

# Graduating political crisis and violence in the discourse of history: The role of Spanish suffixes

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**Abstract**

This article offers an analysis of the Spanish derivative morphology potential for graduating attitudinal meanings regarding the expression of political crisis and of contested meanings of human rights violations in the discourse of recent Chilean History. This study is framed in the typological principles of Systemic Functional Linguistics and in the APPRAISAL system, particularly in the sub-system of GRADUATION. The analysis demonstrates on one hand the productive role of the suffixes *-ada* and *-azo* when graduating attitudinal meanings regarding the expression of social and political crisis in the discourse of history. These suffixes can graduate at the rank of the morpheme, word and group and also be involved in an inter-stratal tension that is functioning as an experiential grammatical metaphor that works in combination with a lexical metaphor intensifying time and events in an incongruent manner. On the other hand, the analysis shows that when dealing with traumatic and argued meanings of state terror, extreme degree suffixes *-ísimo/a/s* play a critical role in the intensification of qualities and in the quantification as amount and extent in a congruent manner. Spanish suffixes can graduate by sub-modification in the lower rank of a word structure instead of at the group structure contributing to the building of constellation of patterns of evoked and inscribed interpersonal meanings in the discourse.

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APPRAISAL, discourse of history, GRADUATION, suffixation in Spanish

## Introduction

This article aims to demonstrate how Spanish derivative morphology, particularly suffixes, have a critical role when authors graduate their attitudinal meanings to express difficult and contested social processes and events regarding political crisis and human rights violations in recent discourse of Chilean History. Chile, like many other Latin American countries experienced a traumatic civil-military dictatorship during the seventies and the eighties. In the Chilean case, the dictatorship (1973–1990) was led by General Augusto Pinochet and was signaled by a violent coup d'état that overthrew the socialist government of Salvador Allende. The disputed collective memories regarding human rights violations during the dictatorship and the representation of Allende's government as responsible for the failure of a long desired social change that brings a more egalitarian society, are still a place of political dispute among Chileans (Harmer, 2011; Lira, 2013; Stern, 2006).

In this study we examine how graduation of the evaluations presented by historians in a disciplinary book aimed for a general public, and by a commission of an official document of human rights violations is built in the discourse. As it has been proposed for the English language from a Systemic Functional Linguistics' approach (Hood, 2010, 2019; Martin and White, 2005), we postulate that in the Spanish language meanings of graduation of attitudes as force and focus can be realized through repetition of lexical items, sub-modification of attitudinal and ideational items, by infusion or as sub-modification at the lower rank of the word structure. In this article we first briefly demonstrate how the two first graduation resources – force and focus – are useful resources that authors use for building contested positionings regarding recent Chilean history discourse about human rights violations. Secondly, and as the main focus of this study, we analyze how authors critically rely on resources that function at the rank of the morpheme as suffixes for building meanings of crisis and violence in the discourse of history. Spanish suffixes have been extensively described by grammarians; however, they have received very little attention at a discursive level and in relation to a particular field.

Accordingly, we analyze meanings of force and extreme force as quantification and intensification realized by extreme degree suffixes *-ísimo/a/s*. Next, we examine meanings of force as quantification and intensification realized by Spanish suffixes *-ada*, *-azo*, which are also working as part of ideational grammatical metaphors at the group rank. To do this analysis we take into account a trinocular typological perspective, proposed by Halliday (2003), which implies considering the text as the starting point “from above,” the level of the clause “from around,” and the rank of the group, word and morpheme “from below.”

There are only partial and initial descriptions of appraisal resources for the Spanish language. In particular, this contribution has been done by discourse analysts who have applied the system of APPRAISAL to their written or spoken corpora in Spanish language, providing some elaborations of new categories of the sub-system of ATTITUDE (Fernández, 2017; Oteiza, 2017, 2019; Oteiza and Pinuer, 2019), proposing new graduation categories for force as quantification and intensification of chronological and metaphorical

meanings of time (Oteiza and Pinuer, 2013), applying the APPRAISAL system to different language contexts from a critical and social discourse analysis perspective (Achugar, 2016; Kaplan, 2007; Oteiza and Castro, 2019; Oteiza and Pinuer, 2016; Pascual, 2017), conducting comparative analysis between languages from a corpus linguistics approach (Carretero and Taboada, 2014; Taboada et al., 2014), or advancing interpersonal descriptions of the Spanish MOOD system at the lexicogrammatical stratum (Lavid et al., 2010; Quiroz, 2018). These studies have proven to be valuable explorations in the Spanish language because they have demonstrated that, at a higher level of functioning, the interpersonal categories of graduation proposed in the model by Martin, White and colleagues are a useful set of analytical tools for identifying authors' graduated attitudinal positionings in different fields and genres in written and oral Spanish language. Nevertheless, a completer and more comprehensive corpus-based functioning of the appraisal resources that build intersubjectivity at the discourse level is needed in order to contribute to the discourse studies enterprise in Spanish.

As discourse analysts we believe that it is crucial to understand how meanings are constructed in a particular language and in the specific genre and field in which they are taking place. In this sense, we agree with the principle that the fundamental goal of every description of a language should be to understand how grammar makes meaning, and hence, how the lexicogrammatical resources are discursively motivated. Therefore, as discourse analysts interested in understanding how the representation of social and political crisis and violence is constructed in historical discourses as part of a process of "historizing memory" of recent past in the Chilean society (Oteiza, 2018; Oteiza and Castro, 2019; Oteiza and Pinuer, 2016), we aim to demonstrate "that very small parts of language" as derivative suffixes have a critical role in prosodically building more or less intensified and/or quantified attitudinal positionings in a congruent and incongruent manner in the discourse.

First, we briefly present the APPRAISAL system in order to theoretically frame our analysis of the Spanish written language resources that contribute to graduate meaning of attitudes (Hood, 2010, 2019; Martin, 2017; Martin and White, 2005). Secondly, we introduce the typological principles for the description of languages from a systemic functional linguistics model that inform our analysis (Caffarel et al., 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014; Martin et al., 2020). Later, we explore the potential of graduation as force of extreme degree suffixes in Spanish. Furthermore, we pay attention to the role of suffixes in nominalizations, which work simultaneously as both, grammatical and lexical metaphors. For doing this analysis we subscribe to a perspective that considers the inter-stratal tension (Martin, 2020; Taverniers, 2017) in the realization of interpersonal and ideational meanings, offering a stratified approach to resources of graduation in Spanish written language.

In our analysis we demonstrate how resources of graduation work as constellations of patterns in the discourse of history that contribute to the building of meanings of political crisis, instability and extreme violence at the discourse semantic level. Finally, we offer the conclusions of our analysis along with a proposed systematization of the Spanish graduation resources identified, organized as a system network.

## **The appraisal system from a trinocular vision of language**

APPRAISAL constitutes a multi-dimensional framework of interpersonal meaning situated at the level of discourse semantics (Martin, 2017; Martin and White, 2005). Following the

key principles of metaredundancy (Lemke, 1995), stratification and realization (Berry, 2017; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014), the APPRAISAL system works at a more abstract level than the lexicogrammatical one, allowing meanings to disperse in a wide variety of systems from the former level. These three principles “allow the turn from a grammatical perspective on evaluation to a complementary perspective founded on the rhetorical effect of evaluative lexis as texts unfold” (Oteiza, 2017). As it has been proposed by Martin and White (2005), the APPRAISAL framework organizes interpersonal meanings in three main semantic areas that work in combination: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION.

