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Artículos

How do Spanish foreign language learners visualize written corrective feedback? A fresh panorama on students' experiences, perceptions, and preferences as writers
¿Cómo visualizan la retroalimentación escrita los aprendices de español como lengua extranjera? Un panorama actual de las experiencias, percepciones y preferencias de los estudiantes como escritores

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Abstract

Identifying Spanish foreign language learners' preferences and perceptions concerning written corrective feedback is crucial to empower them as writers. Studies on perceptions display incongruity between teachers' praxis and the learners' views; a mismatch that compromises the revision process and the overall growth of writing as a skill. Therefore, this study offers a fresh panorama on the matter by surveying the opinions and predilections concerning written corrective feedback of 21 intermediate Spanish foreign language learners. This study also provides a detailed profile of the participants as writers based on their self-reported practices (i.e., writing strategies) and their experiences with any formal instruction on literacy. Overall, an increase in positive perspective regarding written corrective feedback was observed as learners considered it furthered their writing abilities. They mainly favored indirect comments that a) created saliency and b) reflected metalinguistic information. Pedagogical insights to advance Spanish learners' writing aptitudes are offered.

Keywords: direct written corrective feedback, expectations, familiarity, indirect written corrective feedback, instruction, opinions, strategies

Resumen

Identificar las preferencias y percepciones de los estudiantes de español como lengua extranjera con respecto a la retroalimentación escrita es esencial para empoderar a nuestros estudiantes como escritores. Los estudios enfocados en percepciones muestran incongruencias entre las prácticas pedagógicas y las perspectivas de los estudiantes

respecto a ellas. Esta inconsistencia puede entorpecer el proceso de revisiones además de limitar el desarrollo de la escritura. Por lo tanto, este estudio ofrece un panorama actual sobre este asunto al explorar las opiniones y preferencias de 21 estudiantes intermedios de español como lengua extranjera respecto a la retroalimentación escrita. También se presenta un perfil detallado de los participantes como escritores basado en las estrategias de redacción que reportaron implementar y en sus experiencias con la enseñanza de alfabetización. Se observó una perspectiva positiva creciente respecto a la retroalimentación, pues los participantes consideraron que les ayudó a mejorar sus habilidades como escritores. A su vez, los participantes prefirieron los comentarios indirectos que (a) captaran su atención por su prominencia y (b) proveyeran información metalingüística. En este estudio la audiencia también tendrá acceso a recomendaciones pedagógicas para promover las aptitudes de sus estudiantes como escritores.

Palabras clave: retroalimentación escrita directa, retroalimentación escrita indirecta, enseñanza, estrategias, expectativas, opiniones, familiarización

Introduction

Identifying Spanish foreign language (FL) learners' perceptions and preferences regarding written corrective feedback (WCF) is essential for adopting efficient pedagogical practices to empower learners as writers in the target language (Valentin-Rivera, 2023). This is particularly important because "the relationship between perceptions, attitudes and behaviour is complex and not always predictable" (Storch, 2013, p. 170). For instance, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) observed a discrepancy in how teachers and learners perceived the effectiveness of feedback. Both noted that this mismatch could complicate the revision process, potentially hindering the overall development of writing skills. However, few studies (Greenlade & Félix-Brasdefer, 2006; Plonsky & Mills, 2006) have explored learners' opinions and preferences regarding WCF in the Spanish classroom, and, while impactful, these studies are dated. Moreover, to better understand the reasons behind students' views and predilections, it is crucial to explore their previous experiences as writers and their familiarity with specific types of corrective feedback. However, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no previous studies have focused on these matters. This study, therefore, aims to address these gaps by providing a fresh panorama of Spanish FL learners' perceptions and preferences concerning written comments. Additionally, this research will examine the learners' familiarity with various types of WCF and provide a detailed profile of the participants as writers based on their self-reported practices (e.g., writing strategies) as well as their exposure to any formal writing instruction.

Revision of the literature

Learners' beliefs concerning feedback in L2 and FL contexts

To this day, Leki's (1991) work remains a cornerstone in the examination of learners' responses and beliefs about WCF. In her study, 100 English as a Second Language (ESL) freshmen enrolled in a college-level writing course completed a survey on their expectations with regards to WCF, including which comments they found helpful for improving their writing and the types of corrections they tended to prefer and recall. The results revealed a strong desire for WCF in order to prevent future errors, with a preference for references to grammar-content handbooks and comments containing linguistic clues. Moreover, most participants indicated that they paid closer attention to corrections related to content and organization as these were the most memorable. Based on these findings, Leki (1991) strongly recommended engaging in pedagogically informed dialogues with learners regarding the efficacy of different WCF techniques and inquiring about their preferences and expectations to enhance accountability.

Hedgcock and Lefkowitz (1994) made further contributions in this line of research by exploring how two different settings of L2 writing (i.e., ESL and English as a Foreign Language [EFL]) impacted the learners' preferences regarding the provision of WCF. Overall, EFL students reportedly had a strong preference for feedback on form (e.g., grammar, vocabulary, mechanics). On the other hand, ESL learners showed equal interest in receiving comments that addressed both form and content (e.g., development of ideas, organization, writing style). This may be because ESL classes often approach writing as a key skill that can help position learners in higher education settings, while EFL classrooms primarily focus on literacy as an additional tool to enhance grammatical accuracy. In ESL contexts, Ferris (1995) worked with 155 composition learners who completed a survey on their views on WCF associated with a multiple-draft writing task since previous research had only focused on single-draft compositions. Three aspects were surveyed: (a) the issues addressed in the comments (e.g., organization); (b) how learners processed teachers' feedback (e.g., attention allocation); and (c) the helpfulness of WCF. Overall, the participants indicated that they primarily received grammar-related input from their instructors, with comments regarding organization, content, mechanics, and vocabulary being less frequent. Additionally, most students indicated that they primarily focused on comments related to grammar (67 %) and content (63 %) between drafts, while prioritizing vocabulary and mechanics in the final version. Furthermore, most participants reported consulting an outside source (e.g., tutors, a grammar book) to complete

their self-revisions of early drafts, while 50 % reported relying more on their own knowledge when refining their final drafts. Finally, learners' perception of WCF provision was overwhelmingly favorable, with 93 % believing that feedback helped them to understand “what to improve or avoid in the future, find their mistakes, and clarify their ideas” (p. 46). This finding demonstrates students' respect for teachers' comments and appreciation for the guidance they receive.

Recently, Valentín-Rivera (2023) explored the expectations, perceptions, level of familiarity (i.e., recognition of different strategies), and preferences of ten Chinese FLLs regarding WCF using a questionnaire and a survey. Overall, a unanimous expectation of teacher feedback as part of any writing task was observed, and teacher comments were deemed helpful. Regarding familiarity, both direct (i.e., errors fixed by the instructor) and indirect-related strategies (e.g., errors being underscored and accompanied by a comment focused on language use) were widely recognized (100 % and 93 %, respectively). Nonetheless, most participants (53.33 %) preferred indirect comments as they believed it enables and fortifies linguistic connections, which speaks to a high degree of accountability. Importantly, this study allowed the participants to identify additional types of comments or techniques that could be beneficial, of which they underscored: explaining the reasoning behind an error, assigning further writing practice, and incorporating examples into their comments. Although embedded in a different context, many of these findings (e.g., correlating dominance of grammar with writing aptitudes, and undeniably expecting feedback) align with those of studies in ESL and EFL settings, thus emphasizing the need to continue exploring learners' perceptions and preferences in the writing classroom across different languages.

Learners' perceptions regarding feedback in Spanish foreign language settings

Hedgcock and Lefkowitz's (1994) work, along with Ferris and Robert's (2001) findings regarding the enhancement of text quality as a result of two types of WCF provision (i.e., coding and saliency through underlining), as compared to no feedback provision (control group), motivated Greenslade and Félix-Brasdefer's (2006) study in Spanish L2 settings. Both scholars worked with 19 intermediate Spanish (FL) students from an intact composition course to examine the effects of two different types of WCF (i.e., underlining and codes) with respect to text quality as measured by the second draft of two individually written narratives. A secondary aim was identifying learners' perceptions concerning the efficacy of

both types of comments in relation to the use of the preterit and imperfect and achieving a higher degree of preparedness as writers. Thus, all syntactic, lexical, and mechanical errors in the first narrative were only underlined, while inaccuracies were both underlined and coded in the second narrative. Afterwards, the participants self-revised their texts within 20 minutes. Additionally, a questionnaire collected the participants' perceptions of WCF and the revising process. A significant effect of feedback on text quality when self-revising was observed, particularly when codes mediated the revisions, in contrast to Ferris and Roberts' (2001) findings. This may be explained by the more diverse types of errors (19) that were targeted, as compared to those underscored by Ferris and Roberts (i.e., five). Furthermore, coded WCF was strongly favored as participants believed such comments fortified their grammatical knowledge, comparable to the EFL learners in Hedgcock and Lefkowitz (1994).

In 2006, Plonsky and Mills aimed to reconcile the mismatch between 32 college FL Spanish beginners and their language teacher regarding the efficacy of WCF, as students considered it unhelpful. Therefore, the Spanish instructor that participated in the study explained the reasoning behind his strategies in addressing written errors during two different sessions (i.e., bifold treatment). Students' opinions, on the other hand, were consulted before the treatment and after each session through three questionnaires. These questionnaires focused on four areas: (a) motivation (encouragement vs. discouragement to self-revise), (b) the prioritization of grammar, (c) focusing on meaning (as opposed to reducing writing to a solely mechanical practice focused on certain grammatical points and lexicon), and (d) students' linguistic (un)readiness to revise. Overall, the perceptual mismatch on WCF decreased as students progressively viewed feedback more positively, possibly due to the bifold treatment, making students feel more involved in the learning process. Additionally, a distinct association between a strong command of grammar and successful language learning was evident (similar to the findings of Hedgcock & Lefkowitz, 1994). These observations prompted the authors to advocate for transparent dialogues between teachers and learners to diversify pedagogical practices of self-revision in writing and encourage students to be more receptive to them.

In 2019, Mikulski, Elola, Padial and Berry surveyed 56 instructors and 96 Spanish heritage language learners (SHLLs), i.e., individuals who learned Spanish at home through early exposure (Valdés, 2001). The goal was to identify the most recurrent types of WCF provision and revision practices among learners, and how teachers and students perceived them. Therefore, a survey that included a back-

ground questionnaire along with three branches with Likert-scale and multiple-choice questions was distributed nationally. Overall, three types of WCF were most prominent: incorporating a coding system, providing written explanations, and creating saliency by underscoring inaccuracies. Regarding revision practices, 96 % of the instructors requested that learners complete a second draft. This was confirmed by the cohort of students, who claimed to conduct self-revisions either always (68 %) or only sometimes (31 %). Lastly, SHLLs widely shared a positive perception of WCF: 70 % believed teachers' comments were very or somewhat useful to enhance their grammar and spelling skills. Additionally, the participants expressed their desire to receive even more comments from their teachers. Although SHLLs' linguistic background greatly differs from FLLs', Mikulski *et al.*'s (2019) results are highly relevant as the feedback techniques that were frequently reported by their participants are prevalent in Spanish FL classrooms. Thus, these WCF techniques seem to be highly transferable across both teaching contexts. This is not to say that teachers' comments should not differ depending on the linguistic background and expertise of the students.

Limitations of previous research and research questions

Previous research has provided important contributions to our understanding of learners' perceptions of WCF while equipping language instructors with tools to devise varied and effective pedagogical strategies in the L2 writing classroom. However, this line of research is still underrepresented in FL Spanish contexts, in addition to lacking an updated comprehensive review. Furthermore, only Mikulski *et al.* (2019) have recently surveyed the familiarity of Spanish learners with different strategies of feedback provision. Expanding this knowledge is key to creating a solid foundation of diverse WCF practices that (a) enable the advancement of learners' writing skills (e.g., promoting self-revisions on content in the first round of corrections while addressing form in the final draft, as recommended in Ferris' work in 1995), (b) recognize students' readiness (Plonsky & Mills, 2006), or (c) promote two-way dialogues between instructors and learners to share their views on the efficiency of feedback to achieve an inclusive understanding (Leki, 1991; Valentín-Rivera, 2023). Additionally, it is equally essential to (a) explore learners' familiarity with various WCF strategies specifically in FL Spanish contexts and (b) provide a contemporary panorama of learners' expectations, preferences, and perceptions regarding written comments. Insights on perceptions, defined by Storch (2013, p. 94) as "a set of opinions that learners have" (p. 94), are particularly crucial as "the relationship between perceptions, attitudes and behaviour is complex and not

always predictable” (p. 170), thus frequently identifying incongruity between students’ views and their own linguistic performance (Storch, 2013; Valentín-Rivera, 2019). Moreover, we have limited access to comprehensive profiles of Spanish L2 writers that map out any formal instruction on L2 literacy and the strategies they recurrently use when constructing a text (Elola, Rodríguez-García & Winfrey 2008). Therefore, addressing this gap is imperative to ensure pedagogical practices that recognize and ultimately further our students’ strengths (De Silva, 2015). Furthermore, a detailed profile of Spanish L2 writers will serve as a foundation to comprehend their views and expectations associated with WCF. As such, the present study builds on Valentín-Rivera (2022) to deliver an updated understanding of Spanish FL learners’ (a) overall writing profile, (b) expectations when receiving WCF, and (c) their preferences for as well as their familiarity with different types of written comments by addressing the following questions:

1. What is the overall profile of intermediate learners as writers in terms of previous instruction on L2 literacy and self-reported writing practices?
2. What are Spanish FL learners’ expectations (i.e., whether they want to receive WCF and how frequently) and overall perceptions (i.e., helpfulness, challenges, and suggestions for instructors) regarding WCF?
3. What are Spanish FL learners’ degrees of familiarity and preferences regarding different types (direct vs. indirect) and strategies (e.g., coding vs. metalinguistic explanations) of WCF?

Methodology

Participants and settings

Twenty-one intermediate Spanish learners between the ages of 18 and 22 ($M = 20.33$) participated in this study. All were enrolled in two sections of a Composition and Grammar course at a Midwestern public university, which aims to equip learners with effective L2 writing practices. Thus, writing is approached as a process rather than a product (Manchón, 2011), while also enhancing students’ awareness and appreciation of Hispanic cultures. Specifically, three multi-drafted writing tasks, mediated by feedback on content and form, are completed throughout the semester; one per cultural unit. Additionally, each unit is guided and accompanied by a main reading that presents sociohistorical topics (e.g., *la Colonia*) and sociocultural topics (e.g., syncretic Hispanic traditions).

It is worth mentioning that most participants were either freshmen (57.14 %) or sophomores (23.8 %) while only four of them were completing their third (9.5 %)

or last year (9.5 %) of college. Furthermore, the pool of participants largely shared similar linguistic backgrounds, except for two learners (9.5 %) who identified as Spanish heritage speakers, while only one participant (4.75 %) had studied abroad. Concerning any formal instruction, having taken Spanish for five years (mainly at the junior or high school level and in college) was the most common response (66.7 %), followed by one to four (23.8 %) and seven years (9.5 %). When asked about their interest in studying the target language, in order to understand their motivations for pursuing bilingualism, more than two reasons per learner were cited. This allowed for a detailed landscape where the predominant motivation was found to be enhancing their professional profiles to enable better job opportunities (66.7 %). Additionally, 33.4 % expressed the desire to serve the Hispanic community, especially in medical-related fields, and engage with locals when traveling to Spanish-speaking countries. Equally popular (19 % each) were the following five reasons: (a) connecting with people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds; (b) expanding the pool of people they could communicate with; (c) having an authentic passion for the language; (d) realizing that Spanish is rapidly growing in the U.S., and (e) deeming it “cool” to be multilingual. Also, both heritage speakers expressed a desire to connect with their roots.

Data collection materials

As this study primarily builds on Valentin-Rivera (2023), minimal modifications were made to the two instruments used in said investigation, namely an online background questionnaire and an online survey. An additional section was added (see “Online Survey on WCF” below) to account for the participants’ profiles as writers (research question 1), as Valentin-Rivera (2023) only addressed two of the research questions guiding the current study (i.e., research questions 2 & 3). All the questions in both instruments were presented in English to prevent any language barriers that would hinder the communication or depth of responses.

Background questionnaire

This instrument facilitated an extensive participant profile through 12 inquiries: four were open-ended and eight were close-ended. This resulted in three distinct domains regardless of their degree of openness. The first domain, labeled as “circumstantial features”, contained the learners’ (a) gender, (b) age, (c) reasons for taking Spanish courses, and (d) college classification (i.e., freshmen, sophomore, junior, or senior) —refer to the “Participants and Settings” Section above. The second domain concentrated on the participants’ overall linguistic academic

experience thus focusing on (a) the number of years studying Spanish, (b) their proficiency level, and (c) the foci of the courses they had previously completed. The last domain explored any prior experience with writing tasks and the processes involved in these tasks.

Online survey on WCF

To address the three research questions, an online survey on WCF with 36 questions (21 open-ended and 15 close-ended), was designed using Google Forms. The survey was grounded in different areas, referred to as “realms”. These specifically align with any formal instruction in and experience with L2 writing, and the participants’ perspectives on WCF provision. The specific aspects investigated within each realm are outlined in Table 1 (adapted from Valentín-Rivera, 2023).

TABLE 1. SURVEYED SPECIFICATIONS PER REALM.

REALM	SURVEYED SPECIFICATION
1) Instruction	Previously taught writing strategies.
2) Self-reported writing practices	Approaches to planning and revising. Strategies typically used while writing following a process approach.
3) Previous experiences as writers	Known genres. Average number of compositions completed per course. Focus of independent revisions. Prioritized aspects upon the reception of WCF (i.e., content or form).
3) Expectations	Whether receiving WCF is anticipated and why. Frequency in which WCF from teachers is expected.
4) Perceptions	General perceptions on WCF in terms of helpfulness. Different challenges when writing in Spanish: Whether instructors are aware of these. Affording teachers insights on additional actions they could implement to assist their learners to overcome these challenges.
5) Familiarity	Acquaintance with different types of WCF (i.e., direct vs. indirect). Acquaintance with WCF provision strategies (e.g., coding, metalinguistic observations). Most used strategies learners observed when receiving WCF.
6) Preferences associated with WCF	Preferred type of WCF (i.e., direct, or indirect). Preferred strategies of WCF provision (e.g., underlining, coding, and metalinguistic observations). Areas that receive more attention (i.e., content and form).

Procedure

Upon approval, the researcher visited the intact classes to invite the class members to participate in this study. The students were informed that their participation was voluntary, and all attendees from both sections agreed to take part. On the day that the data was collected, the researcher explained the general aims of the investigation

(without specifying the research questions to avoid bias) and shared the consent form and the sets of materials via email. Thirty minutes were given to fill out both forms. Afterwards, all names were replaced by numbers to maintain participants' anonymity, ensuring a fair analysis process, as explained below.

Data analysis

This investigation is qualitative in nature and therefore follows Merriam's (2009) parameters to ensure an efficient collection and analysis of the data. Due to its qualitative approach, the participants' answers were initially analyzed in terms of their meaning (Richards, 2005) to consequently create a coding system that would ultimately enable the establishment of themes (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). For instance, early in the analysis process, among the recurrent patterns identified were the prioritization of form over content when revising. Just like in Valentin-Rivera (2023), the researcher filed the set of themes that were identified and revisited them two weeks later to verify their accuracy. To integrate an additional layer of reliability, the data set was also shared with a Spanish faculty member, who was initially part of the study as per the submission and approval of the Institutional Review Board but who only assisted with the collection of the data due to time constraints. These additional revision rounds solidified the establishment and relevance of the themes. Upon the completion of these classifications, the percentages per theme were reported, which, in turn, revealed the significance of different matters related to WCF from the learners' standpoint. It is worth noting that in several instances, for example, when asking learners about the writing strategies that they already used before enrolling in a writing course, the participants were allowed to share as many techniques as they could identify. Therefore, the percentages reported in repeated instances throughout the results represent the overall mentions of one given item, as opposed to being summative (i.e., showing a cumulative percentage of 100 % by adding all presented percentages —see Table 2 as an example).

Results

Research question 1: learners' profiles as writers

The learners' writing profiles (i.e., research question 1) were mainly determined by the survey questions related to any formal instruction they had received prior to enrolling in the Composition and Grammar course. These questions focused exclusively on the various writing strategies that the participants (a) had been taught previously and (b) self-reportedly used while constructing a text in Spanish.

With respect to the teaching of strategies related to approaching writing as a process (i.e., a cyclical endeavor that involves an interconnected trifold procedure consisting of planning, composing, and revising), the outlined techniques varied widely (Table 2).

TABLE 2. PREVIOUSLY TAUGHT WRITING STRATEGIES.

IDENTIFIED STRATEGY AND CORRESPONDING PROCESS	RECOGNITION
Outlining (planning)	52.3 %
Brainstorming (planning)	47.6 %
Integrating vocabulary, e.g., circumlocution, synonyms (composing)	28.6 %
Incorporating researched information (composing)	
Structuring sentences (composing)	14.3 %
Writing a topic sentence (composing)	
Interpreting prompts (planning and composing)	
Translating ideas from English to Spanish (composing)	
Content verification (e.g., reading out loud to verify the meaning, proofreading) (revising)	9.5 %
Using varied tenses (composing)	4.8 %
Writing the body before the introduction and conclusion (composing)	
Keeping ideas simple (composing)	
Avoiding chopiness (composing)	

As observed above, the strategies previously taught in the Spanish L2 classroom largely favored the composing phase, as evidenced by the diverse body of techniques related to this writing stage that the learners identified (11 out of 14). However, the two highest-rated strategies (i.e., outlining and brainstorming) corresponded to planning, while pedagogical efforts on revising (i.e., reading out loud to check for meaning and proofreading) were seemingly dismissed.

To provide a more comprehensive panorama, a comparison was made between what students had been taught and the decisions they made as writers, as discrepancies are not uncommon (Storch, 2013). Participants were asked (a) whether they habitually planned and revised their texts, and (b) which actual strategies they typically employed. When it came to planning, all the participants claimed to conduct some sort of preparation before writing. What varied was the consistency of this task, with 52.4 % stating they did so in some instances, while 47.6 % claimed to always do so. In contrast, despite not being taught a wide range of revising strategies, the majority of participants (57 %) stated that they consistently paused during the writing process to check for accuracy and fluency, while 23.8 % admitted to rarely doing so. The remaining 19.2 % of learners mentioned not revising while composing a text in Spanish. Moreover, 81 % confirmed that they conducted revisions upon the completion of the text, right before submitting their work. In

terms of the specific strategies associated with constructing a text, the participants' responses revealed the actual implementation of one of the two planning techniques they had previously been taught: outlining (directly in the target language). Additionally, generating thoughts in English first and mentally translating them into Spanish before jotting them down was almost equally popular, despite the potential counterproductivity of this practice due to its possible interference. Concerning composing, most participants (76 %) stated that they first wrote the entire text and then reviewed their printed thoughts to delete or add information accordingly to enhance their writing. Specifically, upon the completion of the draft, participants either consulted online or printed resources for form-related issues (grammar and vocabulary) and mechanics (spelling), or relied on their personal knowledge to correct errors.

In addition to explaining their approach to the different stages of the writing process, the learners also disclosed 1) the various writing genres they had practiced in previous courses, 2) the average number of compositions they had been expected to complete per semester, 3) the types of independent revisions (i.e., not mediated by teachers' comments) they completed and why, and 4) the aspects (i.e., content or form) that the participants focused on the most upon receiving teachers' WCF. Regarding the genres that the participants had worked on, summaries (95.2 %) were highly frequent, in addition to descriptions and comparisons (85.7 %). In contrast, cause-effect and argumentative texts were the least familiar, with similar percentages (33.33 % and 28.6 % respectively). Concerning the average number of essays students were required to produce per Spanish class, three to four writing pieces was the norm, which aligns with the expectations for the writing course that they were enrolled in during the study. Many participants expressed confidence in their ability to identify and correct errors during independent revisions, and provided detailed explanations of the types of corrections that they made autonomously. Specifically, 60 % stated that they prioritized accuracy over content (40 %) for the reasons presented in Table 3.

Interestingly, although accuracy was the central point of interest when self-correcting, the main reasons to focus on either aspect were interconnected. That is, whether the participants concentrated most on form or content, they identified the element of their choice as crucial to adequately convey meaning. Additionally, the independent revisions of some participants on both accounts were motivated by the degree of confidence that they felt in their linguistic knowledge on either matter. Lastly, despite underscoring the difficulty of effectively constructing a text in the L2, two participants prioritized content to

continue building on their writing skills. This speaks to a desire to make the most of their experience as Spanish learners. The prioritization of accuracy when autonomously revising matched what the participants paid most attention to when receiving WCF from their teacher, as they stated they primarily focused on comments associated with grammar due to its complexity and importance (47.7 %). Only 28.6 % equally concentrated on content and grammar, while 14.3 % mainly focused on feedback correlated with content only, since the instructor's comments would offer linguistic hints (i.e., codes) that facilitated the revision process of form. The remaining 9.5 % paid attention to the errors where most points had been taken off, as per the rubric.

TABLE 3. REASONING BEHIND THE PRIORITIZATION OF ACCURACY OR CONTENT WHEN AUTONOMOUSLY REVISING.

ACCURACY	CONTENT
Form-related matters are hard to master but essential for an essay to make sense (75 %)	Content is indispensable to convey the intended meaning, especially when it comes to organization (50 %)
It is easy to revise form because I feel comfortable with my grammar and vocabulary knowledge (16.7 %)	It is easy to revise issues related to content as I am confident of my skills to do so (25 %)
Grammar and vocabulary are the main emphasis of most Spanish classes (8.3 %)	Dedicating time to revising content-related matters will enhance my overall skills as a writer (25 %)

Research question 2: learners' expectations and perceptions

To address the question interconnected with Spanish FL learners' expectations and perceptions regarding WCF (RQ2), the participants answered questions directly linked to whether and why they expected written comments when completing a text in the L2 and how often. Moreover, they were also asked to identify (a) the main challenges that writing in Spanish may pose and (b) the degree of helpfulness of teachers' feedback.

Concerning the provision of WCF, only one learner (4.7 %) specified not expecting it but rather feeling grateful for any written directives provided by the instructor. The other 95.3 % declared anticipating receiving feedback from the instructor either after completing every single writing assignment (59.1 %) or upon the completion of a long text and after submitting their revisions (40.9 %). The high expectation for WCF was associated with: (a) seeing comments as a way to become more adept writers since learning comes from mistakes (76.19 %), (b) perceiving comments as a means to identify their areas of struggle so that they could ask for specific assistance when talking to an expert in the target language, such as the instructor or a tutor (23.8 %), or (c) simply because the provision of written guidance is either a common practice in the classroom or

the teacher's job (14.28 %). Other less prominent reasons were (i) understanding the reasons behind their grade, (ii) deeming writing as a core component of the course, (iii) feeling confused and discouraged without it, and (iv) recognizing the teacher as the main source of linguistic knowledge.

In the challenges associated with writing, a broad range of complexities were reported (Table 4).

TABLE 4. CHALLENGES WHEN WRITING IN SPANISH.

DIFFICULTIES	DEGREE
Expressing myself accurately (grammar).	47.6 %
Providing lexical variety throughout.	28.57 %
Constructing adequate sentences (i.e., syntax).	19.04 %
Achieving fluency.	14.28 %
Avoiding being influenced by the L1.	
Facing time constraints.	
Writing cohesively (e.g., efficient use of transitions).	
Generating ideas.	9.52 %
Incorporating newly studied tenses.	
Revising accurately.	4.76 %
Knowing the rhetoric conventions of writing in Spanish (e.g., unpracticed genres).	

The participants' concerns reflect a heavy emphasis on form-related matters (i.e., grammar accuracy, lexical usage, and syntax issues) as compared to content (fluency, organization, cohesion). This is parallel with the overall profile of these learners as writers (research question 1). The latter showcased a prioritization of grammar-related aspects by carrying out more corrections focused on language quality and accuracy either when autonomously revising or when receiving WCF from their teacher. Additionally, the participants were asked if their previous or current instructor(s) had been aware of these struggles, to which most (42.85 %) acknowledged never having brought up this topic to the attention of their language teachers as they felt intimidated. In contrast, 33.33 % reported communicating any struggles to their Spanish instructors in private during office hours. The remaining 23.8 % felt that their Composition and Grammar instructor was aware of the difficulties they faced as the comments they had received upon the completion of their first writing task matched the areas that the learners considered to be their weaknesses.

Finally, in terms of effectiveness, the participants were required to specify the degree of helpfulness of the WCF they had received in the past as compared to that provided in the writing class they were enrolled in at the time the data was gathered (Table 5).

TABLE 5. DEGREE OF THE USEFULNESS OF WCF BEFORE AND WHILE TAKING A WRITING CLASS.

Categorization of helpfulness	Before taking a writing class	While taking a writing class
Useless and confusing	4.76 %	0 %
Useless	0 %	0 %
Somewhat useful	52.38 %	14.28 %
Very useful	28.57 %	28.57 %
Extremely useful	14.2 %	52.38 %

Interestingly, before enrolling in the Composition and Grammar course, the participants largely (95.24 %) viewed WCF positively, mostly deeming it to be “somewhat” or “very” useful, while only one participant classified it as useless and confusing. More specifically, only 14.2 % deemed it as “extremely useful”. However, this same category showed 52.38 % when the participants referred to the utility of the comments that came from the instructor teaching the writing course. That is, the highest possible categorization of usefulness increased by 38.18 %. To better account for this positive change, the participants had to indicate which comments were the most useful while taking a course focused on writing, in addition to determining in which ways this feedback had assisted them the most. Overall, four types of comments surfaced in the following order of prevalence: (a) WCF with hints concerning the core of the inaccuracy or examples that can guide the correction process (52.38 %), (b) feedback that assists in the improvement of form (accuracy: 14.28 %, syntax: 9.52 %, vocabulary: 4.76 %), (c) comments that promote content enhancement (9.52 %), and (d) positive remarks on what is done efficiently to provide encouragement (4.76 %). Moreover, the participants felt that their teacher’s comments had equally facilitated the use of complex grammatical structures more accurately and better organization of their ideas (76.19 %).

Research question 3: learners’ familiarity with WCF and preferences

To account for the participants’ familiarity with WCF, some of the survey questions prompted answers concerning (a) their understanding of what direct and indirect written feedback was, (b) the differences between the written comments they received before taking a writing-focused course and those they were receiving at the time of data collection, and (c) the writing strategies they had learned in the Composition and Grammar course up to that point.

To avoid confusion, the survey also included a concise but detailed explanation of both types of WCF (direct and indirect). The results indicated that the participants were highly aware of the features that define direct (95.23 %) and

indirect (90.47 %) feedback. The degree of familiarity with direct WCF was particularly visible in the participants' responses connected to the written comments that they frequently received prior to their experience in the Composition and Grammar course they were taking at the time. Overall, 15 participants (71.42 %) reported only having received WCF that targeted grammar-related errors. More specifically, the main technique associated with direct feedback known by these participants was getting their (grammatical) errors underlined, crossed out, or circled in addition to having them corrected by their professors. Three additional recurrent techniques were reported. First, having participants' errors only pointed out and being encouraged to consult their instructor individually to request additional information on the nature and reasoning behind the inaccuracies, which was deemed as demotivating as in most occasions no revisions were required. Second, having any errors identified (by circling or underlining) with barely any pointers about the root of the issue. Third, receiving a general summary at the bottom of their texts explaining what could be improved in terms of content. The remaining six participants declared being familiar with indirect WCF (19.04 %) or both types (9.5 %). The most popular technique corresponding to indirect WCF was the use of codes or receiving a general explanation from the teacher focused on the most common issues that the class (as a whole) displayed in their texts.

According to the participants, the WCF that they had received in the writing course they were enrolled in was significantly better. The participants overwhelmingly asserted that the comments were more detailed and incorporated specific examples, which served as directives that facilitated the revision process and allowed them to make connections and better understand matters that they were having difficulties comprehending, especially in terms of language use. Another aspect that made the comments more meaningful in their overall learning experience was the balanced focus on elements related to form and content, which was consistent with the distribution of the points proposed in the rubric. Moreover, while three participants expressed their disapproval for the provision of codes, most participants felt they were beneficial as they both provided a hint concerning the linguistic nature of the error and motivated them to fix the errors on their own. This speaks to the participants' high level of accountability to make learning plausible. Another element that was considered positively impactful was analyzing the readings that served as the base for each of the three units and compositions of the course (see the Methods Section for an explanation of the organization and aims of the class). In addition to being informative, as

the readings covered complex and important topics related to Hispanic culture, the participants considered that they also served as a model that depicted how to structure a text in Spanish.

