Language resources to negotiate official and alternative memories of human rights violations in Chilean history: A study on classroom interactions

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ABSTRACT: This article explores social and historical memories of recent Chilean history in pedagogical recontextualisations of disciplinary knowledge in Grade 11 history classes. The discourse of history analysed relates to human rights violations committed during Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990) and the ways this traumatic past is negotiated in classroom interactions. The aim of this work is to contribute to understanding how the process of human rights violations is transmitted to new generations. The focus here is specifically on how historical processes and events are evaluated in these discourses, drawing on Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework. As well as proposals by Oteíza and Pinuer (2012), and Oteíza (2017), for the semantic domain of APPRECIATION, an elaboration developed to take into account the particularity and complexity of the processual cline (events, processes and situations) in historical discourses. In addition, the article analyses *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* from Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2014, 2016), to explore the levels of abstraction that, not only build cumulative knowledge, but also integrate personal and social memories of the recent past and 'historize memories' of a sensitive period of Chilean history. This discourse analysis of classroom interactions is complemented with what teachers and students have reported regarding their experiences and memories of the recent past in interviews. The analysis of how *evaluative prosodies* of official and alternative memories regarding the recent Chilean past, are built in the discourse is informed by a socio-semiotic perspective of systemic functional linguistics (Achugar, 2016; Achugar, et al., 2014; Martin & White, 2005; Martin et al., 2010; Oteíza, 2014; 2018).

KEYWORDS: historical memories, history classroom interaction, appraisal analysis, transmission of memories, semantic density, semantic gravity

Introduction[1]

The main purpose of this article is to examine specialised and non-specialised language resources used by teachers and students to construct events and processes regarding the transmission of memories of human rights violations in Chile's recent past within high school history classroom interactions. The negotiation of historical significance regarding this period in historical discourses implies the construction of *evaluative prosodies* (Martin & White, 2005) that involve different levels of abstraction and the participation of concrete historical facts and people. The study proposes that a joint analysis using the APPRAISAL system from Systemic

Functional Linguistics (SFL), and the dimension of semantics from Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) helps interpret this transmission of social and historical memories to new generations of Chilean young people, in a nation that was highly affected by state violence from its last dictatorship, and in which competing official and alternative memories that have different levels of visibility and hegemony co-exist in Chilean society. The historical period covered in this research goes from Allende's Popular Unity Government (1970-1973) to Gen. Augusto Pinochet's right wing conservative civilian-military dictatorship[2] (1973-1990).

The transmission of Chilean historical memories – that is, memories that are informed by historical explanations based on primary and secondary sources that collaborate with the understanding of a traumatic recent past (Jelin, 2002; Winn, et al., 2014) - regarding human rights violations, is approached from the analysis of evaluative prosodies. That is, the intersubjective meanings that work by accumulation in given discourse. Explored in this article is how teachers and students combine axiological and epistemological knowledge, which is based primarily on their personal and social memories, to legitimise certain memories regarding national recent past. Nevertheless, in this pedagogical discourse, teachers also bring to the class a recontextualisation of a specialised disciplinary knowledge with the purpose of building historical explanations that are informed by evidence elaborated from primary and secondary sources. Teachers, therefore, integrate social memories into a historical reasoning of recent events and processes, and in doing so, collaborate with the process of 'historizing' memories.

This pedagogical commemoration of the past realised in history classroom interactions is built by teachers and students in the form of historical explanations that require more or less specialised language to construct axiological semantic density, when moral, political and affective meanings are privileged; or epistemic semantic density, when empirical descriptions are favoured in the discourse (Oteíza, et al., 2015; Oteíza 2017, 2018).

This article is organised in the following manner: the first section deals briefly with the transmission of historical memories; the second section is a general presentation of the appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005) and the elaboration of the domain of appreciation in relation to the construction of events and processes in historical discourses (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2012; Oteíza, 2017, 2018). The following section deals with an extract of Grade 11 classroom interaction, as an example of a recontextualisation of history discourse. The appraisal analysis is reconsidered in relation to the sociological concepts from LCT of semantic gravity and semantic density (Maton, 2014). Presented in the following section is some of the memory positioning of the teacher and students regarding the construction of personal, social, and historical memories of the Chilean recent past. The article concludes with final remarks related to the construction and transmission of official and alternative historical memories negotiated in the space of history classroom interactions.

Transmission of historical memories

Memories are not only transmitted, but rather jointly constructed as personal and social memories by previous and new generations (Halbwachs, 1992; Nora, 1989; Jelin, 2001, 2010). This process of remembering and forgetting from the perspective of how it is built in the micro social practice of 'doing' memory inside history classroom interactions (Binnenkade, 2015; Macgilchrist, et al., 2015; Oteíza, 2017, 2018) is analysed in this article.

The social memories of a traumatic past of human rights violations in Chile are constructed and transmitted in a dynamic way that always implies the mediation of cultural tools (Achugar, 2008, 2016; Jelin, 2002, 2010; Ricoeur, 2010; Wertsch, 2002). The semiotic mediation that responds to social motivations can be expressed in official or non-official commemorations, museums, education, media, artistic manifestations, among many other possibilities. In Chile,

the traumatic memory of the last *coup d'état* and human rights violations committed by Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990) is still a matter of dispute among the different social and political sectors of society (Lira, 2013; Stern, 2006a, 2006b, 2013).

As Stern (2006a, 2013) postulates,

> in Chilean society it is possible to identify key social mental frameworks that are used to give value and meaning to the past; the events that started on 11 September are remembered by Chileans as 'salvation', 'rupture', 'persecution and awakening', and as a 'closed box' (Oteíza, et al., 2015, p. 47).

These 'key social mental frameworks' are understood by Stern (2006a), as "sufficiently differentiated narratives" that a society, in this case the Chilean one, has constructed as the fundamental or decisive set of values and beliefs regarding the collective experience of recent traumatic past. Therefore, emblematic memories are part of the social memories that exist in a given society. In this manner, personal memories and social memories are seen as processes that have a two way of influence, which in Stern's terms, implies top-down and bottom-up social dynamics:

> on the one hand, an emblematic memory framework imparts broad interpretative meaning an criteria of selection to personal memory, based on experiences directly lived by an individual or on lore told by relatives, friends, comrades, or other acquaintances. When this happens, the mysterious vanishing of "my" son is no longer a story of personal misfortune or accident that floats loosely, disconnected from a larger meaning. The vanishing is part of a crucial larger story: the story of state terror that inflicts devastating rupture upon thousands of families treated as subhuman enemies (Stern, 2006b, p. 5).