The subsystem of ATTITUDE deals with the ways in which feelings are seen as a socially organized system of meanings, which can be further specified into three semantic domains: (a) affect that deals with the expression of positive and negative feelings and emotions; (b) judgement, which is concerned with attitudes toward character and behavior of people in terms of ethics and morality; and (c) appreciation, which involves aesthetic evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena according to the ways in which they are valued in a given field.<sup>1</sup>

The semantic subsystem of ENGAGEMENT has been motivated by the social dialogic nature of language pointed out early on in Voloshinov’s work (Bronckart and Bota, 2011). As Martin and White (2005) and White (2010) state, ENGAGEMENT allows us to deal with the interpersonal negotiation of the sources of attitudes, which can adopt a more heteroglossic or monoglossic orientation, depending on the extent to which authors recognize or not alternative positions.

The subsystem of GRADUATION has to do with the fact that the value of expressions of attitude can be raised or lowered in the discourse. In this manner, meanings of attitude can be intensified or weakened showing different levels of alignment with the value positions advanced by the text (Martin and White, 2005). As this article deals in particular with the resources for building graduation regarding meanings of social and political crisis and violence in the discourse of history, in the following section we pay special attention to this subsystem, exploring how it has been described primarily for English (Hood, 2010, 2019; Martin and White, 2005) and later on for Portuguese (Vian, 2009). To carry out this analysis we follow the main principle of SFL typology which establishes that the description of particular languages should not be based on the description of “dominants” or well-studied languages (Caffarel et al., 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Consequently, previous descriptions must only “influence” new descriptions from the start point of general functions.

As a second main typological SFL principle states, this study examines written Spanish historical data at the discourse semantics and lexicogrammar strata, taking into account the trinocular vision proposed by Halliday to analyze language. This implies reasoning from above, taking as a point of departure higher levels of context and discourse semantics, from the same level –clause– and from below –rank– (Caffarel et al., 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014; Martin et al., 2010).

This trinocular vision also contributes to the understanding of grammatical metaphors and the inter-stratal phenomenon that it involves. The flexible or permeable “division” between lexicogrammar and semantics is crucial for the interpretation of the inter-stratal tension from an ideational and interpersonal perspective regarding its rhetorical potential (Martin, 2020). For Halliday, the interpersonal and ideational grammatical metaphors are

conceptualized as incongruent or marked expressions “in relation to what is normative in a variety of languages and have lower probability values” (Taverniers, 2017: 356). In this manner, the metaphoric power of language relies on the fact that its content plane can be stratified into lexicogrammar and semantic strata, which allows “variation in expression and in meaning,” that in turn “opens up the way toward recognizing a scale of incongruence” (Taverniers, 2017: 357). This tension between literal and figurative meanings tends to occur in syndromes or in grammatical configurations rather than in lexical items in isolation in the discourse.

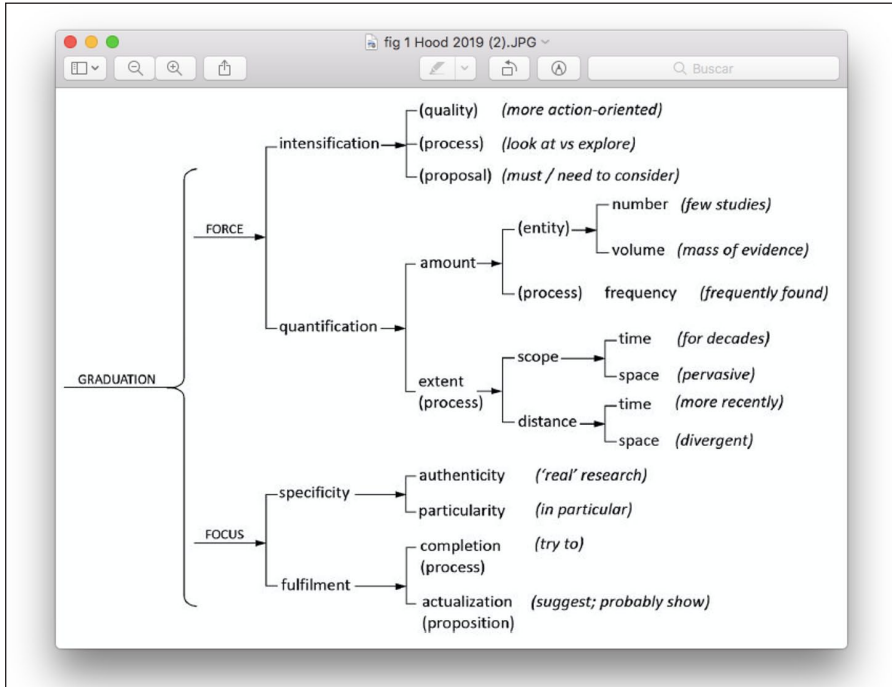
Martin (2020) explores this inter-stratal tension looking at both grammatical and lexical metaphors, reconsidering that they work as a cline; that is, that lexical and grammatical metaphors work in combination to create ideational and interpersonal meanings, which also posits a challenge to the understanding of the meaning of the metaphors, due to the fact that “there are not only two layers of meanings to unpack (lexicogrammar symbolizing discourse semantics) - but in addition two domains and their relation to one another to be interpreted” (Martin, 2020). This is exemplified in the nominalizations “escalate of violence”/*la escalada de violencia* or in “a whirl of agitation”/*un torbellino de agitación* as it will be explained in the following section.

## Analysis and discussion

The analysis has been conducted in a large corpus of written historical discourses regarding recent Chilean history (1960–1990). This period was characterized by strong social and political movements: a left-wing coalition government led by socialist President Salvador Allende (1970–1973), overthrown by a coup d’état led by Chilean military men with the contribution of the United States; and a civil military dictatorship commanded by General Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990), that committed severe human rights violations in the country. The corpus considered for the analysis is composed by (i) History written by specialists to a general public and (ii) official report emanated from a Commission that was established by the Chilean State after the end of the civil-military dictatorship: *The National Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Government of Chile, 1991), known as the *Rettig Report*.

### **GRADUATION: Raising or lowering the value of attitudes**

As Martin (1992) points out regarding the English language, the realization of interpersonal meanings in the clause structure is at least potentially non-discrete. The realizations of interpersonal meanings can accumulate in the discourse, amplifying the degree of the positions expressed. As a consequence of the apparent association of gradable systems and prosodic realization, Martin (1992) presents the question of which grammatical systems allow for meaning by degree. Martin’s focus was on the grammaticalization of grading and its relation to interpersonal meaning, and one of the primary distinctions he made was between graded and gradable items that speakers have available to express attitude by degree along a scale of high, median and low values: “*an absolute idiot; quite an idiot; a bit of an idiot*” (Martin, 1992: 367).



**Figure 1.** Sub-system of GRADUATION (Martin and White 2005, further elaborated by Hood, 2010, 2019: 391).

Martin and White (2005) propose that, in English, non-scalable experiential meanings or evaluative meanings can be graduated by force or by focus. Experiential and evaluative meanings can be intensified or diminished in their volume as force or, alternatively, “sharpen” or “soften” in their categorical meanings as focus. These categories have been further elaborated by Hood (2010) in her work regarding the discourse strategies that writers deploy when trying to present themselves as “objective” and, at the same time, with a clear critical position when writing research articles. In her study, Hood stresses the fact that very frequently non-scalable experiential or evaluative meanings graduated by force or focus can then irradiate certain evaluation to the rest of the text, infusing negative or positive evaluation in a cumulative manner; therefore, when analyzing meanings of graduation, as well as any other evaluative meaning, it is key to take into consideration the co-text. Hood further elaborates the resources of focus, indicating that it is possible to add different degrees of value as authenticity or specificity; or to activate degrees of fulfilment as completion or actualization to non-scalable items in a discourse (2010, 2019).

The complete proposal of the system of GRADUATION for the English language is presented in the following Figure 1. As Martin and White (2005) have demonstrated, the different options presented in this system network can be realized through resources of pre or post modification of an item, infusion of a meaning of graduation in the same item and by means of repetition of evaluative or experiential meanings along a text.

