Artículos

Reseña de libro

EDITORIAL

En esta ocasión este primer número del volumen 14 de *Plurilinkgua* se compone por dos artículos y una reseña

En el primero, titulado "The concept of linguistic practices and its relevance in contemporary language studies", Alfredo Escandón Jiménez expone el nuevo paradigma de estudio de la lengua denominado *prácticas lingüísticas*, desde cómo nace en el ámbito de la sociolingüística hasta cómo adquiere importancia para el estudio de la lengua en general. Posteriormente, demuestra la utilidad de esta perspectiva de análisis para abordar los registros de habla y norma culta.

El segundo trabajo pertenece a María Fernanda Villafuerte Bianchi y lleva por título "Use of the Verb allow among Mexican Scientists and Native-English Speaking Scientists"; en él, la autora compara el uso del verbo *allow* utilizado en lengua escrita por académicos cuya lengua materna es el español con el uso que le dan anglohablantes hablantes nativos. Los resultados demuestran los hispanohablantes emplean en mayor medida dicho verbo y además, del desapego de las normas gramaticales.

Por último, este número cuenta con una reseña bibliográfica de autoría de Jitk Chrová, quien nos presenta a detalle el contenido que aborda *Gramáticas Jesuítas del Noroeste Novohispano* (2016) de Rosío del Carmen Molina Landeros, una publicación de la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California.

Las editoras de *Plurilikgua*

The concept of *linguistic practices* and its relevance in contemporary language studies

Alfredo Escandón Jiménez[i]

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on linguistic practices as the new paradigm in language studies. First, the author discusses how the concept of *practice* was first brought into sociolinguistics and then in language studies in general. Then, the author argues that the term is useful when discussing speakers' practices as it applies to all registers, even the standard, on equal footing without dwelling on languages as countable and concrete systems that should be separated.

El concepto de prácticas lingüísticas y su importancia en los estudios de lengua contemporáneos

RESUMEN

Este artículo se enfoca en las prácticas lingüísticas como el nuevo paradigma en los estudios de la lengua. Para empezar, el autor expone cómo llegó el concepto de *práctica*, primero a la sociolingüística, y después a los estudios de la lengua en general. Posteriormente, el autor argumenta que el término resulta útil para describir las prácticas lingüísticas de los hablantes dado que se usa para todos los registros, incluida la norma culta, en forma equitativa sin tratar a las lenguas como sistemas concretos que se enumeran en forma separada.

The notion of *linguistic practices* as choices made consciously or unconsciously by speakers has gained currency in the past two decades. One of the reasons is that the concept lends itself to describe and explain language processes in a detached way unlike terms that follow normativity and tend to label everything but the standard as deviations from the norm as would be the case of border Spanish, code-switching or Spanglish. Echoing Eckert and Wenger (2005) practices can be defined as ways of doing things, of talking and even thinking, grounded in and shared by a community structured around power relations (Eckert & Wenger, 2005, p. 464). More specifically, according to Schatzki (2002), social life involves a range of practices such as negotiation practices, political practices, cooking practices, banking practices, recreation practices, religious practices, educational practices, trading practices, medical practices, and so on (Schatzki, 2002, p. 70-71). Furthermore, Schatzki affirms that practice is an integral "bundle" of activities (an idea he shares with other theorists of practice, including Giddens, Taylor, Bourdieu, and Rouse), i.e., an organized nexus of actions that embraces two overall dimensions: activity and organization (Schatzki, 2002, p. 71). Taking this into account, we would think of humans engaged and organized in an activity, much like in the communities of practice that Lave and Wenger (1991[2003]) discuss.

Goffman (1981 [1995]) takes one step further when he mentions that because of the "number of constraints and ends governing each of an individual's acts on every occasion and moment of execution, it becomes natural to shift from considering social practices to considering social competencies" (Goffman, 1981 [1995], p. 198). He then defines a 'competency' as the capacity to routinely accomplish a given complicated end (1981 [1995], p. 198), and so individuals have capacities for interaction; for example, capacity as interactants "regardless of what is owed them in whatever other capacities they participate": regardless of whatever social role individuals play during a conversational encounter, they will in addition have to fill the role of interactants (Goffman, 1967, p. 116). Back in the 70s, Hymes (1972 [1976]) framed competence as the most general term for the capabilities of a person", and dependent upon both (tacit) knowledge and (ability) for use. More recently, Canagarajah (2013b) warns that competence "is not an arithmetical addition of the resources of different languages, but the transformative capacity to mesh their resources for creative new forms and meanings" (2013b, p. 2). Given this perspective, we could apply such examples to bilinguals or multilinguals putting their entire

repertoires into use to achieve an end, to communicate, to create and negotiate meaning, and to construct identities in accordance with their context and interlocutors.

Considering practice, competence and performance as key terms in communication takes us away from looking at language as a linguistic system into a social realm. In Bourdieu's terms, linguists "merely incorporate into their theory a pre-constructed object, ignoring its social laws of construction and masking its social genesis" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 44; original emphasis). Similarly, Dreyfus states that words as used in everyday talking do not get their meaning from anywhere: once individuals have been socialized into a community's practices, as long as they dwell in those practices rather than taking a detached point of view, words are simply heard and seen as meaningful: "only dwelling in our linguistic practices reveals their sense" (Dreyfus, 1991 [1995], p. 219). If we look up an entry in a dictionary, for instance, the entry means nothing (it is printed paper after all) or close to nothing unless we use it in our discourse, be it in writing or in speaking, ergo, we create a contextualized meaning. Heidegger introduced the idea that "the shared everyday skills, discriminations, and practices into which we are socialized provide the conditions necessary for people to pick out objects, to understand themselves as subjects, and, generally, to make sense of the world and of their lives" (Dreyfus, 1991 [1995], p. 4); we can infer from that, that his ideas touch on issues of identity, of belonging and being part of a group, and that discriminating is equal to recognizing differences. We can also theorize for a moment, and picture Dreyfus' statement as apt to be applied to a group where language has not been invented: simply by coming together to achieve an end they would come up with ways to name what they are doing, the objects and environment in their vicinity. García and Wei (2014) remark that "with the rise of post-structuralism in the post-modern era, language has begun to be conceptualized as a series of social practices and actions by speakers that are embedded in a web of social and cognitive relations" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 9).