Stern (2006b) identifies four main emblematic memories that have been constructed as official or dominant memories (*memory as salvation* and *memory as an unresolved rupture*), or as alternative or counter memories that do not have state support in Chilean society (*memory as persecution and awakening* and *memory as a closed box*). These social memories organised as key emblematic memories show that different conceptualisations and feelings about the past coexist among Chileans. These differentiated social memories have also impacted the history curriculum, and the way this period of time is represented in official history textbooks (Oteíza, 2014, 2018; Oteíza & Pinuer, 2016). In this manner, this dynamic social process of competing social memories has contributed to the development of what is considered official knowledge by the Ministry of Education in each government, which in turn has had as a consequence that what is considered an alternative or counter memory in one period has the potential of becoming official knowledge in history textbooks at a later date. Consequently, social memories of human rights' violations in Chile in the recent past are incorporated by the Ministry of Education in the history curriculum and thus in history textbooks that are distributed freely in more than 90 percent of primary and secondary schools as official social memories. Nevertheless, as will be shown in the case analysis of classroom interaction, teachers bring alternative personal and social memories into the class, which are negotiated with their students. In addition, and what is crucial regarding the pedagogical implications of learning about the national past, students' personal memories that they have constructed with the influence of family members and media and cultural realms in which they have lived in, have the opportunity to be comprehended from a historical perspective in their classes, that is, from a historical reasoning. In this manner, the fragments of personal memories that students bring to the class can be historized in the pedagogical process from determinate evaluations or evaluative prosodies that are built with a combination of a specialised and non-specialised language.

The appraisal framework

The appraisal model (Martin & White, 2005), which was elaborated under the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics, aims to provide a comprehensive theoretical and descriptive systematisation of the linguistic resources that authors can use to construct the value of social experience, and to have a richer understanding of the patterns of interpersonal meaning beyond the manifestation of only the emotionality across discourse (Oteíza, 2017).

From Martin and White's (2005) perspective, this framework, which works at the discursive-semantic level of language, deals with the negotiation of meanings among real or potential writers and readers, who interact in every text from a determinate social and cultural place. The evaluative meanings work by accumulation in the discourse creating determinate value positions. Consequently,

> the appraisal framework considers that every element in a text, whether considered discretely or in tandem with other meanings, is a potential instance of subjectivity; interpersonal meanings are accordingly considered as a prosody that works in a cumulative way to create a radiating pattern of evaluative meaning in discourse (Oteíza, 2019, p.179).

The appraisal framework organises interpersonal meanings in three main semantic areas (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 42-43): ENGAGEMENT, ATTITUDE and GRADUATION. The subsystem of ATTITUDE deals with the ways in which feelings are seen as socially organised system of meanings. ATTITUDE is further specified into three semantic domains: (a) emotions (AFFECT), which deals with the expression of positive and negative feelings; (b) ethics/morality (JUDGEMENT), which is concerned with attitudes toward character and behaviour of people (to admire or to criticise, to praise or to condemn); and (c) aesthetics/values (APPRECIATION), which involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena according to the ways in which they are valued in a given field. The semantic subsystem of ENGAGEMENT allows an exploration of the source of attitudes, which in turn, collaborates with the identification of the dialogic nature of every discourse. In this manner, this analytical tool enables it to be determined if a discourse is built with a more heteroglossic or monoglossic orientation, depending on the extent to which authors recognise or not, alternative positions. Finally, the subsystem of GRADUATION has to do with the fact that expressions of attitude can be raised or lowered in the discourse, that is, meanings of attitude can be intensified or weakened showing different levels of alignment with the value positions advanced by the text (Martin & White, 2005). In this article, the main categories for analysing ATTITUDE created by Martin and White (2005) are followed. However, also incorporated is an elaboration of the domain of APPRECIATION to better deal with the analysis of historical discourses and its recontextualisation in classroom interaction. This proposal, that includes the categories of *power*, *impact*, *integrity* and *conflict* (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2012; Oteíza, 2014, 2017), provides an explanation in a more adequate manner how events, situations and processes are evaluated as being part of historical explanations. In the following section, these four notions are defined and illustrated.

The category of *conflict* deals with the manifestation of a social, political and/or economic tension that can be expressed with different grades of radicalism along a cline, as for example: "**A loss of control** was the distinctive feature of the last years of the 1960" (-ve APPRECIATION: high conflict)[3]. The category of *power*, which interacts with the semantic category of *conflict*, and also works as a cline*,* is associated with the action and influence of powerful and dominant groups (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2012; Oteíza, 2014, 2017). An example of the realisation of this meaning in the language form of a nominalisation is the "**arbitrary arrest**" that the state agents were able to do during Pinochet's dictatorship (-ve APPRECIATION: high power, integrity).

Integrity refers to moral or ethical evaluations. In historical discourse, human agency tends to be codified in an implicit way by means of impersonalisations, or in an incongruent manner

through nominalisations. For example, the nominalisation "**outbreak of cruelty**" (-ve APPRECIATION: integrity) in the context of human rights violations during Pinochet's dictatorship, although implies the action of people, is codified in the discourse as a historical process that 'happened' during the first years of the dictatorship, without any mention of human agency (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2012). The last category of *impact* deals with the importance and social value that authors attribute to historical events, processes or situations in the discourse, as for example "the 'peaceful path' was a **culminative moment** in the history of Chile" (+ve APPRECIATION: impact).

These four categories can be inscribed (explicit) or invoked (implicit), and they work together to build discourses of historical legitimation or delegitimisation. *Figure 1* presents Martin & White's categories for analysing the semantic area of APPRECIATION and *Figure 2* presents Oteíza & Pinuer's (2012) proposal for the analysis of historical events and processes:
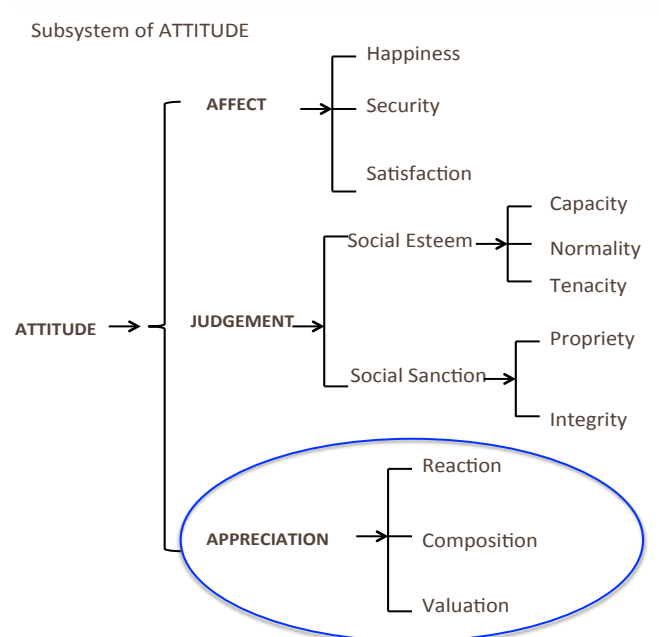