In terms of new writing strategies that the participants had learned while taking Composition and Grammar, 85.71 % reported acquiring new practices. These practices included: (a) working with codes, (b) incorporating new planning strategies by answering content questions before writing the first draft, which enabled the participants to write fluidly, (c) using the main readings as writing models, and (d) visualizing ideas in a specific order to better illustrate timing and sequence through the use of various grammatical structures.

The participants' preferences regarding WCF were also outlined through some of the survey questions. Initially, the majority of the learners (62 %) favored indirect WCF over direct corrections (33.33 %). The preference for indirect comments was mainly associated with its helpfulness as it aids in understanding the core issues, as well as recognizing errors and completing self-revisions, thus empowering learners to improve their language skills and abilities as writers. This is a significant finding, especially considering that four participants who expressed a preference for indirect WCF had never been required to submit a second corrected draft of their written works. In contrast, some of those that showed more interest in direct corrections highlighted its practicality in error identification and understanding the reasoning behind them, while others emphasized their lack of time for self-correction or their inability to identify the root of the inaccuracies on their own. Only one participant (4.76 %) expressed a desire to receive a combination of both types due to the importance of the task grade-wise. That is, s/he considered that direct corrections should be provided in high-stake assignments, while indirect comments should be provided for low-stake compositions.

Discussion

This study offers an updated panorama of Spanish FL learners' expectations, preferences, and perceptions regarding the efficacy of WCF. In order to gain a deeper understanding of these singularities, and to further implement impactful pedagogical practices in the Spanish FL classroom, a detailed profile of the participants as writers and their degree of familiarity with various forms of corrective feedback is also provided.

Overall, like Leki (1991) and Valentin-Rivera (2023), most participants (95.3 %) claimed to eagerly anticipate written comments from their instructors since they saw feedback as a way to further their writing abilities. The point of

divergence with Leki (1991) resided in the aspect that the learners dedicated most attention to when being provided with WCF. In Leki's investigation, the participants focused on feedback targeting content more consistently, while those in this study predominantly focused on grammar-related inaccuracies. The prioritization of linguistic issues, however, is in line with Hedgcock and Lefkowitz (1994) and Plonsky and Mills (2006). Specifically, the foreign language learners in Hedgcock and Lefkowitz (1994) also reportedly expected to receive more feedback associated with form only, while those in Plonsky and Mills (2006) associated a high grammar commandment with successful language learning. Similarly, many Spanish FL learners in this study felt their grammar knowledge was still inadequate and believed that its mastery was key to conveying meaning accurately while writing. The prevalent association of grammatical precision with writing efficiency, which relegates content-related matters (e.g., organization, cohesion, coherence, supporting ideas efficiently) to a secondary sphere, may be explained by two factors. First, it is hypothesized that a heavy focus on form is primarily caused by the essence of the type of WCF that the learners previously received (71.42 % only focused on linguistic matters), thus supporting Ferris' (1995) observations. Second, the participants' limited experience with more complex genres may also account for these results. That is, structuring more complex writing tasks was significantly less familiar as most participants had only completed summaries, descriptions, and comparisons. Consequently, this issue limited the students' abilities to provide evidence to support an idea, which is a crucial endeavor in academic writing, such as argumentative texts.

In terms of familiarity and preferences related to WCF, the learners were well-versed in direct feedback techniques but preferred indirect comments as they helped them understand the reasons behind the errors. This discovery is consistent with Valentin-Rivera (2023) and Greenslade and Félix-Brasdefer (2006), indicating a genuine interest on the participants' part to enhance their aptitudes as authors. Moreover, the most recurrent strategies used by the instructors in previous classes to provide WCF included creating saliency (e.g., underlining, crossing out, circling), which align with Mikulski *et al.*'s (2019) findings. Moreover, some of the challenges faced (e.g., difficulties in achieving language accuracy due to incomplete mastery of certain grammatical forms, limited lexicon, and inadequate sentence structuring) and the reported benefits of WCF were comparable to those seen in Valentin-Rivera (2023). Specifically, the learners found teachers' comments most helpful when they facilitated the overall correction process and assisted them in overcoming the challenges they faced. Additionally, corrections

that provided some sort of metalinguistic guidance (e.g., coding, examples, brief grammar reminders, etc.) were preferred by the participants who favored indirect WCF, supporting Greenslade and Félix-Brasdefer (2006) as their participants showed a preference for a coding system.

Two additional points of convergence with Ferris (1995) were found. The first point is the two most recurrent strategies that the learners reported using to self-revise, which include consulting online and printed grammar resources, as well as relying on their own linguistic knowledge. The second point is the elevated number of participants who considered WCF to be highly useful and why they felt this way (e.g., the identification of areas of struggle and the ability to correct errors in the future, thereby enhancing their overall writing skills). These differences may be attributed to the variations in the design of both studies in question. Conversely, the highly positive perception of WCF aligns with the views expressed by the Spanish learners that participated in Mikulski *et al.* (2019) and Plonsky and Mills (2006). It is worth noting that in this study, the reported usefulness of WCF increased by 38 % when participants took a course primarily focused on writing skills, perhaps due to the more specific and comprehensive feedback that addressed both form and content. A similar trend was observed in Plonsky and Mills (2006), which the authors attributed to the informed conversation about the importance of WCF that the instructor had with the learners as part of the treatment.

There are other significant matters to consider in the advancement of pedagogical practices in the Spanish FL classroom. First, the participants' profiles as writers (RQ1) depicted individuals that (a) had been taught different techniques to approach writing as a process, such as planning, composing, and revising, and (b) were continually preparing and revising their texts (similar to the findings in Mikulski *et al.*, 2019). However, the learners' declarations regarding their perceptions (RQ2) and preferences (RQ3) for WCF revealed a literacy landscape where writing techniques were used only superficially. For example, planning strategies like outlining and brainstorming that had been taught before enrolling in the Spanish composition course were most prominently incorporated. Nevertheless, several participants mentioned learning more sophisticated planning strategies during the writing course, such as answering content questions before writing the first draft, which promoted fluency and critical thinking. As a result, the participants felt better prepared to compose their texts. Something similar was observed in the "composing" process, which is not surprising given that almost 30 % of the participants had rarely or never had to submit a corrected draft of

their compositions previously. Furthermore, it was noted that while most participants focused on form, those emphasizing content did so to continue developing their aptitudes as writers. They also highlighted that their teacher at the time of the data collection facilitated the correction process by providing concrete examples in the comments and including a reading focused on socio-cultural aspects of the Hispanic world. The reading reportedly served as a model to better understand Spanish writing conventions and enhance cultural awareness through discussions and reflections that were also incorporated in the students' essays. Being awarded with points allocated to the revision of form and content-related matters also appeared to have a positive impact. Therefore, these pedagogical practices should be considered by L2 writing instructors and gradually incorporated into lower-level curricula. This will enable a more consistent and continuous L2 literacy training at the college level, equipping learners to: 1) become more familiar with different genres, including argumentative texts, 2) recognize the value of writing as a cyclical endeavor, 3) feel motivated to communicate effectively both orally and in writing, 4) be receptive to various forms of WCF, particularly those that prioritize content as much as form, and 5) continue developing complex linguistic skills, such as writing. Additionally, these findings support Leki (1991) and Valentin-Rivera's (2023) recommendation to include a two-way dialogue on the pedagogical significance of WCF in writing (see the model used in Plonsky and Mills, 2006). Conversations should not only take place between learners and instructors but also *among* language teachers to discuss the adoption and progression of feedback practices *and* writing strategies for planning, composing, and revising essays under mediation and autonomously.

Conclusion

The results observed here further support previous contributions that have been conducted in broader FL contexts (Valentin-Rivera, 2023) and on a larger scale (Leki, 1991; Hedgcock & Lefkowitz, 1994; Ferris, 1995) concerning learners' undeniable expectation of WCF and overall positive perception regarding the helpfulness of teachers' comments to become more adept writers. Particularly, this study concentrates on Spanish FL contexts by delivering an updated panorama of learners' expectations, views, and preferences regarding the impact of WCF while also providing a detailed profile of intermediate learners as writers. This type of knowledge should be considered to advance students' writing practices from an early stage in their overall L2 learning process, as opposed to allocating these efforts to specialized classes that usually follow lower-sequence courses that

may take up to two years to complete. Despite their relevance, these findings need to be cautiously interpreted as some limitations are part of this study. For instance, the participant pool size is somewhat limited, and future studies should incorporate a larger number of them. Moreover, similar studies should explore additional elements that can deepen our understanding of FL learners' profile as writers, such as the effect of different types of WCF directly triangulated with pieces of writing (i.e., first drafts as compared to revised drafts) produced by the participants. Other than this, the design of future investigations should consider incorporating a quantitative element for applicability purposes.

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Análisis de la concordancia paralela en la traducción de verbos en gerundio (-ing) en un corpus *ad hoc* de textos técnicos de mercadotecnia de salud de mascotas

Paralell concordance in the translation of gerund verbs (-ing) in an ad hoc corpus of technical pet health marketing texts

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Resumen

Esta investigación plantea abordar el fenómeno lingüístico de la ambigüedad en la traducción de verbos en gerundio (-ing) que se encuentran en textos técnicos de marketing de salud de mascotas del inglés al español. Se formará un corpus *ad hoc* paralelo bilingüe (que podría considerarse una muestra de un corpus más grande) mediante el uso de la herramienta *Sketch Engine* con la finalidad de activar la función de concordancia paralela para cumplir con el objetivo de contrastar con esta función la traducción de verbos en gerundio (-ing) del inglés al español. La pregunta de investigación de este trabajo es: ¿es posible contrastar aspectos que tienden al error en el proceso de posesición de la traducción de textos técnicos de salud de mascotas del inglés al español para verificar el grado de calidad de sus traducciones? La presente investigación es mixta. En primera instancia, es de corte cualitativo porque se contrastan las propuestas de traducción de verbos en gerundio (-ing) del inglés al español en un corpus *ad hoc* que fue construido para verificar la calidad de traducción de esta tipología de textos. Por otro lado, también es cuantitativa, porque se extraen tanto el número de errores, así como, el porcentaje del grado de calidad que se encontró en el corpus *ad hoc*. Debido a esto, la lingüística de corpus puede fungir como una metodología y ser aplicada al análisis de fenómenos lingüísticos, en este caso, para la posesición de la traducción de textos. Los datos indican que el grado de calidad sí puede ser verificable

a través de la construcción de un corpus *ad hoc* y esto puede fungir como una manera de revisar varios aspectos que tienden al error en la traducción de textos técnicos del inglés al español.

Palabras clave: concordancia paralela en *Sketch Engine*, posesición de la traducción, traducción de textos técnicos del inglés al español

Abstract

This research takes into consideration the linguistic phenomena of ambiguity in the translation of -ing verbs that appear in technical pet health marketing texts from English to Spanish through an bilingual parallel ad hoc corpora, which could be a sample of a bigger corpora, through the Sketch Engine tool and by using the parallel concordance function, and to prove the main objective that is to contrast by using such function that the translation of -ing verbs from English to Spanish. Because of that the research question is the following: is it possible to contrast aspects that tend to be mistaken during the process of translating technical texts of pet health from English to Spanish to verify the quality in such translations? This research is mixed, firstly, it is qualitative, because there is a contrast of translation of -ing verbs from English to Spanish in an ad hoc corpus, which was done exclusively to verify the quality of translation of such type of texts, and at the same time, it is also quantitative, because the number of mistakes are also given, as well as the percentage of the quality range that was found in the ad hoc corpus. Due to that, corpus linguistics could be seen as a methodology that can be applied to analyze linguistic phenomena, in this case, to postedit translated texts. Thanks to this analysis the conclusion is that the range of quality can be verified through the construction of an ad hoc corpus, and this can be a way to verify many aspects that tend to be mistaken in the translation of technical texts from English to Spanish.

Keywords: parallel concordance in *Sketch Engine*, posedition in translation, translation of technical texts from English to Spanish

Introducción

De acuerdo con Fernández (2018, p. 43) el uso actual de la posesición profesional en México es del 1 %, ya que no se considera una labor que contribuya a la mejoría de la traducción de textos. Sin embargo, es importante referir que, con el paso del tiempo existe cada vez más un volumen considerable de textos y menos traductores que puedan realizar la labor de traducción desmedida que las tecnologías de la información requieren (ITC Translations, 2023).

Debido a lo anterior, el uso del corpus lingüístico paralelo bilingüe permitiría a los traductores establecer comparaciones de textos ya traducidos que contienen

errores derivados del uso de un programa de traducción automática, o bien, de una herramienta de traducción asistida por computadora con apoyo de algún motor de traducción. En primer lugar, el uso del corpus podría ayudar a conocer la tipología de textos a los que se enfrentan. Seguido de ello, pueden establecer estrategias pertinentes para mejorar el refinamiento de un texto que fue pretraducido¹ con alguna herramienta de traducción automática. Y también puede contribuir a la realización de investigación al respecto de su aplicación para mejorar y entender los procesos y técnicas de traducción y posesición de textos técnicos. Según Kenning (2010)

Un corpus paralelo es la colección de textos electrónicos que se relacionan de manera cercana entre sí, aunque de manera distinta. [...] Los corpus paralelos prototípicos consisten en un conjunto de textos en una lengua A y sus traducciones en una lengua B (ejemplo: los escritos de Dickens y sus traducciones al francés). (p. 487)

Ahora bien, un corpus *ad hoc*, de acuerdo con Castillo (2009, p. 2), es el que se crea en específico para suplir las necesidades a las que obedece. Por lo que es muy común que los traductores que trabajan con muchos textos de la misma tipología (por ejemplo, bajo la temática de salud para mascotas) tiendan a tener corpus creados únicamente para realizar la labor de traducirlos. Por esta razón, se suple solamente su uso para sus fines particulares, ya sea para revisarlos, corregirlos, tener compilada una memoria de traducción o conformar un glosario terminológico específico para el tipo de traducción que realice.

Debido a ello, a través del uso de un corpus lingüístico paralelo bilingüe unidireccional (Leiva, 2018, p. 60), el cual fue creado *ad hoc* (Castillo, 2009, p. 2) para poder realizar un análisis de la función de concordancia paralela, es posible establecer el contraste entre textos, con la finalidad de poder establecer estrategias que permitan refinar y corregir las ambigüedades en textos técnicos del inglés al español que fueron pretraducidos de manera automática.

Por tanto, el objetivo principal de esta investigación es analizar los errores de traducción de verbos en gerundio (*-ing*) que aparecen en un corpus paralelo bilingüe *ad hoc* para buscar si existen errores, contrastarlos y mejorar la calidad en el proceso de posesición de textos técnicos del inglés al español. La pregunta de investigación

¹ Se utiliza en el presente la noción de “pretraducción” como la acción de utilizar un programa de traducción automática o alguna herramienta de traducción asistida por computadora con motor de traducción para realizar la traducción previa a la traducción humana de un texto del inglés al español.

es: ¿existe una manera de extraer una muestra de corpus para analizar errores específicos para hacer eficiente el proceso de posesición de textos técnicos del inglés al español? Por lo que la hipótesis es la siguiente: a través del uso del compilador *Sketch Engine* se puede extraer un corpus *ad hoc* para poder analizar un error específico que se da al poseer textos técnicos del inglés al español.

Corpus, corpus paralelo bilingüe y corpus *ad hoc*

En la actualidad existe un crecimiento en la cantidad de estudios de traducción automática de textos técnicos del inglés al español que hacen uso de la lingüística de corpus para poder analizar fenómenos lingüísticos específicos que puedan develar soluciones que nos permitan mejorar la labor de los traductores día con día. Por ejemplo, Castillo (2009) refiere cómo conformar un corpus *ad hoc* paralelo multilingüe para su aplicación en el uso de traducciones en diferentes lenguas, y se basa en la discusión al respecto de su compilación y alineación. Por otro lado, Sánchez (2010) discute sobre el uso del corpus para la desambiguación automática de palabras o unidades de traducción polisémicas de los textos, a través de la comparación de campos semánticos, para corregir las traducciones de textos. Doval (2017) también discute cómo es que se puede conformar un corpus paralelo bilingüe multifuncional, destaca que su uso es para fines de lingüística contrastiva, traducción y enseñanza de lenguas. Leiva (2018) presenta una investigación sobre las herramientas de alineación que se pueden utilizar para compilar un corpus paralelo bilingüe (*WinAlign*, *Sketch Engine*, etcétera) y cómo es que alguien puede utilizarlas para alinear textos paralelos.

El artículo “La construcción de un corpus paralelo bilingüe multifuncional” de Doval (2017), aborda la creación y desarrollo del corpus PaGeS (*Paralell Corpus German/Spanish*), un recurso paralelo bilingüe del español/alemán diseñado para múltiples aplicaciones, especialmente en los campos de la lingüística contrastiva, la traducción y la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras. El principal objetivo del proyecto es superar las limitaciones de los corpus paralelos existentes que incluyen el español y el alemán, los cuales suelen estar restringidos a textos de dominios muy específicos y no ofrecen material suficiente para investigaciones contrastivas amplias. Para ello, se recopiló un corpus alineado de tamaño y variedad léxica suficiente que proporcionara una base empírica robusta para la investigación.

Sánchez (2019) en “Corpus paralelos y traducción especializada: ejemplificación de diseño, compilación y alineación de un corpus paralelo bilingüe (inglés-español) para la traducción jurídica” se centra en la creación y desarrollo de un corpus paralelo bilingüe de inglés-español destinado a la traducción jurídica. El corpus en su fase

inicial consta de 127 y 145 sentencias alineadas de tribunales ingleses y españoles, respectivamente, con un total de 29,983 pares de oraciones alineadas. El proceso de alineación se llevó a cabo utilizando el programa *InterText*. El documento detalla las etapas de diseño y los desafíos técnicos asociados con el proceso de compilación del corpus. Se enfatiza la importancia de los corpus paralelos en la investigación de la traducción especializada, particularmente en el ámbito jurídico, donde la terminología y la fraseología son fundamentales. El artículo aborda la relevancia de los corpus textuales en la enseñanza de la traducción y cómo pueden ayudar a superar las dificultades inherentes a la traducción de textos jurídicos, que no solo presentan complejidades lingüísticas sino también pragmáticas y culturales.

Por otro lado, Pérez-Carrasco y Seghiri (2020) publicaron el artículo “Motorcor: compilación de un corpus técnico paralelo bilingüe (inglés-español) y su aplicación en la traducción directa de un texto sobre automoción” el cual es un estudio académico que se centra en la creación y aplicación de MOTOCOR (*Motor vehicles Corpus*), un corpus virtual, paralelo y bilingüe (inglés-español), diseñado específicamente para la traducción de textos técnicos relacionados con la automoción, en particular, manuales de usuario de motocicletas. El estudio destaca la importancia de los corpus virtuales como herramientas de traducción, ya que permiten acceder a información conceptual, terminológica, estilística y gramatical a partir de un único recurso. MOTOCOR se creó siguiendo una metodología protocolizada para garantizar su representatividad tanto cualitativa como cuantitativa. Se utilizó la herramienta de gestión de corpus *Sketch Engine* para explotar el corpus, lo que facilitó la resolución de dificultades terminológicas, fraseológicas y gramaticales en la traducción de un fragmento de texto técnico.

Además, Corpas (2003) refiere que la lingüística de corpus ha experimentado un renacimiento notable en los últimos años, en tanto ha ido ampliando su campo de aplicación, sobre todo, en lo que respecta al procesamiento del lenguaje natural, la ingeniería lingüística, la terminología y la traducción. Recientemente se ha reconocido el valor de los corpus en traducción como recursos útiles para el estudio lingüístico contrastivo de las lenguas, lo cual ha contribuido de sobremano al rápido desarrollo de los estudios con corpus y, muy especialmente, de aquellos relacionados con la traductología.

De acuerdo con el *Expert Advisory Group on Language Engineering Standards* ([EAGLES], 1996) donde al corpus se le define como “a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of the language” (Leiva, 2018, p. 2), se destaca que, el corpus debe obedecer a los criterios que se buscan en este para que resulte de

utilidad. Ahora bien, según Baker “a translation corpus consists of original, source language-texts in language A and their translated versions in language B” (1995, p. 230). Entonces, el corpus alineado es, a su vez, el corpus paralelo que resulta de un proceso denominado alineación, y que puede definirse como: “finding correspondences, in bilingual parallel corpora, between textual segments that are translation equivalents” (Kraif, 2002, p. 273).

El tipo de corpus que se trabaja en esta investigación es un corpus paralelo bilingüe *ad hoc*. En palabras de Harris (1988), un corpus paralelo bilingüe o bitexto considera que un texto original y su traducción no son en realidad dos textos, sino que conforman “a single text in two dimensions, each of which is a language” (p. 8).

Los corpus paralelos alineados no son, con frecuencia, objeto de estudio de investigaciones de la lingüística de corpus, lo cual se debe al hecho de que las herramientas disponibles tienen funciones limitadas o se desarrollaron para proyectos o investigaciones específicas, por lo que su acceso es restringido (Leiva, 2018, p. 60). Es por esta razón que en la presente propuesta solamente analizamos la concordancia paralela de un fenómeno lingüístico, que son los verbos con terminación *-ing* o gerundio en inglés, y propuestas de traducción automática que arroja el corpus construido para la misma.

Los corpus *ad hoc* (denominación acuñada por Aston, 1999) han recibido distintas denominaciones. A saber, *virtual corpus* (Ahmad, Holmes-Higgin y Raza-Abidi, 1994); *special purpose corpus* (Pearson, 1998); *corpus especiales* (Sánchez-Gijón, 2003); *customized corpus* (Austermühl, 2001); *disposable* (Varantola, 2000); *do-it-yourself* (DIY) *corpora* (Zanettin, 2002) (en Leiva, 2018, p. 2).

Si bien el término “corpus paralelo” puede tener distintas acepciones dependiendo del ámbito de estudio, nosotros nos acercamos a este tipo de corpus desde el punto de vista de la traducción, es decir, corpus formados por originales en una lengua y sus correspondientes traducciones (Olohan, 2004). Este tipo de corpus será de gran utilidad para estudiar, por ejemplo, las distintas estrategias o técnicas de traducción –equivalencia, modulación, transposición, etc.– que se recopilan en López y Minett (2006); la traducción de la fraseología empleada, o la naturaleza de la lengua traducida, entre otros (Sánchez, 2019, p. 273); así como para realizar investigación en traducción y en este caso concreto solo el fenómeno lingüístico de las propuestas de traducción de los verbos con terminación *-ing* o gerundio en inglés.

Características de un corpus

De acuerdo con Reppen (2010, p. 31), para construir un corpus no existen parámetros específicos predeterminados, no obstante, refiere que se tiene que

corroborar que no exista ya un corpus como el que se quisiera construir, y que va a depender del tipo de preguntas en la investigación para poder definir los elementos que han de conformar el corpus que se desea. Menciona también que es importante la representatividad, aunque no necesariamente se refiere a una cantidad muy grande de datos, pues por eso el diseño recae sobre las necesidades de uso del corpus. Doval (2017, pp. 720-723), por su parte, establece los siguientes parámetros para la compilación de un corpus paralelo bilingüe multifuncional:

1. Identificación de necesidades y objetivos: se deben definir los propósitos del corpus, que pueden incluir investigación en lingüística contrastiva, traducción y enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras; e identificar las necesidades específicas de los diferentes usuarios potenciales
2. Diseño y planificación: se debe establecer una tipología de los corpus bilingües, diferenciando entre comparables y paralelos. Se debe decidir sobre la bidireccionalidad de las traducciones y la variedad de textos a incluir y planificar la distribución aproximada de los textos originales y las traducciones en el corpus.
3. Compilación de textos: se deben seleccionar textos narrativos escritos después de 1960 con un predominio de obras de las dos últimas décadas. Además, asegurar la calidad del material mediante la selección de textos publicados por editoriales reconocidas.
4. Preprocesado de los datos: se deben digitalizar los textos seleccionados y prepararlos para la alineación. Además, se deben eliminar textos no correspondientes, caracteres erróneos, imágenes y revisar los textos para corregir errores de digitalización.
5. Alineación oracional: se deben segmentar los textos en unidades de alineación, generalmente oraciones y utilizar herramientas de alineación, como *LF-Aligner*, para emparejar oraciones en los textos fuente y meta. Además, se debe realizar una revisión manual para validar la alineación y asegurar una tasa de error inferior al 0.5 %.
6. Anotación Lingüística: se deben de separar los textos por lenguas, para proceder a su anotación lingüística, implementar la lematización y el etiquetado en clases de palabras (*PoS-tagging*) utilizando herramientas como *FreeLing* para el español.
7. Metadatos y marcado textual: se deben adjuntar los metadatos individuales a los archivos de texto que incluyan información bibliográfica y estadística básicas, al igual que marcar las divisiones internas de los textos como partes de capítulos, para facilitar la localización de cadenas de texto.
8. Presentación y explotación: se deben indexar y gestionar los textos anotados con plataformas de búsqueda simples y avanzadas, así como la exportación de resultados.

9. Trabajo futuro y mejoras: se debe de continuar añadiendo nuevas obras para ampliar la variedad de géneros textuales e implementar búsquedas por etiquetas y alineación de palabras, además, se debe explorar el uso de otras herramientas de búsqueda y consulta específicas para corpus con anotaciones lingüísticas.
10. Respeto a los derechos de autor: se deben adoptar medidas y aplicar restricciones de uso, tales como: limitar la visualización de textos a contextos específicos y restringir el uso a fines académicos y científicos.

Estos pasos reflejan un proceso complejo y detallado que requiere una planificación cuidadosa y un trabajo meticuloso, para asegurar que el corpus resultante sea un recurso valioso y multifuncional para la investigación y la práctica en diversos campos relacionados con el lenguaje. Es muy importante referir que, lo anterior es un ejemplo de cómo compilar un corpus, no obstante, como ya se mencionó, lo que se requiera para establecer el diseño del corpus dependerá de las necesidades particulares de uso o investigación.

Concordancia paralela y ambigüedades en traducciones automáticas

Sketch Engine es una herramienta de análisis textual de pago que permite consultar y crear corpus (monolingües y paralelos) (Leiva, 2018, p. 68). Dicha herramienta presenta varias funciones, como lo son: relaciones gramaticales, diferencia de uso entre palabras, creación de un tesoro automático, ejemplos del uso en contexto, listas de palabras, n-gramas, palabras clave, creación de un diccionario automático, concordancia paralela y tendencias (Arias, Fernández Pampillón Cesteros, Samy y Arús Hita, 2019, pp. 14-45) que pueden ser de mucha utilidad para un traductor, sobre todo al establecer comparativos en el bitexto, para poder verificar las propuestas de traducción de palabras específicas, términos, frases, etcétera. Dentro de *Sketch Engine* existe la función de concordancia paralela, la cual permite ver en el bitexto la propuesta de traducción de las categorías gramaticales que sean de interés, o bien, las unidades de traducción que se quieran comparar, para analizar la concordancia del texto y tratar de buscar ambigüedades.

Guzmán (2008, p. 1) en lugar de referirse a errores, los denomina ambigüedades, pues se trata de pretraducciones realizadas por programas de traducción automática, dichas ambigüedades son: “palabras, frases y oraciones que pierden o tienen más de un significado y que necesitan ser esclarecidas, o bien, desambiguadas”. Según este mismo autor (2008, pp. 3-7), existen tres tendencias al respecto de las ambigüedades en textos que se traducen de manera automática del inglés al español y que clasificó de la siguiente manera:

1. Traducción errónea de palabras que terminan en *-ing* (eng-sp):
 - a. En inglés funge como sustantivo, mientras que en español tiene una construcción de: *ser/estar* verbo *-andol*-iendo
 - Gerundios en títulos o encabezados
2. Traducción errónea de cláusulas subordinadas (*that, then, while* tienen más de un significado o la conjunción se pierde en la oración, lo cual resulta en ambigüedad).
 - a. Cláusulas temporales:

There was an error downloading the update.
*Hubo un error **que descargaba**.*
*Hubo un error mientras **se** *descargaba*. (pronombre *se*)*
 - b. Cláusulas relativas subordinadas (*that*):

Installing computers that run windows.
*Instalación de equipos **ese ejecutados** Windows.*
*Instalación de equipos **que ejecutan** Windows.*
 - c. Cláusulas subordinadas condicionales:

Then ‘luego/después/la continuación’, entonces ‘in that case’
If you want to print a file, then you need to click...
*Si usted quiere imprimir un documento **después es necesario** hacer clic...*
*Si usted quiere imprimir un documento **entonces es necesario** hacer clic...*
3. Errores de traducción de verbos polisémicos

*Check **that** your computer...*
*Active **que** su equipo...*
*Compruebe **que**...*

Para la presente investigación solo se analizó la primera ambigüedad, que corresponde a los verbos en gerundio (*-ing*) del inglés. Posteriormente nos centramos en analizar aquellos que se presentan como sustantivos, pues resulta interesante su propuesta de traducción.

Metodología

Los autores Teubert (2005) y Hardie y McEnery (2010) realizaron un desglose histórico de lo que hoy se ha conformado como la lingüística de corpus, en el cual se aprecia que existe un debate en torno a si esta se considera una metodología, o bien, una teoría. Se destaca que los lingüistas de corpus se consideran primero

metodólogos y la lingüística de corpus es primordialmente una metodología. Sin embargo, existe la ICAME (International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English), la cual es una organización que representa a la lingüística de corpus y que tiene representantes de ambas perspectivas, tanto la metodológica, como quienes la perciben como una teoría.

Para la lingüística de corpus, la lengua es el centro de una cultura, esta implica una descripción de su sistema de reglas, uso y significado. Por lo que Teubert (2005, p. 13) la define desde su perspectiva personal como “un esquema conceptual para estudiar la transmisión de contenido de una comunidad discursiva como se evidencia en la intertextualidad del discurso”. En consecuencia, para esta investigación se adopta la postura de Teubert para poder tomar a la lingüística de corpus como una metodología, esto debido a que la aplicación se realiza a la traducción de textos técnicos del inglés, el cual es un contexto particular y que nos sirve de análisis para explorar la concordancia paralela.

A su vez, con base en la naturaleza de los datos y su indagación, la presente es una investigación mixta. Por un lado, es cualitativa, ya que el proceso de indagación es flexible y se mueve entre los eventos y su interpretación, las respuestas y el desarrollo de la teoría. Su propósito consiste en “reconstruir” la realidad tal como la observan los actores de un sistema social definido previamente. A menudo se llama “holístico” porque considera el todo, sin reducirlo al estudio de sus partes (Hernández, Fernández y Baptista, 2014, p. 15). Por otro lado, también se trata de una investigación cuantitativa, pues se extrae la cantidad de verbos (-ing) traducidos al español y se marca el porcentaje de tendencia y se define así ya que se examina la causa y cómo esta influye en los resultados (Rojo, 2013, p. 127).

Construcción del corpus

En primera instancia, se decidió trabajar con un corpus *ad hoc* conformado solamente por ocho textos técnicos en inglés>español, del sector del marketin. Su temática versa sobre la salud de mascotas. La extensión del corpus es aparentemente corta (4,909 palabras), pues solamente se quería explorar el bitexto con la función de concordancia paralela.

Para la recopilación de los textos, se requirió que pertenecieran al campo de la mercadotecnia y sobre el tema salud de mascotas. Esto debido a que se desarrolla en el ámbito de los textos técnicos de baja a mediana complejidad para su traducción (Gamero, 2001, como se citó en Terán Rueda, 2016, pp. 18-19). Se extrajeron cuatro textos en inglés de la página de *barksandwhiskers.com*, sobre la temática establecida, así como sus versiones -cuatro textos más- traducidas al

español y que aparecen en la página con su versión hispana. Todos los textos se publicaron en enero de 2023.

Para la construcción del corpus se extrajo el texto en formato plano .txt, tanto en inglés como en español, dicho proceso se realizó manualmente. Después, se conformó un archivo en formato Excel, esto para conformar un corpus paralelo bilingüe alineado, de igual manera, la alineación se llevó a cabo manualmente, para evitar posibles errores al respecto de las concordancias de las unidades de traducción en los textos.

Para la extracción de la información se recurrió a la técnica de *web scrapping*, la cual es la extracción de las partes específicas de la información que resultan trascendentales para esta investigación (Nieves y Molina, 2023, p. 47). Debido a esto, se obtuvo el título, el resumen, el desarrollo y las conclusiones de cada artículo o texto que conformó el corpus.

Procesamiento del corpus

Una vez procesados los textos en formato Excel, se procedió a utilizar la herramienta de *Sketch Engine*, para el análisis en esta propuesta. Se recurrió a cargar el corpus paralelo bilingüe y obtener sus características (Figura 1).



COUNTS ⓘ	
Tokens	5,758
Words	4,909
Sentences	331
Documents	1

Figura 1. Resumen de tokens, words y sentences de Sketch Engine.