In a Romance language close to Spanish, Vian (2008, 2009) provides a description of graduation resources in Brazilian Portuguese, identifying those elements that are different from English in order to contribute to a typology of this language. As resources of affixation, Vian (2008) identifies the use of several Greek and Latin prefixes, suffixes and diminutive suffixes, among others, that can be employed to graduate the meanings carried by the root. In terms of suffixation, Vian refers the use of two resources. First, suffixes that intensify the meaning of the root, such as the suffix *-ão*, that allows to intensify the characteristic of a noun (e.g. *Eu tinha perdido um tempão. . .* / “I had spent a lot of time”), and the suffix *-aço*, that can also be added to evaluative lexical items (e.g. *você está fodidão* / “you are so fucked up”). Second, the author mentions the use of diminutive suffixes, such as *-inhas*, *-ela*, that reduce the evaluative force of the modified item (e.g. *esses caras fazendo piadinhas* / “these guys making silly jokes”).

In the next section we first briefly present how a polarized country deals with the trauma of human rights violations through the voice of the authors in charge of *The National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Rettig Report, 1991)*. The analysis shows how this group of professionals chosen in 1990 by the President of Chile, Patricio Aylwin, from the right and center political parties, strive to sound “objective” by means of graduating resources, to a highly divided Chilean society that was just trying to recover from 17 years of dictatorship and dealing with a disputed reality of human rights violations. Next, we concentrate on the role suffixes play at the rank of the morpheme creating meanings of graduation about different levels of social crisis and violence that we propose need to be considered from an inter-stratal tension perspective.

### *Justification and legitimization: Graduation by sub-modification and repetition*

In this section, the analysis examines some instances of the *Rettig Report (1991)* from above (that is, from the co-text), in order to explore how the cumulative semantics of force and focus contribute to build evaluative rhetorical positionings of historical actors, events and processes located in a symbolic and chronological time and space (Oteiza and Pinuer, 2013) regarding the field of recent Chilean past of human rights violations. In Example 1 it is possible to see how the Commission in charge of investigating human rights violations that ended in death during Pinochet’s dictatorship justified and legitimized themselves in front of Chilean society and how these meanings are achieved partly via graduation as force:

#### Example 1

We allow ourselves to say why we accepted the noble task with which we have been honored. We knew that it would be difficult, and that our own limitations would make it more so. We nonetheless accepted it **without hesitation [force: intensifying a proposal]**. We are a group whose members hold a **variety** of philosophies of life. We are aware that we possess **diverse** traditions, that we adhere to **different** political positions, and that we have **different** perspectives on our country’s history. (*Rettig Report 1991: xiv*)

Nos permitimos decir por qué aceptamos el noble cometido con que se nos honró. Sabíamos de sus dificultades y cómo a ellas se aliaban nuestras propias limitaciones. Aceptamos, a pesar de ello, **sin vacilar** Somos un grupo cuyos componentes sustentan **diversos** pensamientos



explicativos de la vida. Nos sabemos cultores de **diversas** tradiciones, adherimos a **distintas** posturas políticas y juzgamos en forma **diversa** los contenidos de nuestra historia.

In this Example 1 it is possible to appreciate, as Hood (2010) mentioned, that a proposal can be intensified by force: the Commission accepted their limitation “without hesitation.” However as the instances in bold show, force can also work intensifying a proposition via repetition, so the Commission is also portraying an invoked positive self-representation through the repetition of “variety,” “diverse,” “different,” “different,” trying to present themselves as being objective and of representing the “whole Chilean society,” in a time of strong social and political polarization of the country. This lexical accumulation that creates a saturated evaluative prosody (Martin and White, 2005), could also show the Commission’s justification of the impossibility of building a narrative that harmonizes the various memories of a traumatic recent past in the Chilean society.

In the following Example 2, the Commission continues with a positive self-representation that allows them not only to legitimize their role, but most of all to show their ideological positioning regarding human rights violations regardless of the different political perspectives that were just emphasized in the previous lines. It is crucial for them to make their complete rejection of the human rights violations committed by state agents during Pinochet’s dictatorship explicit. This evaluative mechanism is achieved mainly by graduating attitudes via repetition and sub modification, which are resources that have been identified in the English language (Hood, 2010; Martin and White, 2005) and in Brazilian Portuguese language (Vian, 2008, 2009) for realizing meanings of graduation:

#### Example 2

We **do** believe [**force: intensifying a process “to believe”**] in the essential identity of our Homeland, and we think it **should be** [**force: intensifying an attribute**] protected by a state that remains faithful to the norms of democracy (. . .). We accepted (our task) because the same fundamental principle unites us all: respect for human beings simply because they are human beings – and because we believe that the individual is protected by inalienable rights which cannot be violated on the grounds of **any** [**force: quantifying a thing**] limiting condition, nationality, creed, race, or ideology. These are rights that **no power, no matter** how far-reaching, may violate. We are united by a **total** [**focus: fulfilment: completion**] conviction that the human being and his [or her] dignity constitute inviolable limits to the activity of other human beings. This is the primordial rule of human coexistence. Finally, we are united in the desire to make our Fatherland a land worthy to shelter the children of our species, which is **always** [**force: quantifying a process: extent: scope: time**] regarded as the **highest** [**force: intensifying a thing**] expression of creation. (*Rettig Report*, 1991: xv)

Creemos, **sí**, en la identidad esencial de nuestra Patria y pensamos que ella **debe ser** protegida por un Estado que permanezca fiel a las normas de la Democracia (. . .) Aceptamos porque a todos nos une el mismo principio fundamental: el respeto a la persona humana por el hecho de serlo y el de considerarla amparada por derechos inalienables que **ninguna** circunstancia adjetiva, nacionalidad, credo, raza o ideología, puede válidamente autorizar que se conculquen. Derechos son éstos que **ningún** poder, sean cuales sean sus alcances, **puede** atropellar. Nos une la **total** convicción que ve en el ser humano y en su dignidad los límites infranqueables al actuar de otros hombres. Esa es la norma primacial de la convivencia humana. Nos une, finalmente, el



anhelo de hacer de nuestra Patria una tierra digna de albergar a hijos de nuestra especie, señalada **siempre** como la expresión **más alta** de lo creado.

In example 2, it is possible to appreciate how the authorial voice of the Rettig Commission relies on resources of graduation as force and focus to explicitly express what unites them as a group that shares the moral duty of protecting fundamental human rights that every human being should have. In this manner, the intensification of a process (“to believe”) and of an attribute (“should be”) are key in the portrayal of the experiential meaning regarding basic human rights that are “inalienable.” The resource of focus as fulfilment: completion “**total conviction**,” contributes with the saturated evaluative prosody of positive appreciation of integrity about the process of protecting human rights in a society.

After showing how graduation has a role in building evoked and inscribed attitudes in the justification and legitimation of a commission that knew that Chilean society had high expectations regarding this Report, as a starting point of truth and restoration concerning thousands of people that were assassinated or “disappeared” during the dictatorship, we will turn our attention to other sections of the Rettig Report in which authors inform about the brutal human rights violations committed during this dictatorship. In the following sections of the document we will not “hear” again the voice of the commission, but an account of events of human right violations, and in order to do this, authors needed different resources for graduating attitudes. That is why we would like to change our attention to an area that is particularly productive in Spanish: graduation at the rank of morphology through suffixes.

### *A violence difficult to believe: Graduation by extreme degree suffixes*

In the following examples taken from different sections of the Rettig Report, we would like to show the prominent role of graduation realized through extreme degree suffixes *-ísimo(s)/ísima(s)*. These resources are used by authors when other forms of graduating meanings in Spanish, as repetition or as sub modification, are not enough to portray the level of violence committed by the State during Pinochet’s dictatorship. As many sectors of Chilean society did not believe that the killing and torture were systematic practices of state terror and considered them only isolated events, the use of these resources by the authors could be interpreted as a way of emphasizing the veracity of those practices.

