact + Mapudungun]

In this example, there is a positive value position through the evaluation of the ideational entity "Mapudungun" instantiated in the epithet "important". Therefore, there is a coupling of ideational and attitudinal meanings (Knight 2013, 2010). Around these bonds, participants build solidarity by co-identifying with each other and reenacting their identities as the text unfolds during the exchange (Knight, 2010; Logi & Zappavigna, 2019; Martin, 1992). This solidarity could be maintained through the interplay of dialogic resources and the "hierarchical layering" of bonds (Logi & Zappavigna, 2019). Logi and Zappavigna propose the concept of layers to refer to the various levels of significance or salience assigned to the social values and beliefs being addressed through humour.

In summary, our research delves into how individuals communicate and negotiate values by aligning their attitudes and stances toward shared beliefs, all while considering the affiliative practices and the negotiation of interpersonal and ideational meanings coupled in bonds.

6. METHODOLOGY

Focus groups were a research tool first used by sociologists in 1949 to delve into the citizens' perceptions of the US involvement in the Second World War (Cyr, 2019). They became a productive eliciting technique to allow the researcher to access larger data for qualitative analysis as they allow an in-depth understanding of people's perspectives on a subject or social issue (Cyr, 2019). Since then, focus groups have been considered non-standard research techniques in which a group of people are selected to discuss a topic informally and in the presence of a moderator who leads the conversation (Acocella & Cataldi, 2021).

The focus group presented here was conducted under a major research context which was, broadly speaking, designed to understand how students of 'Mapudungun I' evaluated their learning experience. The questions were created following Hargreaves

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(2005) and Day (2007) who elaborated on the basic dimensions that sustain teacher identity, namely personal, professional, and situational dimensions. For each one of these dimensions, a set of questions about how learning Mapudungun related to them were asked. For example: how does the learning of Mapudungun relate to your professional identity? How does it relate to your personality or identity? What do you like the most about the language? What do you find hard to learn? Among many others.
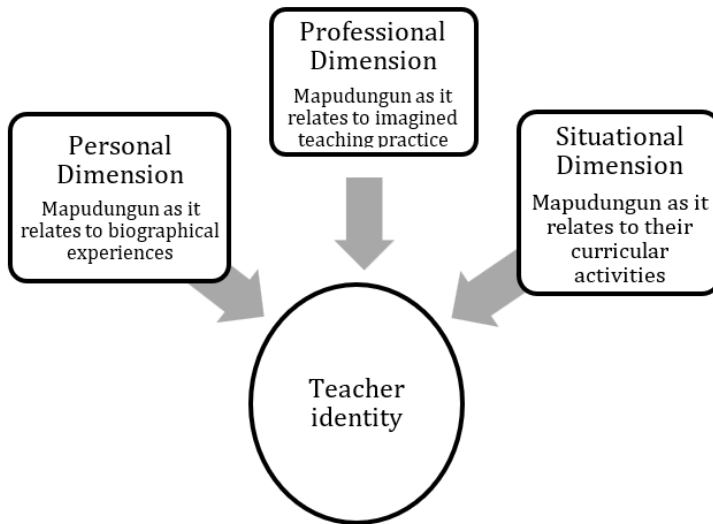

Figure 2. *Teacher identity dimensions adapted from Hargreaves (2005) and Day (2007)*

For this article, nonetheless, the focus will be on the text itself and how participants represent their alignment with each other, with the moderator, and/or with the Mapuche community through face-to-face interaction, accordingly we considered the answers to the questions aiming to disclose participants' positioning regarding the impact of Mapudungun in their professional and personal dimension.

The participants were enrolled in the Mapudungun 1 course which aims at developing communicative skills relatively similar to A1 level in the CEFR. The course is one of three courses that all students from the university must complete to graduate. They choose among seven language courses. Therefore, the students who belong to each course are there by choice. This is relevant as their motivations to study Mapudungun in this case must be shared partially or completely and a major sense of attitudinal and axiological alignment with the Mapudungun language and culture (White, 2021, 2010; Zappavigna & Martin, 2019) is expected.