Debido a que con *Sketch Engine* no se permite, en el caso de corpus paralelos, cargar archivos individuales (Leiva, 2018, p. 68), en documentos solamente aparece uno, aunque en realidad se trata de ocho textos, cuatro en inglés y cuatro en español.

Para poder buscar la traducción que nos interesa en los textos del corpus, se optó por utilizar la función de *Paralell Concordance* (Figura 2), a su vez, en la parte de búsqueda se utilizó el regex² *-ing* en inglés, lo que arrojó la herramienta

² RegEx es la abreviatura de *Regular Expressions*, y esta es una cadena de texto genérica, que se usa a modo de patrón y que sirve para localizar trozos de texto dentro de otro texto mayor.

fue lo siguiente, no se acotó en un inicio a buscar solamente verbos, sino palabras, por eso se usa “lemma” en la herramienta.

CONCORDANCE DESCRIPTION			
operation	parameters	hits	per million
Query	[lc="ing" lemma_lc="ing"] within practica_1_acl_paralelo_bilingue_spanish [lc="ando" lemma_lc="ando" morphemes="ando"]	18	3,126.09

Figura 2. Concordancia paralela en *Sketch Engine*.

Análisis de resultados

Para poder interpretar el análisis del corpus, es importante resaltar que existen diferentes funciones que se puede activar dentro de *Sketch Engine* y que bien pueden apoyar a analizar un corpus desde diferentes ángulos y con base en las necesidades de investigación que se tengan. Por lo que, otra manera de exportar el resultado de concordancias paralelas se presenta en la Figura 3.

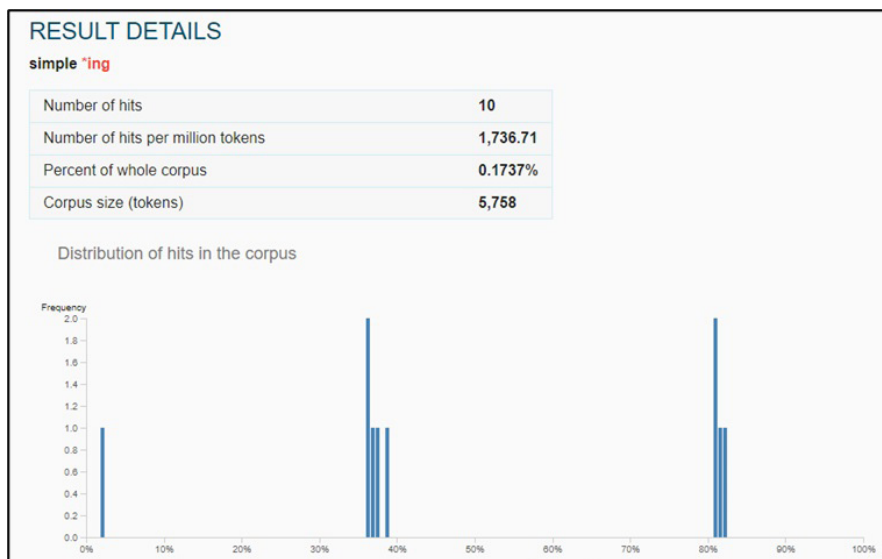


Figura 3. Concordancias paralelas de *-ing* (-iendo).

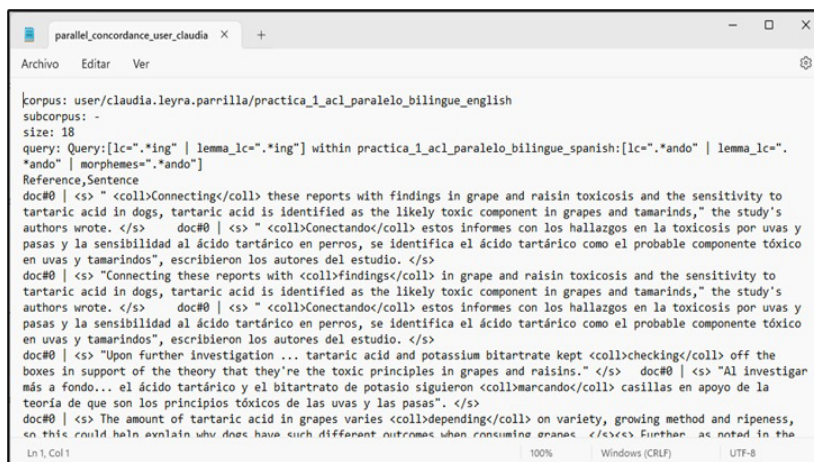
Esta figura a manera de gráfica representa el resultado del estado del corpus *ad hoc*, en el cual se detalla que se buscaron las palabras que terminan en *-ing* y que se localizaron 10 ejemplos (*hints*) dentro del corpus. La herramienta compara los ejemplos utilizados por un millón de tokens, el porcentaje de ejemplos totales encontrados dentro de este corpus, el cual es de .17 %, además del tamaño total del corpus *ad hoc*, el cual es de 5,758 tokens. Lo anterior, para el manejo convencional

de un corpus representa una cantidad pequeña, no obstante, referimos que se utilizó esta cantidad para poder hacer el ejercicio de la función de concordancia paralela. Es importante señalar que los 10 ejemplos se destilaron pues reunían la característica de terminar en *-ing*, ser verbos en gerundio y se corroboraron sus propuestas de traducción al español.

Por otro lado, en la Figura 3, en donde aparece una gráfica de barras se tiene que la frecuencia de las palabras utilizadas *-ing* es de 1.0 y 2.0 (se marca en el eje X de la gráfica). Además, se especifica el porcentaje de uso de dichas frecuencias (aparece en el eje Y de la gráfica) pues la herramienta encontró acepciones del gerundio en español con terminación: *-ndo*, aunque no todos los ejemplos encontrados se tradujeron con esa tendencia en la versión final de los textos al español. Aunado a esto, este tipo de visualización nos permite ver el porcentaje del fenómeno que buscamos (.17 %) que, si bien es poco, resulta funcional para el objetivo de la presente investigación debido a la extensión del corpus *ad hoc* conformado.

Para exportar las concordancias paralelas, la herramienta ofrecía los formatos en .txt o PDF. Se optó por exportarlos en .txt, para poder darle forma a las figuras, depurar los datos que nos interesan y, así, realizar el análisis detallado; se exportaron en PDF para observar las concordancias sin que se muevan o se altere el bitexto.

Se puede observar en la Figura 4 que la herramienta de concordancia paralela ha extraído el regex: `[lc="*.ing" | lemma_lc="*.ing"]`, por lo que se ha acotado a la herramienta a buscar esa expresión en los ocho textos que conforman el corpus. Se puede observar entonces que, de manera subsecuente, se procesaron las oraciones en el texto que contienen esas expresiones, por lo que *Sketch Engine* procede a realizar el cálculo de la concordancia paralela.



```

parallel_concordance_user_claudia
Archivo  Editar  Ver

korpus: user/claudia.leyra.parrilla/practica_1_acl_paralelo_bilingue_english
subcorpus: -
size: 18
query: Query:[lc="*.ing" | lemma_lc="*.ing"] within practica_1_acl_paralelo_bilingue_spanish:[lc="*.ando" | lemma_lc="*.ando" | morphemes="*.ando"]
Reference, Sentence
doc#0 | <s> " <coll>Connecting</coll> these reports with findings in grape and raisin toxicosis and the sensitivity to tartaric acid in dogs, tartaric acid is identified as the likely toxic component in grapes and tamarinds," the study's authors wrote. </s>  doc#0 | <s> " <coll>Conectando</coll> estos informes con los hallazgos en la toxicosis por uvas y pasas y la sensibilidad al ácido tartárico en perros, se identifica el ácido tartárico como el probable componente tóxico en uvas y tamarindos", escribieron los autores del estudio. </s>
doc#0 | <s> "Connecting these reports with <coll>findings</coll> in grape and raisin toxicosis and the sensitivity to tartaric acid in dogs, tartaric acid is identified as the likely toxic component in grapes and tamarinds," the study's authors wrote. </s>  doc#0 | <s> " <coll>Conectando</coll> estos informes con los hallazgos en la toxicosis por uvas y pasas y la sensibilidad al ácido tartárico en perros, se identifica el ácido tartárico como el probable componente tóxico en uvas y tamarindos", escribieron los autores del estudio. </s>
doc#0 | <s> "Upon further investigation ... tartaric acid and potassium bitartrate kept <coll>checking</coll> off the boxes in support of the theory that they're the toxic principles in grapes and raisins." </s>  doc#0 | <s> "Al investigar más a fondo... el ácido tartárico y el bitartrato de potasio siguieron <coll>marcando</coll> casillas en apoyo de la teoría de que son los principios tóxicos de las uvas y las pasas". </s>
doc#0 | <s> The amount of tartaric acid in grapes varies <coll>depending</coll> on variety, growing method and ripeness, so this could help explain why dogs have such different outcomes when consuming grapes. </s><s> Further, as noted in the
Ln 1, Col 1 100% Windows (CRLF) UTF-8

```

Figura 4. Exportación de concordancias paralelas de verbos (*-ing/-ando*).

La interfaz nos indica el nombre del corpus *ad hoc*: práctica_1_ac1_paralelo_bilingue_english, no existe un subcorpus que se haya ligado a este, por lo que el espacio aparece vacío. En el tamaño indica que encontró 18 coincidencias del regex buscado lemma_1c="ing en coincidencia con [morphemes="ando .endo] dentro del corpus indicado. Posteriormente, la herramienta enlista las oraciones en donde se encuentran los ejemplos (*hints*) localizados dentro del corpus, por lo que enlista en número de documento (aparece: 0, pues es un solo bitexto compilado ya que juntamos los 4 textos en inglés y los cuatro en español en la herramienta) y arroja el texto codificado a manera de lenguaje natural programado.

Ahora bien, en la Figura 5 se tiene ya activada la función de concordancia paralela, que nos brinda un documento a manera de bitexto en formato PDF, para no mover las columnas. Se puede observar nuevamente en la Figura 5 que la herramienta extrajo el .17 % del total de los tokens que concuerdan con el regex buscado; por lo que extrae los fragmentos del corpus en donde se localizan las expresiones con *-ing* en formato de bitexto, es decir, en inglés y español.

10/6/23, 17:37

Parallel Concordance

 SKETCH ENGINE

simple "ing" • 10
1,736.71 per million tokens • 0.17%

① doc#0	<s> At the end of 2022, the team published the results of their research on this topic, concluding that tartaric acid is the likely toxic component in grapes and tamarinds </s>	<s> A finales de 2022, el equipo publicó los resultados de su investigación sobre este tema, concluyendo que el ácido tartárico es el componente tóxico probable en uvas y tamarindos </s>
① doc#0	<s> If your dog is showing signs of CCD, such as staring at walls or floors or getting stuck in odd places, like behind furniture, nutraceutical support can also be beneficial. </s><s> I recommend 1/4 teaspoon of coconut oil for every 10 pounds of body weight, added daily to food, along with a source of methyl donors, such as SAME (S-adenosylmethionine), which can assist in detoxification and reduce inflammation. </s>	<s> Si su perro muestra signos de ECM, como mirar fijamente las paredes o el suelo o quedarse atascado en lugares extraños, como detrás de los muebles, el apoyo nutracéutico también puede ser beneficioso. </s><s> Recomiendo 1/4 de cucharadita de aceite de coco por cada 10 libras de peso corporal, añadido diariamente a la comida, junto con una fuente de donantes de metilo, como SAME (S-adenosilmetionina), que puede ayudar en la desintoxicación y reducir la inflamación. </s>
① doc#0	<s> If your dog is showing signs of CCD, such as staring at walls or floors or getting stuck in odd places, like behind furniture, nutraceutical support can also be beneficial. </s><s> I recommend 1/4 teaspoon of coconut oil for every 10 pounds of body weight, added daily to food, along with a source of methyl donors, such as SAME (S-adenosylmethionine), which can assist in detoxification and reduce inflammation. </s>	<s> Si su perro muestra signos de ECM, como mirar fijamente las paredes o el suelo o quedarse atascado en lugares extraños, como detrás de los muebles, el apoyo nutracéutico también puede ser beneficioso. </s><s> Recomiendo 1/4 de cucharadita de aceite de coco por cada 10 libras de peso corporal, añadido diariamente a la comida, junto con una fuente de donantes de metilo, como SAME (S-adenosilmetionina), que puede ayudar en la desintoxicación y reducir la inflamación. </s>

Figura 5. Exportación de concordancias paralelas en verbos (*-ing/-endo*).

Al analizar esta figura resultó muy interesante el uso de esta herramienta, pues, por ejemplo, en la primera línea aparece lo siguiente (Cuadro 1):

CUADRO 1. CUADRO DE ANÁLISIS DEL TEXTO ORIGEN Y EL TEXTO TRADUCIDO CON VERBO EN INGLÉS Y ESPAÑOL.

TO	TT
..., concluding that tartaric acid is the likely toxic component in grapes and tamarinds.	, concluyendo que el ácido tartárico es el componente tóxico posible en uvas y tamarindos.

En este caso, la traducción de *concluding* se realizó como ‘concluyendo’. Quien revisó la versión final del texto optó por utilizar el gerundio, inclinación interesante, puesto que pudo haberse adoptado utilizar: ‘se concluye’ a manera de reflexivo, para evitar calcar la estructura literal del inglés; sugerencia de procedimiento de traducción que brindan López y Minett (2006). Por consiguiente, en la siguiente línea se observa (Cuadro 2):

CUADRO 2. ANÁLISIS DE VERBOS *STARING/GETTING* Y SU TRADUCCIÓN AL ESPAÑOL.

TO	TT
...such as staring at walls or floors or getting stuck in odd places...	...como mirar fijamente las paredes o el suelo o quedarse atascado en lugares extraños...

Aquí se puede ver que se tienen dos verbos en inglés que terminan en *-ing* y la propuesta de traducción al español tiende en este caso a no calcar de manera literal a dichos verbos, por lo que, *staring* se traduce como ‘mirar’, mientras que *getting* como ‘quedarse’. Es debido a esta observación que se adoptó como postura de la presente investigación centrarnos en analizar la concordancia paralela solamente de los verbos *-ing* del inglés, para poder entender y contrastar la inclinación al realizar su traducción. Los datos se limpiaron manualmente.

De acuerdo con la herramienta, se obtuvieron siete propuestas de traducción de verbos que terminan con *-ing* (*-ando*), dado que la instrucción que se le dio a *Sketch Engine* se centró en buscar el lemma, la herramienta marca como “18 hints” en total, aunque se resalta que se depuraron y al final solamente quedaron 14 (Cuadro 3). Para *-ing/-ando* se tienen los siguientes:

CUADRO 3. CONCORDANCIAS PARALELAS EXPORTADAS DE *SKETCH ENGINE* (*-ING/ANDO*).

No.	ENGLISH	SPANISH
1	Connet ing with these reports	Conect ando estos informes con
2	Kept check ing off the boxes	Siguieron marc ando casillas
3	Depend ing on variety, grow ing method, and ripeness	Varía en función de la variedad, el método de cultivo y madurez,
4	So have fun experiment ing to see which one your pet likes best	Así que diviértete experiment ando para ver cuál le gusta más a tu mascota
5	Avoid ing the skin and core.	Evit ando la piel y el corazón.
6	so many websites incorrectly list foods as be ing “toxic” that aren’t.	Porque muchos de los sitios web presentan incorrectamente como “tóxicos” alimentos que no lo son.
7	the odds of develop ing CCD dropped to 52% for each additional year of life.	Los problemas de salud y los niveles de actividad, las probabilidades de desarrollar CCD descendieron al 52 % por cada año adicional de vida.

Como se observa en el Cuadro 3, para la primera línea en donde el verbo aparece en posición inicial, existe un error de traducción, de acuerdo con las sugerencias de errores de traducción a evitar de Guzmán (2007, pp. 3-7). El autor indica que si el verbo se ubica en posición inicial puede traducirse en infinitivo o con reflexivo -se, en lugar de *connecting* por ‘conectando’, puede ser: ‘conectar’ o ‘se conectan’. Otra sugerencia del autor puede ser utilizar una transposición a un sustantivo ‘la conexión’, o bien, utilizar la palabra *cómo* más el verbo, para mejorar la estructura sintáctica del español. De tal manera que, la propuesta para la línea 1 sería: ‘Cómo relacionar estos informes con’.

Para la segunda línea se tiene nuevamente que la propuesta de traducción es literal (*checking*, ‘marcando’). Si seguimos las recomendaciones, podría optarse por traducirlo como: ‘se marcan’ con reflexivo, o si nos apegamos a Guzmán (2007) podría quedar: ‘Cómo marcar las casillas’. Por lo que la tendencia es calcar la estructura también aparece en esta línea.

En la línea tres se observa que se realiza una buena propuesta para omitir *-ando* en español. Se optó por utilizar un verbo transitivo “varía”, el cual hace más natural la traducción al español. Para la línea cuatro, nuevamente se tiene la inclinación a la tendencia de uso del gerundio en español. Se traduce *experimenting* por ‘experimentando’, que bien podría ser: ‘al experimentar’ y así dar naturalidad en español. Ocurre exactamente lo mismo con la línea cinco (*avoiding*, ‘evitando’), en la que también se adopta la tendencia en el uso del gerundio. En este ejemplo, se podría adoptar otra forma en español como ‘evitar’, ‘evite’.

Para la línea seis, la propuesta es un cambio de la forma del verbo del inglés al español *being* por ‘presentan’. En este caso hubo una adaptación al español del verbo en presente. Para la línea siete la propuesta de traducción se apeg a la sugerencia de uso del infinitivo, pues *developping* queda como ‘desarrollar’.

Ahora, para la búsqueda *-ing/-endo* se obtuvieron ocho ejemplos (*hints*). Por lo que el Cuadro 4 queda de la siguiente manera:

CUADRO 4. CONCORDANCIAS PARALELAS EXPORTADAS DE SKETCH ENGINE (*ING/-IENDO Y OTRAS PROPUESTAS ARROJADAS).

No.	ENGLISH	SPANISH
1	Concluding that tartaric acid is the likely toxic component in grapes and tamarinds	concluyendo que el ácido tartárico es el componente tóxico probable en uvas y tamarindos
2	If your dog is showing signs of CCD, such as staring at walls	Si su perro muestra signos de ECM, como mirar fijamente las paredes o el suelo
3	or floors or getting stuck in odd places,	o quedarse atascado en lugares extraños,
4	such as staring at walls or floors	como mirar fijamente las paredes o el suelo

NO.	ENGLISH	SPANISH
5	or getting stuck in odd places, like behind furniture,	o quedarse atascado en lugares extraños, como detrás de los muebles,
6	it's possible you can stave off dementia altogether just by staying active together.	es posible que puedas evitar la demencia simplemente manteniéndote activo.
7	Walking is great lifelong exercise for both you and your older canine companion.	Pasear es un ejercicio estupendo para toda la vida, tanto para usted como para su compañero canino mayor.
8	and while seniors might not be able to do much power walking ,	aunque las personas mayores no sean capaces de caminar mucho,

En el primer ejemplo se vuelve a observar la tendencia de utilizar el gerundio en la traducción al español. *Concluding* se traduce como ‘concluyendo’, que bien podría haberse traducido por: ‘se concluye’. La línea dos es interesante, se tiene que para el verbo *staring* la traducción es ‘mirar’ en infinitivo, mientras que para *getting* es ‘quedarse’, por lo que ambas propuestas se apegan a darle naturalidad al texto en español. A su vez, la línea tres presenta un ejemplo similar al de la línea dos y se inclina por traducir *staring* por ‘mirar’.

Por otro lado, en la línea cuatro se observa que la traducción también es parecida a la de la línea dos. En esta se opta por traducir *getting* como ‘quedarse’ utilizando el verbo con un reflexivo. Para la línea cinco, se mantiene la inclinación de conservar la estructura en gerundio en español; se optó por traducir *staying* por ‘manteniéndote’. Parecería que no tiene la estructura de gerundio, pero sí, aunque incorpora el pronombre *te* aglutinado en el verbo.

A partir de los datos anteriores es posible observar cuatro patrones de traducción en los verbos que terminan en *-ing* en el corpus *ad hoc* que se analizó, los cuales se presentan a continuación en el Cuadro 5.

CUADRO 5. RESUMEN DE PATRONES DE TRADUCCIÓN EN LOS VERBOS QUE TERMINAN EN *-ING*.

PATRÓN DE TRADUCCIÓN	ENGLISH	SPANISH	DESAMBIGUACIÓN
Verbo en posición inicial	Concluding that tartaric acid is the likely toxic component in grapes and tamarinds	concluyendo que el ácido tartárico es el componente tóxico probable en uvas y tamarindos	Se concluye que el ácido tartárico es el componente tóxico...
Verbo con preposición	the odds of developing CCD dropped to 52% for each additional year of life.	las probabilidades de desarrollar CCD descendieron al 52 % por cada año adicional de vida.	
Dos verbos juntos	or getting stuck in odd places, like behind furniture,	o quedarse atascado en lugares extraños, como detrás de los muebles,	O atascarse en lugares extraños, como detrás de los muebles,
Perifrasis verbal (<i>to be</i>)	If your dog is showing signs of CCD,	Si su perro muestra signos de ECM,	Si tu perro no deja de mostrar signos de ECM,

Se observa, además, una columna que puede fungir como estrategia de posesición para la desambiguación de las propuestas de traducción observadas. Solamente en la categoría Verbo con preposición no se presenta, porque la tendencia es siempre la de utilizar la preposición. En el caso de la categoría “dos verbos juntos”, López y Minett (2006) sugieren utilizar el pronombre reflexivo *-se*, mientras sea posible. La propuesta para las perífrasis verbales que ofrece López y Minett (2006) es utilizar “no parar de+ infinitivo del verbo” y de esa manera se apega más a la sintaxis del español.

Se puede establecer que la tendencia de traducción de los verbos *-ing* del inglés al español en esta tipología de textos y en este corpus *ad hoc*, mostrados en los Cuadros 3 y 4 queda de la siguiente manera: verbos en inglés que terminan en *-ing* y que tienden a traducirse con terminación *-ando* (ver Cuadro 6) y verbos en inglés que terminan en *-ing* y que tienden a traducirse con terminación *-endo* (ver Cuadro 7):

CUADRO 6. VERBOS *-ING -ANDO*.

No.	VERBO <i>-ING</i>	PROPUESTA DE TRADUCCIÓN
1	connecting	conectando
2	checking	marcando
3	depending	varía
4	experimenting	experimentando
5	avoiding	evitando
6	being	presentan
7	developing	desarrollar

CUADRO 7. VERBOS *-ING -ENDO*.

No.	VERBO <i>-ING</i>	PROPUESTA DE TRADUCCIÓN
1	concluding	concluyendo
2	staring	mirar
3	getting	quedarse
4	staring	mirar
5	getting	quedarse
6	staying	manteniéndote
7	walking	pasear
8	walking	caminar

En el Cuadro 6 se observa que, de siete ejemplos, cuatro se tradujeron con terminación *-ando*, mientras que tres presentan mejores propuestas al español, de acuerdo con lo que sugieren López y Minett (2006) y Guzmán (2008); además de que se apegan a mejorar la calidad del texto poseditado. Por su parte, en el Cuadro 7, dos se tradujeron utilizando gerundio y el resto tuvo una mejor propuesta.

Luego de todo lo anterior, se intuye entonces que, al realizar un conteo de la tendencia en el contraste de la traducción de los verbos *-ing* del inglés, se tiene una mayor desambiguación de estos al español, por lo que en esta tipología de textos se podría deber a la labor de revisión a nivel posesición de los textos que se traducen (ver Tabla 1.)

TABLA 1. PORCENTAJES DE TRADUCCIÓN DE VERBOS *-ING*.

CUADRO	TRADUCCIÓN DE VERBOS CON GERUNDIO	PROPUESTAS DE TRADUCCIÓN DESAMBIGUADAS
6	4 (<i>-ando</i>)	3
7	2 (<i>-endo</i>)	6
Total:	6 (40 %)	9 (60 %)

Conclusiones

La lingüística de corpus es una metodología que, en conjunto con la traducción, puede resultar de gran utilidad para la investigación en traducción, ya que puede contribuir a refinar procedimientos de traducción, entender terminología, fraseología y la construcción sintáctica de los textos paralelos para mejorar sus versiones traducidas y aumentar su calidad de manera automática.

La construcción de un corpus *ad hoc* paralelo bilingüe permite destilar textos para necesidades específicas, que si bien pueden no tener una extensión demasiado amplia, al menos alcanzan para comprender la tipología textual del texto técnico que se trabaje en ese momento, hacer un análisis exprés, y así, poder comprender el comportamiento del texto y trabajar de manera específica sobre los puntos corales de este, por lo que beneficia la labor de posesición del texto pretraducido con traducción automática y su revisión.

Valdría la pena en una investigación futura ampliar la búsqueda para indagar todas las categorías que propone Guzmán (2008), y así ver su comportamiento en esta tipología de texto que se utilizó en la presente investigación.

La construcción manual del archivo plano .txt es laboriosa, ya que se tienen que limpiar los textos de etiquetas e imágenes al ser estos provenientes de páginas web, por ello, la estrategia de *web scrapping* propuesta por Nives y Molina (2023) es ideal para trabajar este tipo de textos. Además, la realización de la alineación manual permite ver aspectos en el bitexto que posiblemente un procedimiento automático no permitiría. No obstante, esta técnica de trabajo manual no es recomendable para un corpus de mayor extensión, pues no resultaría útil y viable, si se busca contrastar el corpus para trabajar en la traducción. El análisis de concordancias paralelas permite corroborar a manera de tablas, las cuales se extrajeron, las propuestas de traducción de los verbos *-ing* que se presentaron en inglés y que se

tradujeron al español, no siempre con la terminación -ndo, la cual sería y fue una ambigüedad, de acuerdo con lo propuesto por López y Minett (2006, p. 129-140), quienes recopilan los procesos de traducción de: equivalencia, modulación, transposición y demás, para respetar la naturalidad del texto en español.

A través del presente análisis de datos se cumplió el objetivo principal de la investigación, que fue analizar los errores de traducción en verbos en gerundio (-ing) en inglés que se buscaron específicamente a través del corpus *ad hoc* paralelo bilingüe construido para ello. Se contrastaron los errores y se pudo determinar a través del porcentaje del conteo de propuestas de traducción que el texto presentaba una desambiguación (véase figura 2) de 9 de los 15 verbos poseditados (60 %), lo cual podría no representar una calidad alta para la posesición de un texto, pero sí representa una marca del trabajo de los traductores sobre la posesición de los textos y seguramente ese porcentaje se debe al tiempo dedicado a la posesición de los textos designados para ello.

Al respecto de la pregunta de investigación, la manera de extraer una muestra de corpus es que posiblemente quien sea el encargado de revisar la calidad de los textos poseditados puede extraer muestras de los textos ya publicados al español y analizar un aspecto en específico para ir tomando muestras del conteo de la posesición que se realiza e ir midiendo si mejora o no la propuesta de traducción. Por otro lado, la hipótesis de la presente aludía a que, a través de la construcción de un corpus *ad hoc*, es posible contrastar aspectos en los textos en inglés que tienen tendencia al error en español en textos técnicos, lo cual, en efecto, ayuda al poseditor a verificar la calidad final del texto traducido.

Por último, la aplicación de la metodología mixta para revisar la calidad de la traducción a través de un análisis contrastivo de segmentos específicos (en este caso de verbos en gerundio y su traducción) permite establecer un sondeo para verificar aspectos específicos que se pueden mejorar en el proceso de posesición de textos técnicos del inglés al español.

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Las funciones de *ka* en yaqui, o'dam y wixárika
The functions of ka in Yaqui, o'dam and wixárika

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Resumen

En un esbozo gramatical sobre lenguas yutoaztecas, Langacker (1997) identifica distintas funciones de **ka*, desde verbo copulativo ‘ser/estar’, marca de estatividad, afijo de tiempo-aspecto, participio, subordinador, hasta morfema posesivo. El propósito de este estudio es ofrecer un acercamiento a las funciones de *ka* dentro del dominio verbal en tres lenguas no mencionadas por Langacker: yaqui, o'dam y wixárika. Se identifican usos como marca estativa, participial y subordinadora en las tres lenguas. El verbo postural ‘sentado’ y morfema verbal de posesión en yaqui y wixárika. Además, en wixárika se observa un morfema *ka* locativo, función que no fue mencionada por Langacker. La función más estable es como marca de tiempo-aspecto, aunque los valores suelen variar entre las lenguas. Estas observaciones iniciales sientan las bases para futuros estudios comparativos sobre *ka*, sus alomorfos y formas derivadas, así como las potenciales rutas de gramaticalización de cada función.

Palabras clave: copulativo, estativo, estudio comparativo, **ka*, lenguas yutoaztecas

Abstract

*In a grammatical description of Uto-Aztec languages, Langacker (1997) identifies various functions of *ka, ranging from the copulative verb ‘to be’, a stative marker, a tense-aspect affix, a participle, a subordinating marker, to a possessive morpheme. The purpose of this study is to explore the verbal functions of ka in three languages not mentioned by Langacker: Yaqui, O’dam, and Wixárika. Uses as a stative marker, participial, and subordinating marker are identified in all three languages. In Yaqui*

and Wixárika, it appears as a postural verb 'sit' and a verbal possession morpheme. In Wixárika, a locative morpheme ka is observed, a function not mentioned by Langacker. The most stable function is as a tense-aspect marker, although the values tend to vary between the languages. These initial observations lay the foundation for future comparative studies on ka, its allomorphs, and derived forms, as well as the potential grammaticalization paths.

Keywords: comparative study, copulative, *ka, stative, Uto-Aztecan languages

Introducción¹

En su esbozo gramatical sobre la familia yutoazteca, Langacker (1977) reconstruye un verbo *ka 'ser' para el protoyutoazteca con distintas funciones: i) verbo copulativo 'ser/estar', ii) afijo de estatividad, iii) marca tiempo-aspectual, iv) afijo de predicación posesiva, v) marca participial, vi) marca subordinadora, vii) caso acusativo, viii) posposición y ix) afijo de posesión flexiva. Las funciones i-vi están relacionadas al dominio verbal, mientras que las funciones vii-ix son funciones propias del dominio nominal.

Los volúmenes editados por Langacker sobre varias lenguas de la familia ofrecen ejemplos que permiten observar algunos de los usos básicos de *ka*, sus alomorfos, y (potenciales) formas derivadas o compuestas. En (1a) del náhuatl clásico *ka* 'estar' funciona como el núcleo verbal estativo, el cual se distingue de los demás ejemplos en los que se emplea como afijo verbal; en (1b) del tepehuano del norte, el sufijo *-ka* funge como marca de estatividad que se liga al verbo *kati* 'sentado', el cual puede contener también el morfema *ka*; en (1c) del paiute del sur, *-kai* se liga al nominal 'nariz' y deriva un predicado posesivo; en (1d) del cora, el sufijo *-ka'a* se liga al verbo 'ir' como marca de 'pasado imperfectivo'; en (1e) también del cora, la forma *-kan* deriva un adjetivo resultativo del verbo *k^wasi* 'cocinar'; finalmente, en (1f) del paiute del sur *-ka* se liga al verbo dependiente *to'na* 'pegar' como un tipo de subordinador de diferente sujeto en una oración compleja. Con excepción de (1d) pareciera que estos morfemas se forman a partir de un morfema base *ka* más otro morfema ligado. Las glosas y las funciones de *ka* que aquí se describen corresponden a las que aparecen en las publicaciones originales.²

¹ Quiero agradecer a los dictaminadores por sus valiosos comentarios y sugerencias para mejorar la versión final del artículo. Este estudio comparte los resultados de mi tesis de licenciatura y recibió apoyo parcial del proyecto "Aspectos de la estructura oracional en yaqui y otras lenguas; estudio descriptivo, comparativo y tipológico (Ciencia básica-Conacyt A1-S-24378).

² En los ejemplos, solo se han actualizado algunas glosas (hechas por los mismos especialistas) y estandarizado glosas básicas para facilitar la lectura y el análisis.

- (1) Náhuatl clásico (náhuatl; Langacker, 1977, p. 41)
- a. *Nikaan ti-ka'*
aquí 2SG-estar
'Tú estás aquí.'
Tepehuano del norte (tepimana; Bascom, 1982, p. 361)
 - b. *Kati-ka-tadai*
acostado-EST-PSD
'Él estaba acostado.'
Paiute del sur (númico del sur; Langacker, 1977, p. 44)
 - c. *Mopi-'kai-ana*
nariz-tener-3SG
'Él tiene una nariz.'
Cora (corachol; Langacker, 1977, p. 157)
 - d. *U nu-ha'u-me'e-ka'a*
ahí 1SG-fuera-ir-IPFV
'Yo iba ahí afuera.'
Cora (corachol; Casad, 1984, p. 211)
 - e. *K^w así-kan nú Ø-wá-k^waa i muhme*
cocinar-PTC 1SG hacer-CMP-comer DET frijoles
'Yo comí frijoles cocidos.'
Paiute del sur (númico del sur; Langacker, 1977, p. 193)
 - f. *Suupa=ana to'na-'ka=ni toko'k^wi-paa*
si=3SG pegar-SUB.DS-1SG correr-FUT
'Si yo lo golpeo a él, correrá.'