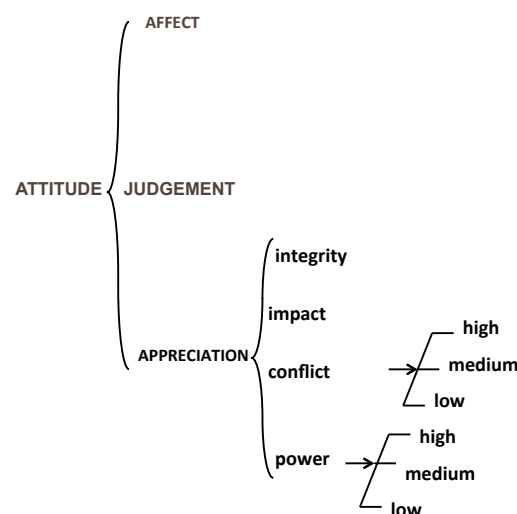Figure 1: Appreciation domain (Martin & White, 2005)

Figure 2: Appreciation domain for analysing events, situations and processes
(Oteíza & Pinuer 2012; Oteíza 2014)

In the following section, the concepts of *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* from LCT (Maton 2013, 2014) are explained. The purpose is to explore the possibilities of a joint analysis between the *evaluative prosodies* and the use of *semantic waves* for analysing the transmission of memories of the recent past in history classroom interactions.

Semantic gravity and semantic density

Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) is a sociological theory that has been elaborated to analyse socio-cultural practices from a particular set of organizing principles (Maton, 2014, 2016). The dimension of Semantics and in particular on two key concepts: *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* (Maton, 2013, 2014) take focus in this article.

Semantic gravity (SG) is defined by Maton (2014, p. 110) as "the degree to which meaning relates to its context." *Semantic gravity* refers then to the different levels of meaning dependence to its context in a particular social practice. Therefore, in a determinate social practice, it is possible to realise changes over time creating recurrent movements from abstract and general ideas (weaker *semantic gravity* SG-) to concrete ideas and examples of everyday life (strong *semantic gravity*, SG+) and vice versa.

The notion of *semantic density* (SD) refers to a condensation of meaning in a given socio-cultural practice (Maton, 2014, 2016). This condensation of meaning can be expressed with higher or lower levels of abstraction of terms, concepts or actions that can be of an epistemological or axiological nature. Therefore, *semantic density* may also involve *epistemological condensation* of formal definitions of concepts and empirical descriptions or *axiological condensation* of affective, aesthetic, ethical, political and moral stances.

The movements between stronger and weaker *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* are built through language resources, in part by the process of packing, unpacking and repacking meanings (Matruglio, et al., 2013; Maton, 2014). These two notions of *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* can be very useful for analysing pedagogical practices according to Maton (2014, p. 110), because one condition for cumulative knowledge-building and learning may be the capacity to master *semantic gravity*, in order for knowledge to be decontextualised, transferred and recontextualised into new contexts.

Proposed here is that the LCT concepts of *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* can be linked with the language resources that are used by social actors in a determinate socio-cultural practice. Thus, in the case of the analysis offered in this article, special attention is paid to the language resources that teachers and students use to construct both specialised and non-specialised meanings, and the language realisations that they use to evaluate events, processes and actors in the history classroom interactions.

In the next section, an extract from Grade 11 history class interaction is presented. According to the national history curriculum in Chile, the unit *The Military Dictatorship* has as its general objective the characterisation of the main features of the *coup d'état* and ensuing military dictatorship in Chile, including the treatment of human rights violations, political violence and suppression of the rule of law in the country. The corpus of this research is composed of classroom interactions, teachers' interviews and students' interviews. For this article, the focus of the analysis is on an extract of one classroom interaction and on ideas that students and teachers communicated in their interviews.

History classroom interaction and the transmission of historical memories of human rights violations through epistemological condensation and strong semantic gravity

This section presents an extract of Grade 11 history classroom interaction from a private school. Students in this grade are 16 to 17 years old, and this is the penultimate year of the Chilean secondary education. The teacher is a very experienced female educator that had eight years of teaching recent national history in high schools. As observed in her classroom interactions, the teacher tries to develop in her students a high level of comprehension of historical processes with the purpose of helping them to move beyond their personal memories of a national traumatic past, towards a construction of a historical memory. The larger study analyses history classroom interactions from every type of school that co-exist in the Chilean educational system (government subsidised, partially government subsidised, and private schools);[4] this article includes one fragment of a private school to illustrate how historical memories of human rights violations are negotiated by teacher and students. Among the History classrooms analysed, they show similarities in terms of how teachers not only follow the curriculum very carefully, but also on how they all bring additional historical knowledge and alternative social memories through the inclusion of testimonies of political detainees, biographical documentaries, alternative historical recounts written by specialists, among others.

The selected fragment is part of the history unit entitled *The breakdown of democracy and the military dictatorship*. The proposed general learning outcome stated in the Chilean curricula establishes the development of the following two necessary skills for analysing and valuing different points of view regarding the recent national past:

(a) to critically analyse and compare different political views and historiographical interpretations of the past that led to the crisis of 1973 and the democratic breakdown; and

(b) to characterise the main features of the coup and the military dictatorship in Chile, including the systematic violation of human rights, the political violence, and the suppression of the rule of law (MINEDUC, 2015, p. 38).

Consequently, students at this year of their education are asked to achieve a high level of technicality and abstraction in order to have the analytical tools to deal with historical meanings of recent national history.

The fragment selected illustrates well one of the fundamental issues that students need to understand and that contributes to their process of historizing memory, that is, the critical issues of political and state violence during Pinochet's dictatorship (1973–1990), and their impact on the historical understanding of new generations regarding the severe human rights violations committed by the dictatorship (Oteíza, 2018).