Traditional grammatical Spanish description identifies two suffixes to achieve the extreme degree of a property: *-ísimo/isima* and *-érrimo/-érrima*.<sup>2</sup> Both suffixes are used mainly with quantifiers (for example, *poquísimos* / “very few”) and with qualifying adjectives (for example, *feísimos* / “very ugly”). These suffixes are, in most cases, used with expressive connotation. In this paper we focus on instances of *-ísimo/isima*, as the suffix *-érrimo/érrima* is not present in our corpus. In terms of word class, we analyze the use of the suffix over quantifiers, quantifier adjectives and qualifying adjectives.

In the following example 3, the suffix *-ísimo/isima* is applied over a quantifier (*mucho* / “many”). In terms of the discourse-semantic system of graduation, this quantifier is expressing high force: quantification of things. That graduation is in turn reinforced and correalized by the suffix. As the entity quantified in this example corresponds to evitable cases of human right violations during the dictatorship as result of inefficiencies of the Chilean Judicial system, it is possible to identify an evoked negative evaluation in the

discourse-semantic system of ATTITUDE toward` this institution. This evaluative meaning is amplified by the extreme degree suffix:

### Example 3

If the Courts had respected the constitutional mandate to act immediately; or complied with the legal mandate to rule within 24 hours (. . .) or, lastly, they had fulfilled the rule of the *Auto Acordado* to issue a sentence before the harm caused by prison reached huge proportions, death, disappearances and torture could have been avoided in **so many cases** (*Rettig Report*, 1991: 101)

Si las Cortes hubieran respetado el mandato constitucional de actuar de inmediato; o acatado el mandato legal de fallar dentro de 24 horas (. . .) o, en fin, hubieran cumplido la norma del Auto Acordado de dictar sentencia antes de que el mal causado por la prisión adquiriera grandes proporciones, la muerte, la desaparición y la tortura se podía haber evitado en **muchísimos** casos (. . .).

In this example, the suffix *-ísimo/ísima* is amplifying the graduation realized by the quantifier (*mucho* / “many”), which reaches its maximum degree (*muchísimo* / “so many”). This sort of “extreme quantification” of things is the result of a two layered graduation: the quantifier realizes graduation as *submodification* (that is, using a quantifier as an additional lexical item at the rank of the group) and, at the same time, the suffix realizes graduation as sub-modification at the lower rank of the word structure (that is, using a suffix within the same lexical item, with no additional items, nor repetition or listing of expressions).<sup>3</sup>

Table 1 shows the realization of *muchísimos* (“so many”), at discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar strata, as well as along the rank. At discourse-semantic level, the co-text selected was the figure, composed in this case by an occurrence and two entities (Hao, 2020; Martin, 2020). At lexicogrammar level, the co-text selected can be analyzed, in terms of the system of TRANSITIVITY as a material clause in which the instance of graduation at stake is part of a Circumstance of Extent. The “extreme quantification” is congruently realized at group rank as a prepositional phrase and as a quantifier at word rank. Finally, at morpheme rank we can identify a lexical morpheme *much* that conveys the meaning of “numerous, abundant or intense” (RAE n.d), the extreme degree suffix *-ísimo* that confers the maximum degree of the quality expressed by the root, and lastly an inflexional suffix *-s*, indicating plural.

As we can see considering the co-text, the use of this instance of extreme quantification seeks not only to depict the abundance of “death, disappearances and torture” committed during the Dictatorship, but also to express the way the Chilean Judicial System failed to fulfill its ultimate task: to provide justice and to protect the rights of Chilean citizens. The extreme degree suffix *-ísimo* is, in this way, used also to express the extreme degree of the state violence exerted during the referred period, both by acts and by omissions.

The sense of utmost violence is also achieved in the discourse of the Commission through the modification of adjectives when referring to procedures of torture carried out during the dictatorship. Example 4 below shows the use of the suffix *-ísimo/ísima* over the adjective *prolongado* (“prolonged”) that expresses the duration of intervals of time. In terms of graduation, the adjective is expressing Force: quantification of time scope. As

**Table 1.** Realization of *muchísimos* (“so many”) at discourse-semantic and lexicogrammar strata.

S	instance	death, disappearances and torture	could have been avoided	in <b>so many</b> cases
T		<i>la muerte, la desaparición y la tortura</i>	<i>se podrían haber evitado</i>	en <b><i>muchísimos</i></b> <i>casos</i>
R	Discourse semantics	+ entity	occurrence	x entity
A	Lexico-grammar	Goal	Material process	Circumstance: Extent
R	Group	n. group	v. group	prepositional phrase
A	instance			en <b><i>muchísimos</i></b>
N	Word			Preposition Quantifier
K	Instance			<b><i>much</i></b>
	Morpheme			<b><i>-ísimo</i></b> deriv. morph. inflex. morph.

Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.

in the case of *muchísimo* in example 3, here the suffix is amplifying this graduation, conferring it upon the maximum degree possible:

#### Example 4

It was also common to hang detainees by the arms, without their feet touching the ground, for **very (+extreme) prolonged** periods of time. (*Rettig Report*, 1991: 112)

Asimismo fue común el colgar a los detenidos de los brazos, sin que sus pies tocaran suelo, por espacios de tiempo **prolongadísimo**.

The quantification of time scope expressed by the adjective is indicating a period of time that is larger than it should be considering the situation expressed by the co-text (detainees undergoing situations of torture). Considering this, we can identify an evoked negative appreciation of integrity (see note 1), in the discourse-semantic system of ATTITUDE, over the situation described (Oteiza, 2019; Oteiza and Pinuer, 2019). By conferring extreme degree to the quality expressed by the adjective, the suffix is amplifying both: graduation in terms of time scope and negative evoked attitude in terms of appreciation.

In this case we can also observe a two-layered graduation: the quantification of time scope is realized as sub-modification through the adjective (*prolongado* / “prolonged”) and, at the same time, is amplified through the extreme degree suffix (*prolongadísimo* / “very (+extreme) prolonged”).

Table 2 shows the realization of *prolongadísimo* (“very (+extreme) prolonged”) in example 4. We consider as co-text a figure in the discourse-semantic stratum that is realized as an embedded material clause at lexicogrammar level. Within this material clause, the instance of graduation is realized as part of the Circumstance. At group rank, the “extreme quantification” of temporal scope is congruently expressed as part of a prepositional phrase and as an adjective at word rank. At the morpheme rank, the lexical morpheme *prolongad-*, that conveys the meaning of “extended in time” (Real Academia Española (RAE), 2020) is modified by the extreme degree suffix *-ísimo*, that maximizes the quality expressed by the root.

In the same way the Commission resorts to extreme quantification when alluding to the processes of torture, it also makes use of this resource when referring to the places in which these processes of torture took place, using the extreme degree suffix *ísimo/isima* over adjectives that express by themselves quantification rather than qualities, such as *numeroso* (“numerous”) and *variado* (“varied”). Traditional grammatical description (NGLE, 2009) indicates that such “quantifier adjectives” express properties of quantifiers when used in their plural form.

Example 5, following, presents the modification by the extreme degree suffix of the adjective *numeroso* (“numerous”). Morphologically, this adjective is formed by the noun *número* (“number”) and the suffix *-oso*, meaning that “the matter, property or, in general, the notion designated by the noun is possessed in abundance” (NGLE, 2009). As in previous cases, the extreme degree suffix maximizes the property expressed by this derived adjective.<sup>4</sup>

#### Example 5

**Table 2.** Realization of *prolongadísimo* (“very (+extreme) prolonged”) at discourse-semantic and lexicogrammar strata.