En (2) se ilustran algunas funciones de *ka* fuera del dominio verbal. En (2a) del shoshoni se muestra el sufijo *-ka* como caso acusativo afijado al demostrativo *u*; en (2b) del luiséño el agentivo *-ka* deriva un nominal del verbo *čeeni* 'cortar'; en (2c) del pochuteco, el alomorfo *-gam* en nominales marca posesión flexiva. El propio Langacker (1977, pp. 40-44) menciona *-ga* como otra forma del morfema *ka*.

- (2) Shoshoni (númico central; Langacker, 1977, p. 184)
- a. *U-'ka iⁿ ta'uta-'pi pesi*
DEM-ACU 2SG encontrar-PTV.PTC ya
'Eso (ACU) que ya has encontrado.'
Luiséño (cupeño; Langacker, 1977, p. 62)

- b. *Yuu-l* *čeeni-ka-t*
 cabello-ABS.ACU cortar-AG-ABS
 ‘Barbero.’
 Pochuteco (pochuteco; Langacker, 1977, p. 82)
- c. *Mo-čolu-gam*
 2SG.POS-puerco-POS.PL
 ‘Mis puercos.’

Los ejemplos de (1) y (2) muestran que *ka* cumple diferentes funciones, pero también que aparece de distintas formas, por ejemplo, *ka*’ (1a), *-ka* (1b), *-’kai* (1c), *-ka’a* (1d), *-kan* (1e) y *-’kan* (1f). La revisión de estudios gramaticales más recientes confirma que gran parte de las lenguas yutoaztecas presentan un morfema *ka* con distintas funciones dentro y fuera del verbo. No obstante, no existe ningún estudio monográfico sobre este tema, ni un consenso de cuáles funciones se conservan, con qué valores y en qué lenguas, tampoco un análisis diacrónico que observe la evolución de este morfema en las distintas lenguas.

El presente estudio se centra en las funciones de *ka* en el dominio verbal y tiene dos objetivos principales: observar si este morfema se mantiene (o no) en tres lenguas no consideradas por Langacker, yaqui, o’dam (tepehuano del sureste) y wixárika (huichol), y si se conserva, explorar la forma y función que satisface. La intención es ofrecer un primer acercamiento a los usos de *ka* tal como aparecen en publicaciones especializadas sobre tres lenguas y, de esta manera, sentar las bases para un estudio comparativo más detallado.³ Los datos confirman que *ka* se conserva en yaqui, o’dam y wixárika con varias de las funciones sugeridas por Langacker, aunque también se pueden identificar algunas funciones nuevas.

La organización de los contenidos es la siguiente: en el primer apartado se presenta la familia lingüística, las lenguas bajo estudio y el corpus. En el segundo apartado se introduce brevemente el marco teórico. Finalmente, en el tercer apartado, se describen los usos de *ka* en las tres lenguas bajo estudio.

Familia lingüística y lenguas bajo estudio

La familia yutoazteca se subdivide en dos subfamilias, la norteña (hablada en suroeste y oeste de Estados Unidos) y la sureña (localizada en Arizona, en el noroeste

³ A diferencia de otras lenguas de la familia, no se cuenta con documentos históricos suficientes para llevar a cabo un análisis diacrónico de *ka* en las lenguas bajo análisis. Trabajos futuros podrán examinar los estudios disponibles en estas y otras lenguas emparentadas para determinar los distintos procesos de gramaticalización.

y centro de México y El Salvador); el presente estudio se centra en tres lenguas de la rama sureña: yaqui, o'dam y wixárika, pertenecientes a distintas agrupaciones (Moctezuma, 2012, p. 46).⁴ La lengua yaqui, del grupo taracahita, se habla al sur del estado de Sonora y Arizona; en este estudio se analiza la variante de Sonora. El yaqui es una lengua sintética-aglutinante de objeto primario y de núcleo final con un marco casual nominativo-acusativo (Dedrick y Casad 1999; Guerrero, 2004, 2023). El o'dam o tepehuano del sureste, junto con el tepehuano del suroeste y el tepehuano central, son variantes del tepehuano sureño, que pertenecen al grupo tepimano, y se hablan mayormente en Durango (INALI, 2009). El o'dam presenta una estructura sintética-aglutinante de objeto primario y marcación en el núcleo con alineamiento nominativo-acusativo que se codifica por medio de su sistema pronominal (García, 2014, 2017). El wixárika o huichol, del grupo corachol, se habla en los estados de Jalisco, Nayarit y algunas zonas de Durango; actualmente no existe un estudio dedicado a sus posibles variantes dialectales. El wixárika es una lengua de objeto primario que tiende a la aglutinación y polisíntesis, con alineamiento nominativo-acusativo y una predominante marcación en el núcleo (Comrie, 1982; Ramos y Carrillo, 2018; Ramos 2019, p. 443). Los datos que aquí se analizan provienen de las fuentes que se listan en el Cuadro 1; se incluyen tanto estudios gramaticales, como textos narrativos.

CUADRO 1. CORPUS

LENGUA	FUENTES CONSULTADAS
yaqui	Dedrick y Casad (1999), Estrada (2009) y Guerrero (2004, 2019a, 2019b, 2020, 2021, 2023)
o'dam	Willett (1991), Willett y Willett (2015), y García (2014, 2017)
wixárika	Gómez (1999), Iturrioz y Gómez (2006) y Ramos (2017, 2019)

Antecedentes teóricos

Entre las funciones asociadas a los verbos que Langacker (1977, pp. 40-44) identifica para *ka* se incluyen las siguientes: verbo 'estar', verbo 'tener', marca estativa, marca de aspecto perfectivo-imperfectivo, marca participial y subordinador. En este apartado se introduce brevemente algunos de estos conceptos teóricos que serán de utilidad en el análisis descriptivo. Es posible que las funciones señaladas por Langacker reflejen (i) dos o más morfemas homófonos

⁴ Aunque la clasificación de los grupos ha sido revisada por varios autores (Miller 1984, 1987; Cortina y Valiñas 1989; Manaster-Ramer 1992, 1996; Wolf 2001; Dakin 2001, 2004; Stubbs 2003, 2011; Hill 2010 citados en Moctezuma 2012: 46), aún no existe un consenso sobre la relación histórica y la organización interna de estas lenguas, especialmente para la subfamilia yutoazteca del sur (Haugen 2008; Dakin (2017).

o (ii) distintas etapas de gramaticalización de un mismo morfema. Aunque el estudio diacrónico está fuera del alcance del presente trabajo, vale la pena repasar brevemente qué ha dicho la literatura sobre las categorías de tiempo-aspecto-modo (TAM) y de los procesos de gramaticalización de formas participiales y subordinadores.

La categoría de tiempo se ha definido como la expresión gramatical de la relación del tiempo de una situación con un punto de referencia temporal (Payne, 1997, p. 236). Las lenguas dividen esta noción conceptual con fines de marcado gramatical de muchas maneras diferentes, un sistema de tiempo muy común es pasado, presente y futuro (Payne, 1997, p. 236). Por otro lado, el aspecto define la forma, distribución u “organización interna” de un evento en el tiempo (Bybee, 1985, citado en Kroeger, 2005, p. 152). Para la categoría de aspecto, es necesario señalar la diferencia entre perfectividad e imperfectividad. El perfectivo denota una situación completa, con comienzo, punto medio y final, haciendo énfasis en el final de una situación. En contraste, el imperfectivo señala un periodo de larga duración de una situación en progreso (Comrie, 1976, p. 23).

La evolución gramatical de las categorías de TAM ha sido estudiada sincrónica, diacrónica y tipológicamente por Bybee, Perkins y Pagliuca (1994), Heine y Kuteva (2007) y Timberlake (2007) entre varios otros autores. Se ha señalado que los caminos de gramaticalización son similares en todas las lenguas, por lo que han generado hipótesis específicas sobre la evolución y reconstrucción gramatical con grados de estratificación. La teoría de la gramaticalización en la que se basan estos autores parte de la observación de que los morfemas gramaticales se desarrollan gradualmente a partir de morfemas léxicos o combinaciones de morfemas (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 4). Así que se ven los procesos diacrónicos como una cadena de desarrollo. Se incluyen cambios graduales como el paso de morfemas de un estatus léxico a uno gramatical, los cuales se siguen desarrollando aún más después de haber alcanzado un estatus de gramaticalización (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 4). En los procesos de gramaticalización hay cambios íntimamente conectados de tipo semántico, funcional, gramatical y fonológico (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 5). Se ha identificado que los descendientes de procesos de gramaticalización pierden las especificidades del significado léxico que tenían anteriormente; el significado que queda es muy general y a menudo se caracteriza como abstracto o relacional (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 5).

Los verbos con características semánticas básicas como los estativos ‘ser/estar’ y ‘tener’ son unidades que entran fácilmente en procesos de gramaticalización; estos verbos estativos se han rastreado en algunas lenguas como fuentes léxicas de

los marcadores de TAM (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 9). De esta forma, se han identificado dos posibles rutas para los verbos ‘ser/estar’ y ‘tener’, véase la Figura 1.

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (i) ‘ser/estar’ y ‘tener’ | > resultativo | > inferencias resultativas | > evidencia indirecta |
| (ii) ‘ser/estar’ y ‘tener’ | > resultativo | > anterior | > perfectivos/pasados simples |

Figura 1. Caminos de desarrollo de los perfectivos (adaptado de Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 105)

Para las marcas imperfectivas, se ha identificado que pueden tener origen en verbos ‘ser/estar’ y cadenas relacionadas con significado locativo (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 142).

En la tradición clásica, el participio se ha definido como la flexión que modifica al verbo para un uso con carácter adjetival (Haspelmath, 2002, p. 67; Booij 2007, p. 102). En cuanto los procesos evolutivos de las formas participiales y morfemas subordinadores, se ha encontrado que pueden derivarse de verbos locativos ya que el significado del verbo se desemantiza y aunque se conservan tanto la capacidad sintáctica del verbo para tomar un complemento como su valor estativo, a través de la descategorización, se pierden la mayoría del resto de sus propiedades verbales (Bybee *et al.* 1997, p. 142; Heine y Kuteva 2007, p. 81).

Usos de *ka* en las tres lenguas de estudio

La revisión de los estudios previos del yaqui, o’dam y wixárika confirman la presencia de *ka* como parte del dominio verbal y en todas cumple más de una función. En este apartado presento el análisis descriptivo de las funciones de *ka* mencionadas por Langacker en el siguiente orden: verbo postural, marca de estatividad, marca de posesión, marca de tiempo-aspecto-modo, marca participial o morfema subordinador. Posteriormente, en el siguiente apartado, se comenta la función de *ka* como marca locativa de orientación en wixárika.

Ka como verbo postural

La función de **ka* como un verbo copulativo (Langacker, 1977) se conserva en estas lenguas como un verbo postural (p. 42). A diferencia de los verbos copulativos ‘ser/estar’, los verbos posturales ‘sentado’, ‘parado’ y ‘acostado’ expresan la ubicación de un referente con respecto a otro objeto y se seleccionan dependiendo de la orientación y los rasgos geométricos del referente localizado (Dryer, 2007, p. 240). En el Cuadro 2 se listan los verbos posturales que se asocian a una forma verbal *ka*; este verbo denota ‘sentado’ en yaqui, ‘acostado’ en o’dam, y tanto ‘sentado’ como

‘acostado’ en wixárika. Nótese que, además de *ka*, en las tres lenguas se conserva una forma verbal compuesta con un morfema *-te* ~ *-t*.

CUADRO 2. VERBOS POSTURALES CON *KA*.

YAQUI	O'DAM	WIXÁRIKA
<i>katek</i> ‘sentado.SG’	<i>kat</i> ‘acostado’	<i>ka</i> ‘sentado.SG’ <i>ka</i> ‘sentado.volumen.SG’ <i>ka</i> ‘sentado.flexible.SG’ <i>kate</i> ‘sentado.flexible.PL’ <i>ká</i> ‘acostado.SG’

En yaqui, *katek* ‘sentado SG’ (3a), es el verbo postural más frecuente y se asocia a un número amplio de entidades con distintas características físicas y/o geométricas (Guerrero, 2021, p. 409). En o’dam, *kat* ‘acostado’ (3b) señala la locación y posición de una entidad inanimada colocada de manera horizontal.

(3) Yaqui (Guerrero, 2021, p. 572)

- a. *U chu'u-Ø kari-po pa'aku katek*
DET perro-NOM casa-LOC afuera sentado.SG
‘El perro está sentado afuera de la casa.’

O’dam (García, 2014, p. 225)

- b. *Pix pui' muk-ix-kam mu kat*
MIR SENS morir-RES-POSP:origen DIR acostado.SG
na=ñich-pai'dhuk mu jii
SUB=1SG.SUJ.PFV-ADVR DIR ir.PFV
‘Ya estaba muerto, estaba acostado cuando fui ahí.’

En wixárika Guerrero y García (2019) documentan dos verbos *ka* para expresar la idea de ‘sentado’, los cuales se distinguen a partir de su contraparte plural: *ka/tei* ‘sentado-volumen (SG/PL)’ que se utiliza con entidades concretas que tienen una base redondeada, como ‘pelota’ (4a), y *ka/kate* ‘sentado-flexible (SG/PL)’ que se asocia a entidades flexibles o no contables como ‘dinero’ o ‘telas’ (4b-c) (p. 151). Además, existe otro verbo *ká* ‘acostado (SG)’ que se combina con entidades alargadas que se colocan horizontalmente (4d).

(4) Wixárika (Guerrero y García 2019: 157, 158, 159)

- a. *Pelota 'ipari-tia pa-ye-ka*
pelota silla-LOC AS1-LOC-sentado.volumen.SG
‘La pelota está (sentada) debajo de la silla.’

'ixuriki mexa-tsie pa-ka
 tela mesa-LOC AS1-sentado.flexible.SG
 'La tela está (sentada) en la mesa.'

- b. *Tumini mexa-tsie pa-kate*
 dinero mesa-LOC AS1-sentado.flexible.PL
 'El dinero está (sentado) sobre la mesa.'
- Mexa-tsie tiutiwame pa-ká*
 mesa-LOC lápiz AS1-acostado.SG
 'El lápiz está (acostado) en la mesa.'

Es decir, en las tres lenguas se conserva una forma verbal estativa con sentido locativo. Esta forma verbal se mantiene como *ka* en wixárika o como *kate* en yaqui y *kat* en o'dam, lo cual apuntaría a un proceso de gramaticalización de otro morfema verbal ligado.

Ka como marca de estatividad

Langacker también menciona que *ka* puede señalar valores de estatividad. Para Lakoff (1966 citado en Jackson, 2005, p. 12), los elementos identificados como estativos comparten la propiedad de inactividad y, por lo tanto, es una propiedad de los adjetivos y verbos que denotan un estado. Para Timberlake (2007), el término estativo identifica un tipo de predicado que denota situaciones estables, que no cambian y que se mantienen en el tiempo (p. 284). Estas características pueden observarse en varios verbos del yaqui que han gramaticalizado un morfema de 'pasado perfectivo' *-ka* ~ *-k* como parte de la raíz (Guerrero, 2021, p. 569). Estos verbos estativos incluyen copulativos de existencia y locación, así como verbos posturales (Cuadro 3); algunos de estos verbos cambian según el número de la entidad localizada. En (5) se presentan algunos ejemplos de estos verbos estativos del yaqui.

CUADRO 3. VERBOS COPULATIVOS Y DE POSTURA BÁSICOS YAQUIS (ADAPTADO DE GUERRERO, 2021, P. 568).

VERBOS COPULATIVOS	VERBOS DE POSTURA (SG/PL)		
<i>aayuk</i>			'haber, existir'
<i>o'orek</i>			'estar en'
<i>manek</i>			'estar en'
	<i>bo'aka</i>	<i>to'aka</i>	'acostado'
	<i>weyek</i>	<i>ja'abwek</i>	'parado'
	<i>kátek</i>	<i>jo'aka</i>	'sentado'
	<i>cha'aka</i>		'colgado'

(5) Yaqui (Guerrero, 2021, p. 570)

- a. *U-me'e namu-m kawi-ta-bepa cha'aka.*
 DET-PL nube-PL cerro-ACU-arriba colgado.

‘La nube está colgada arriba del cerro.’

Yaqui (Estrada, 2009, p. 78)

b. *Iními’i náiki táhkaim aáyuk*

aquí cuatro tortillas haber

‘Aquí hay cuatro tortillas.’

En o’dam se ha identificado un morfema *ka* como parte de cláusulas estativas no-verbales que contiene el elemento copulativo *jir*= ‘existencial’ o =*jix* ‘atributivo’, los cuales se combinan con nominales, palabras temporales o atributos, y están fonológicamente ligados como clíticos a la expresión del predicado (Willett, 1991; García, 2014). En Willett y Willett (2015) se señala que la afijación de *-ka* expresa “estados no presentes” (p. 282), por lo que García (2014) glosa *-ka*(’) como marca “estativa”. En (6a) el núcleo predicativo nominal *ubii* ‘mujer’ se marca con *-ka* seguido del imperfectivo *-t*, ‘Ella era una mujer’; en (6b) el núcleo predicativo adjetival ‘frío’ se marca con *-ka* + *-’* ‘irrealis’, lo que permite una lectura de estado temporal habitual, ‘Está frío en diciembre’; en (6c), la secuencia *-ka* + *-’* se sufijan al verbo postural *dhaas* ‘sentado’. Se ha identificado que la ausencia de *-ka* solo ocurre en predicados no-verbales en tiempo presente, véase (6d). Así que *-ka* en cláusulas estativas suele presentarse únicamente acompañado de las marcas de TAM, lo que apunta a una posible gramaticalización y desementización del *-ka* estativo.

(6) O’dam (García, 2014, p. 130)

a. *Jir=uubi-ka-t* *jia*

COP=mujer-EST-IPFV RET

‘Ella era una mujer ¿Cierto?’

O’dam (García, 2014, p. 92)

b. *Na-pai’dhuk jix=jiipi’ñ-ka-’* *diciembre*

SUB-ADVR COP=frío-EST-IRR diciembre

‘Cuando está/hace frío en diciembre.’

c. O’dam (García, 2014, p. 144)

Bhai’=ñ ja’p xi-dhaas-ka-’ *kuupa’-iñ* *ba’*

DIR=1SG.SUJ DIR IMP-sentado-EST-IRR cubrir-1SG.SUJ SEQ

‘Luego lo puse por ahí cubriéndolo.’

O’dam (García, 2014, p. 205)

d. *Sia no’ jir=chio’ñ piam no’ jir=ubii*

EXPS COND COP=hombre DISJ COND COP=mujer

‘Quiero decir, si soy hombre o mujer.’

Probablemente, el morfema estativo *ka* en wixárika forma parte del verbo *yeika* ‘andar/estar’, otro verbo estativo con sentido locativo (7).

(7) Wixárika (Ramos, 2017, p. 127)

- a. *Hiki 'ena-paiti ne-u-ka-yeika=ri*
 ahora aquí-hasta 1SG.SUJ-VIS-abajo-estar=ya
 ‘Ahora hasta aquí ando/estoy..’

En Bybee *et al.* (1994) se señala que, en algunas lenguas, los verbos posturales y morfemas locativos tienden a gramaticalizarse en valores estativos y locativos (pp. 129-130). Un fenómeno que parece haber sucedido en el o'dam y el wixárika. Es posible que haya ocurrido lo mismo con los verbos posturales en yaqui, ya que estos no presentan una interpretación de pasado perfectivo. En resumen, los ejemplos presentados sugieren la presencia de un morfema *ka* con valor estativo en las tres lenguas, en cláusulas con predicados no-verbales y en formas gramaticalizadas.

Ka como marca de posesión

Langacker (1977) también menciona un morfema *ka* con valor de posesión (p. 42). El dominio cognitivo de la posesión es un concepto relacional entre dos entidades: una entidad poseedora y un elemento poseído; en este sentido, las expresiones posesivas reflejan las relaciones entre el poseedor y su entorno, es decir, sus parientes, partes corporales, pertenencias materiales, objetos culturales e intelectuales (Heine, 2006, pp. 1-5).

En yaqui se han identificado tres verbos posesivos, entre ellos *atte'ak* y *-(e)k*. Se ha propuesto que *atte'ak* probablemente se derivó del nominal *atte'a* ‘pertenencias’ y *-(e)k* posesivo dando como resultado una construcción de predicación posesiva transitiva (Muchembled, 2014, p. 258; Haugen, 2017, p. 11). Se ha identificado que *atte'ak* se utiliza para expresar la propiedad o pertenencia de un ente poseído con respecto al poseedor (Gurrola, 2005, p. 48), aunque su uso es poco frecuente (en oposición a *jippue* ‘tener’) y suele limitarse a objetos concretos y algunos animales domésticos (Guerrero, 2020, p. 465).⁵ En (8a) *atte'ak* señala la posesión de *chu'u-ta* ‘perro’ con la marca acusativa siendo el poseedor un referente humano. También en el yaqui, el sufijo verbal *-k* ~ *-ek*

⁵ En Guerrero (2020) se da cuenta de los diferentes tratamientos que ha recibido el sufijo verbal posesivo *-k* en la literatura, ya que el panorama de este morfema es sumamente controversial en la gramática del yaqui.

‘tener’, se liga al nominal poseído, y su distribución parece estar fonológicamente determinada por la terminación del nominal, así, *-ek* aparece cuando el nominal termina en consonante y *-k* cuando termina en vocal (Guerrero, 2020, p. 475). Por ejemplo, mientras que *-k* se afija a *maala* ‘madre’ (8b); el alomorfo *-ek* se liga a *hiaps* ‘buen corazón’ (8c). Este sufijo representa la estrategia más productiva para expresar posesión predicativa en esta lengua.

(8) Yaqui (Guerrero, 2020, p. 478)

- a. *Aapo* *waka’a* *chu’u-ta* ***atte’ak***
 3SG.NOM DEM.ACU perro-ACU poseer.
 ‘Él/ella es el dueño de ese perro.’

Yaqui (Guerrero, 2020, p. 479)

- b. *Peo-Ø* *Maria-ta* *maala-k*
 Pedro-NOM María-ACU madre-tener
 ‘Pedro tiene como madre a María.’

Yaqui (Dedrick y Casad, 1999, p. 328)

- c. *Hunáa’a* *hámut* *tua* *tú’u-hiaps-ek*
 esa mujer realmente bueno-corazón-tener
 ‘Ella realmente es una mujer de buen corazón.’

En wixárika se registra un prefijo *ka-* ‘tener’ que se liga a nominales y que posee propiedades verbales. En (9) se emplea *ka-* para predicar posesión, el pronombre *ne-* de sujeto es el poseedor de esta construcción y ‘perro’ el referente poseído. Ramos (comunicación personal) considera que *ka-* se comporta como prefijo de posesión y no como verbo posesivo, ya que el orden verbo-objeto que se refleja en el complejo verbal de (9) no es común. No obstante, el pronombre de sujeto en (9) confirma que se trata de una construcción de posesión verbal.

(9) Wixárika (Gómez, 1999, p. 97)

- a. *Ne-pi-ka-’u-ka-tsiki*
 1SG.SUJ-AS1-NEG-VIS-tener-perro
 ‘No tengo perro.’

En resumen, el uso de *ka* como predicado de posesión se conserva en yaqui y wixárika, pero no en o’dam. No obstante, la existencia de un *ka* posesivo es una función que se ha documentado en un gran número de lenguas yutoaztecas (Muchembled, 2014, p. 150). Posiblemente el valor posesivo de *ka* se deriva de

ka ‘estar’, ya que se ha identificado que los verbos copulativos y locativos pueden expresar posesión predicativa (Aikhenvald, 2013).

Ka como marca de perfectivo / imperfectivo

Las lenguas yutoaztecas no cuentan con una distinción clara entre la marca de tiempo y de aspecto (Langacker, 1977, p. 151), así que los morfemas de TAM suelen presentar valores mixtos, tanto temporales como aspectuales.

Para el yaqui, Dedrick y Casad (1999, p. 310) señalan que el sufijo *-k* ~ *-ka* indica aspecto “perfectivo” e indica que una situación sucedió en un punto específico en el tiempo y que ha terminado, por lo tanto, se puede interpretar como “pasado perfectivo”. Un par de ejemplos de situaciones concluidas con *-k* ~ *-ka* se presentan en (10).

(10) Yaqui (Guerrero, 2004, p. 94)

- a. *U maso-Ø laulauti muuku-k.*
DET ciervo-NOM lentamente morir.SG-PFV

‘El ciervo murió lentamente.’

Yaqui (Dedrick y Casad, 1999, p. 311)

- b. *Húu’u wiikit-Ø ’ám-bíca mékka né’e-ka*
ese pájaro-NOM ahí-sitio lejos volar-PFV

‘El pájaro voló lejos en esa dirección.’

También en el yaqui, Dedrick y Casad (1999) proponen la secuencia de *-ka* “participio imperfectivo” + *-n* “continuativo” para marcar “pasado continuo” que resalta la lectura de pasado imperfectivo (pp. 318-320). En (11a) el morfema *-kan* se afija a *bwe’u-rea* ‘ser grande’ expresando una situación en pasado, en la cual no es evidente si es un evento que tiene un fin claro, en (11b) se muestra el empleo del alomorfo *-n* en el verbo *bwaana* ‘llorar’ expresando un evento con lectura en pasado imperfectivo. Así que *-kan* es una forma compuesta de *-ka* + *-n*. Buelna (1891, citado en Dedrick y Casad, 1999, pp. 318-320) señala que en varias lenguas yutoaztecas *-ka* se liga otro morfema para expresar pasado imperfectivo: en tehueco la marca era *-cat*, en mayo se usa *-cai*; y como se muestra más adelante, en wixárika se emplea *-kai*.

(11) Yaqui (Guerrero y Gutiérrez, 2012, p. 16)

- a. *Ori bwe’u-rea-kan.*
MD grande-VBLZ-IPFV

‘Era muy grande.’

Yaqui (Guerrero, 2004, p. 29)

- b. *U ili uusi-Ø bwaana-n*
 DET pequeño niño-NOM llorar-IPFV
 ‘El niño pequeño lloraba.’

Para el o’dam, García (2014) identifica un prefijo *ka-* como aspecto “perfecto”, el cual se emplea para referir a un evento que sucede en un lugar y se coloca antes del punto de referencia temporal, pero que resulta importante en el punto del momento de habla (p. 51). En (12) *ka-* señala que la acción de ‘pasar’ se entiende como un evento en pasado mientras que el punto anterior de referencia sigue siendo relevante para la oración.

(12) O’dam (García, 2014, p. 64)

- a. *Cham ka-ja-paxiar-da’am sap*
 NEG PERF-3PL.OP-pasar-APL-3PL.SUJ REP.ID
 ‘Ninguno de ellos los ha visitado, según él.’

En el o’dam, el sufijo *-k ~ -(m)ik* se ha identificado como marcador de “pasado puntual”, el cual señala la finalización de un evento en pasado y no presenta una duración significativa, su uso suele acompañarse de los clíticos de sujeto perfectivos (García, 2014, p. 51-54). En (13a) *kúpa-t* expresa que el evento de ‘cerrar’ se desarrolló en el pasado y ya ha concluido, en (13b) se muestra el uso del alomorfo *-ik* afijado al verbo ‘ir’. Dado que esta marcación refiere a situaciones en pasado perfectivo, he decidido glosarlo como perfectivo, en lugar de puntual.

(13) O’dam (Willett, 1991, p. 114)

- a. *Xi-kúpa-k yavi qui’n gu puerta na=t ba-vus*
 IMP-cerrar-PFV llave con DET puerta SUB=3SG.SUJ.PFV CMP-salir
 ‘Él cerró la puerta con la llave cuando se fue.’

O’dam (García, 2014, p. 127)

- b. *Jimi-ik-apich=a: mu kii-cham*
 ir-PFV-2SG.SUJ.PFV=Q DIR casa-POSP:dentro
 ‘¿Tú fuiste a la casa?’

Para el wixárika, Gómez (1999) menciona que el morfema *-kai* marca tiempo “pasado” junto con el aspecto “imperfectivo”, por lo que podemos decir que este

morfema señala pasado imperfectivo (p. 67). En (14) el morfema *-kai* se afija al verbo ‘tener diarrea’ expresando un evento sin un final claro, pero que temporalmente se sitúa en el pasado. Probablemente este morfema es el resultado de un *ka* con valor estativo más otro morfema ligado.

(14) Wixárika (Ramos, 2017, p. 146)

pu-hakwita-kai

AS1-tener.diarrea-IPFV

‘...tenía diarrea...’

También en el wixárika se ha identificado otro morfema con valor imperfectivo, el sufijo *-ka* con la función tiempo-aspectual de futuro durativo, así que no existe un consenso en cuanto a su valor. Grimes (1981) identifica a *-ca* como “futuro durativo” (p. 16); Gómez (1999) señala que hay un sufijo *-ka* como marca de “futuro” (p. 67); Iturrioz y Gómez (2006) proponen un *-ka* con función “modoaccional durativo” con posibilidad de tener un componente temporal de futuro (p. 200); Ramos (2017) no glosa *-ka* con el valor durativo, sino que lo analiza como “estativo”. En (15) *te-pi-’enie-ka* ‘estaremos escuchando’ permite la lectura de una acción imperfectiva que se realizará en futuro con una duración prolongada.

(15) Wixárika (Iturrioz y Gómez, 2006, p. 200)

Kwikari te-pi-’enie-ka

canción 1PL.SUJ-AS1-escuchar-FUT.DUR

‘Escucharemos la música.’

Como se puede observar con los ejemplos mostrados de las tres lenguas, el uso del morfema *ka* con valores tiempo-aspectuales es estable en la familia yutoazteca. También es importante resaltar que *ka* suele marcar tanto los valores perfectivos como imperfectivos, así como más de uno de estos valores en una misma lengua. El posible origen de *ka* como marca de TAM se puede rastrear a *ka* ‘estar’, ya que como se mostró anteriormente, la hipótesis de Bybee *et al.* (1994) propone que las marcas de aspecto perfecto, perfectivo e imperfectivo tienen como antecede a verbos estativos. Cabe resaltar el caso de *ka-* perfecto en o’dam, ya que es el único que se presenta como prefijo. Probablemente las marcas imperfectivas *-kan* del yaqui y *-kai* del wixárika son el resultado de la ligadura de un *-ka* con valor estativo más otro morfema. Sin embargo, no todas las marcas

imperfectivas refieren a una forma compuesta, como *-ka* de futuro durativo en wixárika.

***Ka* como marca participial / subordinadora**

Langacker (1977) también identifica la presencia de **ka* en cláusulas subordinadas, en las lenguas yutoaztecas (p. 34). Las cláusulas subordinadas forman oraciones complejas, que según Lyons (1995) se componen de varias oraciones simples que, al incorporarse como constituyentes de oraciones mayores, se denominan cláusulas (p. 178). En estas oraciones, la “cláusula principal” puede estar “modificada” por una o más cláusulas subordinadas gramaticalmente dependientes de ella y generalmente introducidas por un elemento subordinante (Lyons, 1995, p. 178). Se ha identificado que, en las cláusulas subordinadas, frecuentemente, un verbo no-finito se codifica como gerundio o participio (Bybee *et al.* 1994, p. 216).

En el yaqui, Dedrick y Casad (1999) señalan un sufijo *-ka* “participial imperfectivo” que funciona como un equivalente al gerundio/participio *-ing* del inglés y al participio *-ando* ~ *-endo* del español (pp. 312-313). Este sufijo expresa una versión estativa-atributiva, que sitúa en segundo plano un evento con respecto a otro expresado en la cláusula principal de una oración compleja. Según Dedrick y Casad (1999), en el yaqui, el sufijo *-ka* participial imperfectivo resalta la noción de durabilidad en situaciones particulares y sirve como trasfondo de otro evento (p. 312). De este modo, el morfema *-ka* genera formas verbales participiales que están subordinadas en construcciones complejas que involucran dos eventos: uno de ellos corresponde a un verbo no conjugado o no finito, el participial, y el otro a un verbo finito, el principal. Por ejemplo, en (16) *-ka* se afija a ‘llorar’ y señala que una mujer llegó mientras lloraba. Una característica fundamental de este tipo de cláusulas es que ambos predicados deben compartir el sujeto.