Participants in this study were five female students from 19 to 21 years old. Three were studying to be preschool teachers and two were in the secondary school art teaching program. They all self-reported having Mapuche roots. Since the focus group aimed to understand how students were experiencing the learning process concerning their identities, the students were invited to participate in the focus group by their Mapudungun teacher.

The first analytical step was to identify interpersonal meanings of the APPRAISAL system with a special focus on ENGAGEMENT to understand how participants' authorial voices and positionings were being enacted.

The second analytical step was to identify couplings of attitudinal and ideational meanings around the learning of Mapudungun and how they helped sustain collective intersubjective meanings related to their identities as Mapuche women.

7. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

It is deemed relevant for our analytical process to understand how the participants of the focus group relate to each other and to the main mediator who led the conversation. As Figure 1 shows, the role of the main mediator during the exchange was to control both the dialogue and the content. Hence, the social contact (Don, 2019) established among the participants was highly shaped by the tenor relations enacted in the part of the conversation under study. See the figure below.
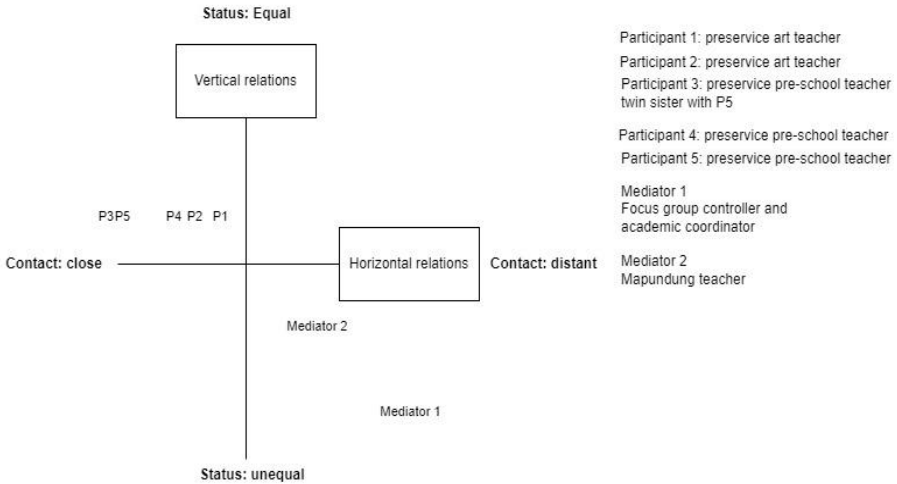

Figure 3. *Social Contact during focus group, following Don, 2019*

The nature of the social contact (Don, 2019) in this interaction during the focus group conversation construes participants as potentially being slightly affiliated with each other. The mediator in her role as a course coordinator has an asymmetrical relationship with the participants and as such, she oversees the dialogue. There is an "orientation" to affiliation (Don, 2019) as she tries to propose bonds that are assumed to be shared among the students. These bonds were enacted in interrogative polar clauses which seek confirmation from the interlocutor (Quiroz, 2021). Thus, the bonds encapsulated in the questions were tabled to be communed around or rejected.

As a preliminary analysis, what is mostly unfolding in the text is an axiological and attitudinal alignment (White, 2010, 2021) rather than instances of shared knowledge

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and experiences among the participants, which is discussed in Don (2019) to be affiliation discursive practices during the interaction. In what follows, we will argue how participants co-construe alignment around two major analytical units identified as relevant to understand their individual and collective identities. Namely, the relevance of their heritage language to their future professions and their new way of perceiving the world through the language.

7.1. Alignment around professional identity: the relationship between the learning of Mapudungun and their future professions

The following excerpt is an exchange in which participants take turns to sustain the macro-bond proposed by the moderator "Mapudungun relates to our profession". The question that elicited this piece of interaction was *How does Mapudungun relate to your professional identity?*

To facilitate the reading of this excerpt only the parts of the text identified as construing a collective textual positioning have been annotated: double underline for ENGAGEMENT; bold for ATTITUDE and single underline for GRADUATION.