At the beginning of the class, the teacher explains to her students the meaning of the repression that Chilean society lived during Pinochet's dictatorship. She illustrates the historical and political meanings of the process of human rights violations using concepts such as 'state of siege', 'individual freedom', 'political freedom', 'press freedom', 'restrictions to the citizenship', 'citizens' guaranties', 'deportations', 'exile', 'neutralisation of the enemy' and 'institutionalisation of the military regime'. The last two notions will be the focus of the extract of classroom interaction that is analysed here. The teacher exemplifies each concept by relating them to everyday situations that different people in the country experienced, using congruent and concrete language for these illustrations. This teacher uses a PowerPoint presentation throughout the entire class. Although, due to space restrictions, this article do not provide an intermodal analysis (visual and verbal text), the visuals presented by the teacher in her

PowerPoints (cartoons and photograph) are included here, because they are fundamental to fully understand the teacher and students' meaning construction.[5]

A reproduction of a brief fragment of the lesson as *Example 1* reads:

Example 1:[6]

Teacher:

1. The National Intelligence Directorate was also created in 1974, it is another fact that it was created in that

2. time period (2) National Intelligence Directorate organized from the Military Junta and with leaders

3. that will form part of it (1) nowadays, a great part of those who belonged to the DINA (1) are

4. imprisoned (2) are in [two or three parts/places]

Student:

6. [El Mamo][7]

Teacher:

7. As, for example, Manuel Contreras who is imprisoned, yes?

Student:

8. Ms., in what was the DINA supposedly focused?

Teacher:

9. the DINA ((signaling what was already written by her on the blackboard)) neutralize the opposition (1)

10. maintain [the population controlled]

Student:

11. [so]

Teacher:

12. [so] that there isn't dissent, dissent is not agreeing with the military government

Student:

13. So, there will be the CNI afterwards?

Teacher:

14. There will be the CNI, the DINA changes its name and becomes the CNI and the "non-identified

15. civilians" are those ((signaling the cartoon/caricature on the power point)) For this, Rufino[8] describes

16. them like this in his cartoon, these are the civilians who appear when someone is talking and they

17. take people away, arrest, arbitrary arrest of the people, he does it in a comic manner so that they don't

18. censor him (1) so, with that he is also denouncing what happens with the DINA, for example,

19. another (1) fact, and with this we finish this first part (2) this, for example,

20. this is Rufino says: ((the teacher reads another of Rufino's caricatures from the blackboard))

21. "We wish to have a small ideological debate with you" and this person is there, they are taking them, they 22. are like men in black with black glasses, which is like the, the typical attire of, of the security of Augusto 23. Pinochet, [and he is there singing and he has there

Student:

24. Where are they? Where are they?

((at this moment, two picket signs appear on the power point with the words: Where are they?))

Teacher:

25. Originates in 1974 also, all of this is from '74, its ehm the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared

26. Detainees product of this ehm search of the first detainees that began to be taken from '73 onwards.

27. These relatives begin to get together and to say let's agree to go together because if we go together, the

28. majority were women, we may avoid a grave incident because many people who went alone to the

29. police station or to the penitentiary where their husbands were being held, their sons, relatives, they could 30. tell them they're not here period (1) therefore with this they create an association, create an organism

31. that goes and gets these people (3) in September of '74, begins what for Chile will be called the Condor

32. Operation, I will also show you another cartoon of the Condor Operation that Calle 13 sings (--) if you

33. want more information of that (3) the Condor Operation is an operation between different Latin

34. American countries and the Secretary of State ehm of the United States, Henry Kissinger, where they

35. also look to neutralize the enemy that is outside the country (1) that is, Carlos Prats

36. (2) remember that he was the General in Chief of Allende's Army, do all of you remember Carlos Prats?

Student:

37. Yes

Teacher:

38. Yes? Ok. Carlos Prats renounces in august of '73 and recommends for the position Augusto Pinochet

39. because they were close, and he considered that the institutional order would prosper, he was wrong

40. (2) and Carlos Prats receives ehm diplomatic ehm protection in Argentina (1) and in Argentina ehm

39. through a bomb attack that they place in the car, in the parking lot, he works right

40. next to the parking lot of his house there they place a bomb, so when he starts the engine (2)

41. the car explodes (2) in September of '74 they assassinate him, and the Condor Operation assassinates him,

42. he is assassinated by a military operation of the military intelligence in different countries of Latin

43. America, including Argentina (1) born in '74, as I was telling you, the Association of Relatives of

44. Disappeared Detainees and (1) is established that the Junta will exercise the constitutive legislative power

45. and the executive, but the executive exclusively in charge of Augusto Pinochet (1) the

46. Association of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees, where we have there one of its founders who is

47. Mireya García ((signaling her photo on the power point)) will function to this day and they will have

48. afterwards the support of many international organisms.

In this class interaction, the teacher tends to use technical terms ("institutionalization" of Pinochet's regime) and nominalisations ("neutralization of the enemy") to explain the historical significance of the process of human rights' violations committed during the Pinochet's dictatorship. Nevertheless, the teacher relies mainly on a strong *semantic gravity* (SG+), centring her historical recount on what social actors did, said and thought. In the first lines of the interaction (1-8), she talks about the organisms of secret police, and the discourse is centred in what happened to several of the military leaders that were part of the DINA (National Directorate of Intelligence) and of the CNI (National Intelligence Central) who, at the present, are imprisoned or dead. These social actors are evaluated with an inscribed negative social sanction of integrity for their actions. In line 5, a student mentions one of them by his nickname, "Mamo", and the teacher acknowledges his participation naming the state agent by his real name, Manuel Contreras,[9] and then changing the register of the interaction into a more formal one, as it is showed *Table 1*.[10]

CLASSROOM INTERACTION LINES	LINGUISTICS RESOURCES SPECIALIZED AND NON-SPECIALIZED LANGUAGE	VALORATIVE STANCES	INSCRIPTION AND INVOCATION	ENTITY APPRAISED HISTORICAL EVENTS, PROCESSES OR ACTORS	SEMANTIC GRAVITY AND SEMANTIC DENSITY
Teacher **(1-4)**	Material processes: *(DINA) created*	-ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed) Graduated by FORCE: Scope; time and Quantity: *nowadays, a great portion*	**imprisoned**	SOCIAL ACTORS: *DINA, military leaders* (technicality)	**Medium** **SG, SD**
Pupil **(5)**	Mention of Social Actor: *Mamo*	-ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed) (by co-text)	**(imprisoned)**	SOCIAL ACTORS: *"Mamo"* (Nick name for General Manuel Contreras)	**SG+, SD–**
Teacher and Pupil **(6-8)**	Mention of Social Actor in a more formal manner *Mamo/ Manuel Contreras* A student asks for the role of the DINA	-ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed)	**imprisoned**	SOCIAL ACTORS: *Manuel Contreras (Mamo)* *DINA*	**SG+, SD-**