Sharing the same idea, Pennycook observes that practices constitute "the key way in which every day social activity is organized" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 2), and language practices is just a set of practices among so many. In his words, language as a practice is tantamount to language as an activity rather than a structure, as seen in linguistics. It is more about what we do "rather than a system we draw on, as a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 2). For his part, Duranti

(2003) reminds us that "while linguists in the first half of the 20th century could already claim to have established the legitimacy of the scientific study of language as an independent and sui generis system, linguistic anthropologists working in the second half of the century could just as easily claim to have brought language back where it belonged, namely, among human beings concerned with their daily affairs" (Duranti, 2003, p. 333) so that instead of viewing language as a rule-governed system, language came to be viewed as a social process whose study belonged to anthropology as much as to linguistics: documenting and analyzing actual language usage became the new paradigm (Duranti, 2003, p. 333). Hanks (1996) points out how difficult it is to think of language in Saussurean terms, i.e, as an arbitrary formal system: "far from appearing to us as a system unto itself, language ordinarily seems to be the means towards other ends (Hanks, 1996, p. 21): it is more about practices. He elaborates:

Although linguistic systems are governed in part [sic] by principles unique to language, grammar is neither self-contained nor entirely independent from the social worlds in which individual languages exist [...] for people to communicate at whatever level of effectiveness, "it is neither sufficient nor necessary that they "share" the same grammar...what they must share, to a variable degree, is the ability to orient themselves verbally, perceptually, and physically to each other and to their social world" (Hanks, 1996, p. 229).

Hanks also states that "one of the key differences between grammar and practice is that the latter interpenetrates language and other modes of human engagement with the world" (Hanks, 1996, pp. 229-230), and by "grammar" he most likely refers to linguistics as opposed to language in use (Duranti, 2003, p. 333). Moreover, he insists that from formalist and pure relational approaches the individual speaker is the unit of speech production in frank opposition to a practice approach where the "socially defined relation between agents and the field [...] 'produces' speech forms" (Hanks, 1996, p. 230).

We know that linguistic practices refer to what people do with their language, i.e., they "make up the actual exercise of language use in a society" (Puzey, 2011, p. 128) and we also know that these practices are indeed enmeshed in relations of power (hegemony and subordination), that ideology and identity play a central part regardless of whether or not speakers are aware of it or if it is unclear to them (Bourdieu, 1977[1995], p. 79; Goffman, 1981 [1995]; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258), and though the term may be en vogue, it

has been around for quite some time as some early references to it indicate (e.g., Shenton, 1933, p. 247). In Urciuoli's words, "linguistic practices and elements operate as a cultural and symbolic capital in Bourdieu's sense" (Urciuoli, 1995, p. 526), e.g., speaking a prestige variety opens up doors, be it academically or socially while code-switching may index membership in a group, or a stigmatized accent or a register deemed inappropriate might subject its speakers to exclusion in a given context.

Some authors utilize other synonymous terms such as 'language practices' (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013a; García, 2009; García and Wei, 2014; Hanks, 1995; Kramsch, 2002 [2004]; McCarty, 2014; Musk, 2006; Shenton, 1933; Spolsky, 2004, 2012; Veltman, 1981, 1983b), 'speech practices' (e.g., Toribio, 2004) or 'discursive practices' instead (Martín-Rojo, 2011 [2013]) probably because discourse, defined as language use in speech and writing, is seen as a form of 'social practice' from a critical discourse analysis perspective (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). In addition, Hanks (1996) uses 'communicative practices' and Canagarajah (2013a) asserts that "all that we have in communication are practices" (Canagarajah, 2013a, p. 16); these words echo Heritage's words that the social world is a pervasively conversational one as we interact mostly through the medium of spoken interaction (Heritage, 1984, p. 239). Language practices are defined in similar ways by various authors, either as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up a linguistic repertoire" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 5) or as "the decisions made by speakers in terms of language use" (Blackwood & Tufi, 2011, p. 110) and as such are acquired in constant constructive interaction (Spolsky, 2004, p. 7). Spolsky also posits that they are "the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes (see also Puzey, 2011, p. 128), sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously, that makes up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language;" but linguistic practices also encompass conventional differences between registers and other agreed rules as to what variety is appropriate in different situations, including which language to use in multilingual societies (Spolsky, 2012, p. 5), rules for speech and silence, for dealing with common topics, and for expressing or concealing identity (Spolsky, 2012, p. 5).

Linguistic practices are pragmatic phenomena, patterns of language use (Gal, 2006, p. 17); and refer to language use in all walks of human life including using language to shape and reshape the meaning, truth, knowledge, and value of human activities (Sun, 2015, p. 77); they are situated (both in time and space), interactional, and communicatively

motivated (Bauman, 2000, p. 1), and may include linguistic usages, perception and attitudes, the use made by speakers of their repertoires and their linguistic resources, also very personal or situated (Bigelow, 2011, p. 28). Jørgensen and Juffermans (2011) illustrate this when describing how "languaging is individual and unique in the sense that every single person possesses her or his own combination of competences and knowledge with respect to language" (Jørgensen & Juffermans, 2011, p. 1). Gal argues that register, accent, voicing, and variety designate linguistic practices that index (point to, co-occur with) through interaction some set of social relations, social identities, situations, and values, and are necessarily interpreted by speakers and listeners through language ideologies that are about pragmatics (Gal, 2006, p. 17).