S	instance	to hang	detainees	...	for <b>very (+extreme) prolonged</b> periods of time
T		<i>colgar</i>	<i>a los detenidos</i>		<i>por espacios de tiempo</i> <b>prolongadísimo</b>
R	Discourse semantics	Occurrence	+ entity		x entity (temporal)
A	Lexico-grammar	Material process	Goal		Circumstance: Extent: temporal
T					
A					
R	Group	v. group	n. group		Prepositional phrase
A	instance				<i>por</i> <i>espa-cios</i> <i>de</i> <i>tiem-po</i> <b>prolongadísimo</b>
N	Word				prep. noun prep. noun
K	instance				<b>prolon-gad</b> <b>-ísimo</b>
	Morpheme				lex. morph. deriv. morph.

Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.

It would be impossible to summarize here all the places of torture in the country during the period we analyze. They were **very (+extreme) numerous**. On the other hand, not in all detention centers there was torture, although there was, these months, in most of them (*Rettig Report*, 1991: 112).

Sería imposible resumir aquí todos los lugares de tortura que hubo en el país durante el periodo que analizamos. Fueron **numerosísimos**. Por otra parte, no en todos los centros de detención se torturó, aunque sí, estos meses, en la mayoría.

In terms of graduation, in this example we can identify a quantification of things expressed in the nominal root of the derived adjective (*número* / “number”) as well as in the “abundance meaning” of the suffix *-oso*. The extreme degree suffix maximizes the quantification expressed by the adjective. As in previous examples, an “extreme quantification” is achieved by a two-layered graduation: first as sub-modification (the meanings conveyed by the adjective as an additional lexical item) and then by graduation as sub-modification at the lower rank of the word structure (the suffixation of the adjective).

As the things quantified are places of torture, we can identify a flagged negative appreciation of integrity about the processes of torture committed during the dictatorship. This evaluative meaning is also amplified by the extreme degree suffix.

Table 3 presents the stratal and rank realization of *numerosísimos* in example 7. At lexicogrammar stratum, the graduation is realized as an Attribute in a relational clause in the system of TRANSITIVITY. The lexical item carrying extreme quantification is realized at rank as a nominal group and as an adjective. At morpheme rank, the lexical morpheme *numer-* is modified by the derivational morpheme *-oso* (conveying the meaning of abundance), the extreme degree suffix *-ísimo*, and the inflexional suffix *-s*, indicating plural.

These examples show the attempts of the Commission to depict the real magnitude and systematicity of the practices of torture carried out during the dictatorship, in a socio-historical context in which this situation was not acknowledged or was even denied as a fact from a vast part of Chilean society. Later on, the publication of the so called Valech Report in 2004, showed through specific data not only the great extent of these practices but also the horror undergone by the victims, which the authors of Rettig Report expressed through resources of extreme quantifications mentioned before.

To conclude this section, we present an example of resources of extreme graduation used to expose the gravity of the human rights violations committed during the period, by means of the extreme degree suffixation of qualifying adjectives. Example 6, below, shows the use of the extreme degree suffix over the adjective *grave* (“severe”).

#### Example 6

Some of the results and effects of these actions, organized as intelligence operations, involved **very(+extreme) severe** human rights violations of multiple people (*Rettig Report*, 1991: 156–157).

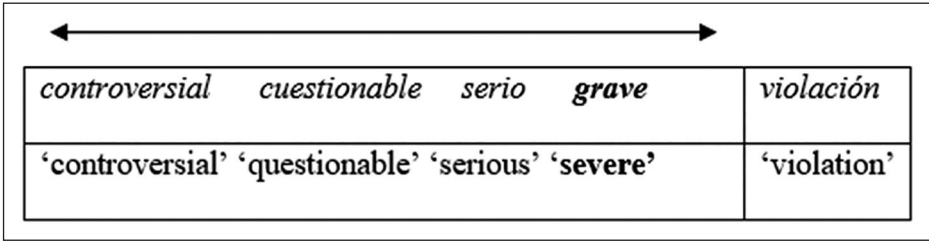
Algunos de los resultados y efectos de estas actuaciones, organizadas como operativos de inteligencia implicaron **gravísimas** violaciones a los derechos humanos de múltiples personas.

**Table 3.** Realization of *numerosísimos* (“very (+extreme) numerous”) at discourse-semantic and lexicogrammar strata.

S	instance	<i>[places of torture]</i>	were	<b>very (+extreme) numerous</b>
T		<i>[los lugares de tortura]</i>	<i> fueron</i>	<b>numerosísimos</b>
R	Discourse semantics	+ entity	Occurrence	+ entity
A	Lexico-grammar	Carrier	Relational process	Attribute
T				
A	Group	n. group	v. group	n. group
R	instance			<b>numerosísimos</b>
A	Word			adj.
N	instance			<b>numer</b>
K	Morpheme			lex. morph. <b>-os</b> <b>-ísimo</b> <b>-s</b>
				deriv. morph.    deriv. morph.    inflex. morph.

Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.





**Figure 2.** Grading scale of evaluation of the meaning of *grave* (“severe”).

In terms of attitude, the adjective *grave* (“severe”) is realizing an inscribed negative appreciation of integrity, as is presenting an ethical evaluation about the human rights violations committed during the dictatorship. As the extreme degree suffix is intensifying the quality expressed by the adjective, this negative evaluation is amplified.

At the same time, *grave* (“severe”) can be situated in a grading scale of evaluation. That is, we can identify a series of lexical items that express the meaning conveyed by the adjective, each in a different position over a cline (see Figure 2). Its position in this cline infuses the meaning expressed by the adjective with high force of intensification.

As in previous examples, we can identify a two-layered graduation, this time expressed as an “extreme intensification” achieved by means of infusion and suffixation: first through the grading scale of evaluation previously identified, and then through the suffixation that maximizes the quality expressed by the adjective.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to note that, in this example, *gravísimas* (“very (+ extreme) severe”) as an instance of attitude and graduation, is realized as part of an experiential grammatical metaphor. As mentioned before, a grammatical metaphor involves an inter-stratal tension in the realization of meanings from the semantic-discourse stratum to the lexicogrammar. In this example, *gravísimas violaciones a los derechos humanos* (“very (+extreme) severe violations of human rights”) constitutes an occurrence at discourse-semantic level, and therefore, should typically be realized at lexicogrammar as a verb or verbal group (e.g. *violar los derechos humanos* / “to violate human rights”). In this case, however, the occurrence figure in discourse semantics is realized at lexicogrammar as a nominal group (*violación* / “violation”), in a process of trans-categorization known as *nominalization*.

Table 4 below displays the congruent and metaphorical realizations of the nominalization in example 6. First, the congruent realization is presented as a material clause (*torturaron* / “tortured”) in lexicogrammar, in which the instance of graduation functions as a Circumstance of degree, congruently realized as an adverbial group. The metaphorical realization shows, instead, a Thing at lexicogrammar realized as a nominal group at group rank. At word rank, we can identify the intensification realized as an adjective (*gravísimas* / “very (+extreme) severe”) modifying a noun (*violaciones* / “violations”).

**Table 4.** Congruent and metaphorical realization of *gravísimas violaciones* (“very (+extreme) severe violations”) at discourse-semantic and lexicogrammar strata.

S	<i>instance</i>	<i>Agents of DINA</i>	<i>tortured</i>	<i>gravely</i>	<i>many people</i>
T	Discourse	+x entity	Occurrence	x quality	+entity
R	semantics				
A	Lexico-grammar	Actor	Material	Circumstance:	Goal
T	(congruent)		process	degree	
A					
R	group	n. group	v. group	adverbial group	n. group
A					
N					
K					
S	<i>instance</i>	<b>very (+extreme) severe</b>	<i>violations</i>		
T		<b>gravísimas</b>	<i>violaciones</i>		
R	<b>Lexico-</b>	Epithet	Thing		
A	<b>grammar</b>				
T	<b>(incongruent)</b>				
A					
R	Group	n. group			
A	<i>instance</i>	<b>gravísimas</b>	<i>violaciones</i>		
N	Word	Adjective	Noun		
K	<i>instance</i>	<b>Grav</b>	<b>-ísima</b>	<b>-s</b>	
	Morpheme	lex. morph.	deriv. morph.	inflex. morph.	

Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.

At morpheme rank, the lexical root *grav* is modified by the derivational extreme degree suffix *-ísimo* and the inflexional suffix *-s*, indicating plural.

Table 5 below presents a summary of the examples analyzed in this section. It shows how instances of quantifiers and adjectives, ungraded by the extreme degree suffix, convey meanings in the subsystem of GRADUATION (particularly, force) and in the subsystem of APPRAISAL, either evoked or inscribed. Over those meanings, the suffix maximizes the categories of graduation conveyed by lexical items, achieving what we can call an “extreme force,” high or low, of quantification or intensification. The result is a set of resources used by the authors in our corpus to convey meanings regarding a widespread and extreme situation of human rights violations in the country. The examples show how resources of extreme force allow authors to construct meanings in which the use of non-extreme quantifications and intensifications may not be enough to express the severity of the state violence.

**Table 5.** Overview of meaning of graduation and attitude in instances with and without extreme degree suffix *-ísimo/isíma*.

Instance without suffix	Attitude	Entity appraised	Graduation	Instance with suffix	Extreme graduation
<b>muchos</b> casos (“many cases”)	(-ve) Appreciation: Integrity (evoked)	Judicial System regarding human rights violations	High force: quantification of things	<b>muchísimos</b> casos (“so many cases”)	Extreme high force: quantification of things
espacios de tiempo <b>prolonga-dos</b> (“prolonged periods of time”)	(-ve) Appreciation: Integrity (evoked)	Processes of torture	High force: quantification of time scope	espacios de tiempo <b>prolonga-dísimo</b> (“very (+extreme) prolonged periods of time”)	Extreme high force: quantification of time scope
[lugares de tortura] fueron <b>numerosos</b> (“[places of torture] were numerous”)	(-ve) Appreciation: Integrity (evoked)	Processes of torture	High force: quantification of things	[lugares de tortura] fueron <b>numerosísimos</b> (“[places of torture] were very (+extreme) numerous”)	Extreme high force: quantification of things
<b>graves</b> violaciones a los derechos humanos (“severe violations to human rights”)	(-ve) Appreciation: Integrity (inscribed)	Human rights violations	High force: intensification of quality (Grading scale of evaluation)	<b>gravísimas</b> violaciones a los derechos humanos (“very +extreme) severe human rights violations”)	Extreme high force: intensification of quality

Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.

### *Crisis and violence: The role suffixes -ada and -azo*

In this section we will explore how authors build events of political and social crisis, in this case taking into account disciplinary discourse written by historians regarding the period prior to the dictatorship: the decade of the sixties and Salvador Allende's government (1970–1973). When dealing with meanings of social instability, crisis and social unrest, the use of certain suffixes, such as *-ada* and *-azo* have been proved to be productive in our data. We propose that these suffixes have graduation meanings that work primarily at the rank of the morpheme, but also at the rank of the word, the group, the clause and in turn, at a discourse semantic level if we consider how they interact with the co-text.

Among the different meanings associated to the Spanish suffix *-ada*, the preferred meaning by the NGLÉ (2009) is “action,” normally abrupt and individual (Lacuesta and Bustos, 1999: 4519). This meaning can be also divided into two groups: c.1. “knock made with” an object (*puñalada, lanzada* / “stabbing”) or without and object and with the meaning of a unique and sudden movement (*costalada* / “harsh and painful fall,” *cabezada* / “a very impactful hit to the head”), and c.2. “an intent of metaphoric knock,” as a coup d'état.

In the corpus we found instances of the suffix *-ada* with the meaning c.1. This suffix functions as a graduating resource when dealing with meanings of negative integrity or conflict regarding the construction of a historical period in the discourse. Therefore, the meanings that can be of interest in terms of the possibility of having a role in Spanish graduation is the following: */-ada/* as sudden or impetuous movement, impetuous actions, sense of effect. The derogatory meaning depends on the lexical base (NGE, 2009).

In the following example 7 we would like to show how the period of the sixties, previous to Allende's socialist government and when Latin America is experiencing the impact of the Cold War, is portrayed in the discourse.<sup>6</sup> In this example it is possible to appreciate that the suffix *-ada* works primarily at the rank of the morpheme, but also at the rank of the word, the group, the clause, and finally also at the level of the discourse semantics. Let's explore how this functions step by step in this extract taken from a specialized history text:

#### Example 7

From the second half of the decade of the 1960s, coincident with **the revolutionary wave** triggered in both Europe and in the United States, Chilean society precipitated a whirl of agitation (Correa et al., 2001).<sup>7</sup>

Desde la segunda mitad de la década de 1960, coincidente con **la oleada revolucionaria** que se desencadenó tanto en Europa como en los Estados Unidos, la sociedad chilena se precipitó en un torbellino de agitación

In Example 7, “triggered” (*se desencadenó*) and “precipitated” (*se precipitó*) are both in middle voice, thus there is no grammaticalization of agency. Chilean society is presented as one which mirrored the social processes that occurred both in Europe and in the United States (“coincident with”). The causal connection is realized implicitly by the processes

“precipitated” and “triggered,” which make the nominalization “a whirl of agitation” the effect of another nominalization: “the revolutionary wave.” High force as temporal intensification is infused in “triggered” and “precipitated,” adding the meaning of movement and acceleration, in this case, of social, political and economic processes, with an invoked evaluation of high conflict that conveys a negative connotation associated with chaos, crisis and lack of social stability (Oteiza, 2019). However, if we take into consideration the inter-stratal tension that is happening in combination with the lexical metaphor, it is possible to appreciate that the grammar is working at the discourse semantics level in an incongruent way because what is built as a nominal group as “the revolutionary wave” is working at the discourse semantic level with a meaning that could be unpacked as a clause such as “people revolt many times and repeatedly.” From a field perspective, “the revolutionary wave” also works as a lexical metaphor of a natural phenomenon: “waves” of the sea. Therefore, “the revolutionary wave” refers to an activity that is nominalized as a recurrent and dynamic historical process, which is a very familiar trope in historical discourses in general, and useful for representing the social and political crisis and chaos that Chilean society was experiencing. The negative attitudinal meaning can be only achieved if we consider the lexical and grammatical metaphor in combination, and if we take into consideration the rhetorical attitudinal effect created by the co-text. This stratal tension is illustrated in Figure 3:

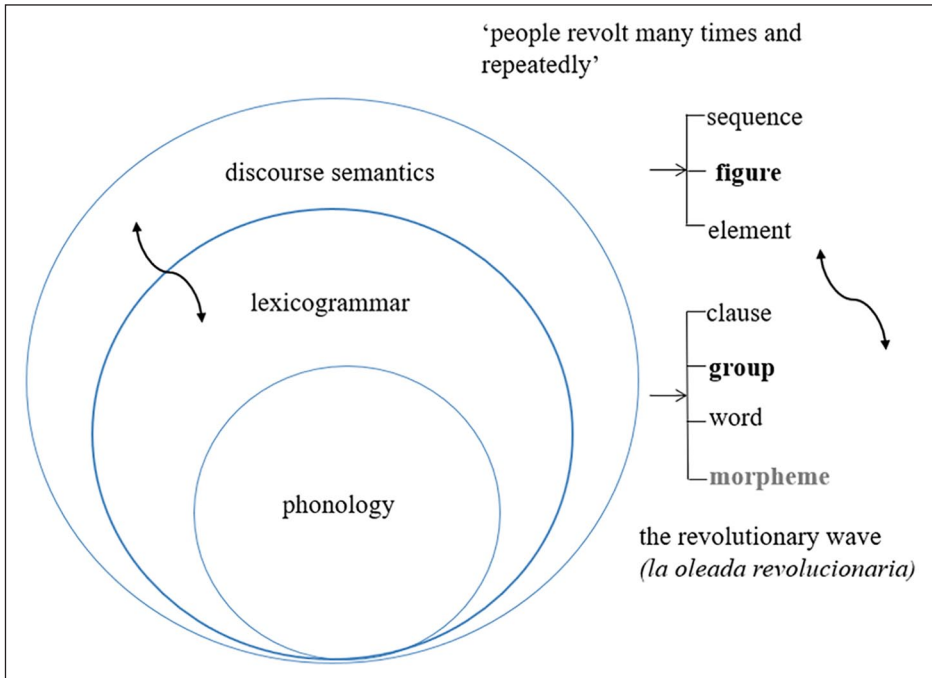


Figure 3. Experiential grammatical metaphor (stratal tension)<sup>8</sup> of “the revolutionary wave.”