(16) Yaqui (Dedrick y Casad, 1999, p. 216)

Hámut hunúm bwána-ka yépsa-k
 mujer ahí llorar-SUB llegar.SG-PF
 ‘Una mujer llegó llorando.’

Dedrick y Casad (1999) señalan que en yaqui el sufijo estativo remoto *-i* se combina con el participial imperfectivo *-ka*, dando como resultado la secuencia *-ka-i*, este morfema cumple una función subordinadora entre dos cláusulas (p. 315). Guerrero (2004) clasifica al morfema *-kai* como un subordinador monomorfémico general, ya que el estativo remoto *-i* generalmente se liga a verbos

en cláusulas estativas y difícilmente aparece en combinación con otros sufijos de TAM que no sea *-ka*, por esta razón, se considera como parte de *-ka*⁶ (p. 29). Así, *-kai* aparece en su mayoría relacionado con otra cláusula cuyo verbo contenga la información de TAM y producen una oración compleja que involucra a un mismo sujeto. En la oración de (17a) *-kai* se afija a ‘bailar’ y señala simultaneidad con *saja-kan* ‘nos fuimos’; en (17b) *bwaana-kai* ‘llorando’ da una lectura resultativa. En ambas oraciones, la cláusula marcada con *-kai* aparece al final.

(17) Yaqui (Guerrero, 2004, p. 247)

- a. *Tɛ saja-kan ka yi'i-bae-kai*
 1PL.NOM 1r.PL-IPFV NEG bailar-DES-SUB
 ‘Nos fuimos sin querer bailar.’

Yaqui (Guerrero, 2004, p. 91)

- b. *Nim achai ansu-k bwaana-kai*
 1SG.POS padre terminar-PFV llorar-SUB
 ‘Mi padre terminó llorando.’

En el o'dam, Willett y Willett (2015) identifica a *-ka* en bases verbales para marcar situaciones estativas (p. 282). La afijación de *-ka* en cláusulas simples suele expresar situaciones resultantes y en cláusulas subordinadas expresa un evento imperfectivo. Por lo tanto, se sugiere que esta función de *-ka* en cláusulas verbales puede entenderse como marcador participial, ya que expresa eventos durativos. En (18a) se muestra el uso de *-ka* en una oración simple expresando una forma participial *i'ix-ka-* ‘plantados’. En (18b) la oración presenta dos cláusulas verbales que comparten el mismo sujeto ‘yo’; la primera cláusula es ‘pensar’ y la segunda es ‘barrer’ la cual presenta *-ka* como marca participial junto con el irrealis - ‘expresando un verbo no finito; en (18c) la oración mantiene dos cláusulas que hacen referencia a diferentes argumentos, el morfema *-ka* se da en la cláusula *ixchu-ka-* ‘escondiendo’ del sujeto ‘ellos’, mientras que la cláusula ‘buscar’ refiere a *u'ji* ‘pájaro’.

(18) O'dam (Reyes et al., 2022, p. 147)

- a. *Gio ba'gu turasno na i'ix-ka-*
 COORD SEC ART durazno SUB plantar-PTC-IRR

⁶ En otras lenguas yutoaztecas se ha identificado a *-kai* como verbo ‘tener’ (paiute del sur), marca estativa (paiute del sur), marca imperfectiva (wixárika) y subordinadora (paiute del sur y shoshoni).

‘El que tenía duraznos plantados’

O’dam (García, 2014, p. 70)

- b. *Pero ni na=n-jax jiñ-a’n-da’ añ chi-xichubox-ka-*
 pero nunca sub=1SG.SUJ-ADVR 1R/R/M-pensar-CONT 1SG.SUJ DUR-bar-
 rer-PTC-IRR

‘Pero nunca estoy pensando que barro...’

O’dam (García, 2014, p. 207)

- c. *Pai’ ixchu-ka-’-am-ji obamghi-dha-am*
 donde esconder-PTC-IRR-3PL.SUJ-CD buscar-CONT-3PL.SUJ
sap gu u’ji na=m-gu’
 REP.ID DET pájaro SUB=3PL.SUJ-ADVR

‘Ellos lo estaban escondiendo porque los pájaros lo buscaban porque ...’

En el wixárikal existe un inventario de afijos que son utilizados para marcar subordinación, entre ellos un morfema *-ka* que expresa anterioridad al acto del habla en cláusulas con el mismo sujeto (Iturrioz y Gómez, 2006, p. 206). Ramos (2017) señala que los morfemas de referencia se ligan a la cláusula dependiente para indicar si el sujeto es correferente con el sujeto en la cláusula principal o no (p. 66). En (19a) la cláusula dependiente *ke-mi-ti-kwaxiya-ka* ‘sudando’ indica la manera en que se lleva a cabo la acción del colibrí descrita en la cláusula principal mostrando simultaneidad, lo podemos contrastar con el subordinador *-me* de diferente sujeto para eventos futuros en (19b).

(19) Wixárika (Ramos, 2017, p. 67)

- a. *tipina ke-mi-ti-kwaxiya-ka mu-na-ku-ne-kai*
 colibrí SUB-AS2-PL-sudar-SUB.ANT.MS AS2-todo-LE-venir.SG-IPFV
 ‘...el colibrí venía sudando...’

Wixárika (Ramos, 2017, p. 118)

- b. *ta-tei kiekari m-a-ka-me miki ’ana’i ti-niere kwi*
 1PL-madre pueblo AS2-FIG-sentado-DS DEM aquí DISTR-ver tierra
 ‘...nuestra madre del pueblo se ve que estará aquí en la tierra...’

Así pues, en el yaqui, las funciones del morfema *-ka* como participio-subordinador de ciertas cláusulas podría analizarse como un proceso de gramaticalización, ya que este morfema se utiliza para señalar y relacionar la duración de un evento. El morfema *-kai* apunta a ser un morfema gramaticalizado que surgió por la unión de *-ka* ‘participial’ + *-i* ‘estativo’. En el o’dam, no se ha registrado la función de

subordinador relacionada con el morfema *-ka*. Pero sí se ha identificado a *-ka* como marca participial, que se puede rastrear como la gramaticalización de un morfema estativo, ya que señala eventos durativos. En cuanto al wixárika, el morfema *-ka* se utiliza para indicar la subordinación de cláusulas del mismo sujeto y de eventos pasados. Se ha identificado que los participios y subordinadores pueden derivarse de verbos locativos (Heine y Kuteva, 2007, p. 81), así que la fuente de estos morfemas subordinadores y participiales podría ser *ka* como verbo ‘estar’. Tanto para el o’dam como el yaqui, es necesario realizar un análisis específico que estudie este morfema con valores participiales con mayor detenimiento.

Ka como marca locativa en wixárika

La expresión del espacio en wixárika es muy vasta y compleja, pues junto con frases y verbos locativos, la lengua cuenta con un conjunto de preverbiales que, entre otras funciones, codifican valores locativos (Gómez 1999, p. 69; Guerrero y García, 2019). Entre los prefijos locativos que emplea la lengua, se ha identificado el prefijo *ka-* al cual se le asignan valores de movimiento y orientación hacia abajo (Gómez, 1999, p. 72). Este tipo de funciones no se registran en las otras dos lenguas bajo estudio. Probablemente este prefijo pudo derivarse de los verbos posturales ‘acostado’ y ‘sentado’ dado los valores locativos. En (20) el prefijo *ka-* ‘abajo’ señala la orientación en la cual se metió el gusano en la tierra, funcionando como locación *kwie-ta* ‘tierra’.

(20) Wixárika (Ramos, 2017, p. 137)

<i>kwitsi</i>	<i>kwie-ta</i>	<i>pu-ka-ha</i>
gusano	tierra-LOC	AS1-abajo-meter.PFV
‘El gusano se metió en la tierra.’		

Conclusiones

El objetivo de este estudio fue identificar las funciones de *ka* en el dominio verbal de tres lenguas yutoaztecas sureñas y comparar sus funciones y formas con el fin de mostrar cuáles se comparten y cuáles no. También se trató de encontrar la fuente de las funciones identificadas, las formas compuestas, así como identificar si solo son morfemas homófonos o se trata de morfemas distintos. Como se mencionó al principio, el análisis partió de la propuesta de Langacker (1977) sobre las funciones del morfema *ka* en el dominio verbal. Es importante señalar que la propuesta de Langacker (1977) sobre *ka* se mantiene en las len-

guas analizadas, ya que las funciones básicas se conservan, aunque con algunas variantes: (i) no se identifica un verbo copulativo ‘ser’ pero sí se observan verbos posturales ‘sentado’, ‘acostado’ y posesivos ‘tener’; (ii) se conserva un afijo *ka* que señala aspecto perfectivo o imperfectivo; (iii) hay también algunos rastros de un morfema estativo *ka* gramaticalizado en cláusulas predicativas no-verbales; (iv) se presenta un morfema participial con valor durativo; (v) existe un subordinador *-ka* que señala, entre otros valores, una relación temporal entre el verbo dependiente y el verbo principal que comparten el sujeto. También se observan funciones novedosas, el *ka-* de tiempo perfecto del o’dam y el prefijo *ka-* locativo del wixárika. Potencialmente, los valores de *ka*, como marca de posesión predicativa, estativo, marca aspectual, participial, subordinador y el prefijo *ka-* del wixárika como locativo, tengan de antecedente común el verbo **ka* ‘estar’. Esto debido a los procesos de gramaticalización como verbo estativo-postural y los valores semánticos, pero cada valor con diferentes rutas evolutivas y usos extendidos. Se trató de mostrar que *ka* es un morfema con mucha productividad que presenta diversas funciones en las lenguas yutoaztecas; se emplea tanto como verbo postural de forma libre como afijo verbal. Cabe resaltar que varias funciones identificadas de *ka*, en las lenguas yutoaztecas, apuntan a haber tenido un origen compuesto en un morfema base *ka* más otro morfema ligado p. ej. *katek* ‘sentado.sg’ y *-kan* imperfectivo, ambos del yaqui. Resulta complicado determinar el valor de los morfemas que crean estas formas compuestas, para ello sería necesario hacer un estudio diacrónico para cada una de las funciones.

No todas las funciones de *ka* se comparten en yaqui, o’dam y wixárika, o bien, en algunos casos en los que se comparte la función, se tienen valores o formas distintas, las funciones se resumen en el Cuadro 4.

Estudios posteriores podrían investigar las funciones de *ka* fuera del dominio verbal en las mismas lenguas. También desde una perspectiva comparativa, se podría examinar con más detenimiento las funciones del morfema *ka* en las lenguas de la familia para evidenciar las funciones que se comparten. Además, desde una perspectiva diacrónica, se podría explorar si las funciones que aquí se han descrito se derivan históricamente del mismo morfema, o bien, de morfemas homófonos distintos.

CUADRO 4. FUNCIONES DE *KA* EN YAQUI, O’DAM Y WIXÁRIKA (RESUMEN).

FUNCIÓN	YAQUI	O’DAM	WIXÁRIKAL
(1) verbo ‘ser’			
(2) verbo postural ‘sentado’	<i>katek</i>		<i>ka</i>
(3) verbo postural ‘acostado’		<i>kat</i>	<i>ká - kaa</i>

FUNCIÓN	YAQUI	O'DAM	WIXÁRIKAL
(4) estativo	verbos gramaticalizada <i>o'orek, aayuk, bo'oka, to'oka weyek, ja'abwek, katek, jo'oka manek, cha'aka</i>	-ka + (TAM) en predicados estativos	verbo yeika gramaticalizada
(5) posesión verbal	-(e)k		ka-
(6) tiempo-aspectual perfectivo	-k(a) pasado perfectivo	-k ~ -(m)ik pasado perfectivo	
(7) tiempo-aspectual perfecto		ka- perfecto	
(8) tiempo-aspectual imperfectivo	-kan pasado imperfectivo		-kai pasado imperfectivo
(9) tiempo-aspectual durativa			-ka futuro durativo
(10) participial	-ka	-ka	
(11) subordinador	-ka(i)		-ka
(12) espacial			ka-
(13) narrativo			ka-

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Anexo: Lista de abreviaturas

1	Primera	DISTR	Distributivo	PASS	Pasivo
2	Segunda	DS	Diferente sujeto	PERF	Perfecto
3	Tercera	DUR	Durativo	PFV	Perfectivo
ABS	Absolutivo	EST	Estativo	PL	Plural
ACU	Acusativo	EXPS	Expositivo	POS	Posesión
ADVR	Adverbial	FIG	Figura	POSP	Posposición

AG	Agentivo	FUT	Futuro	PSD	Pasado
APL	Aplicativo	IMP	Imperativo	PTC	Participial
AS	Asertor	INV	Invisible	Q	Pregunta
AS1	Asertor primario	IPFV	Imperfectivo	R/R/M	Reflexiva/recíproca/media
AS2	Asertor secundario	IRR	Irrealis	REP.ID	Reportativo información desconocida
CD	Cláusula dependiente	ITS	Intensificador	RES	Resultativo
CMP	Completivo	LE	Lugar específico	RET	Retórico
COND	Condicional	LOC	Locativo	SENS	Sensorial
CONT	Continuativo	MD	Marcador discursivo	SEQ	Secuencial
COP	Cópula	MIR	Mirativo	SG	Singular
DEM	Demostrativo	MS	Mismo sujeto	SUB	Subordinador
DES	Desiderativo	NARR	Narrativo	SUJ	Sujeto
DET	Determinante	NEG	Negación	VBLZ	Verbalizador
DIR	Direccional	NMLZ	Nominalizador	VIS	Visual
DISJ	Disyuntiva	NOM	Nominativo		

Puntos suspensivos: recuperación de información elidida mediante las isotopías de Greimas y los esquemas de imagen de Mark Johnson

Suspension points: retrieval of elided information with Greimas' isotopies and Mark Johnson's image schemas

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Resumen

Los puntos suspensivos son un signo lingüístico comúnmente utilizado para elidir información en los textos. Las investigaciones sobre la posibilidad de recuperar tal información mediante teorías lingüísticas son poco comunes. Por eso, en este artículo se propone, por un lado, un análisis doble, desde la semántica estructural y la cognitiva, de dos poemas de Barba Jacob que contienen puntos suspensivos, para dar cuenta de cómo se puede recuperar información elidida; y, por otra parte, proporcionar un criterio efectivo para distinguir los usos en los que hay elisión de aquellos que no la tienen. De estas perspectivas teóricas se toma como herramientas analíticas: las *isotopías*, introducidas por Greimas (1966) y ampliadas luego por François Rastier (1976); y los *esquemas de imagen*, introducidos por Mark Johnson y desarrollados luego por diversos investigadores. Como se verá, ambas perspectivas permiten la recuperación sistemática y efectiva.

Palabras clave: elipsis, esquemas de imagen, isotopías, lingüística, puntuación

Abstract

Ellipsis, or suspension points, are linguistic signs commonly used to omit information in texts. The research on the possibility of retrieving such information through linguistic theories is uncommon. Therefore, this article proposes, on the one hand, a double analysis, from structural and cognitive semantics, of two poems by Barba Jacob that contain ellipses, in order to explain how omitted information can be recovered; and, on the other hand, to provide an effective criterion to distinguish the uses in which there is elision from those that do not have it. I draw from these two perspectives the following analytic devices: isotopies, devised by Greimas (1966) and later developed

by François Rastier (1976); and the image-schemas, devised by Mark Johnson and later expanded upon by various researchers. As will be seen, both perspectives allow for systematic and effective retrieval.

Keywords: *ellipsis, image-schemas, isotopies, linguistics, punctuation*

Introducción

Los puntos suspensivos son un signo de puntuación que tiene muchos usos dependiendo del contexto. Según la Real Academia Española (RAE) y la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE) (2016), estos signos de puntuación, entre otros usos, “indican siempre que falta algo para completar el discurso, es decir, señalan una suspensión o una omisión” (§ 3.4.10.1). Los usos que eliden información plantean posibilidad de *intuir* qué es lo que no se dijo; un ejemplo expedito es cuando evitamos decir el resto de un refrán: *perro que ladra...* En todo caso, no se proporciona una explicación sobre cómo es que podemos recuperar la información elidida, especialmente en los usos que no presuponen que el lector sabe ya la información elidida. El método disponible más parecido a una recuperación es la predicción secuencial estadística por inteligencias artificiales, aunque este no es un procedimiento teóricamente semántico.

Hjelmslev (1984) fue uno de los primeros en reconocer que hay información recuperable en ciertos contextos. Su heurística, que denomina *catálisis* o interpolación, es definida como “el registro de cohesiones mediante la reposición de una entidad por otra con la que tiene sustitución” (p. 135); y también proporciona un ejemplo: “Si tropezamos con un texto en latín que deja *sine* sin continuación, podemos registrar una cohesión (selección) con el ablativo, es decir, interpolar el requisito previo de *sine*, y así en los demás casos” (p. 134). Este ejemplo de Hjelmslev es de gran importancia pues muestra que la interrupción textual no implica una interrupción ni semántica ni morfosintáctica sino que, contrariamente, indica una estructura que venía a continuación y fue interrumpida.

Aunque Hjelmslev es un teórico importante de la lingüística, este trabajo se enfoca en dos corrientes posteriores: las isotopías de Greimas (que se inspira en la semiótica de Hjelmslev) y los *esquemas de imagen* de Mark Johnson. Al combinar estas dos miradas (semántica estructural + semántica cognitiva), se espera realizar una interpolación (o catálisis) detallada de la información que ha sido elidida en el lugar de los puntos suspensivos. Por otra parte, la combinación de estas perspectivas semánticas no es algo novedoso. El artículo de Taylor (1999) es un ejemplo que muestra esta articulación en su título: “Cognitive Semantics and Structural Semantics”. Es importante señalar que con semántica estructural se refiere a los

enfoques de Coseriu, Lyons y Cruse; mientras que, con semántica cognitiva, a los trabajos de Langacker, Lakoff, entre otros. Otro ejemplo de articulación sería el artículo de Davidsen (2007) titulado “Literary semiotics and cognitive semantics”, en el que se combinan las isotopías greimasianas con el trabajo de Lakoff en modelos cognitivos. En perspectiva, la coordinación de estas dos ramas de la semántica tiene un amplio potencial y un alcance que aún está por verse.

Marco teórico

Isotopías

Quizás la forma más sintética de comprender la noción de isotopía sea como una *invarianza estructural*. Su aplicabilidad y tipología son extensas: según Rastier (1976), se extienden a todos los dominios de estudio lingüísticos (p. 110). Existen isotopías fonológicas (asonancia, aliteración, rima) o sintácticas (globales, cuando se repiten formas sintácticas en diferentes secciones; locales, cuando hay un régimen o forma obligatoria para varias oraciones adyacentes). Por ejemplo, una oración condicional tiene una isotopía sintáctica local que exige cierta forma para las dos oraciones que la componen: que una esté subordinada (prótasis) a la otra (apódosis). Ahora bien, las isotopías semánticas son toda una categoría aparte cuya constitución es necesario explicar cuidadosamente. Aquí se presenta de forma *constructiva* la noción de isotopía semántica introducida por Greimas.

Primero, Greimas (1966) establece una relación entre dos términos y la presenta en la siguiente forma: $A/r(S)/B$, que se lee como “el término A/ está en relación (S) con /el término B” (p. 32). Esta relación tiene un contenido semántico (S) que pertenece a lo que él llama metalenguaje semántico descriptivo (p. 33). La importancia de formular la relación de esta manera radica en que sirve de trasfondo para la definición del concepto de *sema*. Este contenido semántico (S) de la relación puede representarse como elementos de significación, a modo de rasgos distintivos, de cada uno de los términos A y B; esto último, con el formato que nos presenta Greimas (1966, p. 34), se nos hace más claro:

mujer/ r(sexo) /hombre

Esta fórmula, que se lee como: el término *mujer*/ está en relación (sexo) con el término */hombre*, puede representarse distribuyendo la relación (sexo) como elementos de significación o rasgos distintivos de los términos, así:

mujer (femineidad)/ r */hombre* (masculinidad)

Vemos, pues, que el contenido *sexo* de la relación *r* se transfirió a los elementos de significación de los términos *mujer* y *hombre* como *femineidad* y *masculinidad*, respectivamente. A estos rasgos distintivos los denomina *semas* (p. 34) y a sus términos-objeto los denomina *lexemas* (p. 42); es importante tener esto en cuenta. En relación con estos últimos, es necesario mencionar lo siguiente:

Cada lexema [...] está caracterizado [...] por la presencia de cierto número de semas y por la ausencia de otros semas. Esa ausencia debe interpretarse como la manifestación de la existencia de una oposición sémica que disjunta, a partir de una base sémica común, el lexema dado de los otros lexemas que poseen aquel sema (Greimas, 1966, p. 52, cursiva nuestra).

Los semas ausentes de un lexema son aquello que él denomina el *contenido negativo* cuando el lexema se con otros de la misma categoría gramatical (sustantivo, adjetivo, etcétera); el *contenido positivo*, a su vez, es la disposición hipotáctica de semas que caracterizan al lexema (p. 67). Por ejemplo, *casa* se puede relacionar con *edificio* por el sema *construcción* (contenido positivo), pero se puede diferenciar por el sema *alto* (contenido negativo). Con esto, podemos definir los *sememas*. Su definición formal es la siguiente: “semema $Sm = Ns + Cs$ ” (p. 68), y se lee así: “el semema (Sm) equivale a la conjunción de un núcleo sémico (Ns) y un sema contextual (Cs)”. El núcleo sémico (Ns) es aquel contenido positivo mencionado al principio de este párrafo y su carácter es funcionalmente invariante; en cambio, lo que causa las variaciones de sentido de un lexema es el contexto sémico y no su núcleo; es decir, que el contexto implica unas variables sémicas que denominamos *semas contextuales* que se simbolizan (Cs) en la definición de semema (p. 67). Esta variación contextual es la que implica los *clasesemas*, que son un poco más complejos de explicar.

Pongamos, para empezar, un ejemplo similar al de Greimas: en la secuencia discursiva *concebir un cuadro*, consideremos como núcleo sémico ($Ns1$) el lexema *concebir*. Al poner el énfasis en este núcleo, podemos reconocer dos clases de “complementos” contextuales con los cuales este verbo se puede combinar: la clase de las ideas (*concebir un plan*) y la clase de los humanos (*concebir un bebé*). Así, todos los lexemas derivables de cualquiera de ambas clases se pueden caracterizar por los semas *idea* ($Cs1$) y *humano* ($Cs2$), respectivamente. De esta manera, constituimos dos sememas para el lexema *concebir* ($L1$) con los que se hace evidente la variación de sentido introducida por los semas contextuales:

$Sm1 = Ns1 + Cs1$ = concebir una idea.

$Sm2 = Ns1 + Cs2$ = concebir un bebé.

En cambio, si ahora tomamos el lexema *cuadro* (L2) como núcleo sémico (Ns2), también podemos reconocer varias clases de “complementos” contextuales para este sustantivo, entre ellas: las clases que exigen el sema *rectángulo* (Cs3) y las que exigen el sema *pintura* (Cs4) (ya que, dependiendo del contexto, *cuadro* puede significar Cs3 o Cs4). Si resumimos esto, concluimos con dos fórmulas lexemáticas que incluyen los sememas y sus variaciones:

$L1 = Ns1 + C(s1/s2)$ = concebir + contexto(idea/humano)

$L2 = Ns2 + C(s3/s4)$ = cuadro + contexto(rectángulo/pintura)

Si denominamos la secuencia completa *concebir un cuadro* como (Sq), podríamos resumir ambas fórmulas lexemáticas en dos, establecidas de acuerdo con cada variación del lexema *cuadro*, pues la variante *humano* no tiene sentido una vez que se contextualiza con el resto de la oración:

$Sq1 = [Ns1 + Cs1] + [Ns2 + Cs3]$ = concebir (idea) un rectángulo.

$Sq2 = [Ns1 + Cs1] + [Ns2 + Cs4]$ = concebir (idea) una pintura.

Ya tenemos lo suficiente para definir los clasemas: cuando un lexema comparte con otro lexema un sema contextual, a este sema contextual se lo denomina clasema. Esta definición expresada en fórmula sería: $Sq = (N1 + N2) Cs1$. Por ejemplo, en la secuencia *el perro ladra*, tanto el lexema *perro* como el lexema *ladrar* comparten el sema contextual *animal*, por lo que *animal* sería denominado clasema. En cambio, en la secuencia *concebir un cuadro* no hay clasemas. Ya solo queda un paso: los clasemas son semas contextuales que comparten los lexemas *dentro de una oración*. Si reconocemos un clasema que es compartido no solo por los lexemas de una oración, sino por otros lexemas de otras oraciones dentro de un texto, entonces reconocemos una isotopía. En definitiva, una isotopía semántica es un clasema común a distintas oraciones.

Según Greimas (1966), es posible hablar también de isotopías más generales, es decir isotopías semiológicas (p. 92). Esta posibilidad es concretada por Rastier (1976) al postular una tipología de las isotopías semiológicas: por un lado, están las isotopías del contenido en las que se reconocen las horizontales o semémicas y, por otro lado, las de la expresión, en las que se reconocen las verti-

cales o metafóricas (p. 108). Como dice el autor (Rastier, 1976): “Entendemos aquí por metáfora toda isotopía elemental o todo haz de isotopías elementales establecido entre dos sememas o grupo de sememas pertenecientes a dos campos distintos” (p. 118). Análogamente a lo que el estructuralismo denomina relaciones sintagmáticas (horizontales) y paradigmáticas (verticales), las isotopías semánticas se establecen por las vecindades de los núcleos sémicos (Ns) en las oraciones, generando así un campo *semémico* (véase los dos campos: Sm1 y Sm2, arriba); mientras que las isotopías metafóricas no se relacionan por vecindad, sino de forma vertical, en un campo semémico distinto, es decir, son isotopías conmutables para un mismo contexto. Lo que las une es un haz isotópico de semas característicos comunes como: normatividad, iteratividad, discontinuidad, expansividad, extremidad, anterioridad, posterioridad, multiplicidad, negatividad, transitividad, horizontalidad, etcétera (Rastier, 1976). En este sentido, las isotopías metafóricas nos pueden mostrar otras posibles interpretaciones de un texto.

Esquemas de Imagen

Los esquemas de imagen son parte de una perspectiva semántica que se contrapone a una visión objetiva de la naturaleza del significado y la racionalidad. El problema radica en que dicho objetivismo descarta cualquier relación con el sujeto bajo pretexto de evitar introducir sesgos de subjetividad (Johnson, 1992). En contraste, para Johnson (1992), el foco central en la semántica cognitiva de los esquemas de imagen es el cuerpo humano (p. 13). Deriva el término “esquema” del sentido kantiano: estructuras no proposicionales provenientes de la imaginación (p. 19) que conectan los conceptos con las percepciones (p. 21). Este carácter no proposicional se hace evidente cuando observamos que los esquemas de imagen se anotan como conceptos (en versalitas) y no como proposiciones: ESCALA, VERTICALIDAD...; además, recomienda no confundirlos con imágenes, ya que su carácter no se limita únicamente a la visión (pp. 23-26).

Así pues, según Johnson (1992), un esquema de imagen es un patrón perceptivo y corporeizado, de carácter recurrente y dinámico, que proporciona coherencia y significación preconceptuales a nuestra experiencia del mundo (p. 29). Es decir, los esquemas de imagen no son lingüísticos, sino extralingüísticos por pertenecer al conocimiento previo que ayuda a la construcción lingüística. En este sentido, son estructuras preconceptuales que organizan mucho más que la información lingüística: la experiencia en general y la comprensión (p. 1 y p. 29). Distintas experiencias pueden revelar un mismo patrón o estructura esquemática

(p. 2), esta índole dinámica se explica porque son estructuras de una actividad particular de organización (pp. 29-30).

Veamos ahora cómo, según Ibarretxe-Antuñano y Valenzuela (2012), se suele hacer uso de esta herramienta teórica: “Los esquemas de imagen también nos ayudan a comprender expresiones metafóricas como *Juan cayó en una depresión*. Dos esquemas de imagen subyacen a la interpretación de este ejemplo: el de VERTICALIDAD y el de RECIPIENTE” (p. 71). Así, el esquema VERTICALIDAD se asocia con la palabra *caer* porque conocemos previamente los fenómenos de caída y sabemos que son fenómenos físicos que asociamos con una dirección descendente entre dos polos de orientación ARRIBA-ABAJO. Este esquema proviene de la innumerable cantidad de experiencias en el día a día, ya sea al ver un árbol, subir unas escaleras, imaginar una bandera y su asta, medir el crecimiento de un hijo, etcétera (Johnson, 1992).

Johnson (1992) realizó una lista básica de esquemas de imagen (p. 126). Se presenta la versión traducida por Ibarretxe-Antuñano y Valenzuela (2012), pues es la que usaremos en el análisis:

RECIPIENTE, EQUILIBRIO, COMPULSIÓN, BLOQUEO, CONTRAFUERZA, ELIMINACIÓN DE BARRERAS, POSIBILITACIÓN, ATRACCIÓN, INCONCATENABLE, CAMINO, VÍNCULO, CENTRO-PERIFERIA, CICLO, CERCA-LEJOS, ESCALA, PARTE-TODO, FUSIÓN, ESCISIÓN, LLENO-VACÍO, EMPAREJAMIENTO, SUPERIMPOSICIÓN, ITERACIÓN, CONTACTO, PROCESO, SUPERFICIE, OBJETO, COLECCIÓN (p. 76).

Cada esquema de imagen, tomado holísticamente como fenómeno global, se puede descomponer en elementos estructurales más simples. Además de esta característica, hay casos en los que los esquemas son incluso dependientes de otros. Veamos ejemplos concretos. Sobre su cualidad de ser analizables o descomponibles, los autores nos dicen: “El esquema de RECIPIENTE está compuesto por los siguientes elementos estructurales: un interior, un exterior y un límite” (p. 76). Y sobre la posibilidad de que sean dependientes, veamos un ejemplo: RECIPIENTE y SUPERFICIE dependen de otro más general, REGIÓN DELIMITADA (p. 87).

Ahora bien, si hablamos de metáforas, según Johnson (1992), es gracias a estas que podemos dar sentido y organizar nuestras experiencias, por lo que no son simples modos lingüísticos de expresión. Johnson (1992) no concibe las metáforas a la manera tradicional que les niega su participación en las funciones cognitivas, sino como proyecciones que operan tanto en el nivel figurativo como en el esquemático cognitivo (p. 65). Esto quiere decir que su uso también es restringido

por los esquemas de imagen. Terminemos con un ejemplo del autor que es muy ilustrativo:

[L]et us consider a very simple, but pervasive, metaphorical understanding: MORE IS UP. The propositional expression “more is up” is a somewhat misleading shorthand way of naming a complex experiential web of connections that is not itself primarily propositional. It is no accident that we understand QUANTITY in terms of the VERTICALITY schema mentioned above in exactly the way we do. Examples such as *Prices keep going up*; *The number of books published each year keeps rising*; *His gross earnings fell*; *Turn down the heat*, and many others, suggest that we understand MORE (increase) as being oriented UP (involving the VERTICALITY schema) (Johnson, 1992, 15).

Convergencias y divergencias entre las isotopías y los esquemas de imagen

Las isotopías determinan unidades que cohesionan el texto, dirigen su forma y estructura (isotopías sintácticas) y su coherencia y continuidad (isotopías semánticas). Los esquemas de imagen exponen estructuras básicas de la experiencia corporal y la cognición que calan y escalan hasta los significados lingüísticos (xix); de manera que también contribuyen a la coherencia y continuidad textuales, al organizar el significado. Además, tanto las isotopías semánticas como los esquemas comparten la propiedad de ser descomponibles. No obstante, existen varias distinciones. En primer lugar, el alcance: todos los esquemas de imagen listados podrían ser isotopías en algún contexto, pero no toda isotopía puede ser esquema de imagen. Es preciso decir que los esquemas de imagen se asemejan más a los semas característicos que a las isotopías. En segundo lugar, el carácter y origen semánticos: cualquier concepto puede ser isotopía semántica siempre que surja de una estructura textual, mientras que los esquemas de imagen provienen más de una estructura cognitiva que de una textual. En tercer lugar, su objeto analítico: no se habla de isotopía cuando solo hay una palabra; se requiere una oración para tener un clasema (isotopía local) y dos o más oraciones para tener, estrictamente hablando, una isotopía; en cambio, un esquema de imagen puede aparecer tanto en una sola palabra como en una oración.

Metodología

Esta investigación es de carácter cualitativo y descriptivo. Las variables de estudio serán las isotopías y los esquemas de imagen en el contexto de cada ocurrencia de los puntos suspensivos. Las unidades de análisis serán, por lo tanto, las palabras, los sintagmas y los párrafos (o estrofas) en que se enmarcan los puntos suspensivos.