For instance, *register* is defined as a linguistic repertoire that is associated with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices: using a register conveys to a member of the culture that some typifiable social practice is linked indexically to the current occasion of language use, as part of its context (Agha, 2000, p. 216; Agha, 2004, p. 24). Similarly, Shohamy mentions that "language is personal and unique and varies from one person to another" while arguing that "dictating to people how to use language in terms of accent, grammar, lexicon" and the like, can be seen as a form of personal intrusion and manipulation: indoctrination, ideology and hegemony are, consequently, at play (Shohamy, 2006, pp. 1-2). This is further illustrated by Bourdieu regarding the standard, defined as the official language of a political unit existing within the unit's territorial limits, imposed on the whole population as the only legitimate language; it is produced by authors who have the authority to write, fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are also charged with the task of inculcating its mastery; the official language is thus a code not only in its linguistic sense but "also in the sense of a system of norms regulating linguistic practices" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). The definitions of the *standard* ('norma culta') presented below in Portuguese and in Spanish are also similarly phrased: "A set of linguistic practices belonging to the place or to the social class that enjoys the highest prestige in a given country" (Mattoso-Câmara Jr., 1978, p. 177; my translation). The Royal Academy of the Spanish Language puts the term in in such a way that hegemony is concealed but still deems other registers as incorrect:

'Norma culta' equals Standard Spanish: the tongue we all use, or aspire to use when we need to speak correctly; the language taught in schools; the tongue we use with varying degree of correctness in public speaking, the one employed by the media, the language of essays and technical and scientific books. It is definitely the one that sets the standard, the shared code that allows Spanish-speaking people of diverse background to understand each other easily, and to recognize themselves as members of the same linguistic community (Real Academia Española, 2005; my translation).

The reality is that the standard is just one register among many that in a common ideological view is just "the language" (sic), the baseline against which all other facts of register differentiation are measured. The major difference is that the standard is promoted by institutions of such widespread hegemony (such as the Real Academia Española, and the Cervantes Institute in the case of Spanish) that it is not ordinarily recognized as a distinct register at all. Yet from the standpoint of usage a standard language is just one register among many, highly appropriate to certain public/official settings, but employed by many speakers in alternation with other varieties – such as registers of business and bureaucracy, journalism and advertising, technical and scientific registers, varieties of slang, criminal argots– in distinct venues of social life (Agha, 2004, p.24).

To sum up this text, the reconceptualization of conventional views of language centered on practices allows us to analyze the way sepakers create and negotiate meaning in social interaction (Rubdy & Alsagoff, 2014, p. 7) in this era of globalization and complexity where languages, cultures, the local and the global intertwine.

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Use of the Verb *allow* among Mexican Scientists and Native-English Speaking Scientists

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Abstract

Regardless of their experience with English, it is assumed that researchers possess the ability to write in response to the demands of the scientific community (Richards & Miller, 2005); however, research has shown that non-native English speaking (NNES) scientists struggle to write in English and thus publish their works in international scientific journals (Uzuner, 2008; Swales & Feak, 2012; Hidalgo & Funderburk, 2014; Brimley Norris, 2016;). To contribute to the body of knowledge on the challenges of scientific English writing for NNES, this study performs a short comparative analysis of a grammar structure employed by both Mexican scientists and NES scientists. Namely, the study analyzes how the verb *allow* (as a synonym for *permit)* is used by the two groups. The data were collected from two corpora of ten journal articles each, from Mexican scientists and NES scientists, respectively. The results revealed that Mexican scientists use more the verb *allow* than NES scientists. Moreover, in the majority of the cases (i.e. 53%), the way Mexican scientists use the verb *allow* does not fit into any grammar norm. Conversely, in the corpus of NES scientists, only in 2% of the times the verb *allow* does not fit into any category. Such results may contribute to identifying and explaining the grammatical features that can compromise the clarity and thus quality of scientific journal articles written by Mexican scientists.

Keywords: scientific English writing; Mexican scientists; non-native English speaking (NNES) scientists; NES scientists; *allow;* comparative analysis

El uso del verbo *allow* en científicos mexicanos
y científicos nativos de habla inglesa

Resumen

Independientemente de su experiencia con el inglés, se infiere que los investigadores son capaces de seguir las normas de la comunidad científica (Richards & Miller, 2005); sin embargo, existe evidencia de que los científicos cuya lengua maternal no es el inglés tienen dificultades para escribir en inglés correctamente y, por lo tanto, para publicar sus investigaciones en revistas internacionales (Uzuner, 2008; Swales & Feak, 2012; Hidalgo & Funderburk, 2014; Brimley Norris, 2016;). Con el fin de contribuir a la investigación sobre los desafíos de la redacción científica en inglés para los hablantes no nativos de la lengua inglesa, el presente estudio realiza un análisis comparativo de una estructura gramatical usada, tanto por científicos mexicanos, como por nativos del inglés. Específicamente, este estudio analiza el uso del verbo *allow* como sinónimo de permitir en cada grupo de hablantes. Los datos fueron recolectados de dos corpus de diez artículos científicos cada uno, los cuales fueron redactados por científicos mexicanos y hablantes nativos del inglés, respectivamente. Los resultados indican que los científicos mexicanos utilizan más el verbo *allow* que los científicos nativos del inglés. Asimismo, en la mayoría de las ocasiones (53%), la manera en la que los científicos mexicanos usan el verbo *allow* no es consistente con ninguna norma gramatical. Por otro lado, las trasgresiones a la norma en el corpus de hablantes nativos del inglés sólo se detectaron en 2% de los casos. Dichos resultados pueden ayudar a detectar y explicar los elementos gramaticales que comprometen la claridad y calidad de los artículos redactados por científicos mexicanos.