**Table 6.** Realization of *la oleada revolucionaria* (“the revolutionary wave”) at discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar strata.

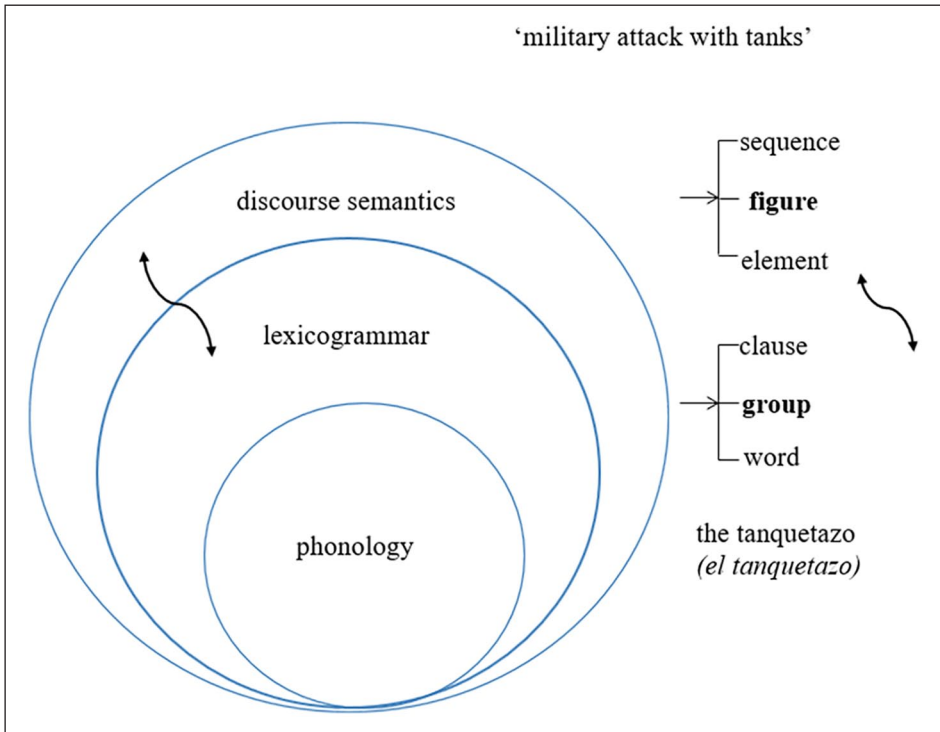
S	<i>instance</i>	<i>revolt</i>	<i>people</i>	<i>many times (and)</i>
T				<i>repeatedly</i>
R	Discourse	occurrence	+ entity	x entity
A	semantics			(temporal)
T	Lexico-grammar	Material	Medium/Actor	Circumstance:
A	(congruent)	process		Extent: temporal
R	Group	v. group	n. group	adverbial phrase
A				
N				
K				
S	<i>instance</i>	<i>the wave</i>		<i>revolutionary (the</i>
T				<i>revolutionary</i>
R				<i>wave)</i>
A		<i>la oleada</i>		<i>revolucionaria</i>
Ta	<b>Lexico-grammar</b>	Thing		Epithet
	<b>(incongruent)</b>			
R	Group	n. group		
A	<i>instance</i>	<i>La</i>	<i>oleada</i>	<i>revolucionaria</i>
N	Word	det.	noun	adjective
K	<i>instance</i>		ole	
	morpheme		lex. morph.	<b>-ada</b>
			“recurrent	deriv. morph.
			movement”	“accele-ration,”
				“sudden or
				impetuous
				movement”

Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.

If we look at this example 7 from above, that is, taking into consideration the co-text and its context of register as field (history), the experiential grammatical metaphor or nominalization “the revolutionary wave” works in the co-text as part of evaluative syndromes. As Taverniers (2017: 359) points out, “nominalization does not occur on its own, but it is part of a larger set of shifts that occur simultaneously”; in other words, one change “calls” the other. In this manner, graduation works at different levels: at the level of the co-text, at the level of the clause, at the rank of the group, the word and the morpheme contributing to portray an attitudinal meaning of high negative conflict and integrity.

This inter-stratal tension is demonstrated in more detail in Table 6, in which we show the levels of language content plane- discourse semantics and lexicogrammar- and inside this, the rank scale, to better understand the graduation role of the *-ada* Spanish suffix in the nominalization, from a lexical metaphorical point of view and from a grammatical metaphorical perspective:

The suffix *-azo* coincides with the suffix *-ada* when it portrays the meaning of “action.” Some authors, like Lüdke (quoted by Lacuesta and Bustos, 1999: 4520), consider that *-azo* differentiates with *-ada* in the level of violence that the action conveys. The meaning is of an “action abrupt and violent.” He also points out that its



**Figure 4.** Experiential grammatical metaphor (stratal tension) of “the tanquetazo.”

meaning could be of “an attempt of a coup d’état” or “a not expected political and authoritarian action.” The examples that Rainer provides are: “malvinazo,” “pinochetazo,” “videlazo,” etc. (quoted by Lacuesta and Bustos, 1999: 4529).

In our corpus the clearest example, which is part of the construction of the social crisis and instability of Salvador Allende’s government in the discourse is the following:

#### Example 8

On June 29 [1973] there was a new uprising - the **Tanquetazo** -, in which rebel troops, led by Colonel Roberto Souper, commander of Armored Regiment N°2, with the support of some civilians, seized the center of Santiago. (Correa et al., 2001: 273)

El 29 de junio [1973] se produjo un nuevo alzamiento – el **Tanquetazo** -, en el que tropas rebeldes, lideradas por el coronel Roberto Souper, comandante del Regimiento Blindado N°2, con el apoyo de algunos civiles, se apoderaron del centro de Santiago.

It is also possible to propose that the morpheme *-azo*, as in example 8, instantiates a coupling of graduation and attitude, because a violent action will be most likely considered as a negative evaluation of appreciation of high power and high conflict, regarding the political and social situation that in this case the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende in Chile was experiencing. In this instance, the suffix *-azo* is part of a



**Table 7.** Realization of *el tanquetazo* (“the tanquetazo”) at discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar strata.