El corpus consta de dos poemas que fueron elegidos según dos criterios, la brevedad y el uso de los puntos suspensivos. Primero, se clasificaron los usos en dos categorías: elisivos y no elisivos. A falta de un método de clasificación (la RAE no otorga nada parecido ni en la entrada “puntos suspensivos” del *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* ni en su libro *Ortografía de la lengua española*), se empleó el siguiente criterio: que existiera una isotopía sintáctica que determinara la sintaxis específica que debe tener la información elidida. La limitación de este criterio está en aquellos casos en los que se elide información porque se presupone que quien la recibe ya la conoce. Posteriormente, se analizaron los contextos sintáctico y semántico, tomando los parámetros isotópicos y los esquemas de imagen. Por último, con base en los resultados de los análisis, se construirá la interpolación de la estructura que puede sustituir el lugar argumental de los puntos suspensivos, en los casos en que haya elisión de información.

El análisis isotópico se realizó con base en el artículo “L’analyse sémique” de Luois Hébert (2006), el cual resume todo el trabajo en semántica de Rastier junto con su sistemática. Así, las fases heurística y analítica de Hébert (2006) consisten en identificar los semas o isotopías mediante la formulación de hipótesis generales como géneros, épocas, autores, lugares, etcétera. Con las isotopías seleccionadas se verifica la presencia de estas en las palabras del texto. Como dice el autor: “En textos muy breves, llegaremos a comprobar la posible presencia de cada sema [contextual] retenido en cada palabra del texto” (Hébert, 2006). Por convención, las isotopías se denotaron entre líneas diagonales, por ejemplo: /pájaro/, /barco/. Por otro lado, el análisis de los esquemas de imagen se hizo con base en la lista de esquemas anteriormente citada. La heurística de los esquemas de imagen consiste en la búsqueda del conocimiento enciclopédico de los patrones fenoménicos pre-lingüísticos detrás de cada unidad de significado, sea palabra, unidad fraseológica, oración, enunciado, etcétera.

Resultados

Poema 1

Triste amor

Canción del pesimista

*No hay nada grande, nada, sino la Muerte... En vano
querrá un ardiente Numen, tras líricos empeños,
aprisionar la turba de los silfos risueños
o descubrir las líneas de un rostro sobrehumano.*

*Las cosas son la espuma del tiempo en nuestra mano;
la gloria es eco de una proeza urdida en sueños;
joyeles y palacios de exóticos diseños
son fábrica de niebla, ruido del oceano...*

*Con todo, Cintia mía, en la noche nevada
junta a mi carne lívida tu carne sonrosada...
y un hijo rasgue otrora las brumas del camino.*

*¡Si es crimen dar renuevos a la materia oscura,
yo purgaré en mí mismo la erótica locura
de dos lobeznos tristes que amamantó el Destino!* (Barba Jacob, 1962, p. 190)

La primera ocurrencia, “No hay nada grande, nada, sino la Muerte...”, se clasifica como un uso no elisivo: la isotopía sintáctica no determina ninguna forma sintáctica específica que pueda reemplazar el lugar de los puntos suspensivos. Se trata de dos oraciones coordinadas, unidas por el nexos adversativo *sino*, las cuales son gramaticalmente completas. Las isotopías semánticas locales (o clasemas) en este verso serían dos: /pequeño/ y /grande/. La primera isotopía se observa en la secuencia “no hay nada grande”, pues el contexto lexemático de *grande* (o sea, la negación + el sustantivo *nada*) determina o actualiza el clasema /pequeño/ que hace parte del contenido negativo del núcleo sémico de *grande*. La segunda isotopía /grande/ se actualiza como clasema en la secuencia “sino la Muerte”, por la función adversativa de la conjunción *sino*. Ahora bien, los esquemas de imagen que hallamos para esta sección son los siguientes: ESCALA, LLENO-VACÍO. El primero se muestra en el adjetivo *grande*, pues nuestra percepción de los tamaños suele estar asociada a una experiencia escalar de medida. Según Johnson (1992), el esquema ESCALA tiene una estructura semejante a la de CAMINO (pp. 113-117), con algunas distinciones: direccionalidad fija, intensidad directamente proporcional al cambio escalar direccional, carácter acumulativo y normativo, y son abiertas (infinitas) o cerradas (finitas, con magnitudes límites) (pp. 121-123). El segundo esquema, presente en el verbo *haber* y en el pronombre indefinido *nada*, aunque Johnson no hace ninguna explicación de este esquema en su libro, podemos estructurarlo según el estatus de presencia/ausencia de objetos; así, cuando decimos que *no hay nada* establecemos la ausencia de todo objeto en cierto lugar, lo cual comprendemos como vacío.

La segunda ocurrencia de puntos suspensivos, “son fábrica de niebla, ruido del oceano...”, representa un caso ejemplar. Este uso es de tipo elisivo porque las oraciones previas son sintagmas nominales, partes de una enumeración, y tienen la función de atributo, por lo que cualquier otra oración que pretenda reemplazar los puntos suspensivos debe asumir esta sintaxis. Sin embargo, para inferir las isotopías semánticas utilizadas para la catálisis o interpolación de un enunciado virtual en el lugar de los puntos suspensivos se requiere analizar todo el poema hasta el lugar de esta ocurrencia.

Las dos primeras estrofas comparten las siguientes isotopías semánticas: /finitud/, /muerte/ e /ilusión/, cuyos semas característicos son, respectivamente: temporalidad, discontinuidad, negatividad y posibilidad. La isotopía /finitud/ se halla como contenido positivo en los lexemas *muerte*, *tiempo*, *eco*, *sobrehumano*, en la secuencia “en vano querrá” y en “urdida” por su forma pretérita. La isotopía /muerte/ implica prácticamente la misma extensión de /finitud/ (a excepción de *eco* y *urdida*), principalmente porque uno de sus semas característicos es la finitud. La isotopía /ilusión/ está presente en los lexemas *vano*, *querrá*, *empeño*, *sueños* y en las secuencias “espuma del tiempo” y “fábrica de niebla”.

Ahora miremos cada estrofa por separado. En la primera, los esquemas de imagen en juego son diversos, algunos de ellos serían: BLOQUEO, RECIPIENTE, FUERZA, CENTRO-PERIFERIA. El primer esquema, BLOQUEO, es una de las siete estructuras de FUERZA comunes y sus elementos estructurales serían: una fuerza, una dirección y un obstáculo o barrera en medio de la trayectoria (Johnson, 1992, p. 45). Este esquema se encuentra en *aprisionar*, pues nuestra experiencia indica que la función de la prisión es obstruir la libertad o la libre movilidad. El segundo esquema, presente en las palabras *aprisionar* o *descubrir*, porque la prisión puede asumirse como un espacio delimitado que puede contener (los elementos estructurales serían el límite, un área interior y objetos internos al área) a los presos, y porque *descubrir* implica usualmente algo resguardado, oculto a la percepción en un lugar que delimita su visión. El tercer esquema se evidencia en las palabras: *querrá*, *ardiente*, *empeños*, *aprisionar*, pues en ellas se vislumbra la estructura común implicada en toda FUERZA, es decir: una interacción (alguien y su deseo en *querrá* como fuerza de atracción), un movimiento y su trayectoria (trayectoria sinuosa en el fuego cuando *arde*), un agente u origen que la realiza y grados de intensidad (Johnson, 1992, pp. 43-44). El cuarto esquema, presente en las palabras *aprisionar*, *líneas de un rostro*, se delimita por las líneas que lo separan de la periferia (como un contraste figura-fondo) en tanto que la prisión constituye espacialmente un margen con un interior y una periferia, y a su vez el énfasis en el rostro (Johnson, 1992, pp. 124-125). Además, hay

un haz isotópico semiológico del subtipo de las metáforas que es reconocible en la secuencia: “En vano querrá un ardiente Numen, tras líricos empeños, aprisionar la turba de los silfos risueños”. En una forma literal de los lexemas *Numen*, en *Muerte* por la inicial en mayúscula y en el adjetivo *sobrehumano* se reconoce la isotopía /dioses/ y bajo una forma metafórica de los mismos, y a partir de los lexemas *ardiente* y la naturaleza de los *silfos* se halla la isotopía /lumbre/. El haz isotópico conecta entonces la isotopía /dioses/ con la isotopía /lumbre/ mediante semas característicos que poseen ambos como: refulgencia, vivacidad, fatuidad, avidez. En otros términos, en tanto los silfos son espíritus del aire y en tanto se habla de un dios ardiente, podemos interpretar esta secuencia de forma no literal como una lumbre que para no apagarse intenta en vano aprisionar el aire.

En la segunda estrofa hay una isotopía local, adicional a las que comparte con el primero: /repetición/, que hallamos como contenido positivo en los lexemas *eco* y *fábrica*, y en la secuencia “ruido del océano”, cuyos semas característicos serían: temporalidad, iteratividad y discontinuidad. Los esquemas de imagen de esta estrofa son, entre otros: OBJETO, RECIPIENTE, FUSIÓN, CICLO, ITERACIÓN. Su distribución sería así: el primer esquema de imagen en las palabras *cosas* y *joyeles*; el segundo se observa en la secuencia “en nuestra mano”: usualmente nuestras manos pueden tomar la forma de un espacio delimitado que puede contener objetos; el tercero, en las palabras *espuma*, *eco*, *niebla* y *ruido*, pues cada una denota dos objetos que pueden combinarse: la espuma con el aire y el agua, la niebla con el aire, y el ruido y el eco con el silencio; y los esquemas cuarto y quinto, en *tiempo*, *eco*, *fábrica* y *océano*: el esquema CICLO se representa más que como un círculo, como una onda senoidal que varía en el tiempo, que tiene picos y valles, y una frecuencia de repetición (Johnson, 1992, pp. 119-121), estructura visible en la producción de una fábrica, en fenómenos naturales como las olas y corrientes en el océano, o en el eco como repetición del sonido.

Así, las oraciones virtuales compatibles que puede interpolar el lector están determinadas en parte por la isotopía sintáctica que comparten las enumeraciones anteriores, es decir, sintagmas nominales con función de atributo regidas por el verbo copulativo *ser*. Dicho esto, podemos afirmar que el lector, bajo una lectura cuidadosa, podría estructurar virtualmente oraciones que sean compatibles con lo que las isotopías semánticas y los esquemas de imagen rigen, es decir: una oración que movilice las isotopías semánticas de /finitud/, /muerte/, /ilusión/ y /repetición/, así como los esquemas CICLO e ITERACIÓN. Este criterio es el mínimo, sin embargo, no impide que aparezcan otros esquemas superpuestos o adicionales a la construcción específica. Lo interesante está en ver que, si analizamos la isotopía

/repetición/, tendremos el sema característico de iteratividad, directamente relacionado con los esquemas ITERACIÓN Y CICLO.

La tercera ocurrencia, “junta a mi carne lívida tu carne sonrosada...”, no indica un uso elisivo. No hay isotopías sintácticas que rijan una posible secuencia virtual y que indiquen elisión de información: es una oración simple imperativa, completa e independiente. Y respecto a las isotopías semánticas, hallamos que la isotopía /finitud/ es compatible con el contenido positivo de los lexemas *noche*, *lívida*, *carne*, *otrra* y *camino*. Pero localmente están las isotopías semánticas: /temperatura/, /humano/, /relación/, /indagación/ y /vida/ (como oposición a /muerte/). La isotopía /temperatura/ está en los lexemas *noche*, *nevada*, *lívida*; /humano/ está en *Cintia*, en los adjetivos *mi* y *tu*, y en *hijo*; la isotopía /relación/, en el adjetivo *mío* y en el verbo *junta*; e /indagación/, en el verso “y un hijo rasgue otrora las brumas del camino”. En los dos últimos versos se encuentran respectivamente dos isotopías metafóricas /sexo/ y /nacimiento/, la primera está en paralelo con la isotopía /relación/ cuyo haz se compone de los semas: proximidad, interacción, intercambiabilidad, intensidad; la segunda isotopía, /nacimiento/, se conecta con /indagación/ mediante el haz de semas: *apertura*, *emergencia*, *revelabilidad*. Es decir, el acto de juntar sus carnes y que un hijo *rasgue las brumas del camino* podría interpretarse como el acto de tener sexo y que luego un hijo emerja a la vida. En cuanto a los esquemas de imagen, encontramos algunos como: ESCALA, CONTACTO, SUPERFICIE. El primero reside en la experiencia cualitativa que tenemos de las escalas de color y de temperatura marcadas por *noche*, *nevada*, *lívida* y *sonrosada*; y el segundo y el tercero aparecen en el verbo *junta* y en el verbo *rasgue*. Ambos implican acciones que solemos adscribir a nuestra experiencia de superficies que entran en contacto. Estas isotopías metafóricas son, aparte, compatibles con la última estrofa en la secuencia “dar renuevos a la materia oscura” y en el contenido positivo de los lexemas *erótica* y *amamantó*. Nuevamente, vemos la semejanza entre las isotopías y los esquemas de imagen, especialmente entre los semas de los haces isotópicos como interacción, proximidad e intensidad y los esquemas CONTACTO, SUPERFICIE Y ESCALA, respectivamente.

Poema 2

Canción de la vida profunda

El hombre es cosa vana, variable y ondeante...

Montaigne

Hay días en que somos tan móviles, tan móviles,

como las leves briznas al viento y al azar.

*Tal vez bajo otro cielo la gloria nos sonría.
La vida es clara, undívaga y abierta como un mar.*

*Y hay días en que somos tan fértiles, tan fértiles,
como en abril el campo, que tiembla de pasión:
bajo el influjo pródigo de espirituales lluvias,
el alma está brotando florestas de ilusión.*

*Y hay días en que somos tan plácidos, tan plácidos...
—¡niñez en el crepúsculo!, ¡lagunas de zafir! —
que un verso, un trino, un monte, un pájaro que cruza,
y hasta las propias penas nos hacen sonreír.*

*Y hay días en que somos tan sórdidos, tan sórdidos,
como la entraña oscura de obscuro pedernal:
la noche nos sorprende con sus profusas lámparas,
en rútilas monedas tasando el Bien y el Mal.*

*Y hay días en que somos tan lúbricos, tan lúbricos,
que nos depara en vano su carne la mujer:
tras de ceñir un talle y acariciar un seno,
la redondez de un fruto nos vuelve a estremecer.*

*Y hay días en que somos tan lúgubres, tan lúgubres,
como en las noches lúgubres el llanto del pinar.
El alma gime entonces bajo el dolor del mundo,
y acaso ni Dios mismo nos pueda consolar.*

*Mas hay también ¡oh Tierra! un día... un día... un día
en que levamos anclas para jamás volver...
Un día en que discurren vientos ineluctables.
¡Un día en que ya nadie nos puede retener! (Barba Jacob, 1962, pp. 188-189)*

La primera ocurrencia “Y hay días en que somos tan plácidos, tan plácidos...”, es de tipo no elisivo. El signo “raya” introduce un inciso o segundo discurso (la RAE recoge 8 usos para la raya) y después el poema prosigue con una secuencia hipotáctica introducida por el nexos subordinante *que*, este nexos sólo adquiere

sentido si se junta con el adverbio comparativo “tan” de la oración inicial anterior al inciso introducido por la raya, de manera que esta secuencia consume una oración consecutiva mediante el nexo adverbial correlativo “tan... que”. Esto quiere decir que esta ocurrencia es simplemente una pausa que pone en segundo plano el discurso principal y prioriza temporalmente el inciso. Al revisar las isotopías sintácticas globales puede parecer que se trata de un uso elisivo y en consecuencia se propondría que la oración compatible interpolable sería una subordinada adverbial, o bien comparativa (nexo: *como*) o bien consecutiva (nexo: *que*); pero ninguna de estas dos es exigida globalmente: las primeras estrofas sugieren la comparativa, la propia tercera estrofa y la quinta sugieren la otra. Con mayor razón, la isotopía sintáctica local no determina cuál, ni siquiera exige que algo complete la oración dada: esta funciona incólume como una exclamativa indirecta por sí sola. Por estas razones, no se considera un uso elisivo.

Hasta esta tercera estrofa encontramos varias isotopías semánticas generales: /volubilidad/, /tiempo/, /ánimo/ y /vida humana/. Cada estrofa introduce una isotopía semántica local que es hiperónimo de /ánimo/: /movilidad/, /fertilidad/, /placidez/, /sordidez/, /lubricidad/ y /lugubridad/; de esta variabilidad del ánimo se infiere la isotopía /volubilidad/ (que también se menciona explícitamente en el epígrafe). La isotopía /vida humana/ se hace visible en lexemas como *vida*, *somos*, *niñez*, *alma*... y en cada hiperónimo de /ánimo/ como *móviles*, *fértiles*, etcétera. Por último, la isotopía /tiempo/ proviene del contenido sémico de lexemas como *días*, *abril*, *niñez*, *crepúsculo*, etcétera. Los esquemas de imagen son muchos y muy variados por el alto grado metafórico del poema, por lo que solo exponremos los de las ocurrencias siguientes que resultan más específicos e interesantes.

La segunda ocurrencia, “Mas hay también ¡oh Tierra! un día... un día...”, se repite dos veces y es un caso elisivo. Pese a que es una reticencia que luego es satisfecha por dos enunciados equivalentes que dan término al poema, este caso resulta ejemplar para el propósito del artículo debido a la información elidida recuperable. Solo hasta la penúltima estrofa, todas las isotopías que hemos considerado generales entran en juego; el cambio adversativo de la última estrofa se puede explicar por las isotopías. En cada parte inicial de las estrofas se estipulaba una isotopía morfosintáctica que regía concordancia de número: /plural/. Sin embargo, en esta última estrofa esta isotopía es su alterna: /singular/ (de “Hay días en que” se pasa a “un día...”). A pesar de esto, la estructura sintáctica permanece isotópicamente general para el comienzo de cada estrofa: verbo *haber* + sustantivo *día/días* + preposición *en* + omisión del artículo definido + pronombre relativo *que* + un sintagma verbal de núcleo *somos*.

Ahora pasemos a las isotopías semánticas. De las que antes dimos como generales, en esta última estrofa solo se conservan dos: /tiempo/ y /humano/. Las isotopías /ánimo/ y /vida/ se reemplazan por dos adversativas: /persistencia/ (en oposición a /volubilidad/), la cual viene dada por el cambio de isotopía sintáctica de concordancia de número y por la pérdida de la isotopía /ánimo/; y la isotopía /hecho/ (en oposición a /ánimo/) que se observa en *levamos*, *volver*, *discurren*. También encontramos una isotopía metafórica: /muerte/; es isotopía semiológico-metafórica, porque se superpone con otra del dominio literal: /navegación/. El haz isotópico que las une incluye semas comunes como posterioridad, retiro, transición, imprevisibilidad, etc.

En cuanto a los esquemas de imagen principales en esta estrofa resultan ser, entre otros: PROCESO, VERTICALIDAD, BLOQUEO, CONTRAFUERZA, POSIBILITACIÓN. El primer esquema y el segundo se infieren de la secuencia “en que llevamos anclas para”, pues *llevar* en contexto con *para* implica un proceso con finalidad, y en contexto con *ancla* implica el esfuerzo vertical de sacar el ancla del agua. Los últimos tres esquemas se reflejan en las palabras *ineluctables*, *retener* y en la secuencia “ya nadie nos puede”, ya que en estas se implica una FUERZA que actúa en contra de otra y algo que la ejerce o bloquea, y el esquema POSIBILITACIÓN, que tiene como única parte estructural un vector de una fuerza potencial (Johnson, 1992, p. 52), se encuentra en “nadie nos puede retener” como una declaración de que nada impide nuestro actuar. El sentido adversativo de toda la estrofa estaría estructurado, pues, según el esquema de ELIMINACIÓN DE BARRERAS, el cual explicaría la existencia local simultánea de esquemas como BLOQUEO y POSIBILITACIÓN, que serían sus constituyentes estructurales.

Así, la interpolación de los enunciados virtuales compatibles con el lugar de los puntos suspensivos nos da el siguiente criterio mínimo de formación, que además se comprueba con los enunciados que le subsiguen: un enunciado que comience con una estructura morfosintáctica con la preposición *en* + omisión del artículo definido + pronombre relativo *que*. Además, debería contener isotopías semánticas como /tiempo/, /humano/, /persistencia/, /navegación/ y la isotopía metafórica /muerte/, junto a esquemas de imagen como CONTRAFUERZA y POSIBILITACIÓN. El esquema CONTRAFUERZA es además congruente con el sentido adversativo de las isotopías semánticas en esta estrofa: representan la fuerza opuesta frente al sentido de las estrofas precedentes. Si consideramos la isotopía /muerte/ como una apertura a espacios y dimensiones desconocidas, haciendo la proyección metafórica con llevar anclas para navegar, entonces los esquemas ELIMINACIÓN DE BARRERAS y POSIBILITACIÓN también resultan congruentes con semas del haz isotópico que enlaza /navegación/ con /muerte/: retiro, transición.

Respecto a la tercera ocurrencia, “en que levamos anclas para jamás volver...”, esta es no elisiva. No hay isotopías sintácticas que rijan algún tipo de estructura compatible sustituyente de los puntos suspensivos: la oración es subordinada relativa y tiene completitud gramatical. Por su parte, las isotopías semánticas y los esquemas de imagen que le son contextuales ya fueron expuestos en el caso anterior.

Conclusiones

En los casos elisivos, es decir, en los que hay información que se deja implícita con la interrupción de un enunciado o de una enumeración, se hace visible la complementariedad de los dos análisis de las semánticas estructural y cognitiva, respectivamente. En efecto, la interpolación de una secuencia elidida y marcada por las ocurrencias de los puntos suspensivos está en gran medida determinada por su contexto oracional. Por ello, la función de cohesión semántica de las isotopías y los esquemas de imagen explican el proceso, intuitivo en muchos casos, para recuperar información que se elide en un diálogo o en un texto. Además, el criterio de categorización provisional que he propuesto se ha mostrado efectivo, aunque sería imprudente darlo por suficiente y acabado: para los casos en los que se presupone que el lector conoce la información elidida podríamos proponer isotopías pragmáticas (como datos lingüísticos presupuestos de conversaciones anteriores o del acervo común), pero esto excede los límites del artículo.

Algunas veces los semas característicos de una isotopía o de un haz isotópico metafórico coincidieron con los esquemas de imagen. Este hecho sugiere dos cosas: que los esquemas de imagen en la dimensión lingüística pueden ser entendidos como semas (sin toda la carga cognitiva) y que las isotopías estarían también estar regidas por patrones esquemáticos. Más que de establecer una equivalencia o reducción, esto habla de una compatibilidad analítica entre ambas herramientas teóricas en lo respectivo al lenguaje.

Sería injusto generalizar sobre el uso de los puntos suspensivos en toda la poesía de Barba Jacob a partir de solo dos poemas, pero es lícito decir lo siguiente: existe variedad en los usos de los puntos suspensivos, predominando el uso no elisivo en ambos poemas. Esta predominancia podría deberse a que los textos poéticos tienden a suscitar tentativas interpretativas sobre información explícita que tentativas de intuir información que se ha dejado incompleta. De hecho, los dos usos elisivos en nuestros poemas no contradicen esta hipótesis: el primero, porque, siendo instancias de una enumeración, Barba Jacob ha dado los ejemplares que considera propicios para que el lector se haga la imagen completa y, si lo desea,

proponga otros casos; y el segundo, porque al tener un sentido adversativo este ha sido bien delimitado por las estrofas anteriores, sin contar que son reticencias temporales que luego son completadas en el poema.

Este artículo ejemplifica la utilidad y congruencia de ambas teorías en la recuperación de información elidida y en el análisis semántico, lo cual sugiere su posible utilidad para otros temas. Se plantea incluso la posibilidad de formalizar o sistematizar estas interpolaciones de estructuras virtuales y conjuarlas con estadística del uso de unidades léxicas y fraseológicas, o bien con la teoría de la relevancia u otras aproximaciones pragmáticas, en pro de interpolaciones más precisas y completas. A modo de parénesis, esta congruencia de disciplinas expone la utilidad de abrirse metodológicamente al diálogo con otros dominios teóricos.

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Ideologías y actitudes lingüísticas en textos recuperados y periódicos históricos publicados en el Suroeste estadounidense a principios del siglo xx

Language ideologies and attitudes in recovered texts and historical newspapers published in the American Southwest in the early 20th century

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Resumen

Los conceptos de ideologías y actitudes lingüísticas han sido fundamentales para explicar los comportamientos lingüísticos de individuos y grupos sociales. En este estudio se analizará el papel de la lengua en las relaciones de poder y la importancia de las ideologías en el discurso en dos novelas sobre la inmigración mexicana y en tres periódicos publicados en español en Texas durante la primera mitad del siglo xx. A través de las publicaciones impresas, se examinará cómo se reflejan las ideologías lingüísticas, que emergen en las comunidades del suroeste a principios del siglo pasado, en la producción literaria y periodística de la época. El análisis demuestra que el habla bilingüe se presenta en el discurso impreso en términos negativos y evoca, desde los inicios del siglo pasado, ideas sobre “lo correcto” y “lo puro”, así como concepciones sobre el papel de la lengua en la construcción de las identidades nacionales, culturales y lingüísticas.

Palabras clave: cambio de código, español, inmigración, préstamos lingüísticos

Abstract

The concepts of linguistic ideologies and attitudes have been crucial for explaining the linguistic behaviors of individuals and social groups. This study will analyze the role of language in power relations and the importance of ideologies on discourse, focusing on two novels about Mexican immigration and three Spanish-language newspapers published in Texas during the first half of the 20th century. Through these printed publications, I will examine how the linguistic ideologies that emerged in southwestern communities at the beginning of the last century are reflected in the literary

and journalistic production of the time. The analysis reveals that bilingual speech is depicted negatively in the printed discourse and evokes, since the early 20th century, ideas about “what is correct” and “what is pure”, alongside notions concerning the role of language in shaping national, cultural and linguistic identities.

Keywords: *code switching, immigration, loanwords, Spanish*

Introducción

El principal propósito de este estudio es analizar las ideologías y las actitudes lingüísticas que se reproducen en dos medios impresos. Primero, examino dos novelas sobre la inmigración mexicana en los Estados Unidos escritas en español a principios del siglo xx, *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* de Daniel Venegas (1999)¹ y *La patria perdida* de Teodoro Torres (1935).² Complemento el análisis de estas dos novelas con material periodístico escrito en español. Los periódicos históricos seleccionados para este estudio, publicados en Texas durante el mismo periodo histórico de las novelas mencionadas, fueron *El Mañana* (McAllen),³ *El Paladín* (Corpus Christi), y *Latinos* (Austin).⁴ Desde la perspectiva de la importancia de la recuperación de la herencia literaria⁵ e histórica de las comunidades mexicoamericanas y latinas, este tipo de investigaciones resulta valioso porque ayudan a mostrar materiales de archivo y literarios que forman parte de un legado que transmite la historia de comunidades en territorio estadounidense, frecuentemente excluidas por la historia oficial en los Estados

¹ *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* es una novela originalmente publicada en México en 1928 por el *Heraldo de México* de Los Ángeles y se mantuvo extraviada hasta que el investigador Kanellos la (re)descubrió en 1984. Al parecer, era el último ejemplar conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de México en la década de los 70. Tras este descubrimiento, se publicó un tiraje de 20 mil ejemplares de la novela y se obtuvieron los derechos para publicarla en los Estados Unidos con la subvención del proyecto de *Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage* (Kanellos 1999).

² *La patria perdida* es un libro recuperado y forma parte la colección de *Arte Público Press Digital* (Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Digitized Ebook). <https://artepublicopress.manifoldapp.org/projects/la-patria-perdida>

³ *El Mañana* es un periódico que forma parte de *Recovery Digital Humanities Project: Periodicals in the US-Mexico Border Region*. latinonewspapers.uh.edu (*El Mañana* es parte de *Amira Mejia Collection*).

⁴ *El Paladín* y *Latinos* son periódicos que forman parte de *Recovery Digital Humanities Project: Periodicals in the US-Mexico Border Region*. latinonewspapers.uh.edu.

⁵ La importancia de este estudio parte desde la perspectiva de Recuperación del Legado Escrito Hispano de los Estados Unidos (*Recovery*). *Recovery* es un “programa internacional dedicado a rescatar, preservar y difundir la cultura escrita de las Latinas y Latinos en los Estados Unidos desde tiempos coloniales hasta 1980”. Durante mi función como asistente de investigación en el proyecto de *Recovery*, pude examinar de cerca algunos textos recuperados y periódicos históricos que seleccioné para este estudio.

Unidos. Estas investigaciones también son importantes porque revelan una historia de adaptación e incluso de asimilación de las comunidades mexicoamericanas, tanto originales como inmigrantes, al entorno estadounidense. Además, relatan un patrimonio de resistencia y lucha frente a las ideas sobre las identidades, los nacionalismos, las lenguas y otros asuntos relevantes para el colectivo que moldeaba el ambiente social de estas comunidades.

Parte fundamental en mi trabajo se enfocará en demostrar el valor intrínseco de rescatar y difundir publicaciones de género testimonial, a través de las cuales se pueden comprender los retos que enfrentaron las personas de origen mexicano en épocas pasadas. En particular, se analizarán las ideas sobre la representación de ser mexicano o mexicoamericano en los Estados Unidos. Es igualmente importante entender, a través de las fuentes escritas, cómo se percibía la identidad de un ciudadano multinacional, bilingüe, hablante del español o no, en una sociedad predominantemente anglohablante y en contextos sociales marcadamente racistas y hostiles hacia las comunidades de color y los hablantes de lenguas distintas al inglés. Dado el contexto de los acontecimientos políticos en el México durante los periodos revolucionario y posrevolucionario, también es esencial captar cómo los sentimientos sobre la patria y los nacionalismos se ven reflejados en las fuentes escritas. Finalmente, se comparará el discurso ideológico de principios del siglo xx con el discurso ideológico y con posturas actitudinales sobre la lengua, presentes en las comunidades mexicoamericanas actuales.

Los conceptos de ideologías y actitudes hacia la lengua han sido importantes para explicar los comportamientos lingüísticos de individuos y de grupos sociales. Algunas nociones fundamentales de estos conceptos incluyen la idea de que nuestras impresiones y percepciones sobre la lengua o lenguas no son neutrales y, por lo tanto, no se desarrollan en un vacío social o contextual (Martínez, 2006, p. 8). Todo esto se resume en las palabras de Silverstein (1979, p. 193), quien considera las ideologías lingüísticas como el conjunto de creencias comúnmente articuladas por los hablantes en una sociedad específica, para racionalizar o justificar las estructuras o usos lingüísticos en la comunidad. Además, la postura de Woolard (1998, p. 3) señala que los nexos establecidos entre las ideologías lingüísticas y otros aspectos sociales tienen implicaciones más allá de la lengua, al permitirnos definir nuestras percepciones de la identidad (propia y ajena) y de lo que valoramos estética y moralmente.

Las ideologías lingüísticas se han estudiado desde perspectivas diversas. Se han analizado, por ejemplo, en relación con la inmigración humana (Medvedeva, 2012; Parsons Dick, 2011); el bilingüismo (Casielles-Suárez, 2017; Curzan, Queen,

VanEyck y Weissler, 2023; Deveraux y Wheeler, 2012; Emerick y Goldberg, 2023; Flores y Schissel, 2014; Martínez, 2010); el contacto lingüístico (Guzzardo, Rivera y Walicek, 2017; Kramer, 2017; Zurita y Henríquez, 2019); la identidad étnica (Alvarado, 2020); el mantenimiento y el desplazamiento lingüístico (Barnes, 2017; Cavanaugh, 2004; Skrobot 2014); la educación (Loza, 2017; Randolph, 2017); la autenticidad y legitimación lingüística (Gal y Woolard, 2001; Marimón, 2019; O'Rourke, 2015; Santamaría, 2019), la legislación (Haviland, 2003; Mertz, 1988), entre otras. Además, las ideologías lingüísticas se han catalogado por subcategorías, según las ideas sobre la lengua que fomenten. Por ejemplo, las ideologías de la lengua estándar promueven la visión de que hay una forma única de hablar “correctamente” (Doerr, 2015; Gates y Ilbury, 2019; McBee Orzulak, 2015; Metz, 2018; Weise, 2015); las monoglósicas apoyan la idea de que el monolingüismo es el estado natural en una sociedad específica (Olivo, 2003; Wiley y Lukes, 1996). En los Estados Unidos, actualmente, este tipo de ideología encuentra su expresión principal en los pensamientos que inspiran los movimientos de English-Only (el inglés exclusivo). Se debe agregar que las situaciones de contacto de lenguas y culturas son contextos en los que las ideologías adquieren suma importancia (Fuller y Leeman, 2020; Woolard, 1989, 2016).