Palabras clave: redacción científica en inglés; científicos mexicanos; hablantes nativos de inglés, hablantes no nativos de inglés, análisis comparativo

Introduction and problem statement

Regardless of their experience with the English language, it is assumed that scientists and graduate students enrolled in science programs possess an ability to write in response to the demands of the scientific community (Richards & Miller, 2005). However, empirical and non-empirical research has demonstrated that non-native-English-speaking (NNES) scientists and higher education students struggle to write in English (Uzuner, 2008; Swales & Feak, 2012; Hidalgo & Funderburk, 2014; Brimley Norris, 2016). Moreover, it seems that this struggle increases when they are required to publish their works in international journals (Hanauer & Englander, 2011).

To contribute to the body of knowledge on the challenges of scientific English writing for NNE speakers, this short study performs a grammar analysis to compare the use of the verb *allow* between Mexican graduate students and native-English-speaking (NES) writers. To reach this goal, I compared the use and frequency of this verb in ten unpublished journal articles written by Mexican graduate students with its use and frequency in ten published journal articles written by NES scientists. The obtained results can help us determine whether *grammatical aspects* can affect the quality and thus readability of scientific journal articles written by Mexican graduate students, and thus their successful publication.

Grammar as a part of clarity

According to experts, grammar contributes to clarity (Lindsay, 2011; Griffies, Perrie & Hull, 2013; Weiss, 2015; University of Leeds, 2017). I identified four common grammar errors in English journal articles written by Mexican graduate students that seem to compromise quality and clarity (Villafuerte, 2017). These errors include subject-verb agreement and misuse of articles, prepositions and gerunds. As regards prepositions and gerunds, they were mainly visible in the use of the verb *allow*, which did not seem to follow the language rules set by the norms. According to *Oxford Dictionaries* (2017), *The Merriam Webster Dictionary* (2017), the *Cambridge Dictionary* (2017), and the *Collins Dictionary*, the verb *allow* can be a synonym for *assert*, *permit*, *concede*, *admit*, *say*, and *state.* However, this study will focus only on the use of *allow* as an equivalent of *permit.*

As a synonym for *permit*, the verb *allow* can be followed by 1) an object, 2) an object and an action, 3) two objects, or 4) no objects at all. When *allow* is proceeded only by an object, no prepositions are used in between. However, when it is followed by an object and then by an action, the preposition following the object is *to* and the action (verb) is in infinitive. When *allow* is proceeded by two objects no preposition is used. On the other hand, when *allow* lacks an object, it is proceeded by the preposition *for* and the action (second verb) in gerund. The following examples best illustrate the norm:

1) Allow + object (*allow something*)

2) Allow + object + action: (*allow someone to do something*)

3) Allow + object + object: (*allow someone something*)

4) Allow without object (*to allow for something*)

Methodology

This section briefly describes how I performed the comparative analysis of journal articles written by Mexican graduate students and NES scientists. The section is divided into two subsections: Data Collection and Data Analysis.

To perform the comparative analysis, I first collected 20 journal articles in English, ten of them written by Mexican graduate students and ten written by NES scientists. All the journal articles were related to three research fields: sustainability, software engineering, and supply chain performance. However, only the articles from the NES scientists have been published, whereas those of the Mexican graduate students are waiting to be accepted. Likewise, the articles were 3,000–4,000 words in length and written by one author only.

To perform the comparative analysis, I employed AntConc, a freeware corpus analysis tool for concordance and text analysis. First, I ran two individual analyses: one on the corpus of NES scientists and the other on the corpus of the Mexican graduate students. The two analyses excluded stop words and estimated the frequency of use of the verb *allow* as well as its percentage of significance within each corpus. Then, I performed a comparative analysis between the reference corpus, and the target corpus. To this end, I

uploaded the NES scientists corpus as the reference corpus (C1), whereas the corpus of Mexican graduate students was considered as the target corpus (C2).

After running the analysis, I estimated the keyness of the target corpus words. Keyness allowed me to determine whether the verb *allow* was a keyword in the target corpus (C2), taking into account the reference corpus (C1). Because AnConc does not provide positive and negative figures for keyness, I performed a log-likelihood test for keyword generation. To this end, I used the keyness figures provided by AntConc and compared them with a threshold value of log likelihood. The threshold value that I used was 3.84, with P<0.05. In other words, if the Keyness figure was higher than the threshold, the verb *allow* could be considered a keyword under the 95th percentile (Rayson, 2003).

Finally, I performed a concordance analysis on both corpora to compare the use of *allow* between the target corpus and the reference corpus. The results helped me identify how the verb is used by Mexican graduate students in comparison to English-speaking scientists. To simplify the comparison, I organized the concordances of the two corpora into five categories. The first four categories corresponded to the four grammar norms of use for the verb *allow* (see section 2.1). The fifth category included concordances that fit into neither of these norms.