Example 1:
Moderador 1: Gracias chiquillos, e... ***¿Cómo se relaciona el campo disciplinar con el aprendizaje de mapuzungún o mapudungun? ¿Hay alguna conexión?*** O…

Participante 1: Eh, yo creo que, arte también va muy ligada a la historia. Entonces el hecho de [contract:proclaim:pronounce] trabajar con las raíces de lo que
era antes de lo que fuera chile eh a los niños les va como a **significar**
[+ve APPRECIATION:impact] mucho [FORCE:intensification] quizás entender
comportamientos que probablemente venga quizás por su sangre y ellos
no lo sepan por ejemplo em, me he dado cuenta que los mapuches
siempre dibujan apegada a la nariz y a veces pasa como que los niños a veces tienen
esa tendencia de dibujar igual que los antepasados y quizás
no lo saben entonces
Moderador 1: ¡ah, ¡qué bonito!
Participante 1:es como es una evolución de historia por la cultura igual
Participante 3: Mm.. el aprendizaje del idioma en si yo creo que [expand:entertain] es
Importante [+ve appreciation:impact] porque [contract:justify] eh el, la cultura que
viene en sí de cada familia es **importante mantenerla** [+ve appreciation:integrity/
force:scope:time].y que no se vaya perdiendo porque en el presente no lo saben
aplicar, entonces es importante el aprendizaje del segundo idioma del mapudungun.
Participante 5: Yo creo que como basándome en las dos [contract:proclaim:endorse]
en la historia al final nosotros como seres humanos, como individuos nosotros
utilizamos muchos conceptos eh tenemos muchas costumbres de nuestros antepasados
y realmente es **entender de dónde venimos** [+ve appreciation:impact] y nosotros
darles las herramientas al niño para tal vez
para que se interesa mucho más en la cultura y tal vez si optar por un segundo

idioma más adelante o buscar talleres o en si es lo que nos ofrece el mapudungun es entender de dónde venimos y que ocurrió con eso. entonces yo creo que eso es una herramienta para nosotros.

Participante 2: <u>Yo también</u> [contract:concur:afirm] creo que **aporta** [+ve APPRECIATION:impact] <u>harto</u> [FORCE:quantification] a la visión crítica y saber realmente que la opción o la visión que se imparte en el colegio no es la única. Eh con respecto, no sé, por ejemplo, yo estuve en un colegio de monjas toda la vida y siempre y me hicieron bullying y me discriminaron mucho porque era mapuche y creo que el no tener el. ¿Cómo se llama esto? un acercamiento obviamente la gente descendiente o quienes se sientan parte de la cultura en si más allá de tener el apellido ehh es importante tener una referencia y así no sentir que el sistema y en si la comunidad o donde estés estudiando está bien y ellos están mal.

Transliteration extract 1:

Moderator: Thank you girls, and... ***How is the disciplinary field related to the learning of Mapuzungun or Mapudungun? Is there a connection?*** Or...

Participant 1: Hey, I think art is also closely linked to history. <u>So the fact of</u> [contract:proclaim: pronounce] working with the roots of what was before what was Chile eh to children will **mean** [APPRECIATION: impact +ve] <u>a lot</u> [FORCE: intensification] perhaps understand behaviours that probably come perhaps by their blood and they do not know it for example em, I have realized that the Mapuche always draw attached to the nose and sometimes it happens that children sometimes have that tendency to draw the same that their ancestors and perhaps do not know it.

Moderator 1: Oh, how beautiful!

Participant 1: it is as if it is an evolution of history by the same culture

Participant 3: Mm..The learning of the language itself <u>I think</u> [expand:entertain] is important <u>because</u> [contract:proclaim:justify] eh the, the culture that comes in itself from each family is **important** to keep [appreciation: integrity +ve] and that it is not lost because in the present they do not know how to apply it, then it is important to learn the second language of Mapudungun

Participant 5: I think that <u>based on the two</u> [contract:proclaim:endorse] in the story ithe end we as human beings, as individuals we use many concepts eh we have many customs of our ancestors and it really is **understanding where we come from** [appreciation:impact +ve] and we give the tools to the child to maybe become much more interested in the culture and maybe if opt for a second language later or look for workshops or if it is What Mapudungun offers us is to understand where we come from and what happened to that. So I think that's a tool for us.