S	<i>instance</i>	<i>military</i>	<i>attack</i>		<i>with tanks</i>
T	Discourse	+ entity	occurrence		x entity
R	semantics				
A	Lexico-grammar	Medium/	Material process		Circumstance of
T	(congruent)	Actor			manner: means
A					
R	Group	n. group	v. group		prepositional
A					phrase
N					
K					
S	<i>instance</i>	<i>the tanquetazo</i>			
T		<i>el tanquetazo</i>			
R	Lexico-grammar	Thing			
A	(incongruent)				
T					
A					
R	Group	n. group			
A	<i>instance</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>Tanquetazo</i>		
N	Word	det.	Noun		
K	<i>instance</i>		<i>tanque</i>	-t-	<b>-azo</b>
	Morpheme		lex. morph. “heavy military vehicle”	interfix	deriv. morph. “action abrupt and violent”

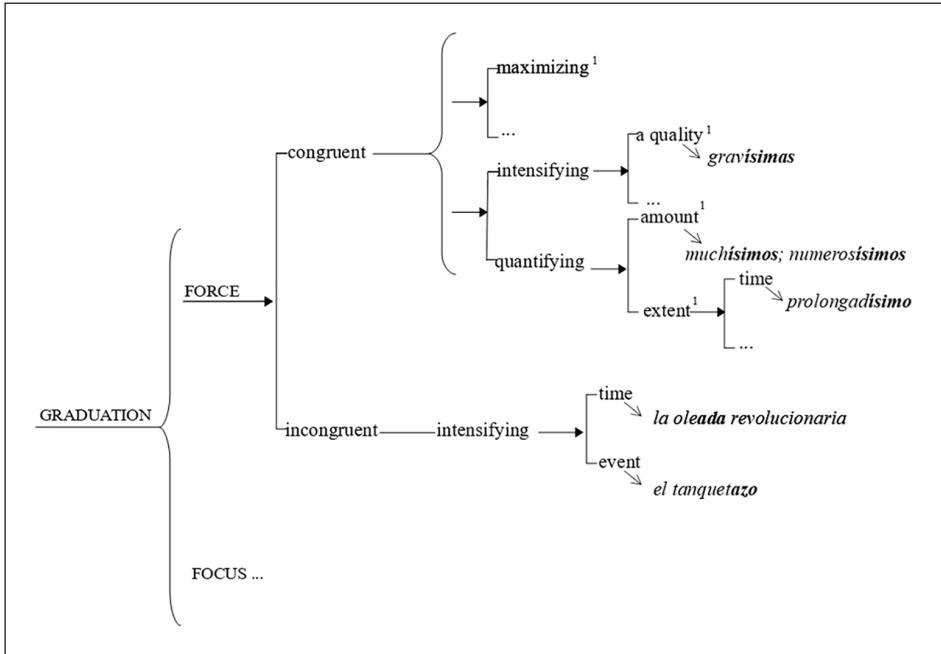
Examples from the corpus are marked in italics, instances of graduation in italics and bold.

nominal group that also works as a lexical<sup>9</sup> and grammatical metaphor. It means that “the military attack with tanks” in an attempt to take control over the government. The stratal tension is illustrated in the Figure 4 and the strata realization is shown in Table 7:

## Final remarks

In this article we offered an analysis of the potential of some Spanish derivative suffixes for building graduation of negative attitudinal meanings regarding the representation of political crisis and extreme violence in Chilean recent History. We first demonstrated that several resources for building force and focus by means of sub-modification and repetition identified for the English language by Martin and White (2005) and Hood (2010, 2019), also work for the Spanish language, as it was shown and established from a SFL perspective (Caffarel et al., 2004; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). Suffixes have been proved to be productive resources for building meaning of graduation by sub-modification at the rank of the word structure by a morpheme in written Spanish language, in combination with other resources that work at different rank levels of the lexico-grammatical stratum and in turn in the discourse semantic stratum, creating prosodic interpersonal meanings that accumulate in the co-text.

Extreme degree suffixes *-ísimo/a/s*, which maximize pre-existent resources of graduation by means of suffixation, resulting in what we have called “extreme graduation” as force of intensification and quantification, have proved to have a critical role regarding the discursive representation of human rights violations that were committed during



**Figure 5.** Network system of Graduation as force in Spanish language: role of suffixes.

General Pinochet’s dictatorship, as reported by *The National Truth and Reconciliation Commission* in 1991. These disputed systematic acts of state brutality, for which at the beginning of the transition to democracy there was no evidence of the 1.100 centers of detention and torture along the country and the almost 40.000 cases of torture (Government of Chile, 2004, 2011), were built in the discourse with the “help” of the suffixes that contribute to maximize evoked evaluations of negative integrity, pushing the cline of explicitness from evoked evaluations to provoked ones. That is to say, resources of extreme graduation contribute to the rhetorical effect of promoting an evaluative interpretation more explicitly than non-extreme resources, in cases where the nature of the text demands an objective positioning of the authors.

On the other hand, as it has been shown in examples 7 and 8, suffixes such as -ada and -azo, function not only at the rank scale of the morpheme, but fundamentally at different lexicogrammatical and discourse-semantic levels, due to its role as part of lexical and experiential grammatical metaphors codified at the rank scale of the group. In this manner, it is in the inter-stratal tension of lexicogrammar and discourse-semantics that the highly graduated meaning of negative appreciation of conflict and integrity expressed as an incongruent realization such as “the revolutionary wave”/ *la oleada revolucionaria* can be explained. It is only through the combination of resources that contribute to the building of an incongruent expression that the discourse can afford to graduate with a high force as intensification a negative attitude regarding a historical situation.

In the next Figure 5 we present a system network that organizes the resources of graduation by suffixation identified in the written Spanish corpus of recent Chilean History of social crisis and human rights violations:

In this article we have described the role that Spanish suffixes such as *-ada*, *-azo* and *-ísimo/a/s* have in building graduation by suffixation at the discourse semantic stratum. As we show in the network system in Figure 5, one main distinction among the functioning of these suffixes is that some of them tend to work in congruent realizations and others in incongruent ones. In this way, suffixes *-ada* and *-azo* can graduate at the rank level of the morpheme, word and group and also be involved in an inter-stratal tension of an experiential grammatical metaphor that works in combination with a lexical metaphor intensifying as time and event in an incongruent manner. On the other hand, the extreme degree suffixes *-ísimo/a/s* can contribute to intensify qualities and to quantify as amount and extent in a congruent manner. Spanish suffixes can graduate by sub-modification at the word rank structure playing a part in the building of constellation of patterns of evoked and inscribed interpersonal meanings in the co-text.

The intersubjective analysis of Spanish morphology captures the prominence that derivative resources have to carry out meanings that project beyond the range of the word and the clause insofar they collaborate to show attitudes and positions in the discourse.

In Spanish language, as has been demonstrated for English, writers have the option of using sub-modification in the group rank or relying on repetition at the clause or text level to graduate attitudinal meanings. The use of suffixes as sub-modification in the lower rank of the word structure, which also has the potential to function in a higher level of a group in the case of certain suffixes that work in nominalizations, is another option available to users of Spanish. In other words, among the potential of language resources to graduate in Spanish, suffixes play a prominent role in building a rhetoric of negative evaluative effect in a less overt manner when authors attempt to convey meanings that are difficult to accept, believe or agree with, particularly in relation to social disputes and high levels of violence and brutality in a society.

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## Notes

1. In this article, the main categories for analyzing ATTITUDE created by Martin and White (2005) are followed. However, an elaboration of the subsystem of APPRECIATION to better deal with the analysis of historical discourses is also incorporated. This proposal includes the categories of *power*, *impact*, *integrity* and *conflict* (Oteiza, 2017; Oteiza and Pinuer, 2019).

2. These suffixes allow expressing in a synthetic way a meaning that in Romance Languages would be typically be carried out by means of a word or a group.
3. It is important to note that the extreme degree suffix *-ísimo/-ísima* allows to maximize either high or low quantifications in the discourse-semantic system of Graduation. For example, an extreme low quantification of things can be realized by a modified quantifier *poquísimo*, “so few.”
4. This adjective is a morphological collective that has the ability to signify in singular a collective reality. This feature also contributes to the graduation of meaning.
5. Previous examples in this section express “extreme graduation” of quantification through a combination of sub-modification by additional lexical items and by suffixation.
6. The History book written by Correa et al. (2001) has around 200 thousand orthographic words.
7. See also examples such as: *una oleada de tomas ilegales de predios agrícolas*; *la escalada de acciones que rompían con el orden establecido*; *la escalada de violencia*, among others (Correa et al., 2001).
8. Representation of congruent and incongruent meanings in Figures 3 and 4 after Martin (2020).
9. “Tanquetazo” works as a metonymy: “a group of tanks that attacks” for a group of military people who attack.

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