Results

As previously mentioned, the first step in the methodology was to run two individual analyses to identify the frequency of the verb *allow* in each corpus. Table 1 shows the obtained results. The table shows the identified forms of the verb *allow*, their frequency, the percentage of relative frequency, and the keyness values. Keyness refers to whether a given word is a keyword in the target corpus, considering the reference corpus. As can be observed, four forms of the verb *allow* were identified in the two corpora: *allow, allows, allowed,* and *allowing.*

Table 1. *Use and significance of the verb "allow"*

Term	Freq. in C1	R.F. (%)	Freq. in C2	R.F. (%)	Keyness
allow	20	0.06	35	0.1%	1.669

allows	57	0.18%	89	0.3%	2.086
allowed	9	0.02	14	0.04%	0.319
allowing	13	0.4	9	0.03	0.1595
Total	99	0.3%	147	0.5%	4.2335

A

ccording to the results, Mexican graduate students rely more on the verb *allow* than NES writers, although in both corpora the frequency of this verb is low. Also, considering that each corpus was composed of ten texts, it can be estimated that this verb –in any of the four forms – appeared, in average, 9.9 times in every paper from NES writers and 14.7 times in every paper from Mexican graduate students. Also, the table demonstrates that in both corpora the form *allows* represents the highest frequency, and it is then followed by the infinitive form, *allow.* Interestingly, between *allowed* and *allowing*, the former appeared more frequently in the corpus of Mexican graduate students, whereas the latter seemed more recurrent in the corpus of NES writers.

As for keyness, none of the forms of the verb *allow* in the target corpus is a keyword by itself, since all keyness values are lower than the threshold (3.84). However, when adding the values of the four forms of the verb, the keyness value is higher than the threshold. Therefore, we concluded that, in general, the verb *allow* is a keyword in the corpus of Mexican graduate students (Rayson, 2003).

The concordance and comparison analysis was performed as discussed in the methodology section. Table 2 shows the results of the analysis of both corpora: the corpus of NES writers and the corpus of Mexican graduate students. According to these results, NES scientists employ more the structure *allow* + object + action in infinitive (*to allow someone to do something*) than any other form. In fact, the frequency of this norm in C1 (i.e.44) accounts for almost half of the total frequencies (i.e.99). As for the corpus of Mexican graduate students, more than 50% of the concordances (i.e. 78) do not fit into any of the categories corresponding to the norms. This phenomenon will be thoroughly explained in future sections.

The second most current structure in the reference corpus refers to *allow*+object, with 33 concordances in total (33% freq.), and it is then followed by structure *allow* without object (*allow for something*), with 17 concordances (17.2% freq.). On the other hand, the second structure most commonly employed in the target corpus is allow+object (allow

something) with 46 concordances (31.3% freq.). It is then followed by the structure *allow*+object+action. This norm accounts for 14.3% of the total frequencies of the verb *allow* in the target corpus. Finally, the results revealed that the least employed structure in C1 was *allow*+object+object, showing only three concordances and representing only 3% of the total frequencies of the verb *allow*. As for C2, interestingly, the same structure did not report any frequency.

Table 2. *Concordance and analysis of use of the verb "allow"*

Norm/category	Concordances in C1	Concordances in C2	Examples
Allow + object *(to allow something)*	33	46	"...*improvements ... that would* **allow** *better automated classification of documents.*" (C1) "...*capabilities that* **allow** *more detailed descriptions in a more naturalistic approach.*" (C2)
Allow + object + infinitive *(allow someone to do something)*	44	21	"*This classification process* **allowed** *enablers... to be identified.*" (C1) "...*the model is useful when* **allowing** *an investor to drive planning decisions...*" (C2)
Allow + object + object *(allow someone something)*	3	0	"...**allows** *users a more user-friendly experience with the application.*" (C1)
Allow without object *(to allow for something)*	17	2	"... *Declarative languages that* **allow** *for easy integration...*" (C1) "... *it* **allows** *for the use of different spatial and temporal scales...*" (C2)
Others	2	78	"...*an interesting application that* **allows** *tourists interactively share...*" (C1) "...*these applications* **allow** *enhance the interaction and communication...*" (C2)
Total	99	147	

As previously mentioned, more than 50% (i.e. 78) of the concordances found in the corpus of Mexican graduate students did not fit into any of the norms previously identified (see section 2.1). This subsection mainly summarizes these additional concordances that characterized the corpus of Mexican graduate students. However, the results of Table 2 also demonstrated that two concordances of the corpus of NES writers were also outside any category. Therefore, Table 3 shows all the additional categories found in the analysis.

Table 3. *Other concordances found in corpora*

Category	Concordances in Cl	Concordances in C2	Examples
Allow + infinitive (*allow to do something*)	1	35	"*Metafor is a tool that allows to abstract necessary elements...*" (C2) "*...generative programming allows to work with particular domain proper languages.*" (C2)
Allow + to + object + base form (*allow to somebody to do something*)	0	14	"*Grtner is a tool that allows to the user to create elements...*" (C2) "*..., allowing to the users to continue their operations naturally.*" (C2)
Allow + base form (*allow do*)	0	14	"*Aspects allowed encapsulate these scattered elements.*" (C2) "*...because they allow enhance the interaction.*" (C2)
Allow + object + base form (*allow somebody do something*)	1	8	"*...an interesting application that **allows** tourists interactively share...*" (C1) "*...a middleware that allows the remote calls behave like normal.*" (C2)
Allow + clause (*allow + that*)	0	4	"*... domain specific languages that allow that abstractions are used by the programmer.*" (C2) "*...it allows that a class feature can be added to another.*" (C2)
Allow + to object + base form (*allow to somebody do something*)	0	2	"*Java allows to the user write dynamic code.*" (C2) "*GP is a computational paradigm which allows to the user produce an entire...*" (C2)
Allow + to + object + gerund (*allow to somebody doing something*)	0	1	"*software that allows to the user decreasing intervention.*" (C2)
Total	2	78	246