En este trabajo tengo en cuenta también que, dentro del ámbito de las ideologías lingüísticas, se han utilizado o reconocido diversas maneras de aproximarse al análisis de las mismas. En su estudio del español hablado en los Estados Unidos, Leeman y Fuller (2022) reconocen conceptos como la hegemonía lingüística, la ideología de la lengua estándar, la ideología de una nación-una lengua, la normatividad monolingüe y las ideologías monoglósicas. Cada uno de estos postulados juega un papel importante en la articulación y posible actuación de las distintas ideologías lingüísticas, compartidas a nivel social en las comunidades latinas en los Estados Unidos y en su realización como actitudes hacia los grupos étnicos y lingüísticos diversos y hacia sus modalidades lingüísticas (registros, estilos, variedades o lenguas). Para este estudio, me basaré en las definiciones de Martínez (2006) sobre las ideologías y las actitudes lingüísticas. Primeramente, este autor (2006, p. 19) indica que las ideologías lingüísticas comprenden un sistema de creencias que funcionan en conjunto para beneficiar o perjudicar a grupos sociales en particular. Asimismo, para Martínez (2006, p. 19) las actitudes sobre la lengua son las formas en que las personas orientan los conceptos relacionados con la lengua, por ejemplo, la lengua en sí, el bilingüismo, las variedades de la lengua, en diferentes dimensiones de juicio, como buena o mala, bonita o fea, útil e inútil. Las ideologías se encuentran en el plano mental y las actitudes en

el plano de la actuación. Es decir, primero se forman las ideologías y después se producen las actitudes.

Contexto histórico

Como se mencionó anteriormente, las fuentes de este estudio son textos recuperados y periódicos históricos que se publicaron durante la primera mitad del siglo xx. Es importante destacar la trascendencia histórica de la migración mexicana en los Estados Unidos durante el periodo de enfoque, debido a que la inmigración es el catalizador de este género novelístico, y es uno de los temas principales en los textos recuperados. La inmigración es relevante para analizar las ideologías y las actitudes lingüísticas durante dicho periodo histórico. Dentro de las diferentes olas de inmigración en los Estados Unidos, uno de los principales desplazamientos, causado por la Revolución Mexicana y las ofertas de trabajo creadas en parte por las compañías estadounidenses, ocurrió durante este periodo de enfoque (Leeman y Fuller, 2022; Lozano, 2018). El número de inmigrantes, registrados ya en altos índices con anterioridad a la época en cuestión, se incrementó aún más debido a los efectos de la Gran Depresión, lo que explica la preocupación de la producción literaria en español por los temas migratorios.

En su estudio sobre la presencia mexicoamericana en Texas, De León (1999, p. 66) comenta que entre los 1900 y 1930 se da una nueva ola migratoria transfronteriza sin precedentes (*unprecedented transborder migration*). El historiador se pregunta: ¿qué causó esta oleada de inmigrantes del otro lado de la frontera, en la que diferentes capas de la sociedad mexicana de la época se veían representadas, tanto obreros y campesinos, como intelectuales y personas de niveles socioculturales medios y altos? El autor comenta que los efectos de la Revolución Mexicana fueron catalizadores importantes, aunados a las condiciones previas causadas por la dictadura porfiriana, la pobreza en la ciudad y el campo en México (De León 1999, p. 67). La participación de los Estados Unidos en la Primera Guerra Mundial atrajo también un número importante de inmigrantes que se integraron en campos laborales como el ferrocarril, la agricultura y la minería (De León, 1999).

González (1999, p. 114), en su obra sobre la historia de los mexicoamericanos en los Estados Unidos, coincide con los efectos y causas mencionados y se refiere a esta oleada como la gran migración (*the great migration*), que ocurrió entre 1900 y 1930. El historiador describe el desplazamiento transnacional “as a movement motivated by a push-pull process; that is to say, there were certain factors in Mexico forcing citizens to leave the country and simultaneously there were other factors in the United States, specifically the Southwest, attracting them” (González,

1999, p. 114). Estos efectos a su vez crearon el contexto social propicio para la deportación de un gran número de mexicanos y de ciudadanos estadounidenses de origen mexicano, entre 600,000 y un millón de residentes estadounidenses de ascendencia mexicana (Leman y Fuller, 2022, pp. 68-69). Desde el punto de vista lingüístico, es importante notar que no hay trabajos a fondo, de los que tenga conocimiento, sobre las repercusiones en el español y en los patrones de uso de la lengua de herencia de las comunidades de origen mexicano derivados, primero durante esta ola de inmigración y posteriormente como resultado de estas políticas de destierro a México.

En buena parte, el trasfondo histórico nos ayuda a explicar la aparición de temas como el nacionalismo, el apego y añoranza por el país de origen, la construcción o reconstrucción de las diversas identidades, incluyendo la identidad lingüística, las lealtades lingüísticas y la nueva realidad bicultural y bilingüe en la producción escrita. Es posiblemente el tema de las lealtades lingüísticas, el que, a la vez, da pie a que en los ámbitos literarios y periodísticos se vean reflejadas las ideas sobre la transmisión de la lengua materna a las nuevas generaciones, nacidas en los Estados Unidos, así como ideas sobre la pureza, la corrección y la vigilancia de la lengua en sí, sobre todo en contextos públicos.

Como se mencionó en la introducción, los dos textos recuperados *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* de Daniel Venegas y *La patria perdida* de Teodoro Torres pertenecen al género de la novela de inmigración. De acuerdo con Kanellos (1999), la novela de Venegas se publicó originalmente en el *Heraldo de México* de Los Ángeles y permaneció extraviada hasta que el mismo investigador la (re)descubrió en 1984. Posteriormente, se obtuvieron los derechos para publicarla en los Estados Unidos con la subvención del proyecto de *Recovery (Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage)*. En cuanto al caso de *La patria perdida* de Teodoro Torres (1935), la novela fue publicada inicialmente en México, y posteriormente, también fue recuperada por el proyecto de *Recovery* que actualmente ofrece el texto en formato digitalizado y de libre acceso.

Ambas novelas están ambientadas en México y Estados Unidos, y es necesario situarlas dentro del género de la novela de inmigración y esclarecer los elementos y temas que identifican el género en cuestión. La novela de inmigración se caracteriza por una serie de elementos binarios que aparecen en el texto o en boca de los personajes, tales como la comparación del presente con el pasado, el contraste del país de origen con el país receptor, la confrontación de la cultura propia con la foránea, en este caso las prácticas culturales mexicanas se confrontan con las angloamericanas (Kanellos, 2002, p. xxxiii). Además, el desarrollo de la novela de

inmigración expone los conflictos que surgen entre los personajes y la comunidad inmigrante o no inmigrante, así como las dificultades para concretar el retorno a la patria original (Kanellos, 2002, p. xxxiii). Un ejemplo binario en *Las aventuras de don Chipote o, cuando los pericos mamen* es el constante ir y venir de Tepislatitlán, México (lugar ficticio) hacia distintas comunidades en los Estados Unidos, como El Paso, Peach Spring y Los Ángeles. En *La patria perdida*, el narrador lleva al lector de Estados Unidos a México y también a través del presente y el pasado de cada lugar. El protagonista, Luis Alfaro recorre el presente físicamente, mientras que evoca el pasado a través de sus memorias.

Los protagonistas en ambas novelas son de origen mexicano y enfrentan conflictos, tanto en su país de origen como en el nuevo país receptor. Kanellos (2002, p. xxxiv) sugiere cuatro temas importantes que caracterizan el desarrollo de la novela de inmigración: 1) la descripción de la metrópoli [de arribo o de procedencia], 2) la descripción de las vejaciones y tribulaciones de los inmigrantes, 3) el conflicto entre la cultura anglosajona e hispana, y 4) la resistencia a la asimilación y la promoción del nacionalismo.

Como objetivo de este estudio, me enfocaré en los temas de los conflictos de culturas, la resistencia a la asimilación y la promoción del nacionalismo, para analizar el lenguaje que identifica tanto a los personajes como al narrador. Asimismo, examinaré la manera en que las ideologías y las actitudes sobre la lengua emergen en *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* y en *La patria perdida*, a través del discurso del narrador y del autor, así como del comportamiento lingüístico de los personajes.

Marco teórico

El concepto de ideologías lingüísticas ha sido debatido y analizado desde varias perspectivas afines, como la antropología y la sociolingüística. El concepto en sí es importante porque ha sido utilizado para explicar el nexo entre la lengua, los individuos y grupos, las percepciones como la identidad individual y grupal, y las relaciones de poder que conforman la estructura social (Arnoux y del Valle, 2010; Gal y Woolard, 2001; Irvine y Gal, 2000). Para Woolard (1998, p. 11), las ideologías comprenden un vínculo mediador entre la estructura social y las distintas maneras de hablar. Por lo tanto, se considera el papel de la lengua en las relaciones de poder y la importancia de las ideologías en el discurso como parte del marco teórico. De acuerdo con Fairclough (1992, p. 7), el estudio crítico de la lengua revela cómo las convenciones y prácticas lingüísticas están sustentadas por relaciones de poder y procesos ideológicos, comúnmente ignorados por las personas. La sugerencia del

autor es que las relaciones de poder funcionan de manera implícita a través de la lengua y que las prácticas lingüísticas sirven como blanco para intervenir y ejercer control sobre otros (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12).

Por su parte, Woolard (2021, p. 2) sugiere que las cargas moralizantes y politizadas que se transmiten a través de las ideologías permiten, de manera implícita o explícita, formar juicios idealizados sobre cómo debería articularse una lengua, y no exclusivamente cómo se articula en realidad. Esto resulta en una evaluación mucho más positiva de ciertas formas o variedades lingüísticas en algunos contextos y con ciertos interlocutores. Además, las prácticas lingüísticas de ciertos hablantes encuentran mayor aprobación y, por ende, mayor capital lingüístico, provistas a la vez de ventajas económicas y sociales (Woolard, 2021, p. 2). En relación con este mismo punto, Gal (2023, pp. 2-3) añade que las diferencias en la valorización de variedades de habla, ya sea a través de juicios sobre dialectos, registros o las lenguas mismas, a veces conducen a la normalización de jerarquías sociales y relaciones de poder. Como consecuencia, esto contribuye a la estigmatización y marginalización de algunos hablantes y a la legitimación de otros dentro de instituciones sociales donde se promueven dichas jerarquizaciones.

En cuanto a la noción de ideología, Woolard (1998, pp. 5-6) propone cuatro corrientes principales. La primera es entender la ideología como una conceptualización mental de un fenómeno, por lo que está relacionada con la concientización, las ideas, las creencias y las representaciones subjetivas. En este sentido, la ideología se refiere a las nociones que las personas, como colectivo, poseen sobre distintos conceptos. La segunda corriente conceptualiza la ideología como algo arraigado a la experiencia o intereses de una posición social particular, viéndola como una verdad universal. Desde este punto de vista la ideología se entiende como la manera en que las cosas son a nivel social. La tercera corriente, una derivación de la segunda, se centra en las posturas de poder, sean sociales, políticas o económicas. En general, la noción de ideología radica en las ideas, el discurso, o en las prácticas con significado, siempre al servicio de esa lucha por la adquisición del poder. La cuarta corriente implica la distorsión, la ilusión, el error la mistificación o racionalización. La distorsión se deriva de la defensa de los intereses y el poder.

En el caso de las ideologías lingüísticas analizadas en el siguiente trabajo, me apoyo en la idea de que las percepciones sobre “lo correcto” y lo propio son utilizadas para marcar la desigualdad y las diferencias sociales en las comunidades latinas de principios del siglo pasado. Asimismo, las ideas sobre la estandarización en los textos utilizados que se imponen como una opción no marcada que posee mayor prestigio por la relación entre sus hablantes y el poder social que ejercen.

Metodología y los textos recuperados y periódicos históricos

Para el presente estudio se toma una perspectiva cualitativa en el análisis de los datos de los medios impresos aquí presentados. La manera en que se condujo este estudio fue sencilla, pues involucra extraer muestras de los textos analizados, tomando en cuenta los siguientes criterios. De las dos novelas, se extrajeron ejemplos de cambio de código, de préstamos, de uso de regionalismos, de registro informal y de formas consideradas estigmatizadas. Se consideraron también extractos del discurso ideológico en boca de los personajes; estos extractos ejemplifican las distintas posturas ideológicas discutidas anteriormente. También se obtuvieron muestras del discurso para ejemplificar casos en los que las ideologías parecen concretarse en actitudes hacia los individuos y grupos representados en las novelas y hacia la manera de percibir su habla. Del mismo modo, se examinaron partes del discurso ideológico en la voz narrativa o literaria de cada autor en cada novela, especialmente el discurso que se concreta en actitudes hacia los individuos o grupos representados en las novelas y en la percepción de su habla. Finalmente, se extrajeron fragmentos del discurso ideológico en los periódicos consultados, incluyendo casos en los que se perfilaba algún tipo de ideología referente a los grupos de interés, para el estudio, como los mexicanos, mexicoamericanos, latinos, hispanos, desde la voz narrativa o literaria de cada autor. Esta parte del análisis se centró en el discurso que se concreta en actitudes hacia los individuos o grupos representados socialmente y su habla. Cada una de estas representaciones del habla fue analizada dentro del contexto discursivo.

Análisis

La afinidad entre las variedades de español habladas en México y en el suroeste de los Estados Unidos ha sido discutida por varios autores. En su trabajo sobre el español chicano, Sánchez (1994, p. 99) sugiere que las variedades de español habladas en el sur de los Estados Unidos son principalmente del español mexicano, con numerosos préstamos lingüísticos del inglés. Desde este punto de vista, una de las principales diferencias radica en los aportes léxicos del inglés. La autora reconoce, además, la afinidad del español “chicano” con otras variedades del español, al mencionar que las variantes presentes en el español chicano pueden explicarse dentro del entorno de las reglas gramaticales del español y no necesariamente como el resultado de la interferencia o convergencia con el inglés. Esto se refiere específicamente a las estructuras morfosintácticas. De hecho, la autora nota que las variedades del español habladas en el Suroeste de los Estados Unidos son auténticas, por lo tanto, comparten rasgos con las variedades peninsulares y latinoamericanas.

En un estudio comparativo, Perches (1994) analiza la perspectiva de tres escritores mexicanos sobre la “otredad”, para investigar diferentes maneras en las que se ha plasmado la identidad mexicana en la literatura. La autora comparte la idea análoga de que el lenguaje chicano no es monolítico y que el léxico chicano es también mexicano (Perches, 1994). Es decir, la mayoría de los elementos sintácticos y léxicos son compartidos con las distintas variedades mexicanas y no son exclusivos de las variedades chicanas (o mexicoamericanas). Esta última autora reconoce también ese lazo histórico que ata cultural y lingüísticamente a las dos comunidades.

Tomando en cuenta la situación de contacto en la que se encuentran las variedades del español en los Estados Unidos, Lipski (2008, p. 84) explica en su estudio que las hablas mexicoamericanas se pueden situar dentro de un continuo típico de una variedad en contacto con otra lengua, que abarca un gran número de habilidades, tanto en español como en inglés. Esta idea ha sido abordada en diferentes estudios y se refiere comúnmente a los niveles de competencia lingüística que pueden tener los individuos de origen mexicano o latino en una comunidad bilingüe en los Estados Unidos. Por ejemplo, en su trabajo del español en el este de Los Ángeles, California, Silva-Corvalán (1994) propone una idea similar en cuanto al continuo lingüístico en que se encuentra el español de los participantes mexicoamericanos entrevistados. La autora sugiere que existe un continuo lingüístico que tenía correlación con la generación migratoria de los participantes; en general, la competencia lingüística en español entre los participantes en su estudio tenía una disminución en los niveles de competencia de la primera generación a la tercera (Silva-Corvalán 1994, p. 26-29). A su vez, esa diferencia en los niveles de competencia lingüística que la autora encuentra posiblemente se refleja en el entorno social.

En las dos novelas seleccionadas, el habla es un elemento importante en el que los autores se apoyan, para matizar las relaciones y las distancias metafóricas entre los personajes. Gal e Irvine (1994) argumentan que las ideologías lingüísticas sirven para crear fronteras metafóricas construidas socialmente. Por lo mismo, a lo largo de *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen*, el narrador intenta recrear el habla de las personas de origen mexicano, tanto de individuos y grupos inmigrantes, como de individuos de clase trabajadora e incluso de individuos de niveles socioeconómicos marginados. El habla de estos últimos casi siempre se representa de manera humorística o sarcástica. De hecho, en su estudio, Melantzón y Cereceres (1995) mencionan brevemente los diferentes tipos de léxico utilizados en la obra. Los autores describen la lengua en *Las aventuras*

de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen en términos generales, por tratarse principalmente de menciones y clasificaciones, más literarias que lingüísticas. Por ejemplo, los autores mencionan que, en la novela, en efecto, todos estos rasgos o características han sido atribuidos al español mexicoamericano, y por lo tanto, han sido comentados por investigadores previos desde distintas aproximaciones lingüísticas (Alvord y Thompson, 2020; Leeman y Fuller, 2022; Lipski, 2008; Sánchez, 1994; Silva-Corvalán, 1994; entre muchos otros).

En un análisis de la misma novela, Kanellos (1984) brinda una descripción más completa y concreta sobre la lengua en la obra, ya que determina con mayor precisión las categorías como el caló y los anglicismos. Como lo explica el autor a continuación:

El narrador también adopta el lenguaje dialectal de sus personajes, incluso el caló (por ejemplo, *refinar* [comer], *bolillo* [anglosajón], *chicanada* [los chicanos], *pintar gallo* [irse, huir]) y los anglicismos de estos (el *suplai* [el suministro], *traque* [los rieles, ferrocarril], *tok inglés* [hablar inglés]), así demuestra su identidad, tanto espiritual, como lingüística con el trabajador chicano...un rico depositario del léxico chicano. (Kanellos, 1984, p. 361).

Kanellos (1984) reconoce el intento del autor por reflejar el habla mexicana e incluso las hablas mexicoamericanas bilingües a las que aparentemente estuvo expuesto, con toda su problemática social. El investigador afirma de manera muy acertada la importancia que el léxico tiene para los personajes, representantes de la cultura chicana de su época. La conexión entre la lengua e identidad es un punto conocido y ampliamente abordado en los estudios actuales, sobre todo cuando se analiza el habla de comunidades bilingües (Fought 2006; Edwards, 2009). En las siguientes secciones, se analizan los rasgos específicos que aparecen en las novelas.

El uso de regionalismos

En cuanto al lenguaje en *La patria perdida*, parece no haber referencias sobre la lengua utilizada por los personajes o por el narrador, al menos en el conocimiento disponible, con la excepción de Kanellos (2017), quien señala la ‘pureza lingüística’ del protagonista al describir al “otro”, a todo aquel que considera diferente a él mismo. Al igual que en *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen*, en *La patria perdida*, el autor recrea también la lengua de sus personajes, aunque desde un punto de vista altamente conservador. Por lo general, son los “otros” los

que hacen uso de giros del español rural o los que recurren al cambio de código y a los préstamos lingüísticos. Por ejemplo, a través del narrador, se presenta a los trabajadores de hacienda Bella Vista como hablantes de una variedad rural del español, como se ejemplifica en el caso de don Máximo, un trabajador de la hacienda, que se dirige a Ana María, dueña de la hacienda.

- (1) —Cuando *quera* mi amita. Orita nada menos les estaba contando a estos muchachos la mera historia de mis buenos tiempos (Torres, 1935, p. 91)

Además del uso de los mexicanismos '*orita* 'ahorita' y '*mera* 'verdadera', en el ejemplo anterior, el uso de la forma monotonguizada, '*quero* 'quiero' es comúnmente relacionada a variedades rurales. El uso de elementos léxicos considerados como rurales ha sido reconocido en descripciones del español chicano o mexicoamericano. Lipski (2008, p. 96) incluye elementos como '*hablates* 'hablaste', '*íbanos* 'íbamos' '*mesmo* 'mismo', '*muncho* 'mucho' y '*traiba* 'traía', entre otros, dentro de esta categoría de elementos rurales/rústicos; mientras que Sánchez (1994) incluye elementos como '*ganao* 'ganado', '*teníanos* 'teníamos', '*muncho* 'mucho' y '*traiba* 'traía', entre otros. Dentro de estas listas, se incluyen elementos como el uso de una -s hipercorrectiva con metátesis (*hablates*), reemplazo de -nos por -mos en la primera persona singular (íbanos), alzamiento de vocal (*mesmo*), regularización de las formas de la segunda y tercera conjugación del imperfecto (*traiba*), elisión de consonante (*ganaoo*) y de formas rurales (*muncho*). Estos elementos de ninguna manera son exclusivos de las variedades mexicoamericanas, sino que forman parte de repertorios lingüísticos de variedades del español a través del mundo hispanohablante (Lipski, 2008, p. 95).

El cambio de código

El cambio de código es parte fundamental del habla bilingüe como se ha propuesto para distintas variedades en contacto, el fenómeno puede entenderse comúnmente como el uso de dos lenguas en un mismo discurso, como es el caso del inglés y español entre los latinos en los Estados Unidos. En la introducción de su libro sobre el cambio de código, Bullock y Toribio (2009) explican que los hablantes monolingües son capaces de cambiar su estilo de lengua o *style shifting*, como cambiar su registro lingüístico y dialectal. Estos cambios de estilo se ven reflejados a través de la novela y aparecen en el discurso monolingüe y bilingüe. Bullock y Toribio (2009) señalan también que los bilingües no solamente pueden hacer ese cambio de estilo lingüístico en una lengua, sino que pueden hacerlo en ambas lenguas, lo que en el discurso académico se ha llamado cambio de lengua o

language shifting y *espanglish* o *Tex-Mex* en discursos no académicos, para referirse al contacto de español e inglés. Esa alternancia entre las dos lenguas dentro de un mismo discurso lo llaman cambio de código y se caracteriza por la alternancia de lenguas, ya sea al insertar palabras aisladas en frases o enunciados o grandes segmentos de palabras dentro del discurso. Bullock y Toribio (2009) presentan el cambio de código como un recurso discursivo de los bilingües con diferentes grados de competencia lingüística en cada lengua que sirve para construir identidades a nivel social. Estudios sobre la novela de Venegas (1999), como el artículo de Perches (1994), han incluido el término *code switching* o cambio de código para referirse al lenguaje empleado por los personajes (p. 28).

En *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen*, los personajes como don Chipote y su familia, incluso Policarpo y Pitacio, recurren al uso del inglés en el texto, pero de hecho no se perciben como bilingües. Los distintos personajes usan palabras aisladas como *esquisme*, *toquingles*, *gubai* que en el discurso de dichos personajes no podría considerarse cambio de código de acuerdo con la definición de Bullock y Toribio (2009), aunque estos elementos pueden clasificarse también como préstamos lingüísticos o anglicismos. No intentaré elaborar más sobre este punto porque queda fuera de las expectativas de este estudio y porque entiendo que la discusión más detallada del cambio de código es un asunto complejo, como lo explica Fairclough (2003) en su estudio sobre el *Span-glish*. A continuación, en (2), se presenta un buen ejemplo del uso del cambio de código en *La patria perdida*. En la conversación, el cambio de código ocurre en dos ocasiones: la primera cuando se inserta la frase *the old man* ‘el [hombre] viejo’ y la segunda al final cuando se inserta lo que parece una cita directa.

- (2) Estás tú buena —dijo la otra— the old man se ha disgustado porque no me expreso en español correcto y ahora nos resultas con que ¿what father says? (Torres, 1935, p. 228)

En este intercambio, el sintagma *the old man* funciona como sujeto del enunciado, por lo que sintácticamente la comunicación fluye. En el caso de *What father says?*, esto parece ser una oración subordinada que funciona como objeto del enunciado; por lo tanto, el cambio de código no viola ninguna regla gramatical en ninguno de los dos casos.

Otro ejemplo del cambio de código se expresa en la voz del propio hijo de Luis Alfaro. Luisito es el hijo adoptivo de origen anglo de los Alfaro, quien ha sido educado en un internado en un contexto de monolingüismo en inglés.

- (3) Luisito les hizo esta pregunta, mientras comían, y en un español en que el inglés suplía los olvidos de un idioma que se le iba de la memoria con la misma facilidad con que lo adquirió: —A ver *tell me the truth* ¿ustedes, no son *mexicans*, no es así? (Torres, 1935, p. 69)

El ejemplo (3) no es muy distinto a lo que se podría escuchar en alguna comunidad bilingüe actual en los Estados Unidos; sin embargo, cabe aclarar que el comentario del narrador sobre el inglés que “suplía los olvidos” no siempre explica el uso del cambio de código. En este intercambio, por ejemplo, sería difícil creer que Luisito no conoce o ha olvidado que *Mexicans* se dice mexicanos en español. De hecho, la personalidad de Luis Alfaro en la novela se caracteriza por su perspectiva elitista y conservadora, y parecería irónico tener un hijo que poco a poco va “olvidándose” del español. El autor parece justificar la lengua dominante de Luisito por ser de origen anglo. Se podría proponer, además que, a través de sus actitudes, Luisito parece representar ciertas ideologías sobre su propia identidad cultural y lingüística. Para Kanellos (2017), Luisito parece reflejar también la hibridez como parte de la utopía propuesta por Torres (1935). Este punto parece acertado porque Luisito es producto de dos realidades culturales y lingüísticas, un chico anglo adoptado por una familia de origen mexicano que se educa en un internado en el “noreste” de los Estados Unidos y en sus vacaciones reside en la hacienda asentada al norte de Kansas City.

Una diferencia del uso de préstamos en *La patria perdida* y *Las aventuras de don Chipote o cuando los pericos mamen* es que Torres (1935) no solamente utiliza préstamos del inglés (*attire, building, landscapes*) sino que también recurre a vocablos del latín (*santa sanctorum*), del italiano (*dolce far niente*) y del francés (*chauffeurs*). Todos estos préstamos parecen ser rebuscados y elitistas en boca de los personajes que los utilizan.

- (4) Había “*chauffeurs*” de taxis, mexicanos y norteamericanos, hablando unos y otros los dos idiomas, el inglés y el español, para atender a las clientelas de ambas lenguas por igual; periódicos escritos en la fable de Cervantes, destacándose por su formato especial, entre los “*Posts*” y “*Heralds*” de todas las procedencias, que inundaban los “*stands*” colocados a la vista del viajero (Torres, 1935, p. 141)

En este breve fragmento se muestra el uso de los préstamos lingüísticos en voz del narrador, para describir la llegada de Luis Alfaro a San Antonio. Además del préstamo del francés (*chauffeurs*), los préstamos del inglés nos ayudan a percibir,

no solamente el conocimiento de más de un idioma por parte del autor, sino también la influencia de diversos idiomas en el mismo autor. El uso de estos préstamos podría deberse a que el contexto bicultural de San Antonio activa su bilingüismo o multilingüismo y uso de préstamos. Por los datos biográficos de Torres, sabemos sobre su educación y experiencia personal al haber vivido y trabajado en los Estados Unidos por varios años. A diferencia del uso del inglés de otros personajes en la misma novela, el nivel socioeconómico del autor y del protagonista parecen otorgar el derecho o cierta licencia al permitirse el uso propio de préstamos elitistas, aun cuando el mismo uso parece ser inadecuado cuando “otros” utilizan préstamos del inglés en su discurso.

El cambio de código parece utilizarse en las novelas para comunicar menor seriedad o formalidad, e incluso para crear un ambiente humorístico. Esta característica de brindar una carga humorística a una modalidad o variedad la encuentra Bastardín Candón (2020) al analizar actitudes hacia las variedades andaluzas en la prensa española del siglo XIX. El uso de los préstamos con sentido humorístico se puede apreciar también en los siguientes ejemplos en el periódico *Latinos* (1937) donde el giro humorístico se crea en complicidad con el lector a través del uso de anglicismos (*is alright* ‘está bien’, *better* ‘mejor’, *half-shot* ‘medio trago’, *cabooze* ‘furgón’) y regionalismos (*quebren* ‘quebren’, *nomás* ‘nada más’, *palomilla* ‘grupo de amigos’).

- (5) a. Jose (Chepo) Carlin, dice que el negocio *is alright* pero podía estar *better* si no tuviera tanto vidrio las tolerables puertas de su establecimiento (*Latinos*, 1937).
- b. Y Catarino Caballero el nuevo y lujoso EL PASO INN, estará deseando que alguin invente botellas que no se quiebren (*quebren*) porque el depósito es algo pesado y la palomilla empieza a jugar a la pelota alo muy *half-shot* (*Latinos*, 1937).
- c. Queremos miembros para este trenesito mocho. Nomas que tengamos otro miembro le pondremos el cabooze. Quien sigue? TOOT TOOT! (*Latinos*, 1937).

La ortografía y la gramática utilizada en (5a), (5b) y (5c) podrían sugerir el uso de regionalismos, aunque no es claro si el uso fue intencional o un descuido de la edición como ‘alguin’ en (5b). El caso de ‘quebren’ en (5b) es peculiar al incluirlo en paréntesis. En todo caso, el uso de anglicismos y de giros regionales o informales ocurre en una sección de aparente menor seriedad en el periódico.

En *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen*, el narrador nos muestra una característica peculiar al usar los préstamos del inglés integrados fonológica y morfológicamente al español en su propia voz. El narrador (o autor) identifica los préstamos con cursivas en algunas ocasiones (6a) (6c), pero otras veces las omite (6b) (6d).

- (6) a. y presumen de gringos (...) cuando se encuentran paisanos recién desempacados. A quienes les presumen su sabiduría en el *toki inglis*. (Venegas, 1999, p. 43)
- b. otros chicanos y éstos ya mascullaban el *toquinglis*, (Venegas, 1999, p. 40)
- c. y tomando el papel y el lápiz esperó a que le dictaran la orden para el *suplai*. (Venegas, 1999, p. 67)
- d. se les advirtió que arreglaran sus mochilas y que si era posible, durmieran vestidos [...] debían estar mucho antes para chequear sus bultos. (Venegas, 1999, p. 48)

El uso de *toki inglis*, *suplai* en cursivas y su omisión en *toquinglis* y *chequear* podría sugerir cierto acercamiento del narrador con los personajes. La falta de cursivas podría ser intencional, algo que podría sugerir una expresión más natural. A través de la novela, el narrador revela haber trabajado en los *traques*; lo cual sugiere un sentido de solidaridad del narrador con las situaciones difíciles que atraviesan los personajes (Falon, 2007; Kanellos, 1984). Es posible que el narrador se identifique con el jornalero chicano a través de la elección del léxico y de su experiencia personal.

Las ideologías y las actitudes sobre la lengua

Las ideologías y actitudes sobre las lenguas y quienes las hablan están plasmadas en las dos novelas. En *La patria perdida*, cuando Luis Alfaro se dirige en tren hacia la Ciudad de México, se encuentra con familias de inmigrantes que regresan a México y describe su lengua en términos negativos como se muestra en el ejemplo (2), considerado anteriormente. En la conversación en (2), las dos hijas de una familia inmigrante dicen no haber ido a México antes, indicando que habían crecido en los Estados Unidos. En esta conversación, el uso de las dos lenguas se puede categorizar como un ejemplo de cambio de código, lo cual sugiere que los personajes son bilingües. En el mismo ejemplo, nos enteramos de que uno de los personajes ha expresado una actitud que desvaloriza el español o algunas formas del español usado por una de las hijas de la familia de origen mexicano al considerarlo “incorrecto”. Por lo tanto, podemos ver que esta actitud se desprende

de nociones asociadas a ideologías de la lengua estándar o a ideologías puristas del habla.

Todas estas ideologías sobre el valor, la pureza y la originalidad de las variedades de español habladas por los mexicoamericanos en sus comunidades aparecen en diferentes menciones en los periódicos de la época. Las menciones van desde modificadores como español “bárbaro”, que en este caso, no solamente se encuentra en una modalidad oral, sino que se acusa de su uso en la prensa. El artículo, “Los fueros del idioma”,⁶ que aparece publicado en *El Mañana* (1919), refleja el contexto en el cual el autor de (7a) y (7e) reprueba el uso de dicha modalidad. En (7b), el tipo de español utilizado en la prensa se trata desde la perspectiva del respeto; mientras que en (7c) se aborda desde la perspectiva de una lengua maltratada. El escritor argumenta que la variedad de español usada en cierto periódico es “horrorosa” y que más valdría que dicha variedad dejara de ser utilizada. Esta postura demuestra la manera en la que ejercen poder y subyugan a hablantes de variedades percibidas como “defectuosas” a un papel de inferioridad. En (7d), la temática se centra en la originalidad de la variedad utilizada, ya que al autor se le acusa de hablar una versión falsa del español. No queda claro qué es exactamente lo que actúa como el catalizador de estos ataques, pero podría suponerse que la reacción se debe al uso de regionalismos, anglicismos y las faltas de ortografía. Todos estos ejemplos demuestran que, desde el punto de vista del escritor, la única perspectiva que cabe es la normativa, apegada a nociones de la estandarización en la lengua.