Table 1: Analysis of classroom interaction

In line 9, the teacher answers the student's question regarding the role of the DINA, and strengthens the *semantic density* (SD+) to make a connection to the more general historical process of human rights violations, in which General Manuel Contreras had a key role in

"neutralising" the enemy. This euphemism was previously unpacked by the teacher at the beginning of the class giving voice to the state agents:

> "they use a euphemism (1) a word that doesn't sound too strong [unless] saying we are going to kill everyone that is opposed (1) neutralization (1) the idea of neutralizing the opposition means for the military government in Chile assassinate"

Regarding the level of technicality that the teacher uses to explain the process of human rights violations, it is possible to argue that the *semantic gravity* is strengthened (SG+) and the *semantic density* is weakened (SD-) with the inclusion of social actors such as the DINA, the CNI and Manuel Contreras, which are evaluated with an inscribed negative judgement of social sanction of integrity. However, those institutions are still part of the technicality of the state process of repression that operated inside the country and in the rest of Latin America. Consequently, although they constitute a general knowledge, and a part of a social memory that a Chilean secondary school student may have, the teacher incorporates them as key participants within a broader historical explanation. In the following lines (12-17), both teacher and student, maintain a *semantic gravity* (SG+) when building a historical recount, in which they refer to the material and mental actions that social actors, the DINA and the opposition to the military regime, did and thought.

CLASSROOM INTERACTION LINES	LINGUISTICS RESOURCES	VALORATIVE STANCES	INSCRIPTION AND INVOCATION	ENTITY APPRAISED HISTORICAL EVENTS, PROCESSES OR ACTORS	SEMANTIC GRAVITY AND SEMANTIC DENSITY
Teacher (9-12)	Nominalizations: *Neutralize the opposition; dissent*	-ve APPRECIATION: Integrity, high Power (invoked) -ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed)	*Neutralize (the opposition)* **(no) dissent**	HISTORICAL PROCESS of human rights violations/Repression SOCIAL ACTORS: *DINA*	SG-, SD+
Teacher (12)	Mental processes: Meaning of *"dissent": not agreeing with the military government*	+/-ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed) Graduated by FORCE: Scope: *everyone*	**not agreeing**	SOCIAL ACTORS: *opposition to the military regime*	SG+, SD–
Teacher and Pupil (13-17)	Relational and material processes: *There will be the CNI, "non-identified civilians"; Rufino describes them; civilians who appear; they take people away*	-ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed)	**take people away** **arrest**	SOCIAL ACTORS: *"non-identified civilians" (CNI)*	SG+, SD–

Table 2: Analysis of classroom interaction

In line 13, the teacher displays a cartoon drawn by Rufino in which two state agents with black glasses are represented in a conceptual image with the ironic wording, "non-identified civilians" included in the bottom of the drawing (see Image 1). Here, the visual mode reinforces the DINA and CNI state agents of Pinochet's dictatorship who "arrest" and "take people away" as part of the state terrorism of the dictatorship, a political icon well known in Chilean society. This cartoon and the representation of state agents are both part of a social memory of which students are generally well aware. It is relevant to mention that these kinds of images and political cartoons are not included in history textbooks (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2016; Oteíza, 2018).
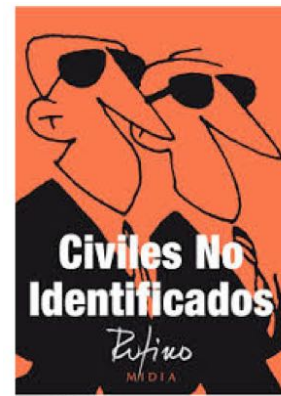

Image 1: Classroom ineraction

Image 2: Display of a political cartoon

INTERACTION LINES	RESOURCES	STANCES	INVOCATION	ENTITY AFFECTED / HISTORICAL EVENTS, PROCESSES OR ACTORS	GRAVITY AND SEMANTIC DENSITY
Teacher (17)	Nominalizations: *arbitrary arrest*	-ve APPRECIATION: Integrity, high Power (inscribed)	arbitrary arrest	HISTORICAL PROCESS of human rights violations/Repression	SG-, SD+
Teacher (18-20)	Material and verbal processes: (Rufino) *he does it in a comic manner so that they don't censor him; he is also denouncing what happens with the DINA*	+ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed)	comic (manner)	SOCIAL ACTORS: *Rufino* (cartoonist)	SG+, SD–
		-ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed)	don't censor	*DINA ("non-identified civilians")*	
		-ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed)	denouncing		

Table 3: Analysis of classroom interaction

While showing this PowerPoint with Rufino's political cartoon, the teacher strengthens the *semantic density* again (SD+), and specifies that the arrest was an "arbitrary arrest" (line 17), presenting a negative evaluation of appreciation of integrity and high power of the historical process in which these "non-identified civilians" were involved. Later on, the teacher makes a *semantic wave* when she weakens the *semantic density* (SD-) by specifying what Rufino needed to do in order to denounce repression in the country. A *semantic wave*, according to Maton

(2014), refers to recurrent movements between stronger and weaker *semantic gravity* and *semantic density*. This wave profile has been proved to be a key feature of cumulative knowledge building (Matruglio, et al., 2013). The *semantic wave* is created in this case by the teacher while building historical knowledge, on one hand, by means of using everyday language to indicate what the cartoonist Rufino did with his political humour to denounce the state violence that was being committed during the dictatorship ('they take away people'). On the other hand, through the use of a more technical and specialised language that allows the teacher to connect concrete events with more global and broader historical processes that the Chilean society was living during the seventies and eighties and that is codified by nominalisations ('arbitrary arrest', 'neutralize the opposition'). With this cartoon, it is possible to appreciate that "civilians" were also part of the organisation of state terror and not only the military forces of the country. This analysis is shown in *Table 3*.

The teacher again strengthens the semantic density (SD+), but now, rather interestingly by quoting Rufino's humorous words of the next cartoon that she shows in the following slide (Image 3 and 4), in which four "non-identified civilians" are involved in an action while mentioning ironically the two things that were censored in the country during Pinochet's dictatorship: to have a political opinion, especially if that was a left wing position; and to talk about your ideas ("We would like to have a small ideological debate with you"/ "Quisiéramos tener un pequeño debate ideológico con usted"). The term "ideology" was highly stigmatised and it was considered as a kind of semantic collocation of a "Marxist ideology" (Oteíza, 2018). This notion is evaluated with an evoked negative appreciation of integrity whereas the DINA is constructed with an evoked positive social esteem of capacity. These differentiated evaluations also contribute to the political humour that the teacher is trying to explain to their students, and by doing so, she offers alternative historical knowledge to their students. The irony is also built by the fact that people were arbitrarily arrested without having any possibility of talking and even less, of defending themselves.