Notice that two concordances for the verb *allow* in the corpus of NES writers fit into the categories allow + infinitive (*allow to do something*) and allow + object + base form (*allow somebody do something)*. These "unusual" concordances account for 2.02% of the total frequency of the verb *allow* in the reference corpus. As regards the corpus of Mexican graduate students, the structure *allow* + infinitive (*allow to do something*) reported the largest number of unusual concordances, and thus the highest frequency. Then followed the use of *allow + to* + object + base form (*allow to somebody do something*) and the use of *allow* + base form (*allow do something*). The concordances in these three categories represent 78.2% of the total concordances found in the unusual categories. Also, they represent 41.5% of the total number of concordances for the verb *allow* in the entire target corpus.

Less prominent categories in Table 3 include: *allow* + object + base form (*allow somebody do something*), *allow* + clause (*allow that*), *allow* + *to* + object + base form (*allow to somebody do something*), and *allow* + *to* + object +gerund (*allow to somebody doing something*). All of them were identified only in the target corpus.

Discussion and conclusions

The comparative analysis of the two corpora (NES writers and Mexican graduate students) revealed that Mexican graduate students use more the verb *allow* than NES writers. Moreover, in the majority of the cases; that is, 53% of the times, the way Mexican graduate students use the verb *allow* does not fit into any grammar norm. On the other hand, only in 2% of the times, *allow* in the corpus of NES writers does not fit into any category. In other words, the corpus of NES writers is 98% times grammatically correct in the use of the verb *allow*, according to the norms, whereas the corpus of Mexican graduate students is grammatically correct only 47% of times. Such results may contribute to explaining the grammatical features that can compromise the clarity and thus quality of scientific journal articles written by Mexican graduate students.

Experts argue that the English writing performance of non-native English speakers reveals way more than merely linguistic deficiencies. Much of what NNES writers write is transferred from their mother tongue (Hyland, 2009). In other words, Mexican graduate seem to copy patterns from their writing skills in the mother tongue when writing in English (Crawford, 2010; Santos, 2010). A major implication of this assumption is that the categories of unusual concordances that I found in this study correspond to grammatical and syntactical norms of the Spanish language. This could be confirmed in future works after analyzing and comparing the writing performance of Mexican graduate students in their mother tongue and in English.

Research limitations

As its major limitation, this study relies on a reference corpus of already–published journal articles. This implies that prior to their publication, some of – if not all – the papers might have undergone an additional editing process following the journal reviewers' verdict in

order to discard not only undetected style-related issues, but also inconsistencies in terms of cohesion and coherence (including grammar). Hence, as further research, it would be suitable to perform a comparative study of both the reference corpus and the target corpus before the articles are submitted to the journals and once they are accepted. Such a comprehensive study would allow us to better understand English grammar patterns of both NES scientists and NNES scientists, as well as the impact of these patterns on the scientists' writing performance of scholarly articles.

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Reseña de libro

Gramáticas Jesuítas del Noroeste Novohispano
por Jitka Crhová[i]
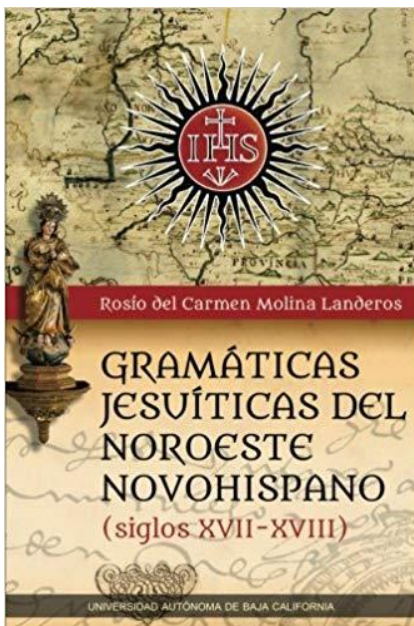
Molina Landeros, Rosío del Carmen (2016). *Gramáticas jesuítas del Noroeste Novohispano (siglos XVII-XVIII)*. Mexicali, B.C.: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, 300 pp. ISBN: 9786073124

En *Gramáticas jesuíticas del noroeste novohispano (siglos XVII-XVIII)*, Rosío Molina se propone describir cinco artes coloniales: el *arte y vocabulario de la lengua dohema, heve o eudeve* (XVII), anónimo; el *Compendio del arte de la lengua de los tarahumares y guazapares* (1683) de Thomas de Guadalaxara; el *arte de la lengua tegüima, vulgarmente llamada ópata* (1702) de Natal Lombardo; el *arte de la lengua cahita* (1737), atribuida al padre Tomás Basilio; y el *arte de la lengua tepeguana* (1743) de Benito Rinaldini. Lenguas todas pertenecientes a la familia sonorense yutoazteca, ubicadas en el noroeste novohispano; las primeras cuatro se derivan de la rama taracahita y la última, de la rama tepimana, de acuerdo a la clasificación de Moctezuma (2001).

Molina inicia su libro con el párrafo introductorio, donde afirma que "los textos gramaticales aportan datos no solo del trabajo de sistematización de una lengua natural y de

la cultura en ella representadas, sino también del momento de producción, sus finalidades y sobre todo del control discursivo" (p. 7). Para analizar los manuales gramaticales, la autora se propuso un método que combina la historiografía lingüística con el análisis del discurso. Su meta fue corroborar la existencia de una tradición gramatical o método de descripción propio de esta zona.