Participant 2: I <u>also</u> think that [contract:concur:affirm] it **contributes** [APPRECIATION:impact+ve] <u>a lot</u> [FORCE: intensification] to the critical vision and

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really knowing that the option or the vision that is taught in the school is not the only
one. Regarding… I don't know, for example, I was in a school of nuns all my life and
always and they bullied me and discriminated against me a lot because I was Mapuche
and I think not having it. What is this called? An approach obviously the descendant
people or those who feel part of the culture itself beyond having the surname ehh is
important to have a reference and thus not feel that the system and if the community
or where you are studying is good and they are wrong.

Table 1 shows excerpts of the previous dialogue that help understand how alignment
is being construed in this piece of the conversation.

Participants' turns	Text	Couplings IDEATION +ATTITUDE	Heteroglossic voices	Discursive function
P1 (art pre-service teacher)	El hecho de trabajar con nuestras raíces va a **significar** mucho The fact that we work with our (Mapuche) roots …will **mean** a lot [to the kids]	Working with the roots (as an art teacher) + APPRECIATION: impact +ve	contract: proclaim: pronounce	align with the proposed bond
P3 (preschool pre-service teacher)	porque la cultura que viene en sí de cada familia es **importante** mantenerla because the culture that families bring is **important** to keep	The family culture + APPRECIATION: integrity +ve	contract: proclaim: justify	align with proposed bond
P5 (art pre-service teacher)	basándome en las dos realmente es **entender de dónde venimos** Based on both of them it [Mapudungun] really is *understanding where we come from*	Mapudungun + APPRECIATION: impact +ve	contract: proclaim: endorse	align with previous interlocutors
P2 (pre-school pre-service teacher)	Yo también creo que **aporta** harto a la visión crítica I also believe that it **contributes a lot** to a critical perspective	Mapudungun + APPRECIATION: impact +ve	contract: concur: affirm	align with previous interlocutors

Table 1. *Discursive alignment during oral interaction around*
Mapudungun is important for our professions.

The positioning acts about how learning Mapudungun relates to their future
professions display heteroglossic [contract:proclaim] voices. These voices modelled
as instances [pronounce-justify-endorse-affirm] are knitted altogether to position each
other as collectively aligned. The first interlocutor P1 selects a [contract: pronounce]
move in: "the fact of working with the roots…". Next, P3 justifies their perspective
chosen by selecting an instance [contract: proclaim: justify] in: "because the culture

that the family brings is important to keep". This intersubjective move positions Participant 3 as aligned around the relevance proposed by her previous classmate P1. At the same time, she positions the mediator as someone who needs to be persuaded (White, 2003; Fryer, 2022) by providing reasons for the relevance of the language and also, she advances a further ideational and interpersonal meaning to be negotiated "the culture that families bring is important to keep".

The third participant in the interaction P5 acknowledges the previous positionings of P1 and P3 by instantiating an [endorsement] ENGAGEMENT in "based on the two of them" which projects prospectively (Fryer, 2022) a further bond "Mapudungun is understanding where we come from" Martin & White The dialogue ends with [contract: affirm] of P2 that seals the alignment around the bond "Mapudungun is important for our profession".

 If we observe the exchange from the interaction of ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT systems, the discursive meaning of individual positionings help construe attitudinal alignment among participants. As can be observed in Figure 4 collective alignment around the relevance of Mapudungun to their professions unfolds throughout the interaction in layers of ideational and attitudinal meanings as follows: "working with the roots will mean a lot", "the culture that families bring is important", "Mapudungun is understanding where we come from", "it contributes a lot to critical thinking". Their individual positionings align with each other in terms of positive attitudinal meaning by invoking [APPRECIATION: impact] and [JUDGEMENT: capacity] employing ENGAGEMENT resources that construe solidarity among participants. Therefore, instead of communing around the same core bond "Mapudungun is important for our profession", they all contribute to sustaining the major bond encapsulated in the moderator's question by expanding on axiological and attitudinal meaning by proposing layers of bonds.
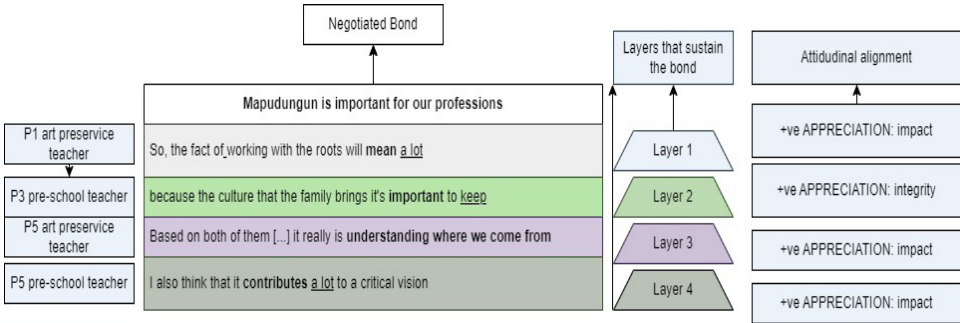