Image 3: Classroom interaction   Image 4: Display of a political cartoon 2

In lines 20 to 23 (*Table 4*), it is possible to appreciate the wording that the teacher is saying while showing this political cartoon, and the invoked negative evaluation of integrity regarding the repression that people were experiencing.

CLASSROOM INTERACTION LINEST	LINGUISTICS RESOURCES	VALORATIVE STANCES	INSCRIPTION AND INVOCATION	ENTITY APPRAISED HISTORICAL EVENTS, PROCESSES OR ACTORS	SEMANTIC GRAVITY AND SEMANTIC DENSITY
Teacher (20-21)	Nominalizations: *a small ideological debate*	-ve APPRECIATION: Integrity, (invoked) Graduated by FORCE: Quantification: *small*	*ideological debate*	HISTORICAL PROCESS Repression expressed implicitly by nominalized processes of "thinking" and "saying" that were prohibited during the dictatorship	SG-, SD+
Teacher (21-23)	Material and verbal processes: *("non-identified civilians") saying and doing*	+ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (evoked)	*they are taking them*	SOCIAL ACTORS: *they DINA ("non-identified civilians")*	SG+, SD-

Table 4: Analysis of classroom interaction

In line 21, before the teacher refers to the photograph of Mireya García, one of the founders of the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees, one student recognises the well-known sign with the wording "where are they" ("¿Dónde están?"), which was a symbol of the fight of the relatives of the Disappeared Detainees,[11] who were claiming justice and continue to do so in the present. The image of these words as well as that of the secret agents with dark suits and dark glasses are part of the social memory that students must have learnt from home and in their communities. The historical process of human rights violations is evaluated in an evoked manner with a negative appreciation of integrity. These images are not privative of Chilean society, but rather they are well known icons or "political bondicons" of injustice and denounce (Oteíza & Pinuer, 2016; Oteíza, 2018) in many other countries of Latin America (see the verbal analysis and image in *Table 5*).

Pupil	Material processes:			HISTORICAL PROCESS of human rights violations	Medium
(21-23)	*Where are they?* *Where are they?* *(¿Dónde están?)*	-ve APPRECIATION: Integrity, (invoked)	***Where are they?*** ***Where are they?***	Social memory	SG, SD

Table 5: Analysis of classroom interaction. Display of political photograph

The teacher continues her historical recount using a medium *semantic gravity* in lines 25 to 31, when referring to the material actions that the state organisms did: "detainees that began to be taken from '73 [the year 1973]", and she incorporates a new social actor to the recount: The Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees. The teacher also refers very concretely (SG+) to the necessity, especially of women, to get together and to defend themselves from possible abuses that they could have had when inquiring after their relatives that were detained. The mention of the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared-Detainees is constructed by the teacher with a positive valuation of social esteem of capacity. This inclusion also helps to highlight the alternative political positions that co-existed during the dictatorship and the movements of resistance, which needed a great deal of courage to carry on their political and cultural actions. Later on, the teacher introduces another historical actor: Carlos Prats, who was the General in Chief of the Armed Forces during Allende's government, relying in a strong *semantic gravity* (SG+). Prats was the one that "recommended" Pinochet to Allende and the one that was "wrong" in making that decision. Next, the teacher strengthens the *semantic density* (SD+) once again when she explains that the political motivation was to make the institution of Allende's government more powerful.

The teacher's historical recount that follows a chronological organisation is interrupted in several parts by the inclusion of more complex notions (SD+) that help students to situate the historical facts in which social actors are involved, that is, the material, verbal and mental actions of social actors are incorporated into a broader picture of historical significance. For example, with the mention of an "institutional order" (line 37), as it is shown in *Table 6*:

The "Condor Operation" was a coordinated action of the repression and intelligence organisms of military dictatorships from the South Cone of Latin America. Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay participated in this 'operation.' The teacher does not mention anything regarding the also well-known drawing that shows a condor (a particularly large bird that lives in the Andes Mountains, that forms part of the Chilean national emblem), and a person that is attached to a train rail, visibly hurt (tortured) and screaming (*Image 3*).[12] The use of language resources that construct a strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) helps to include agency to the social events, and this plays a crucial role in the construction of more abstract historical explanations.

Teacher	Material processes:			SOCIAL ACTORS:	
(25-31)		-ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (evoked)	*detainees that began to be taken*	detainees women many people sons, husbands, relatives	**Medium**
	originates; get together; people who went...		*(they) created an association*		**SG, SD**
		+ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (invoked)		Technicality: *Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees*	
Pupil and Teacher	Material and mental processes:	-ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (invoked)	*renounces*	SOCIAL ACTORS: *Carlos Prats*	**SG+, SD-**
(35-37)	*Carlos Prats renounces; (he) recommends; they were close; he considered*	Carlos Prats +ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed) Pinochet	*recommends*	*Allende* *Pinochet*	
Teacher	Nominalization:	-ve APPRECIATION: high Power, lower Conflict (inscribed)	*(would) prosper*	HISTORICAL PROCESS of human rights violations/ Pinochet's process or institutionalization	**SG-, SD+**
(37)	*institutional order*				
Teacher	Material and mental processes: *(Carlos Prats) was wrong; an attempted bomb attack; they place in the car; the Condor Operation assassinated him (Carlos Prats)*	-ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed)	**wrong**	SOCIAL ACTORS: *Carlos Prats*	**SG+, SD-**
(37-43)		-ve JUDGEMENT: Social Sanction: Integrity (inscribed) Condor Operation	*they place a bomb in the car*	Technicality: *Condor Operation*	
			assassinated		

Table 6: Analysis of classroom interaction

Finally, in lines 37 to 43 (*Table 7*), the teacher refers to the historical process of institutionalisation of the Military Junta. The Military Junta is constructed in the discourse with an inscribed positive evaluation of high power and, Pinochet in particular, is represented with a positive social esteem of capacity due to the fact that he is the one that became "in charge" of the executive power of the country. Here, the *semantic density* is strong again (SD+), and it is followed by a weak *semantic density* (SD-) and strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) in relation to the actions of the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees, particularly of one of its founders, Mireya García, who is represented visually in the photograph beside Rufino's comic (*Table 5*). The inclusion of a broader semiotic repertoire than the one included in textbooks

(Oteíza, 2018), collaborates to strengthen the *axiological semantic density* (SD+) that helps the teacher to construct historical significance in the classroom.