Nos detendremos un momento a explicar y ahondar en los términos "historiografía lingüística" y "lingüística misionera", para posteriormente delimitar como define en su obra la autora, el análisis del discurso.

A partir del siglo XV, y como resultado de la conquista del llamado "Nuevo Mundo", se establece un vínculo entre los europeos y amerindios que, según Pilar Máynez (2013), "implicó la imposición de una serie de elementos culturales por parte de los conquistadores a los conquistados, aunque también aquellos recibieron de estos, pero en proporciones menores, la influencia de componentes autóctonos, originándose, así un fenómeno de transculturación" (p. 151). El elemento de transculturación en la lingüística misionera que nos concierne aquí son todos estos elementos y fenómenos de la lengua –parte esencial de la cultura- que se dan como resultado de situación de lenguas en contacto.

La concepción de discurso de Molina es amplia, incluye incluso los elementos extralingüísticos, en este sentido se alinea a Gee (1999), quien define el discurso como "forma de vida" que comprende junto con el texto mismo un contexto amplio, como maneras de actuar, sentir, creer, valorar, etc. El discurso misionero colonial, según Molina, fue determinado por el uso de la lengua, tanto el español como la lengua originaria, porque los jesuitas aprendieron náhuatl, muchos de ellos también español, y, además, otra lengua nativa de la región de su asignación para transmitir una forma de vida al otro en contextos de transculturación o aculturación con ideologías diversas y poderes desiguales.

La combinación de método de análisis del discurso y de historiografía lingüística lo considero particularmente útil, ya que la historiografía difícilmente deja entrever cómo pensaban y qué valoraban los hombres del Nuevo Mundo, los mesoamericanos y los europeos – en este caso los conquistadores espirituales, simplemente se centra en identificar a los participantes y descripción de los fenómenos lingüísticos.

Otro de los objetivos que la autora se propone en este libro es el de identificar si existen los patrones comunes en la descripción de las cinco artes del Noroeste Novohispano que en su texto analiza, ya que en la lingüística misionera se siguió el modelo diseñado por

Nebrija, el cual se replica transformado en la Nueva España con sus normas de intervención establecidas.

Los textos analizados en el libro de Molina son producto del tercer orden misionero que llega a la Nueva España en 1572 y al Norte en 1589, según Bergellini y Komanecky (2009), y es a partir de allí que partieron a realizar la colonización y la evangelización del norte novohispano, tal como lo hicieron antes los franciscanos y los dominicos. En su trabajo evangelizador, el dominio de las lenguas originarias era fundamental, por ello llevaron a cabo una gran tarea en sus estudios y una gran labor editorial en que la impresión de textos del evangelio y de la Biblia en estas lenguas, tal como lo señala el padre Thomas de Guadalaxara a Carlos II (Borgellini y Komanecky, 2009). Sobre la importancia de la lengua:

> ... en la lengua explican los hombres sus conceptos, comercian entre sí, dan leyes los magistrados, sentencian los jueces, y se conservan las Repúblicas; con las lenguas se comoponen los disturbios más bélicos, los rebeldes se pacifican, los crueles se amasan, los empedernidos se ablandan, los bárbaros se sujetan, las traiciones se descrubren, los hombres y costumbres se conocen, y las naciones se gobiernan; con la lengua se adelantaron los reyno de vuestra majestad, y se dilata el Reino de Dios, y con ella también se reducen al gremio de nuestra Madre la Santa Iglesia Católica de los Bárbaros y Gentiles; y los pecadores se convierten (pp. 218-219).

La palabra escrita y la palabra hablada fueron el instrumento que llevado a la lengua indígena constituyó la fuerza fundamental de la tarea evangelizadora, por lo que el interés en la estructura de la lengua, la sistematización del conocimiento de esta, fue la razón que movió a los misioneros en su labor lingüística.

En el periodo que describe Molina en su libro, siglos XVII y XVIII, ya existía una larga tradición de estudio y descripción de las artes gramaticales resultado de las labores misioneras anteriores. Estructuralmente, este libro se divide en cuatro capítulos precedidos por una introducción y seguidos por las conclusiones.

En el capítulo inicial, la autora describe la tradición gramatical grecolatina en Europa, aquí Molina revisa los conceptos de gramática de la antigüedad y la Edad Media que no necesariamente coinciden con lo que se comprende bajo el mismo concepto hoy en día. La gramática en el periodo medieval fue considerada la más importante de todas las artes liberales y el sinónimo de la lengua latina, como afirma Molina en la página 38. Para la lingüística misionera y las gramáticas coloniales, la gramática de la lengua castellana de

Nebrija (1492) es particularmente importante, ya que "marca el camino", según Molina, que posteriormente tomarán otros gramáticos, en palabras de Francisco Thámara 1550 (como se cita en Molina, p. 44) "Gramática es ciencia de siete, primera arte de artes la más singular la que tiene intento de enseñar a hablar muy congruentemente y de buena manera".

En la descripción, las partes o elementos que constituyen la gramática, en las diferentes ediciones mismas de Nebrija varían en: ortografía, prosodia, morfología y sintaxis, pero también en el V libro de la gramática contiene las consideraciones para todos aquellos que no hablan la lengua castellana, titulado "de las introducciones de la lengua castellana para los que de extraña lengua querrán aprender"

En este apartado también se discute la distinción de número de partes de la oración en castellano, pues varía de diez en Nebrija y en otros autores como Gonzalo de Correas se apega al sistema tripartito –nombre, verbo y partícula- que según Correas es válido para español y cualquier lengua. Lo que une a los autores del siglo XVII con los del medievo es la búsqueda de un patrón universal.