Figure 4. *Mapudungun is important*

The bonds negotiated in this part of the conversation contribute to building a sense of collective identity around what it means to learn Mapudungun as future teachers and also contribute to construing an individual identity as this experience relates to their future individual professions. Their positioning acts, hence, are construed in relation to their interests, for example, Participant 1, who is an art teacher trainee connects the culture of Mapuche people to her interest as an art teacher who wants her students to understand how the mapuche culture connects to their roots. The pre-school teacher

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trainee P3 mentions the family as an important agent in the kids' cultural heritage. In sum, their alignment among each other is both axiological and attitudinal with positive evaluation inscribed and evoked through couplings that instantiate their beliefs and values about their heritage language. Through the choice of heteroglossic resources, participants position each other as highly aligned around the relevance of heritage language for their professional life. Additionally, they construe the moderator as the putative interlocutor who needs to be persuaded over the importance of Mapudungun. This is materialized through the addition of further bonds (Logi & Zappavigna, 2019). Their roles during the exchange are construed as equals, as people who share a common view of their identity as both pre-service teachers and how their heritage language will contribute to the development of their teaching identity.

7.2. Construing collective knowledge and values around "Mapudungun gives life a different meaning"

The interpersonal meanings negotiated by the participants in the focus group show that alignment around shared bonds is a common discursive practice throughout the whole conversation under study. In the following excerpt, the participants take turns to position their stance through voices interwoven around the bond "Mapudungun gives life a different meaning". The question that was elaborated was: *Does Mapudungun change the way you think?*

Example 2:
Moderador1: Si les cambiaba la forma de percibir el mundo o?
Moderador 2: Eso, eso
Moderador1: O de pensar?
Participante 4: Yo creo que más que cambiar [contract:disclaim:counter] es como **percibir el mundo** [appreciation:impact +ve] (..de otra manera) es como darte cuenta del porqué estás pensando así o sea pensar no se el ayún y ser como ¡ohh! ¡y por eso esto es así! y esto es asá es como encontrar esa **conexión** de
mapudungun [APPRECIATION:impact +ve] es como a mí, es como...
Participant 1: Mapudungun le da **más** **sentido a la vida** [contract:proclaim:pronounce] [appreciation:impact +ve]
Participant 4: Le da **más** **sentido a las palabras** [contract:proclaim:pronounce] [APPRECIATION:impact +ve]
Participant 1: En general, así como por ejemplo la madre tierra. la gente lo ve así como ¡ay es un árbol! pero [contract:disclaim:counter] en la cultura es como ese árbol es importante porque no sé pasó por muchas generaciones y la vida, el agua, la comida, es **una forma cultural distinta** pero todo tiene su **valor**
[APPRECIATION:impact +ve], no está porque sí, todo tiene su **significado**
[APPRECIATION:impact +ve].
Participant 3: Sí [contract:proclaim:concur], eso, siento que [expand:entertain] el mapudungun te da como, osea, una **percepción distinta** [appreciation:impact +ve] de la vida osea como por qué eh, el agradecer tales cosas que da como, le **suma**

espiritualmente [appreciation:impact +ve] más [force:quantification] que otras cosas normalmente, eso.