- (7) a. Varias veces hemos querido ocuparnos del “español bárbaro” en que se expresan algunos periódicos publicados en el Sur de los Estados Unidos.
- b. La primera obligación de los escritores, es respetar la lengua que emplean.
- c. Esto no lo entienden así algunos “periodistas” que después de maltratar la lengua divina de Cervantes, hacen campaña activa por su abolición...
- d. “La Voz del Pueblo”⁷ publica además, un artículo de un señor Denis Chaves⁸, quien aconseja en español falsificado que la enseñanza del idioma de Castilla sea suprimido en las escuelas de Nuevo México. Nosotros también abogamos por que se suprima esa lengua horrorosa en que se expresan “La Voz del Pueblo y Mr. Chaves...

⁶ “Los fueros del idioma” es un artículo publicado originalmente en *Revista Mexicana* como se indica en el ejemplar de *El Mañana*, el 1 de marzo de 1919.

⁷ *La Voz del Pueblo*, periódico publicado en Las Vegas, Nuevo México.

⁸ Denis Chaves (1888-1962). Fue el primer hispano elegido para un mandato completo en el Senado de los Estados Unidos y el primer senador estadounidense nacido en Nuevo México.

e. Por lo que a nosotros nos toca, preferimos que no se hable el idioma castellano a que se siga hablando bárbaramente...

El narrador de *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* le da voz a un personaje chicano, quien parece no saber español cuando don Chipote le pide ayuda (8a). En este ejemplo, el personaje podría estar reaccionando a ideologías monoglósicas de la lengua que promueven el uso de la lengua dominante a expensas de otras lenguas de herencia. El ejemplo de *La patria perdida* (8b), es parte de la conversación entre un padre y su hija durante el regreso de los Estados Unidos a México.

- (8) a. —*Juat du yu sei? Ai du no tok spanish*. Ni Policarpo ni don Chipote entendieron nada de lo que les dijera ese sujeto, pero no les cabía que aquel, que demostraba a todas luces su origen, no les entendiera. (Venegas, 1999, p. 43)
 b. —¡En español! —suplicó el padre—. Por favor, no se te olvide. Nos van a criticar suponiendo que hablamos inglés por presumir. Sulfuróse la muchacha. No era suya la culpa, su “*fault*”, agregaba, insistiendo en el chapurreo. ¿No habían hablado siempre así? (Torres, 1935, p. 227)

Los ejemplos (8a) y (8b) también muestran la actitud del narrador hacia la pérdida de la lengua de herencia entre las generaciones jóvenes o entre los hablantes de la segunda generación y la imagen de ‘chicanos’ que muestran haber olvidado o ir olvidando el español de acuerdo con el narrador. Sin embargo, el autor también refleja la ideología de una lengua-una-nación donde los inmigrantes creen que serán mejor aceptados al aprender el inglés y evitar el uso del español. La actitud del personaje chicano que dice no entender a don Chipote en (8a) reproduce dicha ideología a través de su negación de hablar español en (8b). Lo mismo podría ocurrir en el caso de la muchacha que parece haber olvidado el español. Para Torres (1935), *chapurrear*, además de la connotación negativa con la que presenta la conversación, parece referirse al uso del cambio de código por el personaje. La ideología de la lengua estándar también está presente en los ejemplos (8a) y (8b), donde la variedad del español mexicano se percibe como el prototipo.

Además del uso de préstamos entre los personajes, los narradores mismos hacen uso de distintos préstamos lingüísticos en las dos novelas. El narrador en *La patria perdida* nos muestra su actitud negativa al describir el habla de los personajes cuando *chapurrean* el español, pero también se expresa recurriendo a una cantidad numerosa de préstamos (*baseball*, *pendant*, *laborer*, *building*,

roof garden). En el manejo de percepciones ideológicas se tiende a recurrir a la erradicación⁹ *erasure* de acuerdo con la definición propuesta por Irvin y Gal (2000, p. 38). El proceso ideológico sobre la erradicación implica omitir o hacer imperceptible cualquier punto problemático que pueda contradecir las ideologías imperantes. El ejemplar de *El Mañana* (1920) publica un artículo sobre el presidente mexicano, Álvaro Obregón. En el artículo se refleja la actitud positiva que se tiene cuando alguien de origen mexicano que reside en México aprende inglés. Además, se resalta el prestigio de aprender el inglés ‘correcto’, sobre todo cuando se trata de un ciudadano de la élite política, en el caso del presidente mismo y su esposa. Por un lado, los periódicos parecen fomentar el aprendizaje del inglés o una lengua extranjera en México y por otro lado, se fomenta la ideología de la lengua estándar.

- (9) lo practica leyendo con ahínco cuanto *magazine* americano cae en sus manos. La señora María Tapia, esposa del Presidente electo, fue educada en... Los Ángeles, California y habla inglés correctamente, y esta circunstancia la está aprovechando el general Obregón para recibir lecciones a diario, esperando que en no muy lejano día pueda debutar en los Estados Unidos con el primer “speech” (*El Mañana*, 1920)

Con esto no se busca restar la importancia que mantenían los periódicos escritos en español en las comunidades mexicoamericanas y latinas. De hecho, se ha destacado la importancia de la prensa en español disponible en los Estados Unidos para las comunidades inmigrantes hispanoparlantes en las primeras décadas del siglo xx, no solamente por su función informativa, sino que también por representar instrumentos ideológicos (Kanellos, 2002; Baeza, 2006). Por lo tanto, a pesar de los ataques entre los periódicos anteriores, los periódicos en español eran un medio accesible para el inmigrante, ya que lo mantenían informado sobre su país de origen y lo motivaba a mantener contacto con su lengua de herencia de manera escrita y con su identidad nacional, cultural o lingüística (Kanellos, 2002; Baeza, 2006). Los medios impresos buscan también recrear la patria de origen en el nuevo lugar de residencia. Esto necesariamente requería de la promoción de ideologías nacionalistas y también de ideologías que promueven la cultura y la lengua de herencia, aunque muchas veces desde posturas puristas y normativas que no toman

⁹ ‘Erradicación’ es la traducción de *erasure* tomada de Fernández-Gibert (2015, pp. 338).

en cuenta la nueva realidad multicultural de las comunidades mexicoamericanas en los Estados Unidos.

Las etiquetas identitarias

Además del uso de préstamos, tanto los narradores como los personajes en ambas novelas recurren a etiquetas sobre la identidad del “otro”. El “México de afuera” es una ideología nacionalista, fomentada por algunos de los mexicanos exiliados, que buscan crear una comunidad mexicana en los Estados Unidos para proteger la cultura mexicana, la religión católica, y el idioma español frente a los valores anglosajones (Kanellos, 2002, p. xxxvi; Baeza Ventura, 2006, p. 26). Esto da lugar al uso de etiquetas como los *gringos*, los *renegados* y los *ayancados*, que aparecen en las dos novelas de inmigración. Para Kanellos (2017), la etiqueta identitaria *ayancado* en *La patria perdida* es un sinónimo de *agringamiento* que representa la experiencia híbrida del inmigrante al adoptar la cultura y valores culturales de los Estados Unidos. Esta etiqueta se relaciona con distintas posturas ideológicas del narrador; la primera, como en el caso anterior, es la percepción de que, por ser de origen mexicano, los personajes deberían “poder” o “querer” hablar el español, su lengua de herencia. A través de estas ideologías normativas se expresa también la aparente incapacidad de los bilingües de hablar “correctamente” en cualquiera de sus dos lenguas. En el siguiente ejemplo, el personaje hace una apología sobre su propia situación como *ayancado*, producto de su estadía en su nuevo país de residencia.

- (10) Lo que en mí y en tantos como yo, que nos *ayancamos* sin saberlo, no tiene disculpa, en estos es perdonable y justifica la persistencia de la emigración y arroja a los residentes de muchos años; (Torres, 1935, p. 169)

En la conversación entre Luis Alfaro y su amigo Sarmiento, el siguiente ejemplo (11) ilustra la reacción de Luis al ser etiquetado como *ayancado*. Su respuesta sugiere que no está satisfecho con la clasificación que se le asigna.

- (11) Ya no eres el Luis que yo conocí. Tienes la seriedad de estos *gringos* con quienes has tratado tanto tiempo. Luis protestó. *Ayancado* no estaba. (Torres, 1935, p. 59)

Como se ha mencionado anteriormente, ambas novelas muestran indirectamente la visión de los propios autores, quienes son de origen mexicano, y comparten la misma profesión de periodistas y escritores. Aunque de diferente experiencia

migratoria y socioeconómica, ambos autores tuvieron oportunidades en un entorno de privilegios, en claro contraste con las experiencias de la mayoría de sus personajes. En el desarrollo de ambas novelas, el narrador parece proyectar la visión del autor.

En *Las aventuras de don Chipote, o cuando los pericos mamen* se muestra la siguiente perspectiva del narrador sobre el *renegado* como la persona que ha alcanzado el nivel más alto de asimilación: el *renegado* traiciona su cultura y, por extensión, su lengua. La idea de esta figura se origina en ideologías del nacionalismo y se mezclan con conceptos sobre la importancia de la lengua para negociar identidades, pero también se entrelazan con ideologías sobre la lengua estándar. En este mismo intercambio, se expresan ideologías sobre el habla bilingüe, específicamente la representación de que los bilingües no saben hablar “correctamente” ninguna de sus dos lenguas. Estas ideas están sustentadas en ideologías sobre el purismo lingüístico y sobre la estandarización lingüística.

- (12) ¿Podrá haber más maldad que la de estos malditos, que por pasar por *gringos*, se niegan a hablar su propio idioma renegando hasta del país donde nacieron?... De estos *renegados* que no son agua ni pescados, que no hablan ni español ni inglés... (Venegas, 1999, p. 44)

La ideología del *renegado* parece ser parte del discurso público de la época. El ejemplo a continuación muestra la visión de Clemente Idar, quien escribe un artículo publicado en *El Paladín* (1927) en donde discute su perspectiva personal sobre el tema.

- (13) En México se nos deturpa porque hemos nacido en este país y se nos llama ‘renegados’. En los Estados Unidos se nos mira con cierto grado de desprecio y no se nos tienen confianza porque nuestro tipo racial de indígenas. [...] O somos americanos o somos mexicanos. No podemos ser las dos cosas al mismo tiempo. En el derecho internacional no se conoce esa hibridez [...] Necesitamos estudiar y resolver ese problema por medio de las más serenas y reposadas reflexiones. (*El Paladín*, 1927).

Clemente Idar escribe sobre el dilema que aqueja a muchas personas, residentes en comunidades multiculturales. La reflexión de Idar toca temas como el rechazo de las comunidades multiculturales y multilingües por las comunidades dominantes. Su reflexión reconoce el racismo imperante al que se somete a los mexicoamerica-

nos en los Estados Unidos por su fenotipo. Asimismo, Idar se cuestiona el derecho a identificarse como un individuo híbrido, es decir, multicultural. Las ideas postuladas por Idar son de una complejidad máxima y todas se ven reflejadas en las dos novelas de inmigración de la época en las que se ha analizado el discurso. Cabe subrayar que, a pesar de la distancia temporal, los temas tratados por los dos autores literarios y en los breves ejemplos periodísticos siguen vigentes hoy en día en las comunidades mexicoamericanas y latinas en los Estados Unidos.

Conclusión

A través del presente estudio, se han reflejado diferentes formas del discurso lingüístico de los personajes, de los narradores y de los autores de las dos novelas de inmigración mexicana y de los recortes periodísticos. Estos discursos lingüísticos brindan ejemplos de las ideologías y actitudes lingüísticas imperantes en el Suroeste de los Estados Unidos durante las primeras décadas del siglo xx. El análisis del discurso en los textos literarios y periodísticos muestran una multiplicidad de ideologías lingüísticas que buscan ofrecer un retrato de la realidad social de la época a través de la lengua en su versión escrita, por ejemplo, las ideologías de la lengua estándar, la pureza lingüística, las hegemonías lingüísticas, el nacionalismo y las ideologías monoglósicas de la lengua. En su trasfondo, las interacciones discursivas manifiestan y reproducen las relaciones de poder entre los individuos y grupos a través de la lengua. Es interesante que los textos novelísticos y periodísticos escritos a principios del siglo xx ya tratan con la misma problemática a la que se enfrentan las comunidades latinas actuales en los Estados Unidos, como la asociación del habla bilingüe con la idea de déficit y la imposición del monolingüismo como norma.

En las novelas y los recortes periodísticos analizados el cambio de código se utiliza recurrentemente como recurso humorístico, es decir, carente de seriedad o formalidad. En cuanto al uso de los préstamos lingüísticos, hay un manejo ambivalente en los textos: por un lado se censura entre personajes de las clases trabajadoras y marginadas, y por otro parece dar prestigio a los personajes de los niveles socioculturales más altos. De manera explícita, los autores novelísticos y periodísticos manifiestan el bajo valor social asignado al español hablado en las comunidades que se retratan en sus novelas y que consumen sus recortes periodísticos. Como se mencionó anteriormente, en los periódicos de la época, se acusaba a algunos redactores de trasladar usos orales al medio escrito. Las convenciones y prácticas lingüísticas sustentadas en relaciones de poder y en procesos ideológicos continúan vigentes hoy en día. A través de las distintas ideologías

y actitudes lingüísticas mencionadas, se sigue reproduciendo la estigmatización sobre la cultura y la lengua de las comunidades de latinos inmigrantes y los inmigrantes mismos.

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Reseñas

Norris. S. (2020). *Multimodal Theory and Methodology: for the Analysis of Inter(action) and Identity*. New York: Routledge. 240 páginas. ISBN 9781032336947

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Multimodal Theory and Methodology: for the Analysis of Inter(action) and Identity proporciona una visión completa de las herramientas teóricas y metodológicas esenciales para analizar la identidad desde la perspectiva del campo de estudio del análisis de la interacción multimodal. Con un enfoque interdisciplinario que fusiona la lingüística, la semiótica, la sociología y la psicología, la lingüista neozelandesa Sigrid Norris presenta un sólido marco teórico para entender cómo los diversos modos de comunicación y representación inciden en la construcción de significados y en la negociación de identidades en contextos sociales diversos.

Debido a la extensa producción editorial de la autora, es crucial contextualizar la aparición de esta nueva obra dentro del panorama general de su propuesta. Desde 2004, Norris ha publicado varios trabajos que presentan el marco metodológico: el Análisis de la (Inter)acción Multimodal. A diferencia de otros enfoques interaccionistas que se han centrado en la dimensión verbal de la interacción, bajo esta perspectiva, se examina la construcción de la identidad en función de las conexiones del individuo con otras personas, pero también con el entorno y con el uso de herramientas.

El Análisis de la (Inter)acción multimodal, tal y como ha sido delineado por Norris desde hace más de dos décadas, constituye un marco metodológico holístico que capacita al analista para integrar lo verbal con lo no verbal, así como para incorporar estos elementos con el uso de objetos materiales y otros elementos del entorno en el que las personas interactúan. Este enfoque permite al investigador estudiar a personas reales interactuando con otros individuos, con la tecnología y con el entorno de manera integral. De esta forma, facilita el análisis de diversos tipos de datos de interacción social, como videos, entrevistas, publicaciones en

redes sociales, entre otros. Además, posibilita el análisis de conjuntos de datos de diferentes escalas y fomenta la replicabilidad para asegurar la confiabilidad de los resultados obtenidos.

En obras anteriores, la autora ha detallado con precisión su propuesta metodológica para el análisis de la interacción multimodal como un método para la recopilación y análisis sistemáticos de datos y ha presentado una variedad de herramientas metodológicas y analíticas comprobadas, incluyendo un sistema de transcripción innovador para el análisis de videos. Inscrito en este marco, este nuevo volumen explora, de manera concisa, la relación esencial entre la multimodalidad y el lenguaje, así como los conceptos clave que respaldan el análisis de la acción y la interacción multimodales, junto con el estudio de la identidad.

En este libro se ofrece una visión detallada de cada concepto en el que se fundamenta el análisis de la interacción multimodal, explorando su evolución histórica, analizando la literatura fundamental, describiendo sus marcos teóricos subyacentes y mostrando su integración con herramientas analíticas específicas. A lo largo de la obra, Norris ilustra estos conceptos mediante ejemplos concretos, transcripciones acompañadas de imágenes, tablas y gráficos. Además, al final de cada capítulo se incluyen referencias a lecturas relevantes que enriquecen la comprensión integral y rápida de la metodología y la teoría fundamentales para el análisis de la identidad multimodal.

En efecto, uno de los aspectos destacados de este libro es su enfoque práctico, ya que detalla de manera progresiva las herramientas y técnicas metodológicas necesarias para realizar análisis multimodales en diversos contextos de investigación. Desde el análisis de conversaciones y de otros tipos de discursos hasta la interpretación de textos visuales y multimedia. Norris ejemplifica la aplicación de su enfoque teórico en la práctica investigativa mediante estudios de caso y ejemplos ilustrativos.

La obra se divide en tres capítulos que exploran aspectos esenciales de la teoría multimodal, abordando desde la definición de los modos (verbal, visual, gestual, etc.), el rol de la interacción en la comunicación cotidiana, hasta su impacto en la construcción de identidades individuales y colectivas. Norris examina también las dimensiones temporales y espaciales de la comunicación multimodal, así como su relación con la tecnología y los medios de comunicación actuales.

El primer capítulo está subdividido en dos partes. En la primera se contextualiza el análisis de la interacción multimodal dentro del campo más amplio de la lingüística, proporcionando un panorama general y la explicación de conceptos teóricos y analíticos clave tales como: *atención*, *acción mediada* y *modo*. La segunda

parte ofrece una breve revisión de la literatura relacionada con dichos conceptos clave. A lo largo del texto se presentan recuadros de información concisa que amplían la definición de los conceptos, incluyendo ejemplos más detallados y una tabla o gráfico para una mejor ilustración de los mismos.

La primera de las nociones analizadas es la que da nombre al enfoque propuesto por Norris: la *(inter)acción*. Al separar el prefijo *inter* entre paréntesis del resto del término, la autora busca distinguir su propuesta del uso común del término *interacción* y afirma que este nuevo término abarca cada acción que un individuo realiza con herramientas, el entorno y otras personas. Enseguida, se presenta la noción de *atención interaccional* y su importancia para el análisis del discurso. Para ello, se discuten las nociones de *densidad modal* y de *mediación*. Finalmente, se aborda la definición de *modo*, destacando cómo las configuraciones modales permiten descubrir cómo se producen multimodalmente interacciones específicas y cómo se organiza la jerarquía de modos de manera variada.

El segundo capítulo introduce 12 herramientas teóricas y analíticas fundamentales para realizar un análisis multimodal de la interacción. Se detalla la historia y la teoría en la que se basa cada uno de dichos conceptos, se explica cómo se utiliza como herramienta analítica y se proporcionan breves ejemplos prácticos, así como las capacidades analíticas asociadas a cada uno. La autora advierte que los datos que pueden ser analizados usando estas herramientas pueden ser grabaciones de video y audio de actores sociales actuando e interactuando, o contenido proveniente de Internet, películas, televisión, entre otros. No obstante, para obtener información específica sobre posibles métodos de recolección de datos y una forma sistemática de trabajar con ellos, Norris recomienda referirse a sus otras obras, ya que tal discusión está fuera del alcance de este capítulo.

Entre los conceptos abordados en este segundo capítulo, cabe destacar: la naturaleza de las *acciones mediadas de nivel inferior* y su relación con los modos de comunicación; las *convenciones de transcripción* empleadas en el análisis de datos multimodales (movimientos de mano o brazos, desplazamiento de la mirada, cambios de postura, movimientos de cabeza, desplazamiento corporal, expresiones faciales, entre otros); la comprensión de las *acciones mediadas de nivel superior* y cómo varían en su producción según los actores sociales; la noción de *acción mediada congelada*, que abarca acciones mediadas de nivel inferior o superior incrustadas en el entorno u objetos; la distinción entre modos y prácticas; y, finalmente, el lugar de participación (del inglés *site of engagement*). Todas estas nociones son delineadas y relacionadas unas con otras por la autora, para evitar simplificar la complejidad de las interacciones al enfocarse exclusivamente en el

nivel micro, el nivel intermedio de las prácticas o el nivel macro de los discursos sociales. Por el contrario, se propone un marco teórico con múltiples herramientas analíticas sólidamente fundamentadas, que posibilita el análisis sistemático de la complejidad en las acciones e interacciones de la vida cotidiana.

El tercer y último capítulo proporciona al lector una guía práctica para aplicar los conceptos y herramientas analíticas de los capítulos anteriores, centrándose especialmente en el análisis de la identidad a través de las acciones e interacciones. Además de los 12 conceptos previamente presentados, se proponen 16 conceptos adicionales específicamente aplicables al análisis de la identidad.

En el tercer capítulo, que constituye el centro de la propuesta de Norris, la autora afirma que la identidad se caracteriza por su fluidez, siempre en constante cambio y desarrollo, siendo analizable sólo en el contexto de la acción y de la interacción. Entre los conceptos fundamentales relacionados se encuentran el tiempo-lugar-social y los elementos que conforman la identidad. Así, la autora aborda las acciones mediadas de nivel inferior, nivel superior y las acciones mediadas congeladas, explorando su utilidad como herramientas analíticas para comprender la producción de identidad en la interacción.

Tras cubrir estos temas, se discuten las *configuraciones modales*, usadas como una herramienta analítica utilizada para el microanálisis de elementos específicos de la identidad. Con estas herramientas analíticas establecidas, se examinan los aspectos de la *producción de identidad horizontal*, haciendo referencia a las nociones previamente discutidas sobre las diversas acciones mediadas. Para una comprensión más profunda del concepto de producción de identidad horizontal, se propone considerar tres herramientas analíticas clave: la densidad modal, el continuo de fondo y frente de densidad modal (en inglés *modal density foreground-background continuum*), así como los medios semánticos y pragmáticos.

Inicialmente, Norris presenta cómo se utilizan estas herramientas de manera independiente, para luego mostrar su interrelación y aplicación conjunta. Finalmente, se aborda la herramienta analítica de *escalas de acción*, que brinda una visión amplia sobre la producción de elementos específicos de la identidad; además, se ilustra cómo el lugar de participación puede ofrecer mayor claridad sobre la producción de elementos de identidad, estableciendo una conexión entre los niveles micro, meso y macro.

Este libro proporciona una visión general y concisa de los avances más recientes en el campo del Análisis de la (Inter)acción Multimodal, siendo una guía introductoria útil tanto para investigadores novatos como para aquellos más experimentados que buscan estar al tanto de los últimos desarrollos en estudios

que respaldan este enfoque. No obstante, no son pocos los desafíos que presentan al leer y aplicar el marco teórico propuesto en este libro. Un de ellos radica precisamente en la profundidad conceptual de la propuesta y la complejidad de traducir adecuadamente los términos del inglés a otras lenguas.

Por todo lo anterior, el libro resulta práctico como guía rápida o como obra de referencia. Los capítulos pueden ser utilizados de manera independiente para el estudio individual de investigadores o para cursos de nivel avanzado, ya sea para aprender o enseñar conceptos básicos. Sin embargo, para una comprensión más profunda de la perspectiva teórico-metodológica del marco propuesto, la autora recomienda complementar la lectura de este volumen con el de otras obras: *Identity in (Inter)action* (2011) y *Systematically Working with Multimodal Data* (2019), por mencionar algunos ejemplos.

Salgado López, M. (2023). *La constitución del corpus. Algunas reflexiones teórico-prácticas con análisis de contenido o de corpus*. 84 páginas. ISBN: 9786073085434

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Uno de los aspectos cruciales a la hora de emprender una investigación lingüística, a saber, aquella que se interesa por el uso de la lengua en contexto, en coordenadas geográficas, temporales, textuales y socioculturales concretas, es la constitución del corpus. El corpus representa el punto de partida de una investigación académica con una base metodológica definida, la materia prima del análisis que determinará lo que va a observarse, los resultados que de tal examen se obtengan y, por ende, el eje rector de la serie de preguntas o hipótesis que se planteen en torno a un fenómeno de estudio. Esta importante tarea ha sido cabalmente atendida a lo largo de la trayectoria universitaria de una profesora mexicana de excepción, para quien el vínculo lengua y discurso ha sido determinante, la doctora Melanie Salgado López, del Posgrado en Lingüística y del Colegio de Letras Hispánicas, de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), de quien hoy presentamos su más reciente libro *La constitución del corpus*.

La obra fue publicada en 2023, bajo la coordinación de la Dra. Carmen Curcó Cobos, responsable del Programa de Maestría y Doctorado en Lingüística de la UNAM. Forma parte de la colección de “Breviarios Lingüísticos”, cuyo propósito es dar a conocer los trabajos de profesores y estudiantes de este posgrado, así como de académicos externos que deseen publicar sus productos investigativos, ya en el campo de la lingüística descriptiva, aplicada o interdisciplinaria o ya en trabajos especializados con una orientación didáctica. Particularmente este libro nace con la intención de ofrecer un material introductorio y básico acerca de las reflexiones teórico-prácticas en el proceso de selección de un corpus, en sus diversas configuraciones lingüísticas (oral, escrita o multimodal). Asimismo, permite que los lectores tengan a su servicio una mirada panorámica bien articulada respecto de

las diferentes posiciones teóricas que se han exhibido sobre el concepto de *corpus*, así como de ejemplos específicos relativos a su conformación y elección.

Con respecto a su estructura, el libro se integra de una introducción y cinco capítulos, que se desarrollan a lo largo de 84 páginas, en que se conjuga de manera muy equilibrada y razonada la literatura tradicional como la más actualizada sobre la confección de corpus en lingüística y en otras disciplinas, lo cual pone de manifiesto una postura abierta y holística muy atractiva. Ello con la finalidad de dotar a los lectores (estudiantes, profesores o investigadores) con las herramientas necesarias para que puedan identificar algunos de los retos más relevantes que implica el diseño metodológico de las investigaciones científicas abocadas al estudio de fenómenos definidos mediante el análisis de contenido o de corpus, y, con ello, idealmente, a orientar la toma de decisiones para llevar a cabo trabajos propios.

Así pues, el capítulo 1 sobre “Definiciones básicas” se ocupa de conformar un horizonte general o breve estado de la cuestión respecto de algunas de las distintas concepciones teóricas que, a propósito del *corpus*, se han esbozado, a fin de resaltar su potencial en términos de diseño y del proceso investigativo desde esta perspectiva metódica. El capítulo inicia con una consideración introductoria que resulta capital, referente al uso, en ocasiones, espontáneo o laxo de aquellos análisis que dejan en segundo plano la serie de discusiones y de implicaciones que un investigador adopta cuando elabora un trabajo cuyos datos proceden del diseño de un corpus. Por ello, a partir de un acto de honestidad académica que la autora comparte con los lectores sobre la complejidad y dificultad del abordaje del tema, se opta por seguir una organización temática según los elementos centrales que se han discutido desde la definición especializada del corpus y su relación con la puesta en marcha de la investigación científica completa. Dicho repaso no es, en modo alguno, una simple recopilación expositiva de postulados teóricos, hay, en el desarrollo de este apartado, un balance, un equilibrio, un juicio crítico y maduro, que adquiere fuerza y valor a la luz de las recomendaciones finales, que brindan bibliografía complementaria al lector, así como una serie de preguntas encauzadas a lograr plena consciencia en el establecimiento de una investigación seria.

El capítulo 2, concerniente a los “Tipos de corpus”, constituye la presentación de diversas taxonomías que posibilita nuevamente facilitar un ejercicio de autorreflexión en la planificación de los proyectos que un estudioso conciba. De acuerdo con la autora, tal revisión contribuye a que el analista disponga de más elementos para establecer criterios y diseñar el corpus que su investigación necesita, así como contemplar que no todo corpus se adecua a cualquier tipo de investigación, lo que pone de relieve que corpus y análisis de datos conforman un proceso interdepen-

diente. En el curso de este apartado, la autora explora las diferentes clases de corpus señalando las potencialidades y las limitaciones, al igual que los factores por considerar para que un corpus se ajuste a los propósitos e intereses determinados. En otras palabras, el lector puede tener la seguridad de que habrá un acompañamiento y una sistematización del crisol de tipologías, tomando en cuenta los distintos enfoques y tradiciones, en aras de la consecución de un pensamiento crítico. Tal como ocurrió en el primer capítulo, el segundo se acompaña de una serie de recomendaciones que evidencian un carácter didáctico en el libro.

El tercer capítulo, acerca de las nociones de “Universo, acervo y corpus”, examina de forma consistente tres nociones dialogantes que, aunque definitivas en la construcción de un corpus, no han sido suficientemente abordadas en la bibliografía sobre el tema. A juicio de la estudiosa, si bien se ha destacado su valía teórica, por otra parte, se ha obviado su estrecha relación en lo tocante a su aplicación en la constitución del material con que habrá de realizarse la investigación, de ahí que este apartado se enfoque justamente en insistir críticamente en dicha dimensión. De suma relevancia son, asimismo, las reflexiones recomendadas finales que buscan fomentar ejercicios de reflexión colectiva que permitan darle una congruencia al proyecto que se piensa realizar. Los ejemplos de trabajos y estudios que fungen como una bibliografía complementaria son, sin duda, grandes apoyos u orientaciones para identificar el tránsito del universo al corpus.

El cuarto capítulo sobre “Los criterios del corpus” indaga algunos de los retos más representativos en el camino de selección del corpus, que está en relación directa con aspectos tales como los objetivos, las preguntas de investigación, la hipótesis a corroborar o refutar, su clasificación y el universo planteado. A lo largo del apartado, la autora recalca el papel fundamental del analista en la explicitud de los criterios y decisiones que adopta, y que han de poder argumentarse en virtud de su carácter científico:

Sin importar qué naturaleza tenga la investigación, lo que es cierto es que el diseño de un corpus juega con dos variables fundamentales que han de reflejarse en el tipo de criterios que vamos a argumentar: la homogeneidad y el contraste. Esto quiere decir que en un corpus deben existir elementos que todas las unidades de análisis comparten y que justo nos permiten hacer un análisis a partir de comparaciones (que explica que todas provengan de un mismo universo), pero también es necesario tener elementos de contraste que permitan buscar diferencias. Lo que debe ser igual y lo que debe ser distinto en el corpus se determinará a la luz de los objetivos, preguntas de investigación e hipótesis, pero debe estar explicado con tanto detalle que

permita entender qué de todo lo que constituye el universo se va a ir quedando y qué no hasta llegar al corpus. Cada explicación debe indicar con claridad la pertinencia que ese criterio guarda con el planteamiento metodológico de la investigación misma (pp. 64-65).

Se trata, pues, de un capítulo que explica paso a paso cómo cada el elemento y cada decisión que se toma debe estar perfectamente razonado y evidenciado a fin de que la investigación, en su totalidad, comporte una unidad bien justificada que no deje espacio a la duda, a la ausencia de control o la especulación. Ello sin dejar de reflexionar en un aspecto al que es imposible escapar cuando se trabaja con la interpretación de datos: la subjetividad vs. la neutralidad del investigador. Concluye este apartado con un breve listado de fuentes al que el lector puede acercarse para ahondar en los criterios y la normalización del corpus.

El capítulo 5 y último relativo a “La presentación argumentada del corpus” expone las cuestiones metodológicas que como estudioso es deseable reportar con relación al diseño del corpus en una propuesta de investigación. Esta actividad, al igual que las anteriores, hace hincapié en el rigor y fiabilidad del investigador o estudiante en el trabajo que se propone, pero también en su formalismo para con el público, por lo que, según la autora, es preciso mostrar detalladamente cómo es que se ha llegado a la selección de uno y no de otro corpus, evitando el “secreto” o el “silencio”, para persuadir con fundamento sobre su pertinencia y sistematicidad. El acceso al corpus constituye un asunto que no se deja de lado en este apartado y que se relaciona con el hecho de considerar que la reunión de los materiales bajo estudio (ya en el cuerpo del trabajo o bien con auxilio de un CD o de canales informáticos) es parte de las aportaciones de una investigación, así como una forma de asegurar la ampliación del conocimiento. De ahí que se consigne bibliografía adicional para revisar ejemplos de metodología en la construcción del corpus.

En resumen, el libro representa una guía invaluable, altamente recomendable, para estudiar la serie de factores que hay que contemplar para diseñar o seleccionar un corpus académico. Cada una de las partes que componen el libro son una oportunidad de aprendizaje para especialistas y no especialistas, pues el profesionalismo lingüístico que revela la autora en el desarrollo del tema se conjuga con una gran claridad, amenidad, ética y didactismo, aspectos que no son fáciles de lograr, pero que, en este caso, se logran excelentemente.

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