El segundo capítulo del libro de Molina tiene por nombre "el discurso de evangelización en las artes coloniales". En este apartado documenta el discurso de los lingüistas misioneros para los cuales la labor gramatical era una ciencia en progreso y colectiva, según Zwartjes (como cita Molina, p. 122).

En cuanto a géneros discursivos, empleaban confesionarios, catecismos, manuales sacramentales, artes y vocabularios. Los textos debían lograr la transferencia religiosa a los pueblos originarios. La tradición discursiva se caracteriza por apegarse a los modelos grecolatinos europeos, pero a su vez tiene que adaptarse a las necesidades específicas de los religiosos, el discurso debe adaptarse, reajustar su estilo de acuerdo al contexto actual.

Las gramáticas a pesar de tener un componente didáctico, no eran destinadas a todo el mundo, sino a un grupo específico, los otros misioneros; es decir, las gramáticas y los diccionarios no se plantearon para los nativos. Los autores de estos textos formaban parte de una comunidad discursiva y sabían cuales elementos podían incluir en los textos y cuáles, no.

En el mismo apartado, Molina aborda la clasificación de los paratextos, los cuales se definen como los elementos que acompañan al texto principal, en este caso los prólogos, las dedicatorias, las advertencias y los avisos, denominados paratextos autoriales; y las licencias, aprobaciones y evaluaciones, incluida portadas, etc., llamados paratextos editoriales. Molina

sostiene que la inclusión de los paratextos también se apega a una tradición discursiva, por lo que el análisis y documentación de estos devela las posturas ideológicas de los autores, lo cual considero un elemento muy novedoso.

El segundo capítulo concluye con el análisis y clasificación de los ejemplos que aparecen en las gramáticas de forma constante, igual que otros consejos puntuales sobre los aspectos lingüísticos específicos del dominio de pragmática que cada evangelizador debe saber para su desempeño idóneo de la lengua del grupo, para poder llevar a cabo las prácticas lingüísticas tales como confesiones, en uno de los textos analizados por Molina, el arte de la lengua tegüima, se señala que "y para decir en la confesión, no oí misa el domingo, dicen *tomicotzi cai no missa vitzaca*, en lugar [de] *cai ne missa vitzave*, etc...el principiante debe, según Lombarto, estar advertido en todo para entender bien y estar en los términos de la lengua (Lombardo, 2009, como se cita en Molina, p. 160).
Estos mensajes pueden ser tanto literales como inventados por el gramático.

En el tercer capítulo, la autora aborda la tradición gramatical novomundista, donde se detiene en describir el modelo grecolatino como una herramienta de descripción de las lenguas indígenas, igual que en aspectos metodológicos en ordenación del material lingüístico. Al finalizar el capítulo, Molina atiende la descripción del conocimiento de elementos normativos de las gramáticas de los misioneros quienes ya rebasaban los límites del tratamiento normativo y se aventuran a incluir elementos variacionistas, documentando por ejemplo en el caso de Fray Guevara en el prólogo del testimonio sobre el arte de la lengua matlatzinga (16382) que la lengua "la hablan en unas partes diferente que en otras y las mujeres en lo más" (p. 221), donde podemos apreciar que el autor del siglo XVII, ya se da cuenta de la variación del habla, según el género y le presta atención.

El último capítulo, Molina se adentra en la descripción gramatical de las artes jesuíticas del noroeste novohispano, donde de manera sistemática describe y contrasta las cinco artes, en cuanto a tres categorías gramaticales: el nombre, el verbo y las preposiciones, el modelo tripartito influenciado por el modelo gramatical latino.

En particular, analiza la declinación o el sistema de casos en el nombre, en cuanto al verbo, se le otorga una atención especial porque es la parte de la oración que mayor espacio ocupa en los compendios gramaticales, como afirma Molina (p. 292). La mayor dificultad de la gramática, según Nebrija y eso es válido para cualquier lenguaje, está en la conjugación del verbo –los modos, tempos, números, persona, cómo se alinean-. Las instrucciones en el

siguiente ejemplo de la lengua eudeve parece una receta de cocina: "cógese el futuro que es *hiosquatze* y se le quita el *tze* y en su lugar se le pone la particula va y sale *hiósguava* y luego se le añade el verbo *éram* (que quiere decir pienso o quiero), y tiene *hiosquava éram.* De la misma suerte procederás con otros verbos añadiéndole *éram* (p. 300).

Cabe señalar que Molina señala que esta explicación es de las pocas que describen pasos a paso el proceso de sustitución-adición de morfemas. En la descripción de aspectos gramaticales Molina encuentra tanto los esquemas que se asemejan al modelo del noroeste novohispano, igual que aquellos que lo rompen.

En su texto, la autora concluye conque entre estas cinco artes del noroeste novohispano no hay más tradición que la latina en cuanto a elementos intertextuales consta que no se entrelazan dichos elementos en los textos comparados. En apreciación de la autora esto se debe probablemente a la falta de una infraestructura académica del noroeste, semejante a la de los colegios de la Nueva España y también a la poca difusión de los materiales lingüísticos por cuestiones geográficas y esto provocó que no se unificara una metodología didáctico-descriptiva en la zona.

En resumen, y para concluir, el libro de Molina ofrece un acercamiento a las cinco artes jesuíticas el noroeste novohispano desde una perspectiva amplia y novedosa, en la cual se conjuga la historiografía lingüística con el análisis de discurso, lo cual permite, a través de la contextualización de la acción misionera jesuita, entender los modelos gramaticales al igual que el modo de vida de los participantes implicados en el proceso.

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