CLASSROOM INTERACTION LINES	LINGUISTICS RESOURCES	VALORATIVE STANCES	INSCRIPTION AND INVOCATION	ENTITY APPRAISED HISTORICAL EVENTS, PROCESSES OR ACTORS	SEMANTIC GRAVITY AND SEMANTIC DENSITY
Teacher (37-43)	Nominalization: *The constitutive power; the legislative power; the executive power* *Augusto Pinochet*	+ve APPRECIATION: high Power, (inscribed) +ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed) Graduated by FORCE: Intensification exclusively	(The Junta) will exercise in charge	HISTORICAL PROCESS of human rights violations/ Pinochet's process or institutionalization *Military Junta*	SG-, SD+
Teacher (43-48)	Material and mental processes: *(the association) will function; the support*	+ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (invoked) Graduated by FORCE: Scope, time: *to this day* +ve JUDGEMENT, Social Esteem: Capacity (inscribed)	*will function* the support	SOCIAL ACTORS: *Mireya García (one of the founders of the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees); many international organisms* Technicality: *Association of Relatives of the Disappeared Detainees*	SG+, SD-

Table 7: Analysis of classroom interaction

An illustration of the *semantic waves* constructed by the teacher and students in this fragment of history classroom interaction is presented in *Figure 3*. The use of nominalisations and technical words reflects a more specialised discourse, that is, a discourse that deals with the process of human rights violations that goes beyond the common sense of everyday language and constructs a more abstract historical significance and contextualisation. This discourse, which is characterised by a strong *semantic density* (SD+), works in combination with a more familiar language that helps the teacher and her students to incorporate historical evidence and agency that was constructed in the interaction with a stronger *semantic gravity* (SG+).

Figure 3: Classroom interaction. Display of a political cartoon 3

Figure 4 shows the whole extract, in two semantic profiles (1–23 and 23–48).

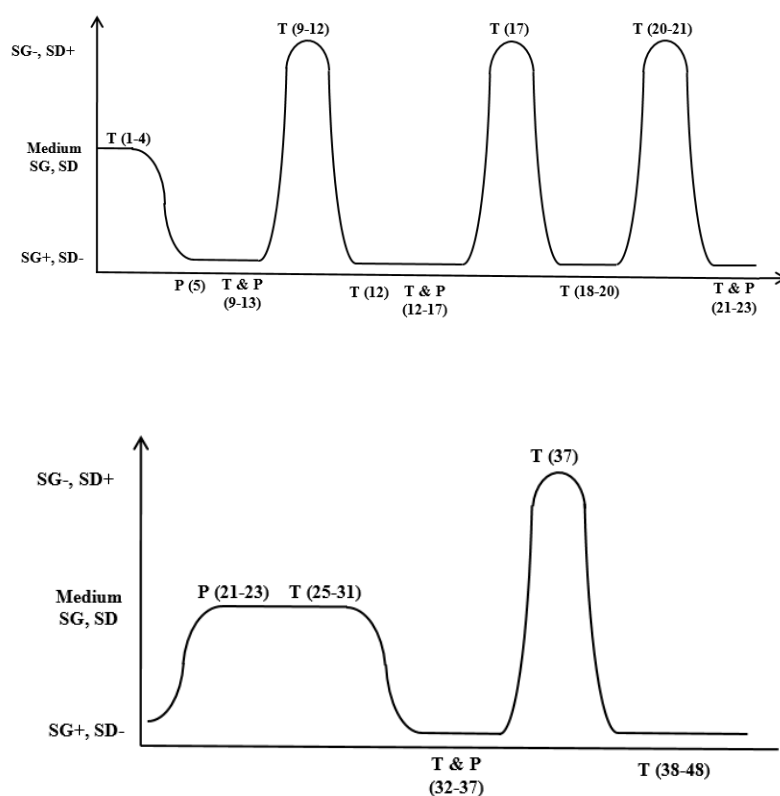
Figure 4: Semantic waves of classroom interaction

Teacher and students' positionings regarding personal and social memories

All teachers who participated in the study were interviewed; and somestudents who voluntarily accepted to be interviewed at the end of the unit on *The breakdown of democracy and the military dictatorship*. Some of the axiological and epistemological positions that teacher and students have regarding the study of human rights violations at school, and of the background knowledge that they have brought into the class from other social, cultural and political sources are outlined here. Included how the teacher dealt with this sensitive topic in her History class and exploring some of the students' positions.

The teacher highlights the importance of being explicit about her political position with her students. She thinks that teaching recent national history to young people entails a significant responsibility that can only be taken from teachers that see themselves as political and social actors. The teacher's stance is that her personal memories should be also part of her teaching: "I'm subjective and I tell that to my students openly." Therefore, the teacher's position is that her personal memories are incorporated in her pedagogical practices. She positions herself as a teacher that gives special importance to teach the subject and to include both official and alternative historical memories, such as the memories of resistance through political humour exemplified with the cartoonist Rufino, and the political cartoon about the Condor Operation that shows the brutal violence committed during Pinochet's dictatorship.

She also considers that to teach the subject of human rights violations requires a special preparation for teachers, who must be well equipped to be able to discuss this topic with his or her students from a broad variety of historical sources. For her, it is crucial to avoid teaching

from the accepted dichotomy of either a right or left wing political position. As it is possible to appreciate in the brief extract of classroom interaction analysed, she gives fundamental importance to historical facts:

> I give my opinion of the situations that happened, but I always try to ascribe my opinion in objective facts (…) one can be from the right or from the left, one can consider him or herself not being part of politics or even feel unidentified with a political movement, but one cannot validate a government imposed through violence and that has done all what it did, particularly if we think about human rights,

In this manner, the teacher makes a great effort to bring primary and secondary sources to her lesson, in an attempt to teach her students not only ethical values but also how to reason historically, which in turn, contributes to their process of historizing memories.

The Grade 11 students that agreed to be interviewed regarding this unit on the military dictatorship, similarly pointed out that teaching this subject at school is of particular relevance. They also emphasised that teachers need special training to teach national recent history. In the interview, two students openly manifested their political positions, one from the extreme left wing and the other one from a moderate right wing position. Both of them considered that what they have learned in other social spaces was relevant to better comprehend the historical perspective of memory advanced by the History teacher in her classes. In addition, both of them condemn the *coup d'état* and consider that Salvador Allende was a great leader of this country; they especially praised his integrity and values, expressing an ethical stance regarding his figure as President. The one from the right considers that all the explicit treatment of human rights violations, especially of the brutal tortures that thousands of people suffered in the country, was taught with too much detail by the teacher. However, the other student believes that it was necessary to raise sensibility amongst his classmates, and therefore, he thought that the amount of explicit and detailed references regarding the state terror was necessary to assure that this kind of violence does not occur again in the future. This positioning regarding the importance of raising sensibility among young people who did not live during the dictatorship and did not experience the human rights violations directly, also shows students' axiological stances about recent national past.