Transliteration extract 2:

Moderator 1: Did it change the way you perceived the world or?
Moderator 2: Right! Right!
Moderator 1: The way of thinking?
Participant 4: I think that <u>more than</u> [contract: disclaim:counter] changing is how perceiving the world is like realizing why you are thinking such and such, I mean thinking if the "ayún" and being like oh! and that's why this is like this! And this is how to find that connection of Mapudungun is like me, it's like...
Participant 1: Mapudungun gives more **meaning** to life [contract:proclaim:pronounce] [APPRECIATION:impact +ve]
Participant 4: It gives more **meaning** to words[contract:proclaim:pronounce] [APPRECIATION:impact +ve]
Participant 1: In general, as well as for example Mother Earth. People see it as well as ay is a tree! <u>but</u> [contract:disclaim:counter] in culture it is how that tree is important because I do not know it went through many generations and life, water, food, is a different cultural form but everything [force:quantification] has its **value** [appreciation:impact +ve] it is not just because, everything has its meaning.
Participant 3: Yes [contract: proclaim:concur], I agree with that, <u>I feel that</u> [expand:entertain] the Mapudungun gives you …, I mean, a **different perception** [appreciation:impact +ve] of life bone like why uh, thanking such things that it gives like, it adds spiritually [appreciation:impact +ve] more than other things normally, that.

The following table shows excerpts from this piece of the interaction that exemplify the axiological/attitudinal alignment as it unfolds through the advancement of the dialogue.

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Participant	Text	Couplings IDEATION AND ATTITUDE	Resource	Discursive function
P4	yo creo <u>más</u> que cambiar /es como **percibir el mundo** [de una manera distinta] I think that <u>more than changing</u>, it's like **perceiving the world** [in a different way]	Mapudungun + APPRECIATION:impact: +ve	contract: counter	disalign with the proposed bond but proposes another bond
P1	Mapudungun le da más **sentido** a la vida It gives <u>more</u> **meaning** to the words	Mapudungun + APPRECIATION:impact: +ve	contract: pronounce	align with the proposed bond by P4
P4	Le da <u>más</u> **sentido** a las palabras It gives <u>more</u> **meaning** to the words	Mapudungun + APPRECIATION:impact: +ve	contract: pronounce	align with the proposed bond by previous participants
P1	<u>pero</u> en la cultura (mapuche) es como ese árbol es importante […] es una forma cultural **distinta** pero <u>todo</u> tiene su **valor** but in the culture (Mapuche) it's like that tree is important [...] it's a different cultural view but <u>everything</u> has its **value**	Mapuche culture + APPRECIATION:impact: +ve	contract: counter	align with the proposed bond by previous participants
P3	<u>Sí, eso</u>. <u>Siento que</u> el mapudungun te da […] le **suma espiritualmente** más que otras cosas normalmente, eso I agree with that. I feel that Mapudungun gives you […] spiritually adds more than other things normally, that	Mapudungun + APPRECIATION:impact: +ve	contract: concur expand: entertain	align with the proposed bond by previous participants

Table 2. *Discursive alignment during oral interaction around Mapudungun changes the way we perceive the world*

The first participant initiates the dialogue by rejecting the mediator's bond encapsulated in the question as "Mapududungn changes the way you think". P1 introduces her turn with a prototypical instance of expand: entertain "yo creo que" (I think that), nonetheless discursively what she does is to politely decline the bond by contracting and disclaiming the proposition embedded in the polar question "does it change the way you think?". She does that by using a conjunctive adjunct "more than…" (más que...). These resources explored from the lexicogrammatical stratum of language contribute to construing the textual voice as someone who has a say of her own regarding how the learning of Mapudungun is changing her way of "perceiving the world". Another interesting feature of the same exchange is that the contracting pronouncing voices of P1 and P4 in the second and third turn, respectively, are not

introduced with prototypical lexicogrammatical features of Spanish, such as mental processes, modality, polarity (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2019) as it can be evidenced in this part of the conversation. Instead, they are realized by declarative clauses without adjuncts or projected clauses as in "Mapudugun le da más sentido a la vida" (Mapudungun gives more meaning to life); "le da más sentido a las palabras" (it gives more meaning to words). The heteroglossic voice is hence retrieved from the co-text. This sustains Don's claim that text creators do not need to address each other directly to align or misalign (2019) and Oteiza & Pinuer's (2019) warning to be cautious when analyzing the system of ENGAGEMENT in Spanish. Therefore, it is the shared evaluation of targets as such during interaction what contributes to positioning each other as discursively aligned and discursively positioning "a third party" (non-Mapuche society) as disaligned (Martin & White, 2005, p. 130). In sum, interpersonally, the bonds shared around Mapudungun through heteroglossia in the sequence function to sustain the macro bond "Mapudungun is meaningful" for them as Mapuche learners as it is further explained in Figure 2. By doing this they are collectively opposing Chilean society's misconceptions of the Mapudungun language.

The interplay between verbal dialogic resources and attitudinal alignment (albeit graduation also plays an important part) around the meaningful relevance of Mapudungun in the way they perceive the world can be observed in the following Figure 3.
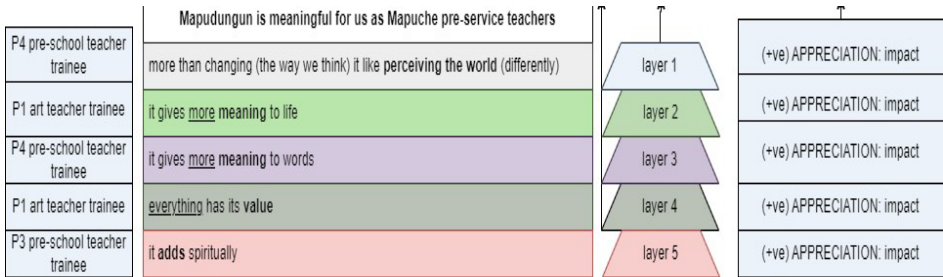

Figure 5. *Mapudungun is meaningful for us*

Participants contribute with layers of bonds that help to sustain the major bond proposed by the first participant *more than changing, it [changes] the way [we] perceive the world* by evoking a positive evaluation through [APPRECIATION:impact] realized by the non-finite clause "percibir el mundo" (perceiving the world) in the lexicogrammatical stratum. Although the attitudinal meaning is not inscribed in any component of the clause at word rank, the evoked positive meaning is inferred through the saturation of the evaluative prosody throughout this part of the interaction. This is achieved by the next participants' contributions of further ideational and attitudinal meanings that contribute to sustaining the bond proposed by the first interactant. They do this by introducing more layers of bonds: *it gives more meaning to life*, *more meaning to words*, *everything has its value* and finally *it adds spiritually*.

We could claim that all the beliefs shared about Mapudungun in this part of the conversation are also part of the discourse of resistance and revitalization process

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carried out by Mapuche communities, what is evident in this exchange is how the participants contribute to positioning themselves as part of the Mapuche community in the urban context.

8. Conclusions

We proposed to examine the interaction of heritage learners of Mapudungun in a focus group to discuss their experience learning the language. Our objective was to identify and describe alignment among participants and with the moderator. Using the trinocular perspective postulated by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), The analysis from above shows that status and contact, variables of the contextual dimension of tenor, are vital in modeling the nature of the interpersonal relationships in this instance of face-to-face interaction (Don, 2019). We observe, for instance, that the role of the mediator is to initiate interactions by proposing bonds enacted in interrogative clauses, inviting participants to accept or reject them. From around, the exploration of interpersonal meanings negotiated through intersubjective positionings acts contributes to construing collective and individual identities. Additionally, participants not only accepted or rejected the bonds but also elaborated further layers (Logi & Zappavinga, 2019) of ideational and attitudinal couplings. From below, we observe how the lexico-grammatical options available in Spanish helped to construe degrees of alignment among each other and disaligment with other voices summoned in the text.

The voices that emerged during the conversation knitted bonds that expanded and contracted the dialogic space, maintaining attitudinal and axiological alignment among participants and with other social entities invoked during the interaction. The alignment focused on beliefs shared by the group regarding the relevance of their heritage language to them as Mapuche women and future teachers. These categorical units encapsulated in the negotiated bonds suggest that despite centuries of stigmatization against Mapuche people, there is space for resistance and recuperation of the Mapuche identity within the dialogic interaction.

9. Acknowledgements

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