All the students interviewed across the three schools (private, partially and completely subsidised by the government) manifested that as society Chileans cannot forget what happened in the country, which shows their ethical commitment to human rights. This is also congruent with the official view of recent national past, that is, their opinion on the significance of teaching this historical period, their empathy with the suffering of others and their willingness to learn more in depth about how people who lived during that time survived and resisted the state terror. A positioning that was also very strong among them was that they think that, as part of a generation that did not witness the events, they feel the need to be well informed of the recent national past; in part because they consider that it is their responsibility as citizens, and in part because they manifest their desire of being part of a crucial social trauma that Chileans lived as society, of which they do not want to be left out because they did not live it directly.

Final remarks

It has been postulated that history classroom interactions can be understood as micro spaces of commemoration of personal and social memories (Binnenkade, 2015; Macgilchrist, et al.*,* 2015; Oteíza 2018). The history class became a space to talk and to think about the recent past of human rights violations among classmates and the teacher. This pedagogical interaction is always mediated by a rich combination of a semiotic repertoire of official history textbooks, documentaries, images, and specialised historical discourses, among others, which are recontextualised by teachers with the purpose of historizing personal and social memories.

Students also learn how to remember and forget about this recent past in their families and in other social and cultural environments; however, the possibility of thinking about it from a historical perspective is something that needs an educational and specialised environment.

As the students of this research have reported, they need and want to know more about their national past. They need to have a denser condensation of axiological and epistemic meanings that can help them to think historically about a national trauma. This is not an easy endeavour and as teachers have reported, it is complex to teach recent national history of human rights violations in high schools, because it implies a fair amount of knowledge. Also because, as a teacher, you need to be willing to deal with your own memory positions when teaching this sensitive matter for the Chilean society. This issue could be also more relevant, as several historians, sociologists and social psychologists have highlighted, since Chilean society has not fully processed the trauma of human rights violations it experienced from 1973 to 1990 (Oteíza, 2018).

In the classroom interaction analysed, the teacher and students create *semantic waves* while building historical explanations. This process implies using a combination of specialised language, mainly manifested in nominalisations and technical words (that is, 'neutralization of the enemy', 'institutionalization of the military regime'), and non-specialised language, mainly by the use of clauses in which social actors *do* (material clauses), *think* (mental cognitive clauses) and *feel* (mental affective clauses), while showing different levels of agency as part of historical events. This learning process might help students to build onto their own personal memories and to better comprehend alternative social memories that are not included in the official History curriculum and in History textbooks. The analysis has demonstrated that for building historical significance both the specialised language and the everyday language are used. The teacher assumes that students need to incorporate historical evidence and social actors' motivations to actually understand how more abstract historical explanations are constructed by historians. Therefore, the *semantic waves* that are created by means of the combination of stronger and weaker *semantic gravity* and *semantic density* help to build more complex explanations of the past and travel beyond personal and emotional views, so it is possible to have a better understanding of the social mental frames or emblematic memories that coexist in Chilean society. As it has been demonstrated in the discursive analysis, historical explanations built as semantic waves in the classroom carried on determinate axiological and epistemological values or *evaluative prosodies*.

It has been also shown in this article that the accumulation of evaluative meanings or *evaluative prosody* that both teacher and students construct. This is relevant because what is evaluated ('entity appraised') are not only historical collective actors as the DINA, CNI, or individual actors as Pinochet, Prat, Allende or individual actors that represent alternative memories like Mireya García or the political cartoonist Rufino; but also both teacher and students evaluate historical processes, as the policies for installing a state terror or Pinochet's process of institutionalisation of his regime, which in turn collaborate to historize memories and to better understand the symbolic meanings that are part of every social and personal memory in a society.

Historical reasoning helps students to make sense of their personal and social memories. Students value what they have learnt in their History classes, since that historical knowledge contributes to make sense of the fragments of memory that they have. Students do have a personal memory that has been constructed at home and in their cultural environment. However, what the micro practice of History classroom does is to contribute to this process of weaving their fragments of memories into a broader national historical meaning and official and alternative memories of recent traumatic past of human rights violations that are still on dispute in the Chilean society.

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Endnotes

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[1] This article presents findings from research grant FONDECYT 1170331 (National Funds for Science and Technology Development, Chile).

[2] Ridenti, Marcelo (2016).

[3] "-ve" means negative evaluation; "+ve" means positive evaluation. Evaluations of power and conflict can be graded as high medium or low, depending on the meaning of the attitudinal words employed and/or if they are graduated by sub-modification. The co-text should be always be taken into consideration.

[4] The extract presented in this article was selected from a total of more than 80h of filmed history classroom interactions.

[5] For a multimodal analysis of part of this fragment, see Author 2018.

[6] Notation for the class interaction: (T): teacher, (S): student. Numbers in parenthesis indicate the length of pauses in seconds; words underlined indicate intonational emphasis/volume. Double parenthesis indicates relevant contextual information. Question marks have been added to facilitate reading the text. Square brackets: overlapping; when teacher and or students speak at the same time. The original language of the class interaction was Spanish. A semi-literal/idiomatic translation into English, trying to maintain as far as possible the kind of lexicogrammatical choices made by teachers and students.

[7] Alias or nickname for Manuel Contreras.

[8] Alejandro Montenegro Gallardo, better known as "Rufino" is a famous Chilean cartoonist who made political graphic humour during the eighties. He published a book with an anthology of his best drawings in 2009 entitled precisely: *"Non-identified civilians"*. The image that the teacher presents in her *power point* is the cover of that book.

[9] Manuel Contreras was the director of the DINA. He was charged guilty of human rights violations in 2002 and later condemned to 500 years of prison. He died in prison in 2015 at 85 years old.

[10] Inscribed evaluations of ATTITUDE are written in **bold**; invoked evaluations of ATTITUDE in ***bold and italicized***. Negative evaluations are marked with '-ve', and positive evaluations with '+ve'.

[11] The Spanish term "Disappeared" works as a technical word in Chilean context. It refers to a well-known process of forced disappearance of people that were secretly abducted and later killed by State organisms of secret police during the Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990).

[12] There is no verbal language, neither by the teacher nor the students, that accompanies this explicit political cartoon that shows the state terror in the form of torture. However, in previous classes, as well as in some of the classes that followed, the teacher devoted a whole session to read and reflect with her students on the concentration camps and the tortures that were well documented by *The National Commission on Torture and Political Prison* (2004, 2011).

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